



**Workers of the World, Unite!**  
**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**



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# People's Voice

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## ■ **Editorial : Towards New Revolution**

International Department of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist has decided to bring out regular informative online service, which can fulfill the demand of our friends in abroad who like to get information about ongoing revolutionary movement in Nepal.

## ■ **Interview with Comrade Kiran**

We want to assure the fraternal parties and proletarian of the world with work rather than word. We were and are devoted in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, New Democratic state power, the ideology of socialism and communism, Proletarian Internationalism and the liberation of oppressed peoples and for their bright future.

## ■ **CP Gajurel : International Communist ...**

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## Towards New Revolution

International Department of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist has decided to bring out regular informative online service, which can fulfill the demand of our friends in abroad who like to get information about ongoing revolutionary movement in Nepal. Our friends in abroad were facing with a situation of making opinion about the political movement of Nepal fully based on bourgeois media, which is deliberately against the revolutionary movement. We believe that this problem will be overcome by now.

Right at this moment Nepalese society is heading towards a sharp polarization. Serious political crisis had started after the dissolution of Constituent Assembly after four years of its election without making New Constitution. Both objectives of the “peace process”, the Integration of PLA and Royal Nepal Army and Making New Constitution were completely shattered which gave rise to the insurmountable political crisis. This crisis has been further aggravated after the retrogressive event of 14 March 2013, in which the President announced a 25 point Declaration by annulling 20 clauses of present Interim Constitution and appointed a “Nonparty-election government”, at the recommendation of “mechanism of supreme leaders of four major parties” which is completely unconstitutional. The proposed election was shattered due to the boycott movement of political forces led by CPN –Maoist. Though the “election of Second Constituent Assembly” has not yet been formally declared by the government, it has again started to collect the names of voters for new election, which is being disrupted by revolutionary forces.

In a new development wide protest has been started when the “election government” appointed a man who was declared responsible for the suppression of Historic Mass Movement and convicted in corruption cases, at the post “Commission for Abuse of Authority”, which mainly looks after the cases of corruption. It has further helped polarize the people of Nepal in two different camps: Patriotic, Republican, Leftist forces in one side and Nation betrayers, anti-people and reactionary forces on the other. It is CPN-Maoist, which is leading the Patriotic and Democratic movement.

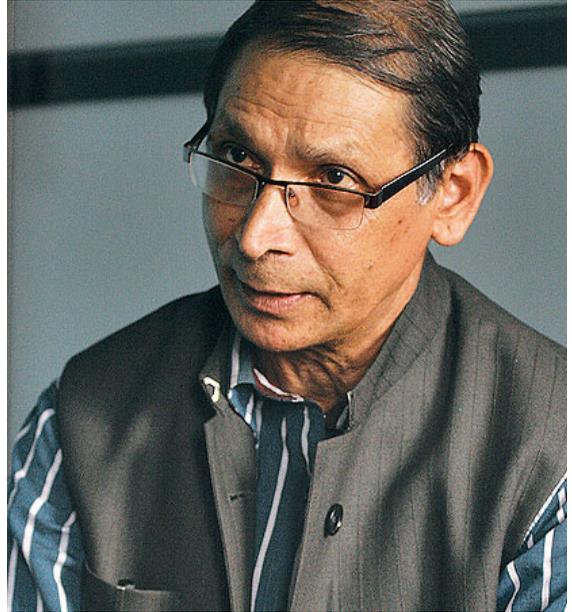
The issue of “election” has become such an issue which distinguishes entirely two different camps. The renegades, puppet of foreign forces, anti-people forces are hell bent to hold the “election”. Majority of the political groups are against it. It is clear that the so called “election” has not been planned to deliver a new constitution, but to get rid of and get approval for the betrayal of nation, anti-people acts, and corruption scandals. So the drama of “election” deserves to be boycotted. Only a popular Mass Movement can resolve the confronting crisis. Revolutionary forces are trying to transform this political crisis into a people’s revolution.



## Interview with Chairman Comrade Kiran

**1. Com. Kiran, it is nearly one year that you have cut-off relations with neo-revisionist Prachanda-Baburam faction. In this one year, as a revolutionary party ideologically, politically and organizationally cum policy, plan and program, how and in what respect does it able to establish its identity? Can you please clarify this ?**

- Yes, it is about a year that we have broken relations with the neo-revisionist. We have certainly made a different identity on ideological, political and organizational aspect including policy and program. But, we haven't developed the identity effectively on the program of struggle and mass mobilization.



**2. The Party has adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the principal guideline and determined the New Democratic Revolution as minimum program, it is an important factor. But there is a comment that the Party line seems a bit abstract, a bit eclectics, and lack of uniformity on leaders and cadres on understanding it. Please, make it clear?**

- There was abstractness on some extend on the documents presented on the Seventh Congress. In the process of the Congress, questions had raised regarding Party line the abstractness and eclectics. It was obvious to raise such questions on the course of discussion. But we have already made clear it in the hall of Congress. In this regard, the Congress has determined the Party line of People's Revolt on the basis of People's War. On the situation of forwarding on with the experience, knowledge and awareness of ten years long people's war; no signs of possibility have seen to establish the people's rights through Constituent Assembly, and in deepening the economic, political and cultural crisis if we able to pay attention with subjective preparedness, there is possibility of People's Revolt for certain span of time. In this context, the Party line defined by the congress has determined People's Revolt as principal for certain time and if it wouldn't concluded in this time then the Party line has allowed for People's War.

**3. We used to say that the characteristic of Nepalese society is semi-feudal and semi-colonial but the Party has analyzed it in the Congress as semi-feudal and neo-colonial. In what situation and analysis it has defined as neo-colonial, it was some time actively and sometime passively continues since 1950 to till now. Now, what kind of special and qualitative situation surfaced which**

**demand to concretize the characteristic of Nepalese society as neo-colonialist? Is not the Nepalese society basically in semi-colonial situation?**

- It is clear that the Nepalese society has been analyzed for long as in semi-feudal, semi-colonial and neo-colonial situation. For some decades the neo-colonial features have been seen but the discussion on it was very rare. Neo-colonial characteristic are the developed form of semi-colonial characteristic. In Nepal specially Indian expansionism and other imperialistic forces are in their last phase who have the tendency of fulfilling their political, economic, cultural ,strategic interest through comprador capitalist class rather than direct military intervention and so now this situation is described as semi-feudal and neo-colonial.

**4. In defining Maoism, protracted People's War, New Democratic Revolution, Continuous Class Struggle and The Great Chinese Cultural Revolution are taken as the ultimate values. Some Maoist parties of imperialist countries, especially those who has linked with Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) are saying that the rhetoric of Revolt is enough now and has developed their documents to tread the path of protracted People's War but we are focusing on People's Revolt. It is doubted that it may have being back from Maoism and the path shown by Mao. In the country like Nepal, do you think the Revolt that wouldn't be linked with People's War is possible?**

- In this specific situation, we have said that our present Party line is People's Revolt on the base of People's War. If the People's Revolt doesn't conclude in certain span of time than it is clear that People's War will be the principal Party line. We have mentioned all of this in the document passed by the Congress.

**5. The Party line of People's Revolt has the danger tending Party in a maze and inviting the liquidationism on the other hand there is danger of reviving the case of Indonesia, how do you take this?**

- We have said that for present specific situation of Nepal the main way is People's Revolt. Yes, for revolution we have to play with different types of dangers.

**6. In one of your article you have said, " Possibility of the development of People's War in form of National War seems vital then the form of People's War of the past". Can you please, make it clearer?**

- Principally, there are two forms of protracted People's War- Civil War and National War. Our Party CPN - Maoist has mobilized People's War for ten years. Now, the question of the defence of national sovereignty is being severe. In this situation, there is possibility of transformation of People's War in National War.

**7. In CPN - Maoist, there is notable presence of old and young, both, forces which have experience of People's War. There are comrades who have accumulated experience even from international level. In this respect, special types of responsibility of the Party seem in international level as well. But it is heard that the Party has not focus to develop relations with the fraternal parties and to organize and unify the International Communist Movement. Please, make it clear?**

- Yes, we haven't done more in the area of International Communist

Movement. Now onward we will pay adequate attention on it.

**8. RIM is not effective, what is the main reason behind it, ideological or organizational? Is not it necessary to move ahead by making solidarity with the keen and start discussion and debate with others? How does the Party observe it?**

- Because of ideological and political reasons, RIM is not effective and productive. On the one hand one of the main factions of CPN - Maoist who has been handling glorious People's War is sinking in the quicksand of rightist neo-revisionism and on the other in some of the parties which are inside the RIM has developed wrong thought and tendency that is the main reason which made RIM inactive in its latter parts. The necessity was to mobilizing two line struggle and work simultaneously in the organization. But, because of the metaphysical and sectarian thought of the major components of RIM it hadn't happened.

**9. It has blamed that the slogans and programs which have been forwarded through tactical unity and united front weren't helpful to support the strategic objectives rather they were reactive and the program of movement also was not effective. What is the reality?**

- We are in the legal and general types of People's struggle. This struggle is helping the objective of the strategy of revolution by this or that way. It is impossible to expect or, shouldn't be expect a qualitative leap suddenly in the sector of united front and struggle when present political situation is in parliamentary pool.

**10. The Imperialist-expansionist forces and their Nepalese comprador Party and leaders are crying for re-election of Constituent Assembly. It is criticized that the Party has decided differently than it has decided by the Congress regarding the issue of Constituent Assembly. Presently there are different types of analysis on it. What is the concrete policy and decision of the Party?**

- We are in the same positioning of the Congress which has already decided that there is not any relevancy of Constituent Assembly. Now, there is non-party puppet government in the country. We are in struggle with various demands. There is no alternative than the boycott of election in the present context. We will take concrete decision on it very soon.

**11. The fraternal parties of all over the world, revolutionary proletarian class and oppressed mass are looking toward CPN-Maoist with hope and faith, what is your message to them to enhance extra hope and revolutionary spirit?**

- We want to assure the fraternal parties and proletarian of the world with work rather than word. We were and are devoted in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, New Democratic state power, the lofty ideal of socialism and communism, Proletarian Internationalism and the liberation of oppressed peoples and for their bright future. Revolution develops on zigzag way, not in straight path and it develops its own speciality in every country. It is the universal norms of materialistic dialectics. We are firm and confident in such concepts.



## International Communist Movement and our role

■ C P Gajurel, 'Gaurav'

Vice-Chairman, CPN-Maoist

Communist Movement is an international movement in itself. Because of the common guiding principle, common ideology, common goal et al it is quite natural that it contains international character. Therefore, communist movement of a single country is also an international communist movement, side by side. All the communists of the world should realize the essence of communism that 'either we all will reach or none of us'.

