

# The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History

[This document is undated, but from internal evidence it appears to be from 2001.]

*“Correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. If it is correct, everything is gained, but if it wrong, everything is lost.” —Mao Tse-tung*

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With its originality and grandeur, the People’s War has completed its five memorable years and is entering the sixth. Through its rapid development process, it is entering an entirely new and higher stage of achievements and challenges during this period. The ideological synthesis of the experiences of those five years on the basis of universal principles of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been necessary for the continuation and further development of the Nepalese revolution and to serve the world revolution as well. Needless to say, this synthesis shall be based on lofty objectives of furthering the world revolution in the 21st century, learning lessons from both world communist movement and Nepalese communist movement. Moreover, it shall be the synthesis of achievements gained through initiatives and active participation of millions of Masses in the historical and great process of People’s War. Lastly, it shall be the rehearsal of the great leap forward. This National Conference held amidst the People’s War shall, in keeping with the gravity and broadness of the question, draw correct conclusions through broad and serious discussion in a fully democratic environment, and, ultimately, be indisputably successful. Hearty Homage to the Great and Immortal Martyr

The toiling masses have been forging ahead the struggles for thousands of years in various forms and levels against all kinds of discrimination, exploitation, oppression and atrocities by men on men. The human society has reached the capitalist era from slave and feudal era in course of incessant process of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. As an inevitable consequence, modern proletarian class emerged together with the capitalist era. The emergence of this last and revolutionary class of history produced Marxism, which is, in fact, the supreme synthesis of the knowledge and experiences of the human beings and ideology

of the proletariat. For the first time in history, Marxism consciously established the right of the proletariat and toiling masses to rebel against the right of exploiting classes to exploit, which they had been enjoying for thousands of years. Besides, it drew a scientific conclusion that the ultimate result of this rebellion shall be the founding of communism in the world.

Together with Marxism as an historical invention of the proletariat, the class struggle began shaking the whole earth. In the process of the class struggle, the proletariat developed its ideology from Marxism to the level of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism. During the turbulent years of class struggle, the proletariat and working people have set unparalleled records of dedication and sacrifice for the achievement of lofty goals of communist ideals. And they are still on their voyage to reach their ultimate destination, synthesizing the triumphs and defeats of the class struggles.

As an inseparable part of world proletarian revolution, the People's War led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a vanguard of the Nepalese proletarian class, has been going on in Nepal for the last 5 years. Hundreds of Nepalese heroes and heroines have shed their blood in order to bring the great process of achieving the great ideals of communism to this height. In particular, more than 1,500 people including the Alternate Politburo Member of Central Committee of our Party, Com. Suresh Wagle (Basu), first child martyr Dil Bahadur Ramtel, Tirtha Gautam, Bijaya Ghale, Lali Roka, Kamla Bhatta etc. have sacrificed their invaluable lives in this context. This Second National Conference pays hearty homage to all the martyrs of the People's War and resolutely expresses its commitments to fight till the end against the enemies in order to materialize their dreams. Moreover, the Conference pays tributes to Chiniya Kaji, Bhim Datta Pant, Kami Budha, the martyrs of Harre-Barre, Jugedi and Jutpani, and Rishi Devkota "Ajad", Rambrikshya Yadav, the martyrs of Jhapa revolt, and all known and unknown martyrs of historical mass movements of 1980 and 1990 who sacrificed their lives in the fight against feudalism and imperialism before the People's War was initiated in Nepal.

With full commitment to and solidarity with proletarian internationalism, the Second National Conference of the Party pays tributes to all the martyrs of Peru, India, the Philippines, Turkey, Iran, Columbia, Bangladesh and others who gave their lives in order to advance the world revolution.

