

# THE RED STAR

Vol-I, No-8, May 16-31, 2008 Rs. 10/-

www.krishnasenonline.org

Nepal's National Magazine

## Vacate!

Red Star Reporter

The people of the country have given a new mandate to form a new government after the election of the Constituent Assembly. The political parties should form a new government under the leadership of the largest party, the CPN Maoist. But acting against the People's verdict, the old government under the leadership of NC has called the first meeting of the CA. It is not an innocent mistake in democratic process; rather it is a conscious breach of democratic norms. In the transitional period of today, if a small party like the Nepali Congress tries to lead the government without a mandate, it will deepen the political crisis and push the country into chaos. Moreover, this will strengthen the reactionary elements rather than serve and inspire the people for a Federal Democratic Republic.

Most certainly, as explained in the interim constitution, the new government should be made on the basis of political agreement. But the agreement must be done on the foundation of the new mandate given by the people in the recent election of CA. Therefore, the new government must be formed under the leadership of the CPN-Maoist,

the largest party of the country. This is democracy; to honour democratic norms and values.

All the political parties must realise that the people have consciously chosen the CPN-Maoist, with a new vision for a new Nepal. It means that they are hopeful and realise that the FDR can only be implemented by the new leadership and the new emerging force, the CPN-Maoist.

The surprising thing is that the establishment parliamentary parties and the foreign powers, who time and again publicly stated they would respect the verdict of the people, are now moving against the very mandate they had promised to respect. They are breaking their promises under the cover of diplomatic counselling. The Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are dancing to the tune being played by foreign powers.

Although they never tire of talking about 'democracy', their talk has been exposed as spurious lies. Now, they are not only against the mandate and the aspirations of the people, but also against the agreement and the interim constitution.

According to the mandate and the ethics of 'democracy', they are already out of the government. But they are trying to put forward terms

*Continued on page 3*



Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

## China assisting to build a new Nepal

China granted large assistance to Nepal last week. The Chinese government assisted Nepal with thirty two crores rupees to build an office for a National Natural Conservation Trust. Maoist Chairman Prachanda laid the foundation for the building.

Addressing the program to lay the foundation, the Maoist Chairman said that foreign assistance will be used for the benefit of the people and deep-rooted corruption in the government institutions will be eliminated.

The Beijing Real Estate Group company is building the foundation and the building will be finished in 17 months.

The Chinese Ambassador to Nepal, Zheng Xialing, expressed the commitment of the Chinese government to assist the development of Nepal.

While China has been assisting Nepal, it has suffered from a terrible earthquake. The government of Nepal and leaders of Nepali political parties have all expressed their sorrow at the devastation and loss caused by this tragedy.

Meanwhile, Chairman Prachanda issued a press statement to express the party's deep sympathy with the Chinese people and the government of China at this difficult time. Furthermore, he also expressed the best wishes from the party to the Chinese people and the government of China in the rescue and relief operations.

## No way to escape the People's verdict



■ Agni Sapkota

Nepal has come through an historic occasion; i.e. the election of Constituent Assembly (CA). And with this, the political agenda left for more than 60 years has finally been implemented. This has given a message to the contemporary world. It is a unique incident to become the single largest party through elections, after waging a People's War. The basis of this marvellous incident is the correct thought, correct policy, plan and the visionary leadership of our party. As the Nepali People took the historic initiation to decide their own fate, the whole world was stunned. With this, a

worldwide campaign has begun to institutionalise this achievement. In spite of the malicious attempts of the parliamentary parties to minimise the contribution of our party to establish the agendas of CA, republican and federal state, the People knew of our party's major contribution. The People did not doubt that the nation could have ever reached here without the sacrifice of the Maoist. The People gave their political expression of what they have learnt.

The success of the CA election has foiled the imperialist powers. Most of the power centres thought that the Nepali Congress would become the largest party, the CPN UML the second largest, and the Maoist would come into the third position far behind. The CA election has also proved what our Chairman Prachanda has said; the arrogant reactionaries and opportunists can never see far ahead because of their class-limitations. As the election concluded, the foreign powers and the national parliamentary political parties started to welcome the election calling it peaceful, free and fair, but as the results started to come in, they were

shocked. Now, they are making many excuses not to handover power; it is believed that they are doing this according to the dictates of foreign powers. Major attempts are being hatched to prevent the power reaching the hand of the People. The Nepali People desired a drastic change in the state power and its structure. For this, they have given the mandate to the CPN-Maoist. The Nepali People do not want to see any kind of parallel power centres under any pretence. No one is allowed to go against this clear People's verdict. Our party had proposed our Chairman as the first president of Nepal; to lead Nepal with new thought and new policy. And, the People have voted for us, trusting our proposals, hoping that only the Maoist can implement the Republic. But the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are hatching conspiracies to deny our party that responsibility. However, they need to understand that nobody can escape the People's mandate and if they dare to try, they will be eliminated.

The traditional parliamentary parties are disrespecting the People's verdict, as though this country were their private

property. The NC loves talking loudly about democracy, but is not willing to step down from power. This is totally against the will of the People. It will be a serious betrayal if leadership is not handed to the Maoist. The People learnt from the past and gave their conscious decision. Everyone should honour the People's mandate. We requested the People to vote for us, proposing our Chairman as the future president of the Republic of Nepal. People liked that and they trusted us. Now, how can we betray the People? We need to implement the People's verdict honestly. And most importantly, it is not just a matter of forming the government; rather it is a matter of proceeding steadily, restructuring the state with the process of drafting a new constitution.

Everyone must note that People are watching each and every activity of the political parties very carefully. They are following each and every development. In other words, we can say that parties are under the supervision of the People. Some of the parliamentary parties, namely the NC, are pre-

*Continued on page 7*

## 'PLA behind the drastic Change'

Military expert and defence analyst Dr. Indrajit Rai visited the People's Liberation Army's 3rd division cantonment in Jutpani Chowk, Chitwan. Dr. Rai, came with a group of post graduate students to Tribuvan University's Conflict, Peace and Development Studies programme on 4th of this month. They interacted with PLA commanders about the security sector reforms programme and the current political scenario.

During the period of monarchy, the Nepal Army was called the Royal Nepalese Army, and the top



strata of the officer corps were from the high castes, members of the royal family or men handpicked by the king. Naturally, this created a leadership with a strong loyalty to the king over the people of Nepal. Consequently, from the leadership down, the Royal Nepal Army functioned not as a national army, but rather as a private army of the royal clan.

Moreover, King Gyanendra often used his army generals to try and crush the mass movement. Even though the people's movement became victorious and the king was forced to abdicate in front of the mounting pressure from masses, the new seven party alliance under the leadership of Nepali congress and G. P. Koirala did not enquire into murders by the Royal Nepal Army or the numerous human rights violations that the Royal Nepal Army is accused of.

There have been some sceptical comments from various quarters against the spirit of the peace agreement just before the elections. However, with the overwhelming victory of the Maoist in the CA elections that resulted in them becoming the largest party in the CA, this issue is again coming to surface.

During the interaction, Dr. Rai shared his knowledge of other countries affected by conflict, while the PLA commanders came up with their shared experiences of the People's War, which is quite different from other liberation wars that are fought around the world.

Then it moved onto security sector reform parallel to and in accordance with the reform of old state structures to suit the 'new Nepal' or a federal, democratic, and republican of Nepal. Regarding the integration of PLA and Nepal Army, the vice-commander of 3rd division, Com. Sanjeev, reiterated the necessity of the need to restructure the military as well as the whole nation. He emphasised that the issue is not about combining both armies or of reducing the number of each. On

the contrary, since the old structures have dramatically failed to deliver, the old status quo should be replaced by new, more people friendly ones that will carry forward a new vision, new norms and the new values of the new Nepal. In addition, he expressed the view of democratising the Nepal Army and the professionalisation of the PLA as a necessary positive step towards this direction. According to him, due to the strategic location of Nepal, placed between two nuclear powered neighbours, there will not be any necessity of keeping two to three hundred thousand as a standing army. A border defence force or a rapid action security force of a smaller number would serve the security needs of the new Nepal.

It was highlighted by the academics that the base behind all these drastic changes in Nepal is the effect of the 10 years people's war waged by the PLA. Dr. Rai added that there still are various conspirators who are busy scheming against the PLA. They have become temporarily paralysed by the overwhelming support of the people in the election. However, he stressed the need to be on guard against these forces.