Our glorious party, CPN (Maoist) being a vanguard of international proletariat, the revolution of Nepal being most advance revolution in the contemporary world, it is obvious that our party should play more important role. Based on the



present situation of the international communist movement, the question of how we can make our role more effective and how we can seek cooperation or how to strengthen unity is a question of vital importance for all genuine communists. The course that the world revolution can be advanced is by making revolution in one or some countries, communist revolutionaries would be advancing the world revolution by accomplishing revolution in their own country. We are advancing the task of making revolution in Nepal, we are also advancing world revolution side by side. The neo-revisionist Prachanda-Baburam group has not only betrayed and deceived the Nepalese revolution, but also betrayed the world revolution as well. This is the reason why communists of many countries are criticizing and exposing them.

In the historic Seventh Congress of our Party which was successfully held on January 9-15, 2013, the delegates from various fraternal and friendly parties all the way from Canada, USA, Turkey to India expressed their solidarity expressing that 'you advance the Nepalese revolution, we are always with you' and also congratulated for breaking with the renegade Prachanda-Baburam group. It was a contrast that the foreign delegates who attended the Hetauda congress of neo-revisionists "congratulated" them for giving up the revolutionary path and for being degenerated to revisionism. These events also confirm that the Nepalese revolution assumes international character.

An organization of international level is essential and unavoidable to lead and conduct this international movement. This is the reason why First International was established under the initiative and leadership of great Marx himself. As its continuation, Second and Third Internationals were successively established under the leadership of Engels and Lenin, by breaking relation with opportunists.

Imperialism is also an international phenomena and its character had been so right from the beginning. Imperialism has further broadened and internationalized itself while arriving at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century. It has formulated parliamentary multiparty system in politics, human rights in social sector; liberalization, globalization, World Bank, international monetary fund in economic sector, 'international court of justice' in judicial sector and NATO in military sector. It is all the more necessary for the communists to establish proletarian international centre and to strengthen it. The genuine communist revolutionaries of the world should realize this fact.

### **Absence of International: a broken chain**

We have already stated about the international character of communist movement. Commonness in ideology, philosophy and aim demand international organization to advance communist movement. Marx, Engels and Lenin not only realized it in principle but put into practice as well. "Communist League" was established in 1847 as an international organization of communists. Marx himself had taken initiative and leadership of this organization. It gave responsibility to Marx and Engels to prepare its manifesto. "Communist Manifesto" the first authentic document of communists came out in 1848. First international was dissolved on 1876 due to various reasons. After that, the Second international was reestablished on 1889 under the leadership of Engels. In course of time the leadership of second international was usurped by the right opportunists and third international was reestablished under the leadership of Lenin. Despite his poor health, he continued to lead it as a powerful instrument to advance the world revolution.

Stalin led the international communist movement after the demise of Lenin. United front against fascism was forged at the initiative of Stalin during the Second World War. The imperialist countries demanded the dissolution of the Communist International (Comintern) as a precondition to forge anti-fascist united front with them. Eventually it was formally dissolved on 1943. Stalin initiated 'Cominform' in place of Comintern after the end of the WW 2. But it was limited as simply centre of exchange of information. The debate is still going on in the international communist movement about whether it was correct to dissolve the communist international at the cost of defense of socialist state of Russia and for the sake of forging unity with the imperialist countries.

After that Com. Mao emerged as outstanding leader of international communist movement. He provided leadership to the ICM, however concrete initiative for establishing New International could not take place. Definitely there are various reasons behind it, nevertheless it is a matter of debate in the ICM till today. In this way there is a break of chain in the ICM. The negative experience that the Comintern was

functioning as a "world party" and "imposing decisions to the parties from above", might have caused problem in its initiation. Correct and important idea is to discard the negative experiences of the Comintern and create the basis for the formation of international organization of genuine communist parties by applying the positive experiences. In this way, to link the broken chain of ICM is important task of the communists today.

## **Establishing 'RIM' as an international centre**

As an effort to link the broken chain, Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was formed as it was called "the embryonic centre", in 1984 at an International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations consisting of 19 parties and organisations including the then Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal), Communist Party of Peru, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, CRC, CPI(ML), TKP (ML) etc. The Conference also adopted 'Declaration of RIM' which laid ideological-political basis of unity at the international level. Committee of RIM was formed to provide the leadership to the Movement. The 'RIM' has played quite a significant role in a short span of time as follows: (a) Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought was considered as the ideological basis of unity right at the time of its inception. In a significant development the expanded meeting of the RIM in 1993 decided to develop its guiding ideology from Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought to Marxism –Leninism-Maoism. This decision proved to be so historical that the genuine communist parties which were not included in the RIM also adopted and implemented it later. (b) the task of carrying out propaganda and support campaign—the act of carrying out propaganda in favour of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru and People's War advanced in Nepal under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) deserves to be praised. (c) worldwide campaign was conducted to save the lives of those comrades who were captured by the reactionary states. (d) role played by the RIM in forging communist parties in different countries and efforts being made to bring the communist parties within the fold of RIM. (e) Important contribution in ideological-political area—RIM used to publish 'A World to Win' a theoretical Maoist journal in various languages and also brought out 'News Service' an online political bulletin, thus making important contribution in MLM ideology and politics.

(e) Organizing an international mass organization—In the later period, international mass organization, World People's Resistance Movement (WPRM) was organized in various countries of the world under the direct or indirect leadership of the RIM. But, it is a matter of worry that now 'RIM' has not only become passive, but also heading to a situation of zero. Therefore, reorganization of an international centre comprising of genuine communists has become an urgent task for us. Therefore, this task has become an agenda of priority for us.

## **Difference relating to the inception of RIM**

During the time of inception of the RIM in 1984, the then Communist Party of India (ML)(PW), Moist Communist Centre of India and Communist Party of the Philip-

pires were not included, which was biggest weakness. In the contemporary International Communist Movement, CPI(Maoist) and Communist Party of Philippines have significant position and role. Both the parties are constantly waging people's wars in their respective countries. The inception of RIM without incorporating the two Maoist parties was an incomplete task. The debate of international centre of this type should be started or not was going on during the time of its formation and the same debate is still continuing in different ways. In this context the opinion that there are some negative examples in the latest period when Stalin was leading, such as, the International was acting as a "world communist party", "the centre dictating the small parties" leads to the conclusion that such International should not be formed. Apart from that there was an argument regarding the question of forming anti-fascist united front and defending socialist Russia, which was the base area of the ICM, at the cost of dissolution of the Third International was correct or incorrect. It has been proved to be correct that the inception of 'RIM' with an understanding that the debates should be accepted as debates within the ICM and should be continued in a friendly way.

CPI (Maoist) and Communist Party of Philippines have already adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guiding ideology of the party. Both the parties are continuing armed struggle to advance the New Democratic Revolution. Both the parties opined that Maoist International Centre is essential. In this context, keeping them out of the 'RIM' will certainly hinder the efforts of strengthening and raising it higher.

### **Why was the unity within the RIM declining?**

Two parties, namely CRC, CPI(ML) of India and TKP (ML) of Turkey which were in the RIM Committee decided to stay in the RIM but withdraw from the Committee. Also the Communist Party of Peru had decided to send its representative in a status of observer not that of a delegate. These events definitely played a role of weakening the RIM.

In course of time Communist Party of Peru (PCP) decided to add "Gonzalo Thought" in its guiding ideology. Many parties including our party opposed this decision. After a couple of years of arrest of its chairman Com Gonzalo in 1992, a proposal of "peace accord" was floated from inside the prison stating that it "was from the Party". The dispute of who was the author of this proposal entered in the RIM as well. One section of the PCP blamed "right opportunists" of the party who capitulated with the enemy for this act and called it a "hoax". Another section, especially who were languished in prison claimed that Gonzalo himself was the author of this proposal. Gonzalo's opinion could not come out officially because he was completely kept in isolation. RCP which represents in the Committee advocated that Gonzalo is behind the "peace accord". It further helped deteriorating the relation of PCP with the RIM.

When our party, CPN(Maoist) decided to add "Prachanda path" in the guiding ideology of the party, all other parties were against it. It caused some rift in the relation of CPN(Maoist) and the RIM. But it is wrong to say that it was the only reason for the RIM to be passive. The main reason of division and situation of RIM to go through a crisis is the liquidation of Prachanda-Baburam to right opportunist line. It was a good

thing that we continued to establish relation with our fraternal and friendly communist parties when we were in the same party with the renegades Prachanda and Baburam and so we are now in a situation of forging international unity and working actively to carry out joint activities with all these parties.

Apart from all this, a new debate is going on the question of "New Synthesis" propounded by Com Bob Avakian, Chairman of RCP,USA. It seems that we should be firm in standing against the idea that "it was a new dimension in the development of MLM" and trying to impose it as a basis of unity in the ICM. What we have discussed above makes clear that the efforts to impose different types of "synthesis" has merely bred split in the ICM. It is necessary to take lessons from the past mistakes and to be careful about such wrong trends.

### **ICML as another Centre**

In spite of many rounds of talks between representatives of RIM and CPI(Maoist), CPP, incorporation of the two parties could not be materialized. In the later period, one side was not accepting the nomenclature of 'RIM' and its organization and other side was sticking to the nomenclature and organization, which also became main hurdle for the unity.

International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties (ICML) was organized in the initiative of CPI(Maoist) and CPP, which incepted a centre. Its influence became very limited. It also decided to organize an international mass organization called 'International League for People's Struggle' (ILPS). It is amalgamation of so many loose organisations that to take collective decisions was not possible let alone implementing the decisions.

It is true that RIM is more influential than ICML, however division of the Maoist parties in two different centres is quite bad. We have to pay serious attention to this point.

### **Two Centres and question of new initiative**

The point of how Maoist Parties are divided into two different centres has already been mentioned above. At this point of time both the centres have become passive and very weak. None of them are functioning. It is reflection of the fact that the idea of two different centres of Maoists is not correct.

Some parties and organisations are also taking initiative to reorganize the RIM forces. Reality is that anyway if it succeeds, again all the Maoist parties and organisations t will not come together and same problem will recur. Therefore, the need of the hour is to carry on the positive discussions and debates aiming to unite all genuine Maoist forces in a single centre and forge new unity in the new basis. It is necessary to change the negative situation of non-functional condition of two centres into a positive step of forging a new and single centre. We should utilize this opportunity to unify

the Maoist forces in a single centre rather than to make effort to revive the old centre or centres.

We should come out of the prejudice of who was in which international centre. We should utilize our efforts in organizing all genuine Maoist forces in a single centre and strengthen it for advancing the world revolution.

### **Anti-imperialist Movement**

There are many parties and organisations in various parts of the world including India, which were parts of the Marxist-Leninist Movement. Some parties are cadre based and have some mass bases and some organisations are confined in bringing out their organ through which they are identified. Though all of them are not Maoists, but most of them are anti-imperialists. They cannot make any significant contribution in the revolution of their own country and for the world revolution if they remain isolated. If they are united in a loose anti-imperialist movement a significant energy can be accumulated by their collective strength. We should consider them as friends and help them to be organized in support of revolutionary struggle and anti-imperialist, anti-expansionist struggle.