### **International Communist Movement and its Historical Lessons**

Born together with capitalism, the proletariat is the last, revolutionary and international class of history. In Europe, its emergence and struggle against capitalism paved the way for founding of Marxism. Of extraordinary talent, Karl Marx along with his very intimate friend, Frederick Engels, discovered the world outlook of the proletariat - the dialectical and historical materialism. Known as Marxism, this scientific discovery was nothing but in essence a supreme synthesis of the experience and knowledge the mankind achieved in thousands of years. This science synthesized with a revolutionary objective of transforming the world, and not merely explaining it, brought an unprecedented revolution in the thinking of mankind, and provided a scientific device to understand and transform the world, and to fight against all kinds of dogmas, superstitions & evils of the society.

Marxism proved irrefutably how a particular production relation is established among the people with the development of productive forces in the process of production and reproduction for fulfillment of material needs, and how total development of history after the stage of primitive communism is the history of class struggle as determined by definite scientific laws. This is the allegation of historical materialism against total history.

Exposing the real cause of capitalist exploitation and accumulation of capital in the hands of a handful of capitalists in society, Marx put forward the great theory of surplus value. Also, Marxism made it clear how capitalism has created a vicious circle of exploitation by turning the human labor into a non-living thing in order to make more profits, and, at the same time, how it is developing huge army of modern proletarian class and is ultimately digging its own grave.

Considering the unprecedented development of productive forces and the contradiction between socialization of production process and private appropriation of production, Marxism explained the coming into existence of the responsibility for social revolution on the shoulder of the proletariat and put forward a scientific ideal of golden communist society by demolishing the classes and states and ending all kinds of exploitation of men by men. Marx and Engels laid foundation of basic principles relating to the strategy of the proletariat to be pursued for the achievement of great ideals of communist society. In sum, fundamental views on the dictatorship of proletariat and socialist state as an inevitable need for the transitional period from capitalism to communism, need of violent revolution, need of the destruction of the old capitalist state, concept of development of armed masses, were presented. In his whole life, Engels fought vigorously against the bourgeois trends appearing in the worker's movement to establish this scientific view.

Against the concept of bourgeois nationalism developed for security and need of the market, Marxism upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism. Chanting the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" loudly, the first Communist International was founded with initiative of and under the leadership of Marx and Engels. It spread the scientific ideas of "Communist Manifesto" among the workers and, simultaneously, fought vigorously against various opportunist trends appearing in the International Communist Movement. It is in this context that in Paris (France), the proletariat, for the first time in history, seized the state through armed revolt. Renowned as "Paris Commune" all over the world, this historical revolt not only justified the basic principles of Marxism but also helped Marx and Engels to refine it with the synthesis of the experiences. Though lasting for a short period of only 72 days due to its inherent mistakes, Marx and Engels declared that its experiences would live forever.

It is particularly remarkable that the views of Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune have been working as a historical inspiration even today to identify and fight against revisionism and opportunism in the communist movement. Due to the defeat of Paris Commune and conspiracy of opportunists within, the First Communist International was dissolved. However, after the death of Marx and as per need of new situation, the Second Communist International was formed again under the leadership of Engels in 1889, which played a significant role in disseminating Marxism in the primary stage. But after Engel's death, the leaders of the Second International, mainly Karl Kautsky, knelt before the bourgeois parliamentarism and betrayed revolutionary

principles of Marxism. In course of the hard struggle against reformism and parliamentarism a Bolshevik Party and revolutionary struggle of a new type developed under the leadership of Lenin and socialist revolution was completed in Russia in 1917. During the life and death struggle against revisionism for the defense of its scientific and revolutionary teachings, Marxism developed into Marxism-Leninism. Lenin highly stressed that there can be no struggle against reaction unless it is linked with that against opportunism. He elevated the philosophy of dialectical materialism to a new height. The fact that the principle of unity and struggle of opposites is the only fundamental principle of dialectics was further explained. By analyzing and researching on the characteristics of imperialism, Lenin contributed qualitatively in the field of political economy and defined the new era as the “era of imperialism and proletarian revolution” which made a great contribution in devising the strategy and tactics of revolution. His analyses, which were well justified by later events, are equally correct even today. Lenin not only enriched Marxism on total aspects of scientific socialism including the concept of a new party, strategy of socialist revolution, struggle against revisionism, uniting peasants for revolution in the backward countries and significance of full democratic revolution, proletarian view on right of nations to self-determination, proletarian revolution to lead the national liberation movement in the eastern countries, development and struggle of the workers and masses in capitalist countries developed into the imperialist stage, but also elevated it to a new height of development.