## NC and UML face liquidation!

With their shameful defeat in the Constituent Assembly election, it seems that the establishment political parties are hastily speeding towards their own dissolution. Severe crisis in the leadership, serious delusion with their party policies and programs, deepening dissatisfaction and frustration within the establishment parties have now come to light.

The monarchy that ruled Nepal for 250 years is going and the pro-royalist forces have been washed away. Following the same path, the so-called big parties who claimed to be leaders of democracy seem to be liquidating. After their defeat, the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are facing a crisis of leadership and severe internal contradictions.

The Nepali Congress, the party that claims to be a champion of democracy, always served the monarchy. After the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1990, the Nepali Congress ruled the country and the life of Nepali people deteriorated. The party has been the private property of the Koirala family and follows the will of GP Koirala. Although

the election has destroyed the Koirala family, the family are not ready to handover the party to the Sher Bahadur Deuba faction. Furthermore, it seems that after GP Koirala's death, the struggle to control the Nepali Congress may lead to dissolution of the Nepali Congress. Many inside the Congress Party say that the United States is trying to push the Deuba faction. The nomination in the PR list has created huge dissatisfaction within the party. A Nepali Congress central leader, Purna Bahadur Khadka, has resigned from his post.

The CPN UML, which pretends to be a Communist party, seems to be in a major crisis. The CPN UML leaders, who dreamt of leading the government and becoming the largest political party, are now fighting with each other. The former general secretary MK Nepal has resigned from his post and is living in anonymity. After his resignation, various sections within the party are attempting to capture the party, and each faction blaming the other for their humiliating defeat. On the dispute in the selecting the candidates, some central leaders

have resigned and 14 other central leaders have registered their note of dissent. As the support and aspiration of the left masses of the people has been towards the CPN-Maoist, many think that CPN UML will never be able to compensate its defeat. Moreover, many are suggesting to the CPN UML to stop pretending they are a Communist Party, and to change their name and their party policy. The CPN UML has been holding its CC meeting for 16 days, but are still unable to decide whether to join the government or not. They are waiting for the Nepali Congress decision.

The CA election has not only changed the state structure, but has brought about a complete change in the power-balance of the parties. This proves that the power of the masses is all powerful, and that the masses are the makers of history. If parties fail to update themselves with the consciousness and aspiration of the people; then the masses will punish them. The Nepali people have done just that and thrown the feudalists, the establishment status quo parties into the dustbin of history.

## Serious concern

The anti-Chinese activity taking place under the banner of 'Free Tibet' on Nepalese soil is a serious problem in this transitional period. We are in the period of a great transformation. We all are in the peace process. The republican era is going to replace the feudal era. In the meantime, the activities against the neighbouring country of China in Nepal are going to create strategic problems here.

The neighbouring countries are helping in the peace process to build a Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. The Nepalese people are in need of help. So, the foreign powers must not try to create problems for Nepal and the Nepalese people at this time. We, the Nepalese people do not want Nepal to be a play ground of foreign powers.

The question of Tibet is the internal affair of China. The people of autonomous Tibet have a right to demand a prosperous Tibet and to



### 'No right to intervene in internal affairs'

The Chinese ambassador Zheng Xialing has stated that no one has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another sovereign country. In a face to face programme organized by the Reporters Club in Kathmandu, he expressed this view by pointing out the American exaggeration of the anti-Chinese activities held in Nepalese soil. Addressing the Tibetan protesters as the culprit group, he added that they are backed by America.

He criticised the UN Mission in Nepal for supporting such activities blindly. He said "So called Human Right's Activists and Observers are spreading propaganda saying that China seized the human right of Tibetan people and Tibet should be free. Who gave this right to them? Why are they saying so?"

Mr. Xialing, responding to the question of journalists, said "Every sovereign country has its own individual freedom; no one has the right to intervene in the name of NGOs and INGOs. We cannot support these tasks in any way." He requested that the Nepali government stop these activities.

He said that he respects the verdict of the Nepalese people in the election of the CA. Respecting the mandate of the Nepalese people, he said, "The government should be formed on the basis of a mandate."

fulfil the needs of Tibetan people in their own land. But to raise the question of a 'Free Tibet' from another country is not suitable. Nepal and the Nepalese people must pay attention to protect their nation.

Demanding and protesting is a democratic right. Principally, the state should not suppress people who are demonstrating against the government. But we must put our attention where, when and why the protest is going on. Therefore, the government of Nepal should stop the activities against China. It is not a proper for Nepalese soil to be used against China.

## For journalists or owners?

Nepali journalists concluded their 22nd national conference last week, where they elected a new leadership for the next three years. But even the 22nd conference left a question unanswered, an old question; is the Federation of Nepali Journalists an umbrella organization of all working journalist? Many wonder why the owners of media houses are also included in this organisation. With this question, the newly elected Federation committee has a serious responsibility to prove that the Federation really is an umbrella organization for working journalists only.

During the conference, most of the central representatives were not satisfied with the financial report; this led to the conclusion of the conference without passing the treasurer's report. This is a first in the history of the Federation. The representatives raised questions on the transparency of the financial report, where excessive expenses were made in running projects, holding meetings and conferences, publications (including translations and editing), training etc. After the protest of representatives, a five member fact-finding committee was made.

Likewise, the representatives raised some questions regarding the policy of the Federation. Many representatives concluded that working journalists and owners of media houses should be in a single organization. If this happens, it not be a federation for journalists, rather it will serve the interests of the owners. Most of the journalists thought that the Federation should be a trade union that can fight for the rights of working journalists. Govinda Acharya, the newly elected vice-chairman, says that the newly elected committee will fight for the right of actual working journalists.

The 22nd national conference elected Dharmendra Jha as the Chairman and Govind Acharya as the vice chairman. Likewise Poshan KC, Ramji Dahal, Ramesh Bista were elected as General Secretary, secretary and treasurer respectively. The 27 member central committee comprises of 24 elected and three members nominated by the newly elected body.

The newly elected committee was congratulated by various political parties and organizations related with media. In a program held this week in Kathmandu, the CPN-Maoist welcomed and congratulated the committee. Congratulating the journalists, the Maoist Chairman said that Federation has an important role in promoting peace and the process of change in positive way.

# No compromise in ideology and politics

- CP Gajurel, In-charge, International Bureau, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist

**What are the major problems that CPN-Maoist has to face in the national and international context after the landslide victory in the election constituent Assembly?**

After the completion and result coming out of the election of the Constituent Assembly (CA), our party has been victorious and has become established as the single largest party in the CA. That is a victory not only for the people of Nepal but also it has to be considered as the victory for the oppressed people of the world. But it is not the final victory and it doesn't mean that we don't have any more challenges. We still have big challenges. In spite of our victory, the other parties are not ready to hand over power to our party and there is still a debate going on regarding who will be the Prime Minister and who will be the President. Also, a debate is on how the major posts should be divided among major three parties.

Secondly, some powers didn't want the Maoist to be the single largest party; they didn't want the Maoist to become victorious on the election. They are still trying to create hurdles, firstly to the formation of a government, and secondly, if the government is formed, they will try to create problems so that the Maoist government cannot run smoothly. Because of the scarcity of things, goods and materials, there will be discontent among the masses and the Maoist will not be able to run the government well. These are challenges before us. But, as we are have the support of millions and millions, we have the support of the masses of Nepal and of billions of people around the world. We are confident that we will be able to meet the challenges.

**The victory of CPN-M in the election of CA is the victory of the Proletarian class. In history, the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Comrade Lenin held a CA election, but were defeated.**

**Here in Nepal, the CPN-M has been victorious. What message does it convey to the international community?**

Yes, during the time of Russian Revolution, it happened during CA election. Because the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) were strong at all levels, together they were able to get a majority of seats. The Bolsheviks had to be satisfied with minority seats.

After this situation, Lenin decided to continue the revolution and dismantled the CA. Because the rightists and opportunists were really the agents of the capitalist class, they didn't allow the Proletariat to form a new constitution; there was a deep risk to the Bolshevik party, a risk that revolution would have been smashed.

But now the situation is quite different. We were able to win in over half in the first past the post election system. We were not able to get the majority in the proportional election but our party has become the single largest party. None of the other parties could achieve this percentage of votes. It is because the reactionaries, rightist parties and the revisionist parties have no confidence in the masses and the masses do not trust these parties. Our party, during the decade long People's War and the 19 day People's Movement played a major role; because of our experience in the past in forming a new government in the countryside, the masses had hope only in the CPN-Maoist. So they voted for us to write a new constitution.