The people of the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are still fighting against the domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialism in their own way. It is not possible for them to fight and get victory individually against stronger reactionary forces. It is quite necessary to help them organize by forging front at international level. Only a genuine Maoist party can fulfill this task. Other forces cannot fulfill this task.

Presence of the representatives of various friendly parties and organisations all the way from Canada, USA, Turkey to India during the historic Seventh National Congress of our party which was successfully completed in the last January reflects such a possibility.

### **Relation with states**

Once, almost two third of the world population was under the banner of socialism. But due to the events of counter revolution staged by the leadership of communist parties and socialist states, the socialism went on squeezing and now it is confined at the stage of strategic defence. The anti-socialist "democratic movements" designated by the imperialist powers swept away the "socialist states" of East European pro-soviet block during the '90s. The governments of communist parties and socialist states have been reduced to quite few. If we can have a good relation with those survived, it can be of great help to the revolutionaries and the people against the onslaught of domestic and foreign reactionaries. This relation can play significant role for the development of revolutionary movement, to protect the revolutionary parties and to bring the balance of power in favour of the revolutionaries. It is necessary to develop relation with countries like China, North Korea, Cuba, Latin American countries. In the context of Nepal, the relation with China attaches great importance.

The wave of Bolivarian revolution in Latin America can be considered as anti-US imperialist wave. The "socialism" that has been achieved in Latin American countries differs from the scientific socialism and communism envisaged by communist parties. However it is necessary to salute the revolutionary changes that the people have brought after heroic struggles. We should make serious efforts to develop friendly relation with them. We should understand the significance of balance of power in favour of revolutionary movement.

### **Prospect of revolution is bright**

In the present situation, making revolution in any country is a very challenging task. In today's world it is necessary to make international situation favourable in order to accomplish the revolution. The international situation is not readily favourable, it should be made favourable by formulating a correct line and implementing it with hard work. Now what a favourable situation we have, was not with us during the period of People's War. We should be able to utilize this situation perfectly.

It is not possible to complete the revolution by unleashing only our force. It is necessary to accumulate strength by making long term or short term united front with the forces which can stand in favour of the people and nation.

We have to pay attention in all the possibilities of forging such united fronts at national and international level. We are advancing in the direction of forging united fronts with all the forces with whom we can do and establish good relation with them at the national and international level, especially after we broke the relation with the Prachanda-Baburam group which has betrayed and gave in the revolution. Great possibility to achieve success in this task has been appeared.

The way Prachanda and Baburam presented themselves during their so called Seventh Congress that they have made a "strategic shift" to the reactionary camp, have made clear to those who had a bit of confusion that they still have some amount of revolutionary will. It was necessary for us to expose them clearly, thanks, they have exposed themselves. Ground is open for us. Many favourable factors have emerged in support of Nepalese revolution. We are moving forward cautiously. Because of our maturity some positive results have been achieved in practice. Practice has proved that our assumption and decisions are correct. Let us move forward with full confidence and firm determination, the future of Nepal and Nepalese people is bright. The future of Nepalese revolution is bright.



## United Front and its activities

■ Suresh Ale

Central Committee Member, CPN-Maoist

As per the Maoist policy which says that it needs three magic weapons, party, army and united front, to accomplish revolution, our Party, Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist, has been laying emphasis on forming a powerful united front and making efforts in this regard. In fact, even before it was formally formed and we had been waging inner or two –line struggle in Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) as a revolutionary faction, we had formed a united front with other parties on some issues, particularly defending national independence and sovereignty of the country and building a people’s constitution. At first, we formed one consisting of our own various fraternal organisations – United National People’s Struggle Committee. It lasted for a short period and later another united front was formed consisting of other parties and organizations also in March 2012. It was called United National People’s Movement Committee, Nepal. Its constituent parties and organizations were: United National People’s Struggle Committee (representing the revolutionary faction of UCPN (Maoist) as Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist was not formed at that time), Communist Party of Nepal (Unified), Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Revolutionary Communist Party, Nepal, Federal Democratic National Forum (Forum-affiliated Federal Limbuan Autonomous Council), Tamsaling - Nepal National Party, Janamukti Party, Nepal, Nepal Nagrik Party, Communist Party of Nepal (ML- Socialist), All Nepal Indigenous Nationalities’ Federation (Unified), Indigenous People’s Federation (Socialist), Tharu Mukti Sangram and Indigenous Nationalities-Ethnic-Regional Federation, Nepal. It had carried out several activities, the most important of which was collection of signatures of millions of the people from all over the country and submitting the contents for people’s constitution to the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

Later, after the sad and fruitless end of the historic Constituent Assembly on 28 My 2012, mainly due to Prachanda-Baburam clique and Madheshi Front , Nepali Congress and UML, the front was transformed into a republican front and was renamed as Nepal Federal People’s Republican Front. It consisted of the same political parties. Of course, two of them namely All Nepal Indigenous Nationalities Federation (Unified) and Indigenous Nationalities Federation (Socialist) were dropped as they were fraternal organizations of CPN (Unified) and CPN (ML-Socialist) respectively and United National People’s Struggle Committee was replaced by Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist as it had been already formed by that time. Later in early March 2013, a front called Federal Republican National Front consisting of 5 political parties wished to work unitedly and all 10 parties started launching the movement together. On 14 March , UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress, UML and Madheshi Front, ill-famed as 4-Party syndicate, and the President as well took an unconstitutional, undemo-

cratic, apolitical and hegemonist step. It forged consensus on 11 points and, though unauthorised, made several amendments to the Interim Constitution, and formed ultimately a non-political government led by sitting Chief Justice Khilraj Regmi forcibly. It was a master plan of external forces including the Indian expansionism and US imperialism. This step of theirs dissatisfied many even among the alliance of the ruling parties led by Prachanda of UCPN (M). They held talks and meetings with this Front for weeks but almost all of them except a few did not join the Front and returned at last. When it was formally formed, there were 33 parties and, therefore, it is called 33-Party Agitational Front, though the number has reached as many as 56 and still continues to rise.

Ever since its formation, it has carried out various programmes of struggle that include several seminars and interaction programmes on various issues mainly focusing on nationality, chakka jam (blockade of vehicles), demonstrations, several corner and mass meetings, submitting memoranda to Election Commission, ), encircling the Presidential building and Sighadurbar (the central secretariat building of the country) and called on Nepal Banda (nationwide general strike) on 7 April successfully. Our main demands are abrogation of the decision of 14 March, dissolution of the Khilraj Regmi government, holding of an all-sector roundtable conference and formation of a national united government under the leadership of patriotic, forwardgoing and agitational political parties. Recently on 29 April, the Front submitted a Letter of Protest to the Indian Embassy in Nepal demanding the immediate shutdown of the Camp office of Indian Embassy in Biratnagar which was opened in 5 years ago when there were floods in the Koshi river and some people from the Indian government had come to Nepal for its control and repairing . On 2 May, a seminar was organised on nationality and citizenship issue. A chakka jam was organized on 3 May from 9 AM to 11 AM in front of office of Election Commission demanding to stop the activities said to collect voters' list and issuing citizenship certificates to the people for the purpose of Constituent Assembly election in future.

It is to be noted that this is an issue-based Front which consists of diverse political parties and confines to the issues of national independence and sovereignty of the country, opposing external interventions, struggling for the abrogation of anti-people step of 14 April and for the resolution to the ongoing political crisis only. In addition, it is only a tactical front and , hence, naturally, each of the constituent political parties has or may have its own political philosophy and faith, and aims and objectives. However, there are many communist parties, too, which follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/Thought and some of them can be expected to be a part of the strategic front and can go to the extent of party unity. But this is matter of future.



## One Year of CPN-Maoist

■ Rishi Raj Baral

Central Committee Member, CPN-Maoist

**The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries. ...Without a People's army, the people have nothing.**

**Mao tse-tung**

During the two line struggle, the Revolutionary faction within CPN (Maoist) led by Com Kiran intensified the struggle against the Prachand-Baburam faction that betrayed the Nepalese revolution, and raised the flag of revolt through the National Convention which was held from June 16 to 18, 2012, and reorganized the Party as the **Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist**.

Concentrating on the document presented by Comrade Kiran, **Let's Forward the Revolution by Waging Ideological Struggle against Neo-Revisionism**, the National Convention adopted Marxism-Leninism and Maoism as party's guiding principle and resolved to accomplish the Nepalese New Democratic Revolution by basing itself on the continuation of the achievements and values of ten-year People's War. The document has mentioned:

**There are two major tasks of new democratic revolution of Nepal- establishment of democracy and safeguarding of national sovereignty. These should be completed in same period of the revolution. Theoretically it is clear that we should move ahead towards People's revolt on the foundation of People's War to complete New Democratic Revolution in Nepal.**

The party, exposing neo-revisionism, intensified the campaign country-wide of ideological, political and organizational consolidation. The party gave emphasis on the need and justifiability of new democratic revolution based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and decided on the concrete strategy of forwarding the policy and program of joint front and functional unity on the basis of common agreement and necessity. During the time, the party decided to complete the Seventh Convention of Nepal Communist Party-Maoist, which had remained due to the last twenty-one years.

The Seventh Convention that ran from January 9 to 15, 2013, consisted of more than 2000 delegates and observers, representing from inside the country and abroad. The fraternal parties both in and outside the defunct RIM and other friendly parties had expressed Internationalist Proletarian Solidarity to the Convention by sending either their representatives or greeting message. The Convention continued for seven days, and it passed several important resolutions concerned to the national and

international issues, the form of existing imperialism, the review of the history, the major contradiction of the Nepalese society, the ideological and political line of the Nepalese revolution and the formation of the PLA.

The Convention decided that the American imperialism, which is terrorizing the world by way of globalization, on the one hand, and of military fascism, on the other, is the main enemy of the world proletariat now, in spite of the fact that it appears to have been weakened economically in the later days. The Convention also decided to study the complexities within the “Revolutionary International Movement (RIM),” which had played an important role to promote the world proletariat movement in the past, and play a role to forward the Movement in a way that suits it to the changed situation.

Representatives of the Congress expressed their opinion also on RCP, USA ‘new synthesis’. “Going beyond Maoism” was not acceptable, it was denied by the Congress Hall. In fact, we should be firm in standing against the idea that “it was a new dimension in the development of MLM” and trying to impose it as a basis of unity in the ICM. We must be clear that the efforts to impose different types of ‘synthesis’ has merely bred split in the ICM. New efforts should be done to advance the ICM in the new way. National Congress stressed that as the leading force of the Ten Years People’s war, NCP- Maoist should take initiative to reorganize the RIM in the new context.