The success of Great October Socialist Revolution created unprecedented waves in the world. The masses oppressed for centuries felt that they had found out a new way to real liberation. Fiercely resisting the outlook of the imperialists and reactionaries, the Third International was formed with the initiative and under the leadership of Lenin in 1919 in order to forge ahead the world revolution in an organized way. Taking Soviet socialist state founded in a very large part of the earth as a base area, he gave emphasis on advancing the world revolution. The revolution of Germany among the developed countries and the issue of the same in the countries like India, China among the undeveloped countries was seriously thought over. Declaring that the proletarian revolution in backward countries with a majority of peasants is “very hard and great,” he emphasized on applying general principles of communism in accordance with concrete situation of the country concerned. Eventually, a concept of “National Democratic Revolution” was put forward as it required to fight against colonial and semi-colonial exploitation, too, in such countries. However, Lenin emphasized that communist revolutionaries of the countries concerned must work out and develop the strategy of revolution themselves. At this juncture, particular attention must be paid to the stress given by Comintern led by Lenin on the significance of creative application of general principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism in accordance with the national characteristics of such countries.

At a time, when the struggles are still needed in the international communist movement against the trend which, even today, represents, on the one hand, sectarian nationalism on the pretext of national characteristics, and, on the other, the Trotskyist trend which undermines national characteristics on the pretext of internationalism, its significance is evident.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin led the international communist movement. He served proletarian movement by undertaking historical tasks such as defeating the right liquidationism which emerged in the form of so-called permanent revolution of Zinoviev, Kamenov and, mainly, Trotsky; establishing Leninism; strengthening Soviet Union by collective farming and

planned economic development; knocking the Hitlerian fascism to the ground in the Second World War; synthesizing the experiences of Soviet economic development, and leading the whole international communist movement for about three decades.

Nevertheless, the fact that many serious weaknesses prevailed in Stalin and eventually, they caused some serious problems should not go unheeded. While doing so, our starting point should be, of course Stalin's evaluation made by Mao, in which he has divided his thoughts and works into two aspects and declared 70 percent of them correct and 30 percent wrong.

Advancing on the basis of general guideline about revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage as put forward by Lenin during the initial period of Third International and greatly influencing the international power balance, the New Democratic revolution was completed successfully in China. The successful revolution in a huge area with the largest population in the world through struggles of decades, presented a new model for revolution in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage. As Lenin had called for, Communist Party of China led by Mao undertook the "great and difficult" task of revolution in an eastern country by creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in their own specificities. In this context, Communist Party of China led by Mao enriched and developed the Marxist science. The theory and knowledge of contradiction in philosophy, analysis of bureaucratic capitalism in political economy, development of strategy for New Democratic revolution and universal principle of People's War, concrete concept of Party, army and united front, clearly show the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

During the process of revolution, Mao had to fight hard against right and 'left' opportunism of various kinds and the elements who wanted to mechanically copy the foreign experiences, such as Li Li San, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo -Tao etc. When pondered deeply, Mao's struggle against Li Li San, Wang Ming etc., seems, in essence, to be related to the struggle against many mechanical materialist thinking and working styles of Stalin and Comintern, though he never disclosed it. Mao had called upon the people to be alert against the threat of mechanical materialist and metaphysical thinking that existed in the Communist Party of China and international communist movement not only through his policy of unity and struggle worked out in the case of united front but also through his great works like "On Contradictions", "On Practice", "Reform Your Studies", "Rectify Working Style", "On New Democracy" etc.