**There are so many problems before the future government, and people feel very hopeful toward the CPN-M, What agendas will be prioritised in the new constitution to address the aspiration and needs of the people?**

The major questions to be addressed in the new constitution has been already laid down in our commitment paper. Most importantly, the demand of the Revolution and of the Nepalese people

is to overthrow the monarchy and establish a Federal Democratic Republic (FDR). Definitely, we will have a good position in the Assembly and our party will be able to win over other forces. We are in favour of writing the new constitution in a specific form of FDR.

Also, there are some basic questions that have to be solved. The question of livelihood and overall development of the society is very important because there is severe poverty in the society. We have to meet the necessity and basic requirements of the masses. Immediately, we have to fulfil all these necessary basic requirements. Definitely, there are unequal treaties that had been signed during the past and we have to review them. Some of them have to be renegotiated; we have to review all those treaties. The treaties should be signed on an equal basis. There are some problems of how to manage the New Democratic Republic. Because the bourgeois will definitely try to sabotage this process; the class that has been defeated will try to return to power. They will create problems whenever they can, they will find some excuses for that, there is the atmosphere to create problems.

On the basis of priority, we have to address all these questions. For example, first of all, politically, it is necessary to overthrow the monarchy and establish a Federal Democratic People's Republic in our sense. And, secondly, we have to resolve the basic economic problems of the society and we have to overcome the poverty of the people. It is necessary to fulfil the basic requirements of the masses.

**In the developed new situation CPN-M has to make diplomatic relationship with other coun-**



**tries. What will be the basic principle for diplomatic relationship?**

The basic principles will be the five principles of co-existence. That is the basis of state to state international relation. Another fundamental aspect of it is we have to develop the relationship with other states or governments, with the national interest of Nepal as its first priority. Definitely, we should have to develop the relation with all the country. The basis will be in the largest interest of the Nepalese people and the nation.

These two things, as has been explained by the United Nations Organization, the basic five principles of co-existence and the largest interest of Nepalese people and our Nation are the fundamental criteria of the diplomatic relationship.

**CPN-M is going to the government. How will you handle the controversial relationship between state to state relationship and party relationship among Communist parties and organizations of the world?**

Definitely, when we will be in the government, we will have to handle these two types of relationship. Because we are Communists and our party is

a Communist party; we have as our goal the transition from socialism to communism. We have not given up our goal. We are moving in that direction. We are Internationalists because we are Communists. So the relation with other Communist parties will be developed on the basis of Proletarian internationalism. And, without interfering in the affairs of any Communist Party, our relationship will develop on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

So far as state to state relationship is concerned, on the basis of five principles of peaceful co-existence, the relation will develop between state to state. To carry on both the relationship will not be a big problem because we have learnt so many lessons from the Communist parties that were previously in power. For example, the Bolshevik party was in the power The Chinese Communist Party was in power and they maintained their relationship with different states and also the relation with other communist parties. We shall not compromise or negotiate our ideology and politics- in the name of being in government; we will never negotiate our fundamental principles, our ideology and politics.

## Vacate....

and conditions to not to leave the government. The NC, which considers itself a "pioneer" of democracy, has put forward a demand for the amendment of the interim constitution, to dissolve the People's Liberation Army and the Young Communist League, to hand-over the weapons to the state or destroy, to build a mechanism for a political agreement to fuse the army, to return the confiscated property of landlords, and to remove the army from the politics.

These all are the fake bonds of NC after the excellent ratification of a decade long People's War by Nepalese people through the election. The politics of

the Peoples war has been justified, and the labelling of the CPN Maoist as "terrorist" has been seen to be completely false. Some of the above mentioned 'terms and conditions' have already been implemented. But some of these demands about the PLA and weapons are intended to abort the process of creating a new Nepal. So far as the question of the YCL, the NC itself has its own youth organization the 'Tarun Dal' and the CPN UML the 'Progressive National Youth Organization', just like all the other political parties. Isn't this a non-political and non-democratic outlook? They always preach to the world that the CPN-Maoist 'must be corrected'. Before preaching, they must review themselves, their past and accept the current mandate of the people

The Constituent Assembly has to fulfil two impor-

tant historic tasks under the leadership of the party that has obtained mandate to form the government: to implement the republic and make the new constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic. The mandate has been given to the CPN-Maoist. Therefore, Girija Prasad Koirala should resign from the post of Prime Minister, and hand over the leadership to Com. Prachanda, the chairman of the CPN-Maoist.

If they do not, the NC should be ready to join a coalition government under the leadership of the CPN-Maoist, or they should stay in the opposition. The CPN-M can form a single party government and run the country. If the NC wants to remain in government, the CPN-Maoist will be forced to initiate a new Janandolan, a people's movement on the fertile ground of victory.

Published By : Krishnasen Memorial Publication Pvt. Ltd.  
 Advisors : Suresh Ale Magar, Maheshwar Dahal  
 Editor : Kumar Shah  
 Assistant Editor : Dipak Sapkota  
 Office Address : Anamnagar, Kathmandu  
 Phone : 016914630, Email : trs.nepal@gmail.com

## EDITORIAL

# A new experiment

After the landslide victory of the CPN-Maoist and its emergence as the largest party in the Constituent Assembly, Nepal has become a centre of debate in the national and international political arena. However, the success of the revolutionaries in the CA is not only a process to end the feudal era and to begin the republican era; it is also an experiment in MLM ideology. The debates raised about the new model are natural. Because they are from different viewpoints and are reflections of class society.

The first stage of the revolution is the ending of the feudal order, and the beginning of the republican order. Politically, this task should have been done by the bourgeois parties. They were unable to end the feudal order, and so therefore the Proletarian class has taken this responsibility. With seriousness and efficiency, the CPN-Maoist has taken on this task and has prepared the way for a republic.

The CPN-M has advanced with flexibility, working with the parliamentary parties to fulfil this historic task. Many Revolutionary Communist around the world wonder whether the CPN-M is lost in the quagmire of parliament. The tactics of the CPN M can only be understood in a dialectical way. To defeat the bourgeois parties and maintain supremacy by giving leadership and hope to the world proletarian class are not easy and ordinary things. In Russia, after the revolution, the Bolsheviks did not win the CA elections, and since that time a lie has been spread that Communists cannot 'compete' and win elections. The land slide victory of the CPN Maoist in the Nepali CA elections has killed off this lie forever.

The big crisis of today is the crisis of ideology; this crisis causes obstacles in the tactical use of ideology in Communist approaches to the world of today. We must further develop our ideology to bypass this crisis. But, as Mao says, ideology neither "drops from the sky, nor comes out of the earth", rather it develops through the "class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment."

In the context of Nepal, one must be free from dogmatic and pragmatic views to understand the living process of the protection, use and development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Only in this way will the gates open to study and to fruitful debate by bringing the people back to the solid earth from the heavens of idealistic abstraction. When a new baby takes birth, dirt comes along with a new born. We should pick up the baby and leave the dirt. The birth of a new Nepal, as a new model, cannot be an exception. Therefore, this model should be watched critically but creatively. To be creative is the main aspect. When the revolution is sharp and someone thinks that it is in danger, he should help more and criticise less. Necessity is the mother of invention; the revolutionary necessity in Nepal has given birth to new inventions. Invention is itself a new experiment.



■ Kulprasad KC 'Sonam'

The Nepalese people have given the responsibility to the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) to implement a Federal Democratic Republic and to make a new constitution. This means that the People's mandate to overthrow the monarchy has been given to new generation. This is a new turn in the history of the Communist Party of Nepal.

Ideologically, it is concerned with the question of the protection of Maoism. The protection of Maoism in the context of the 21st century is the protection of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the explanation and analysis of the question of the Constituent Assembly (CA) must be related to the question of power, to government and to total Proletarian class commitment. The system and process should be fixed so that the legacy of the past will not be repeated and a new history will come to birth.

Practically, the CA is a method of solving the contradictions of Nepalese society. It is a scientific and dialectical materialist method that is led by a progressive ideology. The victory of a revolutionary party and entrance of a new generation to end the old and to begin the new is an original contribution of the Nepalese revolution; to protect the achievements and advance ahead after the armed struggle.