Similarly, the Convention emphasized more on the importance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism for exposing the revisionism and opportunism in the contemporary world, and also giving a new direction and momentum to the world revolution. The Convention emphasized on the fact that the Nepalese society has been getting transformed from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial stage into a semi-feudal and neo-colonial one, and only the new democratic revolution can resolve its existing internal conflicts. The document clarified the contradiction related to the Nepalese revolution in this way:

**Now the nation has changed from Semi-colonial situation to Neo-colonial situation and as a whole Nepal has become Semi-feudal and Neo-colonial country. In this situation, compradors, operated and directed by Indian expansionism and feudal class have been emerged as class enemies of Nepalese people. It is today’s major contradiction of the Nepalese society.**

The National Congress passed the ideological and political line of “People’s Revolt in the foundation of People’s War”. The Convention declared that the question of capturing the state power by people and continuing its revolutionary nature is the major question, and so there is no alternative for liberating the Nepalese people except the one of seizing the state power by way of armed struggle. The Convention emphasized on “three magical weapons” for the revolution, and decided on the necessary policy, plan and program for the same. The document passed by the Convention contains an article entitled “The Party’s Political Line of Action and the Way of Revolution,” which clarifies all this in 12 points. The concluding point says:

**Nepal is in a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. Therefore, theoretically speaking, the long-term People's War itself is the path of Nepalese revolution. Moreover, the possibility of popular revolution also cannot be denied at present specific condition, and it is necessary to pay an equal attention to that.**

When the Seventh Convention concluded successfully after passing the resolution of the party line on "People's Revolt on the Foundation of the People's War" in the specific condition of Nepalese society, it was natural that it would make all types of opportunisms and the new and old reactionaries in the country and outside, especially the American Imperialism and Indian expansionism, restless. It was also natural that the reactionaries worldwide would unite to counter the revolutionary force and the desire of Nepalese people for liberation, and their commitment for nationality. The formation of the government under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice Khilaraj Regmi was a result of joint conspiracy of the Indian expansionism, the American Imperialism, and European Union including the "four parties." In fact, Now the American imperialism, Indian expansionism and their Nepalese comprador parties, like UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress, United (ML) and Madhesi Morcha -alliance of pro- India parties have come out in one place, to spoil the emerging power CPN-Maoist.

Keeping in mind all these conspiracies against national sovereignty and people's democracy, the party emphasized on the need of forming a joint front and functional unity for forwarding the movement. The party at present has been running a movement against the Khila Raj government, a result of the Imperialism-Expansionism conspiracy, forming a joint front with three parties and a functional unity with 33 parties. Now the number of party and organizations has extended up to 55. Similarly, keeping in mind the spirit of the Seventh Convention, the party has expanded, as per the need, the 51 member central committee into one that consists of 151 members.

After the expansion of the central committee, its first plenary meeting has been completed from April 16 to 18. It reviewed the party's activities after the Convention, and also discussed broadly on the possible circumstances. Mainly, quite vigorous discussions occurred regarding the election of the Constitutional Assembly and the ideological and political line taken by the party. Passing the short proposal of the Chairman, Comrade Kiran, the plenary meeting decided to prepare the party for forwarding the line of action and intensifying more the struggle of national sovereignty, exposing at the same time the so-called election of the Constitutional Assembly. The meeting concluded passing a commitment and resolution to not let the banner of the Nepalese revolution fall at any cost.

It has been almost a year since the party broke its relation with Prachanda-Baburam faction. The neo-revisionist group is still scattering different types of rumors and illusions and even the imperialists are conspiring to degrade this party ideologically by getting it entangled in compromise, and dissolve it by causing it to undergo the factional strife.

It is true that several weaknesses have occurred in our thought and practice. Many challenges and complexities have appeared especially in the organizational side and implementation of the party line. We have not been able to accelerate the party's

momentum as it should have been done. In spite of this we are firm in our goal and we are committed to the ideology..

The reality is that the party has been committed firmly to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the New democratic revolution. We are clear about ‘three magical weapons’ of revolution. What is important is the fact that the party is committed to move ahead identifying several problems and weaknesses that have been handed down to the present. As mentioned in the document, it has become necessary today to struggle against not only empiricism, pragmatism and liberalism but also anarchism and other petty-bourgeois tendencies.

The need of today is to move ahead united and with revolutionary spirit, countering every delusion and conspiracy of enemies. We have in the party a mature team of leadership with a long experience of class struggle, and there exists a group of enthusiastic and powerful young leaders and cadres that has evolved from the People’s War. We have a firm belief that we can move ahead united, adopting the correct ideological and political line.

We must keep in mind the importance of ‘politics in command’ and seizure of power by the armed force. At this current stage, ‘4 Preparation’ must be our main focal point, the target. As Comrade Mao tse-tung has pointed out that “the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy”. We all know “Without a People’s army, the people have nothing”. And at present, this must be the issue of our main concern.

May1, 2013



## May Day and our task

■ **Manoj Thapa**

**Central Committee Member, CPN-Maoist**

With the beginning of capitalism in the 19th century industrial workers were exploited to dead end. Workers waged movement with demand of 8 hours work to break down the compellation of working from the sunrise till the sunset. The success of “8 hours work” movement has established May Day which is also called as Labor Day all over the world. Later this day has been celebrated worldwide to recall the historic success and the struggle made to achieve it. This day is also celebrated in the context to emancipate workers from the claws of capitalist oppressors. The movement has emerged from the vigorous struggle of the workers against the capitalist oppressors. So, this day carries the legacy of historic struggle and its character is striving one. Till the present day, May Day movement in its essence contains mainly three important aspects.

1. it has establish authenticity to the view that freedom can be achieved only through the Revolution, not with social reform and to orient this movement to abolish capitalism, imperialism and every form of its’ exploitation and to achieve full emancipation.

2. This movement has become as an international movement because of the objective of this movement is solely waged by workers and proletarian class.

3. This movement is recognize to unify and organize the exploited class and fight against its’ reactionary state power in their respective countries.

On the context of this day, Comrade Lenin has appeal the Soviet workers to unify, organize and resist rigid against the Tsar regime for the cause of achieving goal of Socialist revolution. Right that way also the revolutionary force of Nepal in the occasion of May Day appeal working class and just loving people to march towards the direction of making New Democratic Revolution.

Though the reformist forces effort to minimize the glory of this movement, which in essence is struggle to emancipate whole humanity from all kinds of exploitation. They try to turn the legacy of this movement merely in a tradition holiday to enjoy this day as rest day, but this day and movement has rise above from limited economic right and reformist illusion to fight against capitalism, against imperialism, against colonialism, against racism, against apartheid -Racism and against all sort of reactionaries war. This day has also developed to become the centre of extending solidarity of proletariat Internationalism to the just struggle waged around the world.

Since past 124 years, we have been celebrating May Day. Within this period, there have been big transformations and many incidents occurred around the world, with triumph and forfeit. For instance, socialist revolution in Soviet Union, New Democratic Revolution in China, Great Proletarian revolution in china, 1st and 2nd world war, set back to the revolution waged by Philippines, Peru, Nepalese people and the American invasion in Iraq and Afghanistan and currently the Syria war waged by comprised with Multinationals.

From all these past and present incidents, how to understand the essence of May Day? Why did the victorious revolution in Soviet Union and China turned to its opposite? Why did the revolution in Philippines, Peru and Nepal faced set back though they were at the offensive phase? We have to have scientific and appropriate answer for these burning questions.

For that reason, we have to rupture from the practice of carrying out May Day solely as tradition or just lip service to movement, we have to take rich experience of success and failures of the struggle waged by working class in the 20th century and apply correct ideology and politics to confirm our victory in 21st century. Therefore on the occasion of 124th May Day, revolutionaries and working class making a promise to accomplish revolution in Nepal, have to inaugurate it with correct ideology, politics and methodology in practice.



## Greeting Messages

**(The National Congress of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist was held on 9 to 15 January, 2013. Maoist parties inside the defunct RIM and outside, the anti-imperialist parties and organizations, friendly parties and representatives of progressive medias had sent greeting message to the National Congress. International Department heartily welcomes the greeting message as the reflection of Proletarian Internationalism. Here we are including some of the greeting message.)**

### 1. Communist Party of India (M-L) NAXALBARI

**Dear Comrades,  
Lal Salam!**

We greet you on this historic occasion and apologise for not being able to participate directly. Please accept this message instead. Mao Tsetung has taught us the decisive importance of a correct ideological, political line.

The history of your party itself stands testimony to this. With a correct line, it could rebel against the Teng Siao Ping revisionists who seized power through a coup in 1976, destroyed the historic advances made through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and restored capitalism in socialist China. Thus, persisting on the path laid down by Mao Tsetung, your party played an important role in the international struggle to uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the wake of this setback, the struggle that led to the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). Further on, by deepening the struggle to uphold and apply Maoism, your party ruptured from dogmato-revisionist views that blocked revolution. It forged a correct line and boldly initiated the people's war. The great gains of this glorious war, "creation of People's Liberation Army, establishment of base areas and people's government, role played by workers, peasants, women, indigenous nationalities and Dalits, and the awareness developed in this whole process", were principally the gains of the correct line followed by your party. Today most of them are lost. This is the outcome of the subversion of the Maoist line and the imposition of a revisionist line by the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique. In both its advances and setbacks, the history of the international communist movement and its national contingents confirms the truth 'The correctness or incorrectness of the line decides everything'.

You have revolted against the Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionist line. This Congress is the child of that revolt. It has the task of deepening the struggle against Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionism, consolidating the gains, forging a correct line and chalking out concrete plans for retaking the revolutionary road in the midst of the complex political situation in your country. The successful accomplishment of this task is mainly a matter of summing up the lessons of your own struggles, both the people's war and the line struggle within the party. But it obviously will not be restricted to that alone. As a contingent of the international communist movement you will also draw on its wider experiences and lessons. Here we would like to share an

important lesson synthesised by the founder leader of our party, comrade Charu Mazumdar. Critically analysing the numerous revolts against the rightist leadership, he pointed out how centrist elements repeatedly blunted and betrayed them. He warned that “Centrism is the stepping stone to revisionism” and called on the rank and file to root it out. Centrism can appear in many forms. But its essence is always the same - it fails to take ideological struggle to its revolutionary conclusion. It blocks the communists from making a complete rupture from the wrong line, methods and practice. Ultimately, it smuggles back the rotten old stuff dressed up in new garb. Therefore, the struggle against revisionism must be extended to exposing and rupturing from centrism by digging out its concrete manifestations. This is the lesson we have learnt from the history of the communist movement in our country. We hope it will be of use to you during your deliberations in this Congress.