In the international communist movement, Mao defined the Party as a unity of opposites, and not as a monolithic and homogenous unity, and clarified that two-line struggle inside the Party is, indeed, always the motivating force for the Party life. In addition, clarifying the inter-relation between class struggle in society and two-line struggle in the Party, he presented scientific explanation about the fact that as long as classes are there, the Party exists and as long as the Party exists, ideological struggle prevails. He declared the concept of monolithic unity as anti-dialectical and flatly rejected it. His view on Party added a new dimension to the Leninist view of militant Party of a new type. According to Mao, a struggle between the right and wrong ideas always runs inside the Party and at a certain stage, wrong ideas appear as revisionism and take in turn into a hostile struggle with the revolutionaries. If non-proletarian ideas prevail in the Party, the whole Party changes its colour. Therefore, the revolutionaries should continuously revolutionize the Party through two-line struggles.

Thus, the Chinese revolution based on Marxist-Leninist thoughts goaded millions of workers and peasants to be the masters of their own destiny. Communist Party of China led by Mao put forward a programme for socialist revolution right after the success of New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. In this historical process of socialist revolution, the contradictions between the revolutionaries and the people who had been influenced by the bourgeois character of New Democratic Revolution and joined the revolution, intensified. Right at that period, Stalin died in Soviet Union. The Khrushchovite revisionism seized the leadership in the 20th Congress in a counter-revolutionary coup in the Soviet Union, and capitalism was restored. The Khrushchov clique was successful to overturn socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat in the pretext of struggle against personality cult of Stalin. This event shocked the revolutionaries all over the world. Terrorizing with nuclear arms the clique rejected the decisive role of the people in the making of history. The renegade Khrushchovite clique advocated class conciliation instead of class struggle in the name of “three peacefuls”. He cloaked his blatant advocacy of bourgeois parliamentarism with the possibility arisen from the changed world situation. Encouraged by the restoration of capitalism in Russia, the Chinese rightists intensified their attack on the proletarian revolutionaries in the Party. The Peng Teh-hui event is a concrete example of this.

In the face of the complex situation, Mao seriously thought over the class struggle in socialism and upheld the banner of struggle against modern revisionism of Khrushchov outside the country and right opportunism inside the Party. During the fierce struggle, Mao put forward, with a scientific analysis of class struggle in socialism, a concept of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principle to prevent restoration of capitalism and led the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, which is considered as an unprecedented mass-revolution in the whole history of mankind. With this earth-shaking revolution, Mao armed the proletarian class with a new weapon to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the socialist society. This great contribution established Mao as the propounder of a new, third and higher stage of Marxism, i.e. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This great revolution prevented restoration of capitalism in China for 10 years. Notwithstanding the success of capitalist-roaders to restore capitalism in China through counter-revolutionary plots due to various national and international reasons after Mao’s death, the significance of the principle he developed has not declined at all, but, instead, it has grown as a beacon for future revolutions.

What is notable here is that Mao, after the Khrushchov clique succeeded in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union without any serious resistance, fought, on the one hand, to safeguard the achievements of the first socialist state of the world, and on the other, persevered seriously in studying the weaknesses which caused such an irreparable loss. It is in this context that we must understand his defense of Stalin against the attack of Khrushchov clique, and explanation of various mistakes and weaknesses of him. Mao’s evaluation of Stalin stands apart against both rightist revisionism that negates him completely, and sectarian dogmatist revisionism that accepts even his mistakes and weaknesses. In the international communist movement, the former trend is led by Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchev etc., while, the latter trend is led by Enver Hoxa, etc. Another important point to note is that the Euro-Communism, on the pretext of opposing Stalin’s concept of monolithic unity and bureaucracy, began opposing unified dialectical materialist science of Marxism itself from bourgeois anarchist pluralist angle.