In the meantime, the parliamentary parties like the Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML are campaigning against the mandate that people have given. This clearly shows that these parties bear the responsibility for the old reactionary state and its legacy. They are trying to bargain

# Youth have the duty for nationality and democracy

with the CPN-Maoist, the largest party, demanding it to dissolve its sister organization, the Young Communist League (YCL). This demand is an expression of the anti-leftist views of the CPN-UML and the anti-democratic thinking of the NC. The CPN UML is a revisionist force and the Nepali Congress a rightist reactionary force. The CPN-M will not show such ideological poverty by dissolving the YCL. Those who demand to dissolve the YCL want to protect and serve the old reactionary establishment; to protect the old status quo establishment long past its expiry date. It was the YCL that inspired all the people of the country to actively take part in the historical election of CA; it was the YCL that sacrificed so much to establish the fundamental rights of the people. Rather, the party will consolidate the YCL according to the needs of the 21st century, as a new young force, and to establish it as the bearer of a new ideology.

The objective of establishing the YCL is related not only to the needs of the new Nepal, but also with the goal of protecting and developing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This organisation will play a vital role to institutionalize the politics of the Proletarian class ideologically and to transform the youth into a militant force, just as it did in the past. Before the initiation of People's War (PW), the YCL strengthened the youth through its campaigns and played an important role after the Peoples War was initiated. It provided the foundation for the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and as the PLA is now in the cantonment, the YCL is working as the political organization of youth to politicise the millions of non-military youth.

The YCL adopts the notion of advancement, new ideology, scientific ideas and the mass-line to implement in practice. The agenda of this organization is to struggle against elements that are against

the masses, elements that follow the traditional power centres. To accomplish this responsibility, millions of the youth have a duty for nationality and democracy. If someone sees our task as 'terrorist activity', he himself has a terrorist mind. The YCL is advancing forward with a scientific view point for millions of youth, who are wasting their lives with nonsense, to realise the value of labour and consciousness. It is the parliamentary parties that are terrified of the struggle directed against corruption and corrupted minds.

We want to create a self-critical consciousness through a new ideology that will allow the people to review themselves. This means that it will inspire the masses towards Dialectical Materialism. After this ideological task, we will do some model works. The new Nepal that we are going to make needs to develop efficient manpower on a red base. Only red and expert manpower can create the new Nepal.

Nepal has emerged as a new centre of the Proletarian class after the implementation of MLM in the Nepali soil. In this context, the YCL requests all the young of the world to participate in a great debate about the positive and negative aspects and challenges of the Nepalese revolution and the world revolution. We expect that the debate will focus on the power of the young to change the defensive situation of the world Proletarian class into offensive one by raising the red flag all over the world. We request that revolutionaries and progressive forces, those struggling for minimum democratic rights and for socialism, to participate in the debate to evaluate critically and creatively the new model emerging in Nepal. We want to advance hand-in-hand with the youth of different countries; with youth who want a new world.

*KC is a central committee member of CPN-Maoist and the In-charge of Young Communist League.*

## FROM THE HISTORY

# The foolish old man removed the mountains

Our aim in propagating the line of the Congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution. We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win the victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people.

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in Northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of Northern Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge

mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and their sons, and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this and sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs.

Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is impe-

rialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

(\*Excerpts from Comrade Mao Tse-Tung's concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, June 11, 1945)

Source: *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung-Volume III, (Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1965), pp. 321-322.*

# Political perplexity of parliamentary parties towards the progressive restructure of Nepali state!



■ Dharmendra Bastola

The Nepalese parliamentary parties, the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML, have finished their Central Committee meetings and drawn up their conclusions. Their conclusions are interesting. Although both of the parties claim to be different in form, there are many points that prove that these parties are not different in essence. The first interesting point is they took a long time to come to the decisions they have made. The second point is that even if the UML started its meeting almost a week before that of the NC, both of the meetings ended at the same day, and at the same time. The third point is that the main conclusions they reached are the same. For example: both of the parties have decided to join the government building process provided their demands are met. And both of the parties have decided not to join to this process provided their demands are not met.

And, what are their demands? As reported by the Nepali media they are the following: one, the interim constitution should be amended allowing parties to form and dismiss government through the simple majority votes of the assembly. Second, the Maoist PLA, people's court, people's governments should be dismantled. Third, the activities of the YCL should be stopped and its semi-military structure has to be changed. Fourth, the weapons of the Maoist PLA camps wither has to be handed over to the state or they have to be destroyed. Fifth, there should be a mechanism developed to fuse the PLA and the Nepal Army and to carry out rehabilitation of the displaced. Sixth, the properties that have been seized by the Maoist must be returned back and create an environment to settle back the displaced people. Seven, the court, constitutional bodies, public media, police-administrations, army and so forth should be kept away from the inspiration of the political parties.

Moreover, the one-style decisions of the two different parties held in two different places shows that the source of ideas for these decisions is the one. Whoever is interested in Nepalese politics and has made an analysis of these demands, must reach the conclusion that there are two realities here in the Nepalese political phenomenon. Firstly, there is a constitutional obligation to form a coalition government, and secondly, if the parliamentary parties really stick to their demands they will never join the government to be formed under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Consequently, there is another possibility that the

parliamentary parties will get together and form a greater coalition on the condition that the Maoist does not have a simple majority.

Nevertheless, there are pretty interesting points here. By reaching these conclusions, the parliamentary parties, the NC and the UML, have violated the constitution once again. No need to say that these parties have constantly been violating the agreements and understandings since 12 point agreement to the interim constitution. The reluctance they have shown to join the government under the leadership of the Maoist is another blatant violation of the constitution as well as people's verdict, expressed in the election of the constituent assembly.

The demand for the constitutional amendment for one or two years – until a constitution is written and an election held, is an expression of parliamentary cretinism, despotism and immoral power hunger of the parliamentary parties. As long as Congress was sitting on the chair of Prime Minister and Girija Prasad Koirala was the head of the government, there was no complaint against the “two third” provision for the removal of the Prime Minister. Rather, they were comfortable with it. History will teach them thousand times or even millions time if necessary to make them understand that it is the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) that had proposed and brought the parliamentary parties to the agreement for the requirement to remove prime minister by a two-third-majority. This historical decision had been adopted to avoid political instability in the struggle against monarchy, feudalism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism to make the nation free, peaceful and prosperous. Has any one forgotten that these were the parliamentary parties who had locked the parliament members into a hotel rooms with wine and prostitutes in order to get majority vote to dismantle the government of the rival party? Has any one forgotten the dirty games played by these parties in the pretext of reaching a simple majority to overthrow the government of Sher Bahadur Deuba by Girija and vice-versa? These parties want to take Nepal back again to the same mire where the job of the leaders is to do nothing but corruption, plunder, robbery and nepotism. And the Nepalese people will again fall into the mire of poverty and misery.

Further, let us conceive that, as the parliamentary parties believe, if the Maoist form the government they will stay in power forever, because of the provision of this constitution. There are two points here: first, why can't you write the constitution correcting this provision, while you are going to write a new constitution, and secondly, why don't you believe in the Nepalese masses; that they will also reduce the Maoist to the same status as the NC and the UML in the next election if the Maoist also fall into parliamentary cretinism? The two

third majority provision should not be changed in the present state of political situation. If this happens, the process of writing constitution will take another four, five or six years as it took in other countries. The need of the nation is not to spend time in writing constitution, but to make haste for the economic reconstruction.

So far as to the second demand, the people's courts and the people's governments were already dissolved along with the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The Party had left no stone unturned to implement the signed agreements and understanding. But the parliamentary parties have constantly been violating the spirit of the agreements; they must correct themselves, their political nature and their modus operandi.

A serious panic and horrifying terror for the parliamentary parties is the YCL, because it has been hunting these parliamentary parties not only in their public appearances, but also into their private life – deep down to their kitchens. It is because, there are straight facts that whatever they possess as their property such as house or piece of land in the expensive places, rice or mutton on their kitchen, these are accumulation of the shattered bone and flesh of the Nepalese people. These horrendous crimes they had committed makes them horrified from the YCL even into dream.