When it was following a correct line, your party had complete faith in the masses of Nepal and throughout the world. This was the bedrock strength of the people's war it led. Fully relying on the masses and internationalist ties with other Maoist parties, this revolutionary war successfully inflicted significant defeats on internal reaction and foiled the machinations of imperialism and Indian expansionism. The Prachanda-Bhattarai clique tried their best to cut off these sources of strength. Reliance on proletarian internationalist ties with Maoist parties in South Asia and elsewhere was increasingly undermined and replaced by diplomatic manoeuvres to cosy up with Indian expansionism and imperialism. At one time, reliance on the boundless revolutionary will and patriotism of the Nepali people was sought to be replaced by the Prachanda faction with reliance on the Chinese state as a counter to Indian expansionist/US imperialist threats. This deviation was inevitable. Revisionism can never dare to rely on the masses. It can never draw strength from proletarian internationalism. Conversely, tactics or policies that rely on diplomatic relations with reactionary states instead of placing faith on the masses, tactics that give more importance to cosying up with revisionist and reactionary parties than proletarian internationalist ties with fraternal Maoist parties, inevitably reflect some grave ideological defect. The matter is not in the gloss, the sweet talk justifying this in the name of ‘tactical moves’ or something else, but in its ultimately liquidationist essence. This is an important lesson we have learnt from the bitter setback suffered by the Nepalese and international Maoist movement through the treachery of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique. We put this before you in the belief that your Congress will be able to deal with this issue thoroughly, since you have experienced it directly.

Your Congress is being held at a time when the world situation is bearing out the words of the 2012 Special Meeting of RIM Parties and Organisations which noted that “The devastations of imperialist globalisation, wars of aggression and the devastating economic crisis of the imperialist system and its impact on proletarians and the broad masses have awakened worldwide a wave of struggles and revolts. In this context a potential new wave of the world proletarian revolution develops and emerges, with the people's wars led by Maoist parties as its reference points and strategic anchor.” The global financial crisis has thrown the imperialist economies into recession. Third world powers like China and India, who earlier had seemed capable of holding out, are also caught in its grip. Reactionary rulers throughout the world throw the whole weight of the crisis on the backs of the people. And the peoples of the world are out on the streets, in one country or the other, to resist and beat back this attack. But their heroic struggles, including the Arab revolts that brought down decades old

dictatorships, are being subverted. They fail to achieve radical, revolutionary, change. Revisionism and dogmatism pick on these failures to justify their own pessimist conclusions. But Maoists see the great potential for revolution indicated by this turmoil. They understand the huge responsibility they have in unleashing this potential by hoisting the banner of MLM in words and deeds.

What is true of the world is true of South Asia also. In this region Indian expansionism is the central pillar of reaction. Since it is now openly backed by US imperialism, it has become even more arrogant and aggressive. Its aggravated intervention in Nepal's political affairs and other crimes it has committed, and is committing, against your country are well known. Indian expansionism dominates over the nations and peoples of South Asia politically, economically and culturally. Its attempt to arm-twist the Maldivian government to protect Indian bureaucrat capitalist interests is a recent example. The intensified exploitation and oppression carried out by the Indian ruling classes inside India is the other side of their reactionary face. Within this, the massive 'war on the people' it has launched to destroy the people's war led by the CPI(Maoist) stands out as a focal point. This is so because this revolutionary war stands up as the biggest obstacle to the plans of the Indian ruling classes who want to further open up the country to intensified imperialist, bureaucrat capitalist penetration in accordance to the needs of globalisation. The exploitation and oppression of the Indian ruling classes within India and in neighbouring countries has always drawn forth fierce resistance from the people. This continues to be so. Along with the deep anger of the masses against the ruling classes of their own countries, this goes to intensify contradictions and promotes the grounds for revolution.

Today, while assessing the situation in South Asia we must also take note of a new factor - the growing contention between Indian expansionism (backed by US imperialism) and Chinese expansionism. This is not limited to South Asia. It extends to South East Asia. It must be analysed in relation to the US imperialism's strategic plans to retain and bolster its domination in these regions and the Pacific against any threat that could arise from China. So far as South Asia is concerned, this contention has created opportunities for the comprador rulers of smaller countries to either stand up to Indian expansionist pressures or drive better bargains. This causes problems for the Indian state and upsets some of its plans. To that extent it can be of indirect use to the nations and peoples of South Asia in their struggles against Indian expansionism. But, being disciples of Mao Tsetung, we must never forget his words: "beware of the wolf entering from the backdoor, while driving away the tiger from the frontdoor." The Chinese ruling classes are as reactionary as any other comprador state. Their history is as bloody as that of any other exploiter. Following the coup in 1976, they imprisoned and murdered thousands of Maoists, including the valiant fighters comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun Chiao. While they amass billions, the vast majority of the Chinese masses rot in poverty. Their revolts against such inhuman conditions are suppressed by brute force. The Chinese workers are forced to slave for imperialist transnational corporations in the most oppressive labour relations enforced and protected by the Chinese state. Obviously, this 'wolf' ever be a genuine friend of the revolutionary people in any country? Today, it is very important that the Maoists have clarity on this and educate the people. In the 1970s and '80s, the erstwhile Soviet social imperialists infiltrated and subverted various revolutionary movements by offering diplomatic and material support. Those bitter experiences teach us that Mao's warning must be taken up as a guideline by all of us while chalking out our strategy and tactics in today's

South Asia, within the context of the expansionist contention developing here.

The potential for revolution is bright. But the subject weakness of the Maoists stands out.

Their internationalist organisations, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and the Co-ordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA), have become defunct. The revisionism of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique was joined by the revisionism of Bob Avakian in destroying the RIM. The former is extremely exposed because of its open surrender to reaction. But many are confused by Avakian's post-MLM revisionism because it is camouflaged in a lot of Marxist verbiage. Yet the fact is that it is no less dangerous. It insists on imposing Avakianism as the guiding ideology of the international communist movement thus liquidating its MLM base. So the genuine Maoists are faced with the task of fighting against both these varieties of neo-revisionism and reorganising their international organisations.

In the past, your party contributed immensely to the strengthening of internationalist ties and the formation of the RIM and CCOMPOSA. These internationalist Maoist organisations became a reality through 'unity of the like-minded'. They could purposefully promote MLM and aid revolution, instead of becoming empty resolution-shops, precisely because of their common ideological foundations. We can never forget this valuable lesson. Today, the world is witness to numerous progressive, democratic forces and trends who are opposed to imperialist globalisation and particularly to US imperialism. This affords grounds for various levels or forms of broad unity. But that cannot replace the international organisation of Maoists. In fact, such broader unity of anti-imperialist forces calls for the vanguard role of a Maoist international organisation. We take this opportunity to once again place before you the call made by the 2012 Special Meeting of the RIM Parties and Organisations – "Today, facing the crisis and the collapse of the RIM, we must rebuild the international organization of MLM parties and organizations on the basis of the positive and negative experiences of the RIM. The current situation presents the need to unite in this new organization all the MLM parties and organizations, inside and outside the RIM, for a political and organizational leap. This is necessary to put the communist movement at the height of the class struggle in the new century." Addressing the need for broader unity, it has also noted that "The international organization of MLM communists is and should be the core of a front, of an international anti-imperialist alliance of the proletarians and oppressed peoples."

**Dear comrades,**

We hope we haven't taken up too much of your time. The communists and revolutionary masses in Nepal and throughout the world look up to you with great expectations. Let this be a decisive moment in the history of your party and of the international Maoist movement. We end this message, wishing you all success in accomplishing the tasks you have taken up with communist greetings,

**Central Organisation Committee,**

**Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI**

January 9, 2013

## 2. Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

### Greetings comrades.

Let's get straight to the point. We are at a critical crossroads, not only in the revolution in Nepal but also in the international communist movement. A few years ago, millions in Nepal looked to the Maoists as their hope to end oppression. Now the masses' former leaders have become the ugly face of their oppressors and exploiters. Much of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is being turned into apologists of revisionism. What happened—what's the problem—and what's the solution?

As a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, I want to render support to anyone who wants to get the revolution back on track. But saving the revolution requires above all else a radical rupture with the line that has led to this disaster—a rupture that has still not been made.

I have heard a lot of talk about how the problem is that Prachanda and Bhattarai betrayed the revolution—they sold out to India. Listen to what Engels, Marx's closest comrade, said about the betrayal of leaders:

“...when you inquire into the causes of the counter revolutionary success, you are met on every hand with the ready-made reply that it was ‘Citizen So and So’ who betrayed the people. But this reply does not explain anything. It does not even explain how it came to pass that the people allowed themselves to be betrayed. And what poor chance stands a political party whose entire stock in trade consists in the knowledge of the solitary fact that ‘Citizen So-and-So’ is not to be trusted.”

Think of what Engels asks: why did the people allow themselves to be betrayed? This gets to Mao's concentrated summation: the correctness or incorrectness of line is decisive. A wrong line will transform even the best fighters. A correct line can help remold even those who have lost their path.

I don't see the history of the party as a steady effort to achieve a more correct line. While there was always two-line struggle in the party, the crucial turning point came when a revisionist line emerged seven years ago and became dominant, and almost everybody went along with the main points. Take the Constituent Assembly elections in 2008. Many comrades in Nepal were concerned about the danger of reformism. But still the entire party and most of RIM [Revolutionary Internationalist Movement] hailed the victory as “the election miracle.” Why a miracle? It was a way of telling yourself that yes, we all know that advancing revolution through a bourgeois parliament defies the laws of class society, yes we know it goes against the ABCs of Marxism, so it's like divine intervention. No it wasn't. It was a trap set by very real-life imperialists and reactionaries, and it represented a giant step into the parliamentary swamp. Whatever Prachanda's intentions, why did the party allow itself to be swept up in this bourgeois democratic trap?

Because the party was in the grip of revisionist thinking. Once a revisionist line became dominant in October 2005 at Chunwang, then everything else flowed from that, and all the tactics served that line. Without rupturing with the line, you will have Prachandism without Prachanda.

Over and over I have heard comrades say that the problem was that Prachanda said one thing, but he did another. This view is just another expression of refusing to face the fact that the problem was the collective line of the party. The main problem with Prachanda is not that he didn't do what he said, but that he acted in conformity with the revisionist line. In a fundamental sense he did exactly what he said he would do. Prachanda implemented exactly the revisionist line that was adopted and dominated the party for the last seven years.

If you don't know the problem, you won't find the solution. What was the problem? The revisionist line was wrong on key issues, including the state, nationalism, and communist methodology. The revisionist line negated the Marxist understanding of the state. It talked of a "transitional classless republic" and promoted all kinds of illusions about multi-party elections and bourgeois democracy. The revisionist line negated that in class society each ruling class will institute a different form of democracy to serve its interests and its class rule; the parliamentary democracy imposed on Nepal could only reinforce the rule of the reactionary classes and lead to the dismantling of the base areas and PLA [People's Liberation Army].