When the debate was going on in the international communist movement and Khrushchov, the ring-leader of modern revisionism, along with imperialism was simultaneously defaming Stalin from counter-revolutionary angle, it was but necessary to defend Stalin emphasizing his essentially correct and positive aspects. Doing so did not mean defending him alone but also the whole communist movement, socialism, and in all, Marxism-Leninism itself. But today things have changed greatly; the Khrushchov revisionism, later turning into social imperialism, has fallen completely with the dissolving of the Soviet Union. In China, the Chinese Khrushchovites have usurped power through a counter-revolutionary coup and restored capitalism after Com. Mao's death. Today there isn't even a single socialist state in the world.

At this moment, the revolutionaries all over the world are free, without any political pressure, to draw the essence of the experiences of history, and a great responsibility has been laid on their shoulder, to fulfill which they must work hard, no doubt. In this context, we must go into the depth of what has been mentioned in the very beginning of the letter entitled "The Question of Stalin" during the Great Debate launched by the Communist Party of China led by Mao against the Khrushchov revisionism. It states, "The question of Stalin is one of world-wide importance which has had repercussions among all classes in every country and which is still a subject of much discussion today, with different classes and their political parties and groups taking different views. It is likely that no final verdict can be reached on this question in the present century". The century as stated by the Communist Party of China led by Mao has ended and twenty-first century has already started. We must focus our attention on defending Stalin's 70 percent positive contributions and drawing lessons from his 30 percent errors. As elsewhere stated in the same article, "It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that... the Communists might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors". Another important point is that his errors contain two aspects - the errors committed inevitably due to lack of experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the errors caused by ideological mistakes. It was not possible to prevent the former errors but the latter ones could be.

Listing the errors of Stalin, it is stated in the same article of Great Debate, "In his way of thinking, Stalin departed from dialectical materialism and fell into metaphysics and subjectivism on certain questions and consequently he was sometimes divorced from reality and from the masses. In struggles inside as well as outside the Party, on certain occasions and on certain questions he confused two types of contradictions, which are different in nature, contradiction between the enemy and us and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished, but at the same time there were innocent people who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. In the matter of Party and government organization, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism and, to some extent, violated it. In handling relations with fraternal Parties and countries he made some mistakes. He also gave some bad counsel in the international communist movement. These mistakes caused some losses to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement".

In the background of experiences of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Maoism and contemporary international communist movement, what is evident today is the fact that although he was a great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin's ideological mistakes have substantially influenced the world communist movement subjectively. Categorically speaking, he had some weaknesses in his thinking of understanding and dealing with fundamental principles of dialectics, the unity and struggle of opposite. Taking the Communist Party as a monolithic unity, instead of unity of opposites, led him to errors in identifying the nature, relations and ways of dealing of two-line struggle inside the Party. As a result, it was declared, on the ground of rapid economic growth through elimination of private ownership, collective farming and industrialization, that there was no hostile class-contradiction in the Soviet society, which violated basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such analysis made Stalin think one-sidedly that threat to the Soviet society may occur from external intervention and conspiracy only. The emphasis on possibility of counter-revolution from external intervention and conspiracy, instead of paying adequate attention on how new capitalism is produced within the Communist Party itself in the Soviet society and how to control them, violated at times Lenin's basic postulates on the relation between building of socialism in one country and the development of world revolution, developed at the initial period of the Comintern. Though there was no ill intention at all, the emphasis on safeguarding the Soviet society from external threat virtually undermined internationalism and exaggerated Russian nationalism, which created a lot of confusions about understanding and advancing the world revolution and functioning of the Comintern. It is to be remembered that Lenin, while forming the Comintern, had stressed the concept of world revolution and world Communist Party and everything would be subsumed under it, but under the leadership of Stalin, the world revolution was considered as a part of Soviet society, instead of vice versa. This is what Mao has pointed out as wrong advice of Stalin on the international communist movement.

Stalin took collective farming, industrialization and rapid development of production and productive forces due to centralized planning in the economic field as enough grounds for the guarantee of the success of socialism and kept on stressing on it one-sidedly. It undermined the importance of resolving differences prevailing in the society and revolutionizing the production relations. This helped in developing a new bourgeois class, which was represented later by counter-revolutionary Khrushchovite clique from inside the Party and thus established the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by overturning that of the proletariat.