Should the YCL be dismantled

The demand for the constitutional amendment for one or two years – until a constitution is written and an election held, is an expression of parliamentary cretinism, despotism and immoral power hunger of the parliamentary parties. As long as Congress was sitting on the chair of Prime Minister and Girija Prasad Koirala was the head of the government, there was no complaint against the “two third” provision for the removal of the Prime Minister. Rather, they were comfortable with it.

as do the parliamentarian parties demand? No. It is because; YCL is an organized vanguard force that has been hunting the corrupt criminals of the Nepalese society. The YCL has been the power of the Nepalese people that has made the people free from the domination of the feudal and autocrats, and that has made the people confident and courageous to take action against the autocrats. Who are these elements making noise against the YCL? Wherever these elements are, most of the feudal and autocrats, the imperialist flunkies are the one who are much shouting against the YCL. Should the YCL be transformed to develop as a vital force to construct a new Nepal? Yes. That's what exactly the Nepalese people demand and the CPNM will do. It is true that the YCL should keep it updated on its ideological, political organizational ability. It is also true

that some of the undesired activities should be checked. The YCL is a popular vanguard for social, political and economic breakthrough, and the parliamentary parties' demand that the YCL should be dismantled has no validity.

The question of the PLA and the weapons raised by the parliamentary parties are interesting and again it is a blatant violation of the CPA and the interim constitution. Whoever goes through 12-point agreement to the interim constitution, will easily find and will easily understand that the PLA and the NA are treated equally and stated that there will be a fusion of the democratized NA and professionalised PLA. While demanding the dissolution of the PLA the parliamentary parties are mum on the NA. Ok, let's fulfill for a moment, the demand as parliamentary parties put forward and dismantle the PLA and hand over the weapons to the government. While the constitution treats the PLA and the NA equally, where will the NA submit the weapons while the PLA submits to the government? Further, if the PLA is to be dissolved, according to the constitution, the NA has also to be dissolved. Then, if the things go on as per the demands of the parliamentary parties, the nation will have no army even to have a boarder security? Can one imagine a country without army as long as there are nation states in this world? This is what exactly a submissive, national capitulationist character of

president for several times in the history. When the entire royal family of king Birendra was wiped out in a palace massacre, our Party proposed him to be President of the country, and would help him. The second time, while Gyanendra took over executive power, we also proposed that we would accept him president as well as the PLA would help him against the RNA's threat to their lives. The parliamentary parties – neither NC not the UML, could grasp these dynamics of the development as well as the historical necessity of the Nepalese society. Now, while the Nepalese people have voted for the clear agenda of Chairman Prachanda as President with executive power, then on what political and moral basis does he claim presidency?

The other point is, if the country has to bring political stability and make economic development, there has to be one power center and not two. Thanks to the international relations and vested interests in this country, putting a Congress president and a Maoist Prime Minister will not allow the country to concentrate on development but will waste time on unnecessary wrangling. Thus if we have to run a strong government to carry out certain developments along with the writing new constitution, there should be a coalition government under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

While these parliamentary parties demand return of the land, that gives a great clue to understand their political motives. In fact, there is no land left to return back. Moreover, why this demand once again? It is because we are committed to make a progressive land reform to solve the land problem of the country. The parliamentary parties are against land reform.

Thus, the similarity of conclusions of the two parties can be understood as they do not go along with three main things: one, they want to destroy People's Liberation Army, two, they don't want to apply the progressive land reform. Three, they don't want to restructure the Nepalese society – as the national and autonomous republics we have proposed and established in the course of great People's War. Even though, the meeting of the constituent assembly has been summoned for May 28, after the election held on 10 April, the struggle ahead remains tough to implement the verdict of the Nepalese people.

The political perplexity of the parliamentary parties at this historic time are not desirable to the Nepalese people. As the dialectical law goes-unity struggle transformation-it can be believed theoretically that the parliamentary parties will also transform themselves through this process of struggle and enhance themselves to represent the interest of the nation and the people at this particular juncture of the Nepalese history. 14 May 2008

Writer is a central committee member of CPN-Maoist.

# Hizbollah rules west Beirut

■ Robert Fisk

Another American humiliation. The Shia gunmen who drove past my apartment in west Beirut yesterday afternoon were hooting their horns, making V-signs, leaning out of the windows of SUVs with their rifles in the air, proving to the Muslims of the capital that the elected government of Lebanon has lost.

And it has. The national army still patrols the streets, but solely to prevent sectarian killings or massacres. Far from dismantling the pro-Iranian Hizbollah's secret telecommunications system – and disarming the Hizbollah itself – the cabinet of Fouad Siniora sits in the old Turkish serail in Beirut, denouncing violence with the same authority as the Iraqi government in Baghdad's green zone.

The Lebanese army watches the Hizbollah road-blocks. And does nothing. As a Tehran versus Washington conflict, Iran has won, at least for now. Walid Jumblatt, the Druze leader and MP and a pro-American supporter of Mr Siniora's government, is isolated in his home in west Beirut, but has not been harmed. The same applies to Saad Hariri, one of the most prominent government MPs and the son of the murdered former prime minister Rafik Hariri. He remains in his west Beirut palace in Koreitem, guarded by police and soldiers but unable to move without Hizbollah's approval. The symbolism is everything.

When Hamas became part of the Palestinian government, the West rejected it. So Hamas took over Gaza. When the Hizbollah became part of the Lebanese government, the Americans rejected it. Now Hizbollah has taken over west Beirut. The parallels are not exact, of course.

Hamas won a convincing electoral victory. Hizbollah was a minority in the Lebanese government; its withdrawal from cabinet seats with other Shias was occasioned by Mr Siniora's American-defined policies

and by their own electoral inability to change these. The Lebanese don't want an Islamic republic any more than the Palestinians. But when Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, the Hizbollah chairman, told a press conference that this was a "new era" for Lebanon, he meant what he said.

Mr Hariri's Future Television offices were invested by the army after Hizbollah surrounded it on Thursday night, its staff evacuated and the station switched off. When I turned up there yesterday morning, I joined a queue for manouche – Lebanon's hot cheese breakfast sandwiches – at Eyman's bakery in Watwat Street. I patiently waited behind four black-hooded gunmen from Hizbollah's allied (but highly venal) Amal movement only to find uniformed Lebanese soldiers representing the government patiently queuing at the next window. Law and disorder, it seems, both have to eat.

But I found far more powerful symbolism in Hamra Street, one of west Beirut's two main commercial thoroughfares. More than 100 Hizbollah men were standing or patrolling the highway, clad in new camouflage fatigues, wearing new black flak jackets and new black, peaked, American-style baseball caps and – more to the point – what appeared to be equally new American sniper rifles.

No, this is not a revolution. No, this is not a "hijacking" of west Beirut or the airport, which remains cut off by burning tyres on roads guarded by Hizbollah militiamen. But the government's supporters deserve some space. Several pointed out that the Israelis closed Beirut airport in 2006. So what right did Hizbollah have to do the same to the Lebanese now? And, according to Saad Hariri, Mr Nasrallah – when he called Mr Jumblatt "a thief and a killer" – was "authorising his murder and clearly stating that, 'I am the state and the state is me.'" No wonder, then, that Mr Jumblatt fears for his life and that Mr Hariri claims the Hizbollah's

coup de folie is a form of fitna, the Arabic for chaos. "I invite you, Sayed Nasrallah, to take back your fighters from the streets and to lift the siege of Beirut to protect the unity of Muslims," he said. "Israel will be rejoicing at the blockade of the country and the collapse of its economy."

Marwan Hamade, Mr Siniora's Telecommunications Minister – and victim of an attempted assassination in 2004 – admitted he had turned a blind eye to Hizbollah's underground phone system but could no longer when he realised that Hizbollah now maintains 99,000 numbered lines.

Mr Nasrallah also insisted on the reinstallation of Brigadier General Wafiq Chucuir as head of security at Beirut airport, since he was not a member of Hizbollah. General Chucuir was suspended after Mr Jumblatt claimed he worked for Mr Nasrallah's outfit, a demand which prompted Mr Jumblatt to say he did not know General Chucuir was so important to Mr Nasrallah that it was worth closing the international airport.

And so it goes on. There was an unusually good editorial in the French-language daily L'Orient Le Jour, which asked how the Hizbollah – literally "the party of God" in Arabic – could have war as its raison d'être yet be a factor of stability and security in Lebanese domestic affairs. "And this party, can it really call itself the 'Party of God' without creating, in the long term, the distrust of all those other children who count themselves to be from the same unique and one God?"

No, this is not a civil war. Nor is it a coup d'état, though it meets some of the criteria. It is part of the war against America in the Middle East. The Hizbollah "must stop sowing trouble," the White House said rather meekly. Yes, like the Taliban. And al-Qa'ida. And the Iraqi insurgents. And Hamas. And who else?

Saturday, 10 May 2008

*Independent.co.uk*

# Ukraine Protests Against Yankees and NATO

BY GALINA SAVCHENKO

Without having any agreement with Gazprom of Russia for 2008, Ukraine has already used 7 billion cubic meters of gas from the reserves without paying Russia for its gas not even a kopek.

