

CP Gajurel: The role of major tactical line in making a new constitution

Red Star, Vol. 2, No. 2, January 16-31, 2009

For all revolutionary parties without exception the questions of strategy and tactics are of vital importance.

It is true that both subjective and objective conditions should be matured to make and accomplish revolution. But these two conditions are not fulfilled spontaneously or it is not provided to us by nature. Conscious role of a revolutionary party is responsible in making these conditions favorable for making revolution. Correct formulation of strategy and tactics are major instruments for creating such a conscious role. Strategy remains same for certain historical period. But it can only be achieved by the application of a correct tactics. Therefore, it is tactics which determines the behavior of a revolutionary party. It is tactics whose success or failure decides the success or failure of strategy.

We have short term as well as long term tactics. Short term tactics is changed constantly depending on every small change in the situation. Perhaps Lenin was explaining about such tactics when he said that such tactics is changed even within twenty four hours. Every revolutionary party involved in making revolution should be aware of every small change in the situation so that the party enables itself to deal with all the challenges coming up in the class struggle. So formulation of correct tactics and its implementation is a real test of all revolutionary parties.

Apart from the short term tactics which changes even within twenty four hours we have relative long term tactics, which can also be termed as major tactics. Major tactics determines major political demands and its application and implementation. There are series of short term tactics whose main aim is to achieve the major tactics. The Second National Conference of the party adopted a major tactics of overthrowing the autocratic monarchy and establishing republic, which became a basis to forge a temporary alliance with other political parties including the parliamentary parties that were part of the same old regime. The 12 point agreement signed between our party and other 7 parties in 2005 is concrete example of it.

Major tactical line of the party was accomplished after the successful election of the Constituent Assembly on April 2008 and subsequent declaration of Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic on May 8, 2008 by the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Thus the major tactical line of the party was successfully implemented.

Before the monarchy was overthrown, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society was feudalism, comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalism versus the broad masses. The 240 years long autocratic monarchy was the main enemy. After the abolition of monarchy, the principal contradiction has been changed. In the place of feudalism, which was the principal aspect of the contradiction, comprador

bourgeoisie and bureaucratic capitalism has now become the principal aspect. This change in the principal contradiction requires the major tactical line to be changed accordingly.

Now the Nepali society is undergoing through a transition period. Nepalese society has not undergone complete Revolutionary transformation. The one decade long spectacular People's war an unprecedented mass movement based on the achievement of the PW has succeeded in bringing significant political change in the Nepalese society but definitely it could not bring about a fundamental and over all transformation in the Nepalese society because of some of its serious limitations. Our party played leading and significant role in bringing about this political transformation nevertheless it was not possible to bring about complete transformation of the Nepalese society. Because complete victory could not be achieved solely under the leadership of CPN(Maoist). Thus our party was compelled to forge alliance with some parliamentary political parties, who are not for complete transformation of the Nepalese society. Therefore the revolutionary transformation is in the half way.

Therefore, a new major tactical line has become urgently necessary. The National Convention of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) held at the end of 2008, arrived at a consensus after almost a week long debate and discussion in taking decision about the major tactical line of achieving 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic', in short 'People's Republic'. The same line has been approved in the joint meeting of the Central Committees of CPN(Maoist) and CPN(Unity Centre-Masal), which unified the two parties to form a single party, Unified C P N (Maoist) on January 12, 2009.

At present the main challenge before us is to write a new constitution. This process has already been started. When overthrowing the 240 years old autocratic monarchy was major task of the revolution, we formed a temporary alliance with all the political forces at home and abroad to accomplish the same task. Therefore, there was a broad consensus in 'federal democratic republic' to replace the monarchy among most of the political parties. But it was only a temporary alliance, whose main objective was to overthrow the monarchy. The first meeting of the constituent assembly has passed by over 99% vote that Nepal has now become 'federal democratic republican state'. Thus the federal democratic republic has already been institutionalized.

Right now we are at the cross road—whether to proceed in achieving 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' or "consolidate" the 'federal democratic republic', which has already been institutionalized. People who are unable to understand the real difference between the two republics are blaming us that we have launched an unnecessary debate. But these two types of republics are completely and fundamentally different in their entire character and class nature.

People's Federal Democratic National Republic is nothing but People's Democratic Republic of Nepali character, which represents the aspiration of entire Nepali people. It is a bourgeois republic under the

leadership of the working class, which leads the Nepalese society to socialism and then to communism. It is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist republic. One may wonder why so many nouns and adjectives in the republic! Since the Nepalese people have high aspirations, they want their demands to be incorporated in the new republic. The word 'people's' represents that it is People's Republic. 'Federal' has been mentioned to express that the state will have federal character against the unitary state of the past. Democratic word represents that democratic rights of the people will be guaranteed and respected by the new republic. Since Nepal is facing a severe external interference in political, economic, social, cultural areas and that the new republic should safeguard the national sovereignty, independence and integrity. Thus the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' is obviously People's Democratic Republic with the Nepali specificity or Nepali character.

We all know that republic is a system where there is no monarchy. Except Bhutan, all the neighboring states—India, China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh-- are republics, but having different character. The 'federal democratic republic' is a capitalist republic which consolidates bureaucratic capitalism and comprador bourgeoisie. It is anti-socialist in its character.

Therefore, 'people's federal democratic national republic' and 'federal democratic republic' are diametrically opposite and contradict each other. There is little possibility of these two 'republics' to compromise at the cost of another.

It is obvious that the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' is not possible to achieve only by good talks, mutual understanding among all parties, merely by simple give and take, barely by means of friendly discussions. It is necessary to wage struggle from various fronts. Concretely speaking, now we have three interrelated fronts—the street, constituent assembly and government. It seems to be strange how one can wage struggle while being in the government? But it is possible and it should be possible in the new reality. To wage a struggle does not mean to revolt or to wage armed struggle against the government led by our own party. To wage struggle through the government means to struggle against anti-people forces standing against the progressive changes and the people's interest. There is every possibility of waging struggle from the constituent assembly for the new constitution that we think should be able to resolve the problems faced by the Nepalese people and the country.

It is our clear opinion that only the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' can solve these problems. If other parties can struggle for the consolidation of the same 'Federal Democratic Republic' which has already been institutionalized, why we cannot struggle to achieve 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic'? Definitely we can. We have the right assured by the interim constitution. So nobody can accuse us going beyond the limits of the constitution. So far the struggle being waged from the street is concerned, it is universal right of the people and no permission will be required from anybody for that. So far the struggle through the level of government is concerned, it has limitations. The government

cannot go beyond the limits prescribed by the laws and values determined by itself. The constituent assembly has more rights and more authority to wage struggle for the sake of making a better constitution. Therefore, the main front which can carry on the struggle is the streets. So, among the three fronts the street or the mass movement is the main front of struggle whereas the constituent assembly can play significant role in making new constitution. The government can play subordinating role. By a coordinated struggle of the three fronts, it is quite likely that we can write a new constitution which can incorporate 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic', the people's democratic republic of Nepali type and Nepali character.

<http://www.bannedthought.net/Nepal/RedStar/TheRedStar-vol2-02.pdf>