This revisionist line was marked by nationalism. Remember the election slogan of turning Nepal into the Switzerland of South Asia. And as we all know, Switzerland is not exactly a base area of the world revolution. It is a small reactionary state that is connected to the bigger imperialist powers and serves their interests. This is the model that Prachanda meant when he said Nepal should be the dynamic hub between India and China. But no one opposed it. All this was done with a methodology characterized by eclectics, which was called fusion, and by pragmatism and realpolitik, in other words, sacrificing principle for the hope of short-term gains.

The party abandoned the goal of setting up a powerful proletarian state led by the vanguard party to serve the world revolution. It replaced the communist vision with revisionist notions of restructuring the state, which meant that whatever tactics you used you would only end up reforming the existing reactionary state. Think back to May, two and a half years ago. Hundreds of thousands came to Kathmandu ready to give their lives for an insurrection. But with a wrong view of the state in command, even if that tactic had succeeded, the result would not have been the dismantling of the old state power and the destruction of the reactionary army. The whole strategy was based on getting a large section of the reactionary officer corps to go along with this so-called "insurrection." Even if you had succeeded, the result would have been more like Hugo Chavez in Venezuela than like Mao in China. Whether you reached this reformist result through peaceful means or through violent means does not change the essence of things.

With a revisionist line securely in command of the comrades' thinking, Pra-

chanda and Bhattarai were content to allow the party opposition forces to mobilize the masses as a kind of pressure group. This is not a picture of the struggle for a revolutionary line making steady progress. Instead, the opposition for the last years functioned like a safety valve, where those in the party who were unhappy with where things were going could let off steam. No real repudiation was made of the revisionist line. In this way, the power of the revolutionary upsurge was lost, and the old reactionary state was legitimized by seven years of the Maoists taking part in electoral politics.

Over and over during the last few years, I have heard the explanation for a refusal to make a decisive rupture with revisionism: you don't understand, the revolution can't succeed without Prachanda, we have to keep fighting within the party to win him over. In other words, the correctness or incorrectness of the line is less important than losing Prachanda.

The pragmatism and democratic illusions that dominated for seven years have to be dug up and broken with—and much remains to be done. Do you think the task is over? No, it has just begun. Everyone agrees that Prachanda and Bhattarai's shameless cooperation with India stinks of pragmatism and realpolitik, betraying principles for bourgeois positioning. But how different is the CPN(M)'s approach to China? The Chinese revisionists have turned China into the sweatshop of global imperialism. It is one of the most unequal societies on earth. Yes, there is a need for diplomacy and making use of contradictions among the enemy, I understand that. But that is different than basing the strategy on realpolitik maneuvers. I have been told, "We are clear on the nature of China." Show me one single article of exposure in your press about the horrors of capitalism in China. Think of the confusion this is causing to people around the world. Millions want to see genuine change but they can also see what China has done to the masses there and in Africa and elsewhere—all in the name of communism. Making use of contradictions among reactionaries must be handled not according to the criteria of nationalism, but on proletarian internationalism.

Now you are talking about uniting "everyone" against India, even die-hard anti-people forces and proven destroyers of revolution like the Chinese bourgeoisie. Isn't this really just a new sub-stage, like the old CPA [Comprehensive Peace Agreement] sub-stage of uniting "everyone," including India, against the monarchy? (Of course it was correct and necessary to rally people against the monarchy, but as part of the NDR [New Democratic Revolution] and not by creating a special sub-stage as was argued and practiced.) Is what is being proposed now really any better? What about the fundamental changes and class realignment of the new democratic revolution? What about the workers and peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals? The problem is not that many nationalists and bourgeois democrats joined the revolution: they need to be part of the revolution, especially in its new democratic stage. But they need to be led by a proletarian internationalist vision.

A radical rupture is needed with the nationalism that dominated for the last seven years. Prachanda's nationalist election promise to turn Nepal into Switzerland wound up in the same old capitulation to India. And isn't this nationalism also one

reason why so many comrades dismissed the RCP polemics against the revisionist line that started seven years ago? Once again, in part because comrades thought that who wrote the polemics was more important than the line they advocated.

What is happening in Nepal is part of a larger global process. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is dividing into two and the science is advancing to a new stage. There are some in the international communist movement who say they are your friends and yet viciously attack the RCP and Chairman Avakian's new synthesis of communism. I suppose they are indeed friends of something here: they cheered when you signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, they cheered when you participated in the CA[Constituent Assembly] elections, and they're cheering today too. You tell me whether they are friends of revolution!

I just read a recent statement from one of these false friends who was not at all repentant about cheering for the wrong line the whole time during the last seven years. This so-called friend of Nepal condemned the RCP as "dogmatist" for opposing the Maobadi's [Maoists'] line during the last seven years, and he argued that just because the Nepal party's line was wrong didn't mean the revolution had to end up in failure. This is like saying, you go to Tribhuvan airport, the plane is listed as going to Delhi, it's a small plane built for short flights, it has only enough fuel for Delhi, the flight plan is for Delhi, and the pilot announces the plane is going to Delhi—and then when you land, you throw your hands up in amazement, oh my god, we're in Delhi! Tell me please, where on earth has a revisionist line ever led to revolution!

Now these re-organizers of the international communist movement want your party to sign on to a new organization that they say will be based on "People's War as the strategic anchor." So this new international communist movement is openly announcing it will not be based on a correct political and ideological line but on practical achievements. Doing this would repeat exactly one of the main problems that led the revolution to disaster here in the first place—separating your goal from your strategy of how to get there. Think about what happened in 2005. While Bhattarai was fighting hard over big questions like state power, while Bhattarai was reversing verdicts on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the experience of Russia and China and replacing this with multi-party bourgeois democracy, all too many comrades were content to ignore this and just focus on the immediate struggle. The comrades lost sight of the main purpose of fighting the people's war in the first place: to dismantle the old state and establish a new revolutionary power as part of advancing the world revolution. For the last 30 years there has been a worldwide imperialist onslaught against the experience of the Soviet Union and China, telling everyone that communist revolution leads to disaster. How do you answer this? How would you organize the economy of a socialist Nepal? How would the new revolutionary state relate to revolution in South Asia and the rest of the world—do you want "good relations" with India, or do you want to help the oppressed in India overthrow that reactionary expansionist power?

The new democratic revolution means a combination of social revolution and national revolution—you can't have one without the other. This is not fundamentally a question of a government with "good guys" in charge. It is a different state power, a

different class alliance. It means tearing up the old production relations and bringing into being new ones. It means agrarian revolution, uprooting caste discrimination, and mobilizing the masses to transform the world, not trying to get a better position in a reactionary world. And everything you do, including the way you fight revolutionary war, has to be linked to a clear vision of where you're going.

How can anyone who is serious about saving the Nepal revolution from the disaster it's facing not want to engage with the thinking of the party that first so loudly sounded the alarm about the revisionist line, seven years ago? How can you not want to know more about the understanding that dared to go straight up against the tide of spontaneity sweeping the party and much of RIM into the revisionist swamp? I urge you to engage with the new synthesis of Comrade Avakian. He has a lot to say about these problems of pragmatism, realpolitik, nationalism, and eclectics that have sabotaged your own revolution and the entire international communist movement. He is addressing and providing basic answers in defense of the experience of proletarian revolution and how we communists can do even better in the future.

To conclude: 20 years ago, as the revolutionaries faced the setback that had occurred in Peru, the Nepalese revolutionaries stepped forward, saying we will leap into the breach. Today the situation of the communist movement at the planetary level is much more critical and requires much greater boldness—to step forward to be part of rescuing the communist project and leading it forward to greater heights. But this will not be done without a wrenching rupture with the revisionist line that has dominated the movement in Nepal for years now—as Mao said, the correctness or incorrectness of political line is indeed decisive.

*(This message was delivered by Com. Robert)*



### **3. Communist Party of the Philippines**

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) extends to the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) it's most militant greetings of solidarity on the occasion of your 7th National congress. This congress is of crucial importance to your Party because as you say you are at "the cross road of revolutionary transformation of Nepalese society or returning back to the reactionary state."

The Communist Party of the Philippines followed with great interest the developments of the people's war in Nepal and drew inspiration from the brilliant victories that the Party and the Nepalese people achieved through great sacrifice and arduous struggle. These achievements included the building of the People's Liberation Army, the setting up of organs of political power in vast areas of the country and winning over the majority of the people to the side of the revolution.

Your achievements in people's war were the main factors that enabled you to overthrow the age-old monarchy and opened up possibilities for the further advance of the revolution.

But the termination of the people's war and liquidation of the people's army have brought about a highly-complex situation that you are now confronted with. As you yourself say, your Party must find a solution to this in this 7th National Congress.

We hope that in working out the solution you are guided by the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and that you adhere to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tenets on state and revolution.

We wish you success in your National Congress and the further advance of the Nepalese revolution until total victory!

January 9, 2013

**Central Committee**

**Communist Party of the Philippines**



## 4. Communist Party of Italy, Maoist

### Comrades,

Our red salute to the First Congress of the CPN-M, a salute from Italian proletariat, from the ranks of our Party, from the struggling masses in Italy to our comrades in Nepal, to the proletarian and revolutionary masses!

The formation of the new Party has represented a great and important step forward for the proletarians and people of Nepal, for the proletarian in the world and the entire International Communist Movement.

A step that has given new hopes to the revolutionary aspirations of the people in Nepal and has been matter of joy for all the Maoists and revolutionaries, throughout the world, who have been concerned by and took stand against the Prachanda/Bhattraai attempts to liquidate the Nepalese revolution and enforce capitulation.

As your National Convention pointed out: The creation of People's Liberation Army, establishment of base areas and people's government, role played by workers, peasants, women, indigenous nationalities and Dalits; and the awareness developed in this whole process are some of the major achievements we have gained. and the formation of the CPN-M and this Congress is a move forward by standing upon this base.

Our Party, the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, took always a strong position, first in support to the revolutionary Left in the old Party and then to the formation of the new Party. We wish to back to a regular brotherly relationship between our Parties, two brothers parties between which can be regular agreement and disagreement.

On our side, we have to relaunch in our country and in the world the support to the Nepalese revolution, that is going through a complex situation, since there no PW, the PW met a setback, the Party that led it has degenerated and so today we need to link the support to the importance of the formation of the new Party. Definitely, this Congress helps the resumption of the international support to the Nepalese revolution.

We look with high interest the attention paid by your Party to the transformation of the leading comrades in their style of life, their role, to abandon comforts and privileges acquired in the previous phase. And in this process the Party is recovering the best energies from the old Party.

What is important for us is the ideological and political basis of the new Party not only in the context of the class struggle in Nepal, but in the international arena and in the struggle to reconstruct a new MLM international organization, after the collapse of the RIM.