This Ukrainian robbery government of Prime Minister Tymoshenko even though it bought gas from Russia at half price, it has now become an aggressor economic state.

Besides all of this, Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldavia have formed an anti-Russian alliance, besides being pulled into NATO and EU to act as a bastion for US imperialism.

Already for eight years the Ukrainian high command is under the orders of NATO brass in preparations for cooperation with the armed forces of NATO. Beside all of the above, General of Ukrainian Army Vitaly Radecky have abandoned the tradition of celebration of the Victory Day over fascism.

When NATO General Raymond Yeno was in Kiev, he urged and got agreement from the regime of Ukraine to include Ukrainian troops into special deployment

units to serve with NATO all over the world. This NATO General said that the present Ukrainian troops are dedicated to NATO and fulfill NATO's duties with dedication and honor!

More and more US-NATO troops are crossing the borders of Ukraine. In Sevastopol, the citizens held a demonstration against US navy battleship just coming in from Iraq. But even the City Council was taken back when a US helicopter started to fly over the city. According even to the preset laws of Ukraine, these incursions into the territory of Ukraine can only be allowed by the Government.

The pickets spread the present Ukrainian flags on the pavement from the port station and the US soldiers had to march and trample over this nationalist flag.

People in their absolute majority are against Ukraine becoming a member of NATO. This is not a political dictate from the Kremlin, as the present nationalist regime of Ukraine tries to hoodwink the people with.

We are the dedicated sons and daughters who are defending our country and are against NATO and its aggressive policies all over the world.

[www.northstarcompass.org](http://www.northstarcompass.org)

# President Sarkozy and Democracy

■ Cedric

On May 6th 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy was elected as the President of the French Republic. For the first time in French history, thousands of people took spontaneously to the streets in hundreds of cities all around the country, to protest against the so-called 'democratic' election of the most right wing president France has ever had. These protests were strongly suppressed and the people fought bravely against the police. This event showed the nature of so-called democracy: democracy as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the masses of people.

If one observes merely the surface of the capitalist societies of Europe, America and other 'developed' countries, one may think that everything is going peacefully because these countries are 'democratic'. This illusion is so widespread in the 'developing' countries of Africa and Asia. But one has to understand that the state will use all the means possible to suppress the people if they dare to stand up for their rights, rights that are in contradiction with capitalist society, that is, with the interests of the ruling class.

A good example is November 2005, when Sarkozy was the minister of the interior. In November 2005, the death of two young people chased by the police sparked a huge uprising in the suburbs of France. The suburbs are where many immigrant workers and their children live. They are harassed by the police every day on the basis of their skin colour. The uprising lasted for three weeks. The international media were even speaking about war in France. This movement was finally suppressed by the use of huge police force and thousands of people were arrested and hundreds jailed because they dared to stand up against the daily oppression that they suffer.

Sarkozy made it clear; he wants to suppress the legacy of the May 68 uprising. What does this mean? It means that in the ideal society of Sarkozy, the people cannot protest against injustices, the people cannot think about a better world, the people cannot become conscious and cannot stand against the 'democratically' elected government. Rather, in the ideal society of Sarkozy, people must suffer the orders of their boss, the people must accept everything as it is, the people must stay away from criticizing, the people must accept blindly their condition however hard it is. In one word, in Sarkozy's ideal society, the owner of wealth, the rich people, will govern over a silent and docile majority of working people.

Since the Right have been in power in France since 1995, the liquidation of the social system brought by the French Communist Party after the Second World War has been hastened. Actually, it began with the centre left party leading the government. Sarkozy is the one who spends his holidays with his supermodel wife Carla Bruni in big yachts loaned by his big industrialist friends, while the working people of France face problems in paying for the education of their children, paying for medical care, paying for the inflated price of food.

This is all the result of the ultra-liberal policy of Sarkozy. And the system that allows all this to take place is called 'democracy'. Ask yourself, democracy for whom? Is it democracy when people die in the streets of Paris though many apartments are vacant? Is it democracy when the salary of the bosses of France has increased by 60% but the salaries of working people had not changed? Is it democracy when French police arrest and deport refugees, recalling the dreadful scenes of Jews deported during the Second World War? No way! This is democracy for the rulers, for the rich. It isn't democracy for the people.

Hence, 'democracy' is always a tool of oppression for one class or another. Now, we have to think about what kind of democracy we want. The 'democracy' of the bourgeoisie means democracy for the few rich people who own industries and big companies, it means the oppression of the working and poor people. The 'democracy' of the proletariat is the democracy for the majority of people i.e. the working and poor people and the oppression of the few rich people who own industries and big companies in order to make them serve the society. This is the reality of 'democracy' in Western societies, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the wealthy over the masses.

## Indian Maoist blew up police vehicle

In Jharkhand more than 1,000 CPI (Maoist) activists, armed with modern weapons, blocked the National Highway 100 (NH), which connects Chatra to Bagodar via Hazaribag for four hours from 8 in the morning.

The Maoists also blew up a police vehicle in which a wireless supervisor of Giridih police Oliver Purti was killed and three other policemen were injured at Roll Pathar on Holong Ghati under Bishungarh police station.

An eyewitness said they also hurled powerful bombs on the police. They said, "A Ranchi-bound Tata 407 police van of the Giridih police was ambushed by armed Naxals as it reached the Holong Ghati."

According to the reports, the Maoists, after blowing up the police vehicle captured the 5 km stretch of Hazaribag-Dhanbad road via Bishungarh and Bagodar (NH-100) blocked it from both the sides.

Likewise, Indian media have reported that CPI (Maoist) central committee member Gajerla Saraiah 'Azad' and his wife Rama were killed by police in Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh. But the police have said that they were killed in an encounter in the Eturunagaram forests.

Assailing the police version, Virasam leader Vara Rao said Azad was picked up from somewhere and killed in cold blood. "They killed him and dumped his body in the Warangal forests," he said. While balladeer Gadar said that Azad and Rama were killed in Jharkhand and their bodies dumped in the forests in Warangal.

Some Indian media have reported that a State Intelligence Bureau (SIB) team had taken him to custody in Karnataka. *Agencies*

# The role of revolutionary literature on the Maoist Victory



■ Florentino A. Iniego, JR

Another way of understanding the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist's victory is to study its revolutionary literature. As a researcher from the Philippines, I have been struggling to learn the Nepali language to grasp the poems and songs of the Maoist movement. For months of exposure, interaction, and reading translations of works from the books published by writers of the All-Nepal Cultural Association, I realized that from the turbulent thirteen years of the people's war the Maoist literature stands out to be one of the dynamic dimensions of Nepali literature.

There is no doubt that the CPN-Maoist's victory in the CA election had shocked the monarchy, the traditional politicians (e.g. Nepali Congress), and revisionist parties (e.g. Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxist Leninist). Even the mass media were extremely wrong in insisting that the Maoist will loose because of the high-handedness of the Youth Communist League. A "hardly surprised" columnist was a Johnny-come-lately to found out that the Maoist triumph was due to their organizing skills. Others say it is because of their "catchy" slogans. While some "gave the Maoist a chance" because of the guaranteed vision of achieving a rapid economic growth within a decade.

Actually, there exist an unholy alliance among the monarchy, bureaucrat capitalists, mass media moguls, bourgeois academic intellectuals, and imperialist funded INGO/NGO to launch an open campaign in discrediting and maligning the Maoist. But shocked and awed by their victory, they then resort to false reasons to belittle the Maoist triumph and the given mandate from the people. Now they must apologize to the Maoist and should take the advice of one of their media buddy: "This must force us to re-examine some of our basic assumptions about political changes over the past few years and take what the Maoist say seriously." (Nepali Times, 18-24 April 2008)

Even some writers and critics neither confirm nor deny their concern or distanced themselves away to study the Maoist literature. A known critic observed that Maoist writers are 'structurally monotonous'. They tend to become abstract and usually make artless generalisation meant to serve the purpose of Party propaganda. But conscious of its historical and literary significance another critic attested that: "Whatever be the case, the Maoist writing remains a novel and untouched area for researchers, creative writers and scholars interested in knowing the fate of contemporary Nepal's turbulence and any attempt to brush it aside would mean ignoring crucial dimension of contemporary Nepalese literature and society." (The Kathmandu Post, 10 August 2003)

Beyond their organizing skills, new slogans, a sound economic program, and the hidden power of its literature, the CPN-Maoist owed its victory to the systematic processes of "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" vis-à-vis the strategic and tactical formulation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the prevailing semi-colonial and semi-feudal situation in Nepal. In these processes, the Prachanda Path was affirmed to unite completely the Party machinery, people's army, people's organizations from ethnic groups, women/gender and other marginalized groups, and the whole people in the advance-

ment of people's war.