Drawing lessons from the errors of Stalin due to historical limitations and ideological weaknesses, Mao studied seriously the economic policy and pointed out its positive and negative aspects to elevate the Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the class-struggle in a socialist society to a new height in order to prevent restoration of capitalism and presented a new model of socialist economy that required one to be red and expert and to walk with two legs, etc. Collective ownership of production alone does not guarantee the success of socialism because many kinds of differences such as mental and physical labour, city & village, capitalist stage of the production of commodities, etc., still exist in the society which continue to provide material ground for growth of new capitalist class. Therefore, Mao made it clear that characteristics of both communism and capitalism exist in socialism and there remains the danger of capitalist restoration. He aptly presented the scientific truth that march towards communism is possible by regulating capitalism through the process of continuous revolution after the proletariat seizes the political state power.

On the basis of this principle he led the people to exercise the right to rebel against the capitalist-roaders of the Party who advocated the Khrushovite line, which claimed that it was good to be rich. He drew a clear demarcation line between the Marxist revolutionaries and revisionists with the principle of 3 Dos and Don'ts: 'Practice Marxism, not revisionism; Unite, do not split; Be open and above board, do not conspire and intrigue'. With the slogan, "Bombard the bourgeois headquarter," he called upon the people to invade the fort of the revisionists. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, through the struggle against the renegades Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, he further developed the dialectical method of achieving new unity on a new basis in the Party through a process of unity-struggle-transformation and emphasized the need to form Party committees according to the principle of 3 in 1 with olds, adults and youths in order to transfuse new blood in the Party. However, it was not possible to sweep away all the rightists who had reached higher echelons in the Party and government, because of several negative impacts of international communist movement, historical limitation of class struggle and since it had been virtually late in exposing them. But it has enhanced the importance of the principle developed. Some people do not realize the complexity of the Cultural Revolution period and blame Mao for a number of compromises in the later period, which is completely wrong. He had been promoting the rise of revolutionaries including Chiang Ching, Chiang Chun-chiao as a revolutionary core in the Party. He was in fact, leading the so-called Gang of Four and was the most farsighted.

In this regard, an important question may be raised: why didn't he take any initiative for building a new Communist International, though he had experience of waging historical struggle against Khrushchovite revisionism and conducting the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? In reply, several negative experiences of the Comintern in the latest period might be put forward but that simply can't be the major factor. As a matter of fact, Mao had been ideologically leading the international communist movement by waging struggle against Khrushchovite revisionism and leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and by supporting, co-operating with and disseminating the national liberation, New Democratic and socialist revolutions all over the world. But objectively there were some serious practical difficulties in giving them an organized form. Among the visible ones were dogmatist revisionist, centrist and chauvinist Communist Parties of Albania, Vietnam and North Korea etc. who would reject the universal contributions of Mao. And it was not possible to form the Communist International by ignoring all of them at that time. But today the situation has changed greatly. There is not even a single socialist state in the world. Genuine revolutionaries have upheld Maoism as higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. New wave of revolution appears in the horizon. Now, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is there as an ideological foundation for the creation of a new Communist International. All the communist revolutionaries need to march forward seriously to give it an organized form through class and ideological struggle. Today RIM has already emerged as an embryo of. Everybody has to attempt to refine and develop it. Special attention must be paid to conduct discussions and interactions with revolutionaries outside the RIM and uniting them in the movement.

While doing so, the communist revolutionaries should seriously look into the experiences of the Comintern and try to resolve the issues of evaluation of 7th Congress of Comintern, Second World War and dissolving of Comintern, suggestions given to the Communist Parties of several countries to form government with anti-fascist bourgeoisie and Lenin's criticism of

Millerandism, the position of Communist Parties of Greece, Italy, France, Spain, India, China etc. and Stalin's role, etc. These questions lie in front of the international communist movement as challenges. Maoism has already provided the scientific basis for the answers to these questions. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries of the world need to accelerate the initiative to learn from the positive and negative experiences of the past by applying Maoism.