The devastations of imperialist globalisation, wars of aggression and the devastating economic crisis of the imperialist system and its impact on proletarians and the broad masses have awakened worldwide a wave of struggles and revolts. In this context a potential new wave of the world proletarian revolution develops and

emerges, with the people's wars led by Maoist parties as its reference points and strategic anchor. The realisation of this potential ultimately depends on how successful the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are in fulfilling their revolutionary tasks at national and international level. Unfortunately there has been a lag in this matter. This is severely compounded by the crisis in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which is now defunct.

In this situation steps need to be taken to work for the building of an effective international MLM organization that can aid the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks and take the collective voice of the Maoists to the proletariat and struggling peoples. Therefore, we should move towards holding a new conference of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations throughout the world. This conference should take up the task of building an international organization based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We believe that this task must be jointly taken up with the involvement of the Maoist parties leading peoples wars, and all the Maoist forces, including those outside the RIM, so that the conference will benefit from their views and experiences. In order to achieve this aim a process of ideological, political debate must be carried out. As part of preparation for the conference and serving its aims, we will it necessary to organise a seminar on Summation of Experiences of RIM, ICML, and other International Initiatives.

Through this whole process the points of unity and differences can be identified and a relatively advanced platform can be arrived at, to become the basis of a new international unity concretised in a new international organisation. In the current circumstances, the execution of this revolutionary responsibility can demonstrate a practical expression of the internationalist communist slogan, workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite.

The imperialist system is going through the most severe crisis since the 1930s. The current attempts to address and overcome the crisis only serve to deepen and extend it.

The crisis has its origin in the laws of running of the capitalist system itself. It is the expression of the limits of production for profit, and the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production, including the general and global nature of the production and private appropriation. In the world scene this means an ever growing gap between the wealth of a handful of imperialist countries and the poverty of three quarters of human beings in the countries oppressed by imperialism, between the wealth in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the relative and absolute impoverishment of proletarians and masses in the imperialist countries, between the overflowing richness of a parasitic and comprador bourgeoisie and the living conditions of misery and hunger of the proletariat and broad masses in the countries oppressed by imperialism.

The world is still faced with two possibilities: the exit from capitalism or a painful temporary recovery from this crisis by strengthening, enhancing the mechanisms of capital and thus prolonging the misery of the masses.

The imperialist bourgeoisie all over the world take advantage of the crisis to restructure imperialism on a global scale and save the interests of their class for their profits.

This leads to unloading the vicious weight of the crisis on the workers and masses. In both the oppressed countries and imperialist countries, unemployment, job insecurity and the cost of living increase, exploitation is ratcheted up to modern forms of slavery, workers' rights are reduced, social achievements won through years of struggles are erased, factories are closed with massive layoffs, peasants are ruined and driven to suicide, cuts in social expenditures and privatization of education and healthcare grow, the logic of commodification and profit is extended even to primary goods, such as water, air, sun, etc.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism, the protests, rebellions and liberation struggles have found in the revolts in Arab countries and in the Persian Gulf a new height and a new dawn. Young people, proletarians and the masses and, in some cases, organized sectors of workers, attacked and overthrew dictatorial regimes subservient to imperialism that seemed permanent. This has paved the way for new anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-feudal, new-democratic revolutions.

In this international situation the formation of your Party and this Congress take an even greater importance for the ICM.

The best contribution that Nepalese communists can give to the ICM is the criticism of prachandism . It requires a dialectical and self-critical of those have termed as Prachanda path, democracy of 21st Century and the the CPN-M should also assess the responsibilities for the collapse of the RIM

In spite of its positive aspects, RIM could not fulfil the tasks it had taken up and entered a crisis. When revisionism of Bob Avakians post-MLM 'new synthesis' variety became dominant in the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA and of the Prachanda-Bhattarai variety became dominant in the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), not only did these parties deviate from the path of revolution and communism, but the destructive and disparaging effects of their counter-revolutionary lines negatively affected the parties and organizations within RIM, specifically the Committee of RIM (CoRIM), in an extensive and profound manner. These are the immediate ideological sources that have led to the current crisis and collapse of the RIM.

## **Comrades,**

This Congress shows that neither imperialism or revisionism can stop the march of the Nepalese revolution.

This Congress shows that nothing and nobody can stop the emerging of a potential new wave of the WPR in Nepal and in the world. This Congress shows the strength of MLM and the road of PW, that is going to shine again from Nepal.

**Long live the CPN-M!**

**Long live the PW!**

**Long live the MLM!**

**Long live the proletarian internationalism!**

January 2013



## Workers of the World: Unite

### May Day Special

1st May is known as the May day. It is the International Solidarity Day of the working people. Every year workers of the world celebrate this day as the festival of the oppressed people.

The oppressed people of Nepal, workers and trade union activists celebrated 124th May Day with a great revolutionary spirit. All Nepal Revolutionary Trade Union Federation, a vanguard force of the workers, known as the sister organization of CPN-Maoist, celebrated the May Day with a great enthusiasm, organizing rally and mass meeting, throughout the country. The program was organized in the main industrial areas – Jhapa, Birgung, Hetaunda, Chitawan, Pokhara and Kathmandu the capital.

Senior leaders of CPN-Maoist, Com. CP Gajurel 'Gaurav', Com. Netra Bikram 'Biplav', including other Comrades and the leaders of All Nepal Revolutionary Trade Union Federation addressed the rally organized in the various places.

Comrade Gaurav, Vice -Chairman of CPN-Maoist addressed the May Day rally at Birtamod, Jhapa, a famous place known as the place of 'Jhapa Revolt'. Addressing the mass meeting Com Gaurav highlighted the role of working people in the Nepalese revolution. He stressed not to compromise with revisionism and opportunism. Reiterating that the 11-point pact signed by the major four political parties and the 25-point proposal on removing the constitutional hurdles should be scrapped. Comrade Gaurav warned of dire consequences if attempts were made to conduct the CA elections under the status quo. He again warned that his party will not let the government hold Constituent Assembly elections until the demands put forth by his party are addressed. He said 'our party is ready to pay any price to foil the elections proposed by the current government.' Comrade Gaurav urged the people to come out in the street to fight against the 4 parties' syndicate, which has led the Nepalese sovereignty in a complicated situation.

Likewise Com Biplav the secretary of CPN-Maoist addressing the rally organized at Basanpur, Kathmandu said without national consensus there is no election in the country. Com Biplav stressed that if they enforce to run election without consensus, they will receive strong reply by the oppressed people in the field and if they use power against the oppressed people Communist Party of Nepal -Maoist will not spare them. Biplav said, 'Now the weapon will not be taken by the people in a village like Thawang but they will take weapon in Basantpur a place like Kathmandu valley.'

Likewise Com Hitman, Comrade Pampha Bhusal, Comrade Sonam and Comrade Basanta also addressed the May Day rally at Birgung, Hetaunda, Chitwan and Pokhara respectively.



## Interaction with the International Community

**(Our glorious Party, Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist, has a practice to interact on current situation with the international community. In line with this practice, it organised a couple of interaction programmes with them recently.**

**After the sad and fruitless end of the historic Constituent Assembly, Nepal has been plunged into a quagmire of constitutional and political crises caused by the 3 'so-called' major parties, UCPN (M), Nepali Congress, UML and the Madheshi front, which have begun to arbitrarily rule the country by neglecting and excluding all other parties that represented in the then CA, and organizations as if they are the only authority to do so. The crisis continues to exist. Therefore, with a view to resolve it, our Party has raised the slogan of holding an all-sector roundtable conference and formation of national united government.**

**In order to make a briefing of our views to and hold discussions with the international community, our Party had organized an interaction program in Hotel Gangjong, Lazimpat on September 27, 2012. Dozens of Ambassadors and officials from various Embassies were present on the occasion.**

**Ignoring democratic norms and values and the principle of separation of power which they themselves claim to pursue, and dumping the Interim Constitution, 3 'so-called' major parties and the Madheshi Front formed the non- political Interim Election Government led by sitting Chief Justice, Khilaraj Regmi, on March 14, 2013. Then, the political scenario of Nepal went from bad to worse. Our Party organized another interaction programme with the international community at Hotel Sangrila, Lazimpat on March 20, 2013. More than three dozens of diplomats from various countries had participated in the interaction programme . Com. CP Gajurel, Chief of the International Department of CPN-Maoist, had presented a concept paper on the current political situation. The concept paper reads as follows:)**

### Concept Paper

**Excellencies, comrades and friends,**

We feel honour to have such a valuable interaction meeting with you regarding latest political development in Nepal. I like to express my thanks to you all for attending this meeting in spite of your busy schedule. We like to put forward some facts and opinions about the recent political events that have engulfed political situation of Nepal.

1. Major leaders of 3 parties, namely, Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Nepali Congress, Communist Party of Nepal (UML) and Madheshi front signed so-called 11-point agreement and 25-point “Proposal to Remove Difficulties” and also proposed appointment of Khilraj Regmi, Chief Justice of Supreme Court, as the “Chairman of Council of Ministers”, at midnight on 13 March 2013 and Right Hon’ble President, without consulting other political parties representing in the dissolved Constituent Assembly (CA) accepted and implemented everything in line with the same in the early morning of 14th. It is gross violation of authority to declare that it was a consensus decision of all political forces of Nepal. Now it is obvious that 24 political parties out of 32 parties that represented in the then Constituent Assembly, many organizations including Nepal Bar Association, civil society have strongly opposed and expressed sheer objection and ire against the agreements of the 3 parties and Madhesi front and decision of Honourable President based on the agreements. Interestingly and virtually it does not enjoy the majority support and consent of all even inside their own respective Parties. Except those signatories, other parties have seriously opposed the Agreement and have been carrying out protest programmes against it. Unfortunately, the Hon’ble president did not feel necessary to consult the other parties representing in the CA. Therefore, it is a naked lie to say that it was a decision of consensus. It is clearly mentioned in the interim constitution that the ‘political consensus’ means the ‘consensus among all political parties representing in the Constituent Assembly’. Therefore, the decisions taken by “consensus among three parties and Madhesi front” are clearly unconstitutional and this decision deserves to be opposed and cancelled.
2. It has been widely propagated that “this decision had resolved the unresolved political problems of Nepal”. But irrefutable reality is that this unconstitutional, undemocratic and arbitrary decision has further aggravated the constitutional crisis and led the Nepalese society to a new confrontation.
3. In the afternoon of 13 March, the leaders of 21 political parties including Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist which had 91 Members in the then CA had also seriously advised and warned them not to submit such unconstitutional “Proposal” to Right Hon’ble President. They also wanted to meet with him (Hon’ble President) and submit a memorandum on their disagreement in this regard but he did not offer time but took the decision ignoring the role of the parties.
4. Major leaders of 3 parties and Madheshi Front have, in the name of Removing Difficulties, not only amended but also repealed 20 Clauses of the Interim Constitution, the only document accepted by all. An encroachment of the constitution by a handful of leaders of some small no. of parties is never found in the history of not only Nepal but also the whole world. In fact, in the name of “removing difficulties” they have annulled the Interim Constitution and it amounts to proclaiming a new constitution. This is a grave unconstitutional act. If 3 parties and Madhesi fronts can annul and enact a new constitution, what for this new election? Now this question has been raised by many people which is a very genuine question.