Prachanda Path laid down the themes and contents of the CPN-Maoist revolutionary literature. It was formulated in the historical Second National Conference of C.P.N. (Maoist) as an ideological synthesis of rich experiences of five years of the great People's War. The Party, in this conference, has taken up Prachanda Path as an inseparable dialectical unity between international content and national expression, universality and particularity, whole and part, general and particular, and has comprehended that this synthesis of experiences of Nepalese revolution would serve world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism. (The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History, p.79).

To infuse the Prachanda Path among its writers, the Maoist adheres to the classic "Talks at the Yean Forum" of Mao Zedong written while the people's war in China advanced forward in 1942. Mao defined literature as the reflection of economics and politics. It has a dialectical relationship with these. In his theory of art and literature, he called for the reflection of the revolutionary class struggle and for the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers to serve the people. He declared that art and literature are important methods to educate the masses and should serve a weapon for social change.

By applying Prachanda Path and the Maoist revolutionary line in literature, I believed that the CPN-Maoist has achieved the victory of the 21st century as what Mao Zedong had accomplished to the Chinese revolution in 1949. To get a closer look on the nexus of literature and revolution is to read the "Journey of Prachanda Path" by Ishwor Chandra Gyanwali. *It's a journey of intense fire, how can it be obstructed?*

*No one can stop it from advancing*

*Who can resist the seasons from rotating?*

*And who can halt the change of the time?*

*Let the jail and shackles be cold but our mind won't be freeze*

*A blunt bayonet can't stab the revolution*

*The more the bullets are fired at the chest of a revolutionist*

*The more his blood blooms into flower*

*When a comrade dies and became a martyr one day*

*The next morning he rises up like a sun.*

(translated to English by Gaurav Chandra Gyawali)

This poem reflects the revolutionary optimism of comrades who have offered their dear life to the cause of the revolution. Guided by Prachanda Path no one can impede the desire of the people to liberate themselves from the chains of feudal and imperialist bandages. Confronted by hardships and sacrifices, the symbolic figure of the rising sun resurrects the eternal vision of martyrs whose blood had nourished the people's thirst for freedom and democracy. And where is this journey heading? In the song "Red Salute to Republic of Nepal" (from the CD Titled- Lal Salaam Ganatantra Nepal lai), the destination of the people's struggle is lyrically visible.

*With the uproar of people from towns and village*

*Red salute to Republic of Nepal.*

*Flag is waving, there is bliss inside,*

*Like a heart in a beautiful garden.*

*Rhododendron is blooming with redness.*

*Revolutionary thought can't be repressed.*

*People's movement, red rising sun makes us feel good.*

*The people's army march with great thought*

*And presenting them proudly,*

*Waves of struggle has made Republic of Nepal smile.*

(translated to English by Gaurav Chandra Gyawali)

Along with the people's army, we can see the whole

nation marching, singing, chanting and waving the flag of the revolution towards its goal – the establishment of the people's republic.

These poem and song above are just a representative of volumes of literature written and published during the course of the people's war. They emphasized the need and relevance of class struggle, the necessity of people's war, glorifying the martyrs of the revolution, and to strengthen the faith in achieving victory. Overall, they played an important role to reap comprehensive success not only in the economic, political, and ideological field but also in the cultural field.

Out from my quarter here in Kathmandu, before the election I have visited the cantonment of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) at Rolpa. I have met and interviewed some division and brigade commanders, soldiers, and writers. Their warm welcome and comradely salute have moved me. I was so surprised on the situation of the revolution in the heartland of the people's war. With their daily collective drills, exercises, chores, and classes, the PLA stands out to be a well-disciplined and professional army of the people. I have witnessed their cultural programs and admired the great talent of PLA soldiers. Female comrades with their neat uniforms represent the equality of gender inside the camp. Their poems, songs, dances combine with the traditional and ethnic culture. Their voices and body movements compliments the tune of their drums, organ and guitar. So graceful and meaningful in conveying the language and hymn of the revolution.

Before I left Rolpa, Comrade Bir Bahadur K.C. gave me his book of poetry titled Rata Phulharu (2063). Back at Kathmandu, I asked the help of one teacher from Tribhuvan University (Gaurav K.C.) to translate the poem commemorating the ninth anniversary of the people's war:

*This precious moment is a day for proletariats*

*Heralding the revolution against the enemy*

*and the day reflecting the image of justice*

*and emancipation of pure heart.*

*It's is unique than the usual morning of rising*

*For it has carried its glorious history*

*taking the courage to kiss the Mt. Everest of success.*

With these powerful verses, I can feel the simplicity but intense sensitivity of the revolutionary imagination of comrades in the PLA. I can gaze at the agony and sorrow but these were overpowered by the will to conquer the highest tip of the symbolic triumph of human endeavour.

Along with philosophers and politicians, writers have interpreted and reflected the reality of Nepal in so many ways. However, the important point is how to change it? So back in the 1950's anti-monarchy movement to the Jana Andolan of 1990 and 2006, writers had actively pushed on the role of literature as a weapon to achieve genuine social change in Nepal. Although they are called "protest literature" which is "progressive" and "radical," essentially they are reformist by nature. What their works have failed to attain, the Maoist writers came in to fill-in the breaks and gaps. Along with their arms and pen, they bravely wave the red flag of the revolution to inscribe and accomplish the historic mission of the proletariat. By creating revolutionary verses, metaphors, lyrics, tunes, and choruses to arouse, mobilize, and organize the people, the CPN-Maoist had successfully lead the struggle towards the building of the New People's Democratic Republic of Nepal.

*Iniego is a Fellow of the Asian Scholarship Foundation and presently affiliated with the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University (CNAS-TU).*

## No way ...

tending as if nothing has changed after the election. PM Koirala, instead of resigning and easing the political impasse, is sticking to the post. Instead of having transparent interactions to ease the process of the formation of a government and the implementation of a Republic and the drafting of a new constitution he is busy in secret talks with the representatives of foreign powers. This kind of behaviour by the NC and PM Koirala are turning the

people's aspirations into anger.

On the other hand, the CPN UML is acting very irresponsibly. Instead of evaluating their own shortcomings, the CPN UML leaders are passing a motion condemning the revolutionary forces; this is strengthening reactionary conspiracies. Blaming the YCL, the leaders of the NC and the CPN UML are trying to cover up their criminal faces. The majority of Nepali people know that more than 18 Maoist cadres have been killed by these parties at the time of the election. Our party, bearing all the

losses, moved ahead responsibly, respecting the People's aspiration for peace and progress. They are trying to obstruct our party in leading the nation by raising issues like the property of landlords captured by the people; army management etc, but these issues have been already agreed to in the 12-point understanding and the Comprehensive Peace Accord. This is a blatant violation of past agreements. The NC and the CPN UML leaders are making these kinds of shoddy excuses to disobey the People's mandate. But at the same

time, they are losing their political ground. The common norm in a democratic system is that the largest party is supposed to lead the government. Our party seats are more than that of the NC and the CPN UML put together. In this situation, if they try to obstruct our party to lead the government by making undemocratic arguments, they should prepare themselves to face the results of such actions. The Nepali people are impatiently waiting to see the government under the leadership of the CPN-M, the implementation

of the republic and beginning of a new, independent and People oriented constitution. If anyone dares to go against the people's mandate, the people will take the initiative and act by themselves. The People will revolt if the NC keeps hesitating to handover power and the CPN UML keeps trying to preserve the status-quo implicitly or explicitly. Once the people rise, the reactionary and status-quo forces will be completely washed away instantly.

*Writer is a central committee member of CPN-Maoist.*

# May 28 to start a new era

The Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala has summoned the first meeting of the constituent Assembly (CA) on May 28; it is widely believed that this meeting will root out the monarchy, and the new era of a Republican Nepal will begin by implementing the provision of the interim constitution and the People's verdict in the CA election.

PM Koirala's call for the first session of the CA came after the suggestion of the Seven Parties Alliance to call the meeting between May 25 to 28. The SPA meeting will be held at the official residence in Baluwatar, the first meeting after the successful election. The SPA had also decided to form a panel for preparing an overall package for the first CA meeting.