### **Some Fundamental Characteristics of the International Situation**

The analysis of basic characteristics of imperialism made by Lenin just before the great Russian October Revolution is still correct. Accordingly, the world is in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution even today. In today's world, there are four kinds of basic contradictions: the contradiction between bourgeois and proletariat, the inter-imperialist contradiction for profit and plunder, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and the contradiction between the capitalist system and socialist system. Among them, the fourth is not in the surface now but as per the past experience and for future guarantee, we must take it into account continuously. The socialist revolution comes out of the first contradiction and that is its solution. The second contradiction leads to world war for re-division of the world but is not permanently resolved. As Mao has said, the proletariat should attempt to prevent the world war as far as possible, but if unsuccessful, they should work out the policy to turn the world war into world revolution. The third contradiction leads to the national liberation movements and the contradiction ends with its success.

Among them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people is the principal world contradiction today. The Party should be clear about some important ideological and political questions as regards to deciding about the principal world contradiction, because a wrong trend to undermine and neglect the historical significance of national liberation movement and label it as a sectarian nationalism has been prevailing in the international communist movement. Moreover, the Trotskyist and, chiefly, Khrushovite revisionism has influenced it to a great extent. The first thing to note here is that, in the course of development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution while founding of Russian socialism and forming the Comintern in order to advance the world revolution and formulation of its strategies, Lenin had stated that the proletarian revolution and national liberation movement should fuse into each other and the fusion would be a historically important task. Imperialism has been blocking socialist revolution by creating an aristocratic class even within the working class with a portion of their unaccountable profits extracted through merciless exploitation and plunder of the masses of colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. Therefore, Lenin, paying due attention to the importance of incorporating national liberation movement within the proletarian movement, forwarded the slogan, "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" He concentrated maximum attention on the national liberation movements of the oppressed countries including India, China. On the basis of this analysis of Lenin, Mao developed in the world proletarian movement a total concept of the significance and the question of leadership of the national liberation movement.

Imperialism has been maximizing the exploitation, oppression and political suppression of the people of oppressed countries by using their reactionary ruling classes. It has been reducing the

people poorer and poorer by making use of the economy of the oppressed countries as its own integral part and drawing excessive profits through cheap labour and raw materials. That is exactly what has made the situation mature for New Democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why Mao declared these regions as storm centres of world revolution and asserted revolution as being the basic trend of the world. He proclaimed the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations as the principal contradiction of the world. Grasping the historical truth that national liberation movement had become the integral part of world proletarian movement, Mao developed the strategic method of establishing proletarian leadership over it. In spite of important changes in the form, Mao's analysis stands correct in essence even today. During the cold war, the Russian social imperialism and U.S. imperialism spent huge amount of money in arms for the expansion of their influence and eventually turned into superpowers. They imposed various kinds of regional wars on the oppressed countries and another world war appeared very close. But the Russian social imperialism could not maintain its old form due to the imperialist crisis and collapsed politically and economically. Ironically, the western imperialism propagated this collapse as the collapse of communism and celebrated joyously its unipolar hegemony.

This event definitely enabled the US imperialism more opportunity for direct plunder, exploitation and intervention in the "third world" and the entire world. This accelerated the unhindered mobilization of finance capital in the worldwide scale. This is what has been hailed by imperialism as 'globalization'. Through this 'globalization' imperialism has entrapped the whole economy of the oppressed countries and has been dictating and pressurizing the reactionary ruling classes of those countries to pursue the policy of liberalization in order to speed up the flow of capital. Through the economic giants like World Bank, IMF etc., imperialism has created the environment to play the role of director and controller of economic affairs of the oppressed countries. Mainly the U.S. imperialism grew more and more encouraged to amass unlimited profits by combining the unprecedented progress in science and technology, including electronics, with the cheap labour of the third world.