5. The Right Hon'ble President has also been involved in the unconstitutional and unholy act of encroaching the Interim Constitution by endorsing the unconstitutional act by issuing an ordinance.
6. The appointment of Khilraj Regmi, Chief Justice of Supreme Court, as the Chairman of Council of Ministers, to work on the capacity of Prime Minister on the basis of the unconstitutional decision is yet another unconstitutional act which shall bring an end to the role of political parties in the executive and sabotage the role of judiciary of Nepal simultaneously. A Supreme Court bench has given a verdict that Head of council of ministers cannot take both the posts which proves that the decision made by the 3 parties, Madhesi front and the President was wrong.
7. Nepalese people confronted with the 30 year long partyless Panchayat system initiated by the late king Mahendra after he staged a coup against the then multiparty system. The partyless system was finally overthrown through a historic mass movement of 1990. Unfortunately, leaders of 3 political parties and Madhesi front have revived partyless government in a bid to abolish the role of the political parties and thus it is an attack against the existing multiparty system of Nepal.
8. Therefore, the whole episode is obviously a retrogressive step which pushes back the overall development of Nepal and thus it is worthy of being condemned and has to be withdrawn.
9. This government has been declared as "election government". But the former bureaucrats filling the gap of the remaining 8 cabinet members were decided on the basis of distributing shares, namely, 2 to Mr. Prachanda, 2 to Mr. Sushil Koirala, 2 to Mr. Jhalnath Khanal, 1 to Mr Gachhadar and 1 to Honourable President.
10. The "political mechanism" which is going to be led by the 4 leaders have recommended a man to lead the Commission against the Abuse Authority, who himself was already implicated in corruption cases and declared responsible for the suppression of anti-monarchy historic 2006 mass movement. This is clear indication how and what type of people are going to fill the gap of constitutional posts by the group composed of 4 leaders and the Hon'ble President.
11. So far the question of election is concerned, all genuine parties, organisations, social strata and individuals express their opinion that—firstly, they will not hold the election. Secondly, if it is held it will be a 'drama of election' not real election. Thirdly, the whole process is unconstitutional and to participate in the election in the given condition amounts only to legalise the unconstitutional acts.
12. So far the question of participation or non-participation in the election is concerned, it is a tactical question for our party and it holds good for other parties as well. In the past, our party has taken both policies. We have participated elections and also did not participate. If we can fulfill interest of the Nepalese people by participation we participate, if it can be fulfilled by non-participation, we do not participate. Our party has emerged as a single party by participating and winning the last election of Constituent Assembly.

13. We have put forward some conditions which ensures the credibility and fruitfulness of new election of CA; one, the 25 point “Removing Difficulty” proposal should be withdrawn; two, the “11 point agreement” should be withdrawn; Mr Khilraj Regmi should step down; Roundtable meeting of all parties should be called; National Unity government should be formed which can only ensure credibility of election. The acts of 3 parties and Madhesi front and also that of Hon’ble President as mentioned above go against the interest of Nepal and cause of the Nepalese people; we would like to humbly request to the governments and representatives of our friendly countries to understand the reality and take decisions in favour of the people of Nepal.

March 20, 2013

C P Gajurel ‘Gaurav’

Chief, International Department

Communist Party of Nepal--Maoist



# **Maoist Outlook**

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## Statement issued by the progressive organizations in Europe against the unconstitutional appointment of CJ Khil Raj Regmi as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers

The peoples movement on the verge of the people's war in Nepal finally abolished the century long Monarchy and announced Nepal as a democratic republic of Nepal. The election of constitution Assembly was held to promulgate new constitution with the essence of complete restructuring of the nation. With the new agendas established by the people's war of Nepal, CPNM became the largest party in the assembly. Despite the fact that there was two third majority of the vote in favour of the identity based federalism, UCPNM never tried to push the agenda for the voting in the assembly and the assembly conspicuously dissolved.

The expectation of the Nepalese People was torn out after the dissolution of the CA in the direction of National and International regressive forces. When the four political parties UCPNM, NC, UML and Terai Morcha completely engaged to betray the Nepalese People, they produced hundreds of so called agreements disobeying the Interim constitution of Nepal. The failure of the main political parties resulted the appointment of Khil Raj Regmi, the chief justice of Nepal as the chairman of council of ministry of the Nepal. The four political parties who did not let to promulgate the constitution by constitutional assembly democratically, They appointed Khil Raj as a PM of Nepal to conduct the meaningless unjustified election of. Constitutional assembly. The loyalty and the surrendering to the foreign interest of the four political parties resembles to Lendup Dorje and Sikkimization of the country.

So, we progressive organizations in Europe collectively protest the move of Four political parties to the unconstitutional appointment of Khil Raj Regmi as PM of Nepal. We urge to dismiss the 25 points reform in the interim Constitution and 11 points of agreements immediately and arrange the roundtable conference for the new political agreement on the unsolved agendas by the late constitutional assembly and to form a government under the leadership of the Political Parties and go for the constitutional assembly. Otherwise the four political parties should be responsible for the upcoming results from it.

**Ram Bahadur Gurung**

President

Nepalese Nationalities Concern Forum, Europe

**Prem Pathak**

President

Nepalese People's Progressive Front, Belgium

**Rajan Adhikari**

Coordinator

Internalist Nepalese Solidarity Forum,Germany

**Ishwor Sharma**

President

Nepalese People's Progressive forum,Spain

**Baburam Khatiwada**

President

Nepalese People's Progressive Front,Italy

**Kul Magar**

President

Magar National Freedom Front,Belgium

**Ganga Lal Shrestha**

Nepalese Democratic Republic Front, Germany

**Indra Neupane**

Nepalese People's Progressive Front,Portugal

March 14 2013



## Memorandum submitted to Indian Embassy

Date: April 29, 2013

HE Mr. Jayant Prasad

Ambassador

Embassy of India to Nepal

Lainchaur, Kathmanu

**Sub: Immediate shutdown of Biratnagar Camp Office of the Indian embassy.**

Excellency,

It is known to all that for the past few years, Indian Embassy in Nepal has been operating a camp office of it at Biratnagar Sub-Metropolitan; Ward No.-17, Malaya Road, Gaushala Chowk, Morang district in Koshi Zone. We would, hereby, like to draw the attention of Your Excellency to it and state that such operation is illegal and a blow on the sovereignty and national independence of our country and anomalous to the principle of Panchasheel. In addition, this conduct does not cater to the diplomatic relation between our countries. Therefore, we, the following signatories, strongly condemn the illegal operation of the Camp Office in Biratnagar and demand its shutdown immediately.

1. Secretary Dev Gurung CPN-Maoist
2. Convenor Matrika Yadav CPN(Maoist)
3. Chairman Madhav Gyawali CPN(Marxist)
4. G.S. Prakash Adhikari CPN(United Marxist)
5. G.S. Pari Thapa CPN(United)
6. CPN United (Revolutionary)
7. Chairman Yadubansh Jha CPN(ML-Socialist)
8. Chairman Bishnuraj Aryal CPN(ML-People's Socialist)
9. Chairman Minanath Devkota CPN Nationalist
10. Chairman Rishiram Sharma Kattel Communist Party of Nepal
11. Rep. Bhawna Bidrohi Nepal Proletarian Communist Party Maoist
12. Chairman Motilal Bharati Nepal Samabeshi Party

13. G.S. Bikram Kunwar Nepal Samata Party
14. Chairman Krishnahari Adhikari Nepal Nagrik Party
15. Chairman Hukum Bahadur Lama Nepal Sukumbasi Party (Democratic)
16. Chairman Sher Bahadur Karki Nepal People's Party
17. Chairman Dorje Lama Nepal Nationalist Party
18. Rep. Dinesh Pariyar Nepal Dalit Party
19. Nepal Democratic Socialist Party
20. Chairman Amar KC Nepal National Democratic Party
21. Chairman Yubaraj Saphal Nepal Republican People's Party
22. Chairman Ram Kumar Ojha Nepali Janata Dal
23. Mani Thapa Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal
24. G.S. Khagendra Makhim Federal Democratic National Forum/Forum Related Federal Limbuwan State Council
25. Chairman Srawan Tharu Federal Democratic National Forum (Tharuhat)
26. M.O.P. Pasang Sherpa Social Democratic Party
27. Chairman Dr. Bharat Lamichhane United People's Front Nepal
28. Chairman Hikmat Bahadur Deuba Samajbadi Janata Party
29. Chairman Ganga Prasad Sharma Samajbadi Jana Ekata Party
30. Chairperson Sushma Badaal Shantikshetra Parishad Nepal
31. G.S. Sadhya Bdr. Bhandari People's Front, Nepal
32. Chairman Birendra B. Karki People's Front, Nepal Party
33. Chairman Tej Bahadur Basnet People's Democratic Party
34. Chairman Kul Bahadur Moktan National Democratic Front, Nepal
35. Chairman Inturam Yadav Rastriya Madhesh Bahujan Samajbadi Party
36. Chairman DB Thapa Rastriya Punarjagaran Party
37. Chairman Shovaram Thapa National Unity Forum
38. Under-G.S. C.B. Shrees Rastriya Janamukti Party
39. Chairman Shyam Kumar Thapa Nationalist Youth Front, Nepal
40. Chairman Shankar Thapa (Biswas) Bahujatiya Samabeshi Party
41. G.S. Suresh Kumar Yadav Democratic Nepal Republican Party

42. Chairman Dharendra Jha United Nepal Republican People's Party
43. Chairman Bhairav Bahadur Karki Hamro Nepal Party
44. Chairman Buddharaj Syangtan Aadibasi Janajati Party, Nepal
45. Chairman RK Khambuwan Khambuwan National Front
46. Chairman Kishor Kumar Biswas Aadibasi Janajati Madheshi Muslim Dalit Ganantrik Morcha
47. Chairman Ramesh Thapa Magar Mangol Mulbasi Party
48. Chairman Meghraj (Nisad) Madhesh Samata Party, Nepal
49. Chairman Jiwan Sah Lokatantrik Party, Nepal
50. Chairman Keshav Prasad Mainali Churebhawar Rastriya Party
51. Convenor Bir Bahadur KC Deshbhakta Nepali Janata Dal
52. Chairman Manmohan Rana Deshbhakta Lokatantrik Morcha
53. Chairman Dharendra B. Basnet League Nepal Peace Party
54. Chief Exe. SB Kshetri Nepali Samajbadi Parishad