As the interim constitution does not specify the duration of the first meeting, the panel is to work out this and other vital issues related to the procedures of the meeting.

The CA meeting is to take place at international convention centre as the size on the existing parliament building in Singha Durbar cannot accommodate the 601 CA members.

Given the condition that the interim constitution lacks specific detail on the duration of

the first CA meeting, the CPN-Maoist top leaders, including party Chairman Prachanda, have stressed on declaring the country a Republic on the very first day of the meeting, no matter how many days the first meeting may continue.

In fact, the Maoist leaders have suggested that King Gyanendra should leave the palace before the decision of the CA, in accordance with the mandate of the people. It is certain that the people will come out on the streets to welcome the glorious day that signals the start of the new Republic era. Moreover, leaders of the Maoist party and its sister organizations have clarified that they would appeal the people to come to the street for two things; firstly to welcome the decision and to see it through, and secondly in case the King ignores the instructions of the supreme elected body, the CA.

It is ironic that the Nepali congress and the CPN-UML, after their defeat in the election, have been putting forth irrational conditions to join the next government, under the leadership of CPN-Maoist, the largest party. Clearly, they are either trying to get a big chunk of the power sharing or are deviating from the peace process.

## Why do the US and India want to see the YCL dissolved?

When the Maoists entered the peace process, Chairman Prachanda said clearly that the party was on the strategic offensive, that the Maoist party were entering a new phase he called a 'table war', a struggle not on the battlefield but in the parliament. This was not clearly understood by many Communists around the world, who thought that by joining the peace process the party had 'sold out'; that the party had stopped being a revolutionary party and had turned into a revisionist or reformist party. The overwhelming victory of the CPN Maoist in the CA elections has shown clearly that the Maoists have won the 'table war'; they beat the parliamentary parties at their own game, on their own ground, under the very nose of that imperialist organisation, the United Nations. The meaning of this victory is not for the Maoists to replace the parliamentary parties and become the same thing and do the same thing. The meaning of this victory is for the Maoists to restructure the state and move towards Socialism and Communism. This is the will of the people.

However, even after the Maoist victory in the CA polls, the old bourgeois parties do not want to serve in a Maoist led government and are trying to create obstacles. This is completely expected to the Maoist leadership. The parliamentary parties were knocked out at the CA polls; and they are setting themselves up to get knocked down again. The Nepali Congress has decided not to join the government unless certain preconditions are met, including the dissolution of the Young Communist League (YCL). The CPN UML has made a similar demand. In order to understand why the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are making this demand, it is important to recognise what the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are and what they represent. The reality of all politics is class struggle; the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML represent a class known as the 'comprador

bourgeoisie'. This class is familiar type everywhere in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It is composed of the traditional feudal elite and the new bureaucratic class that owe their privileged position in society to serving the interests of foreign imperialist powers, such as the United States and Great Britain. In Nepal, the comprador bourgeoisie are also tied to the interests of the expansionist Indian state. The comprador bourgeoisie may be regarded as the representatives and servants of the imperialist powers in the oppressed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The comprador bourgeoisie have a particular characteristic—they have two faces; with one face they spit down on their own people, with another face the kiss up to their Western masters. The demands made by the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML, therefore, are the demands of the United States and India made through the mouths of Nepali politicians. Why do the US and India want to see the YCL dissolved? It is clear enough; without the YCL it will be easy to carry out a military coup, but with the YCL it is impossible, as the YCL control the streets and the masses are with them. By not joining a Maoist led government and by continuously creating obstacles for the Maoists, the Nepali Congress and the CPN UML are speeding towards their own destruction, as they will be completely swept away by Janandolan.

Just as the defeated parliamentary powers are desperately trying to hang on to political power, the defeated royalists are also trying desperately to cling on to power. Even after their humiliating defeat at the elections, they still do not understand the people's sentiments. If this last King and his cronies are not willing to respect the people's mandate, the people will sweep them away once and for all. The United States and other imperialist powers must learn to respect democracy and stop interfering in the affairs of other nations. ○ Roshan Kissoon

## Dedication to the nation! Jaljala's invitation

In Nepal in the past two years, YCL or Young Communist League has been one of the most frequently used words. Although the YCL has been active in Nepali politics for 20 years, it has never been such a matter of concern as during these last two years. After the YCL was reorganised, it caused a tidal wave in Nepali politics.

The YCL is once again getting a lot of attention from the media, as the leaders of the defeated parties demanded that the YCL should be dissolved. But the YCL leaders are saying that there is no question of dissolution, rather it will be more galvanised. Many assume that the defeated leaders are demanding the dissolution of the YCL to take vengeance for their defeat in the CA election. Likewise, the untimely demand of the dissolution of the YCL is an attempt to prevent the Maoist leading the coalition government in the forthcoming days.

Responding to the demand of dissolution, YCL chairman Ganesh Man Pun said in a mass program in Kathmandu: "People have approved the YCL through their votes. It will be dissolved once the Communism is achieved." The YCL played an important role in creating a favourable environment for political solution in the past; people have strong expectations from the YCL.

In defiance to the bleating of the defeated parliamentary leaders, the CPN-Maoist has decided to initiate the economic revolution. In a central committee meeting of the YCL held last week, CPN-Maoist Chairman Prachanda instructed them to make plans and policies for the success of this campaign. Following the instruction of the Maoist leader, the YCL has devoted itself to the campaign and has declared some of its programs. It has initiated its social and cultural campaign all over the country from Wednesday. The YCL central leaders have informed that they will hold programs of building roads, controlling crimes, distribution of drinking water, control the frauds at manpower agencies, traffic management, and youth awareness.

In this way, happily ignoring the grumbling of some old leaders already rejected by the people, the YCL has promised to play an important role in nation building. In the central meeting, the YCL has decided to mobilise youth in agriculture, industrial development and natural resources to solve the problems of education and unemployment.

In the CA election, ten different leaders from the YCL were elected to the Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution. Out of those 10, five were elected from the first past the post system and five were nominated through proportional system. In addition, most of the elected CA members are under the age of 40.



Everyone is invited to Jaljala. In the Rolpa district, a district that is the symbol of revolution, dedication and sacrifice, is now set to spread the message of peace.

With the objective of promoting tourism and enriching the lives of people living in the district, from May 19 to 22, a four-day long Jaljala Festival is being organized by the Thawang Village Development Committee of Rolpa district. The organizers have said that preparation is at the final stage.

The major highlight of the festival is Jaljala Hill, 3193 metres high, which is rich in bio-diversity and offers a magnificent view of different mountain peaks in the mid western region. Since the ancient times, Jaljala has been revered as a place of religious importance. But recognition of Jaljala has changed in the past 12 years, as it has turned into 'sacred' place for revolutionaries. Many revolutionary artists have written on Jaljala.

Prabesh Magar, one of the organizers, informs that though Jaljala lies in a remote place, the pristine mountain environment encourages visitors to visit this place. He says that: "The area is home to diverse species of flora and fauna and different medicinal herbs".

The festival will showcase an exhibition of local handicraft products, medicinal herbs, agricultural products and other local produce. Likewise, cultural activities of the indigenous Magar people, the ethnic Bhomya Dance of Thawang village and Dohori songs will also be showcased during the festival.

The Jaljala festival is being organised by Integrated Remote Development Nepal, Rolpa. The event is being promoted by Nepal Tourism Board.

The organizers have informed that Maoist Chairman Prachanda is inaugurating the Festival. Com. Prachanda won the election from Rolpa. Krishna Bahadur Mahara and other Constituent Assembly Members and distinguished personnel are also scheduled to take part at this occasion.

## May 29 : Everest Day

Government of Nepal has decided to celebrate May 29 as the International Mount Everest Day from this year. The first men ever to set foot on the peak of Mount Everest – Tenzing Norgay Sherpa and Sir Edmund Hillary – did so on 29 May 1953.

Events like screening of films related to mountains, photo exhibition and cultural shows would be organised this year to mark the first celebration. Dozens of internationally noted summiters will be invited to join the celebrations. It is believed that this occasion shall play an important role to boost the country's appeal to tourists and adventure travelers, according to reports.

This decision has also come as the occasion to pay tributes to Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay. In February, after the death of Sir Edmund Hillary, the airport that most mountain climbers and hikers use to access the Everest region was renamed Hillary-Tenzing airport.