After all, what has been the ultimate objective result of the imperialist campaign of 'unipolar world', 'globalization' and 'liberalization'? The experience of the last ten years has already shown the truth. This is intensifying the contradictions between different classes and between rich and poor countries. Even according to the data prepared by the imperialists (which is best manipulated to suit the interests of the authority concerned) the rich countries with only 25 percent population of the world own 80 percent of the world's wealth, meanwhile 85 percent have only 15 percent of wealth in their hands. Today 2.5 billion people are extremely poor, 1 billion people are living their extremely miserable life below the absolute poverty line. 80 million people of the third world are forced to leave their country for their livelihood every year. More than 20 million children are forced to labour. Class contradiction is intensifying even in the imperialist countries. Even in the USA, the number one bully of the world, more than 20 million people are suffering from absolute poverty. Racial discrimination, inequality, unemployment, homelessness, social insecurity, women's oppression etc. are growing day-by-day. They bring out the resentment of the people from time to time, to suppress which the ruling classes are compelled to use special military force and devise new strategy. In Western Europe, unemployment has been institutionalized and people resort to street struggles because of shortage and inflation. Suppression, terror and religious and communal riots against people's resentment,

national liberation movement and socialist movement developing everywhere in the third world countries, have been the daily routine of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The fact that their political cover bearing the signboard of parliamentary democracy has been torn to pieces has been splendidly brought about by the world events and the recently conducted drama of U.S. presidential elections. If a country advocates even a little of economic and political freedom, the imperialists take no time in imposing economic sanction against them, resorting to political pressure, and military intervention and genocide. Their intervention in Iraq, Yugoslavia, Palestine, Mexico along with other Asian, African and Latin American countries, verify this.

Imperialism has built a gigantic mechanism of military force and strategy in order to maintain the new 'world order'. The U.S. imperialism has developed military strategy 'to keep up' its global economic plunder and hegemony. According to the data of their defense budget, the U.S imperialism has allocated \$262 billions in the defense alone that is almost half of that of the world. When the defense budgets of its alliance partners like NATO countries, Japan, Israel, South Korea, also are included, it exceeds 80 percent of the world. Today the USA has become the main center for arms smuggling. The US imperialism, through its military - industrial complex, has been successfully looting the world and fooling their people by parting with a small portion of its loots. It has put on alert a huge military force in the Gulf and Korean Peninsula to fight against Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, North Korea and Cuba whose total defense budget amounts to \$15 billion only. As Lenin has stated about imperialism, the USA has been giving priority to its military force to continue its political and military hegemony over its alliances, and is intensifying the activities with its global military hegemony in the countries like India, China in order to capture the huge reserve of cheap labour and raw materials. On top of this its strategic alliance with the Indian expansionism has been rapidly growing and dark clouds of massive plunder and genocide in South Asia are looming larger. The opening of a FBI branch in Delhi is its evidence. These facts show the importance of Mao's concept of three worlds in the immediate tactical sense.

However, the facts have also indicated that objectively the imperialists, mainly the Yankee imperialism, have been getting fully entangled in the contradictions with the oppressed countries and people. Though there is no contention between the super-powers at present, following the end of cold war, the so-called unipolar dream is what can never come true as shown by open and disguised clashes and conflicts of economic and political interests between the USA, European community, Japan and Russia. With this crisis the possibility of revolt by millions of masses has seen intensified day-by-day.

We must pay our serious attention to the following specific situation, though created by imperialism with an evil intention of grabbing the profits in the present world. Firstly, it has guaranteed the acceleration of People's consciousness to move from the realm of necessity to that of freedom by linking high technology with cheap labour of the huge population of the masses. Secondly, with the process of globalization to grab profits, the unprecedented development in the field of information technology, mainly electronics, has narrowed down the world just to a small rural unit. Therefore, it is very likely that an event of any place will have a great positive or negative impact on the whole world and vice versa. Thirdly, the worldwide

system of imperialism of producing and distributing the arms has been indirectly playing the role for technical preparation for the People's War in a worldwide scale. Fourthly, the unlimited production and globalization of the social production process has unwittingly built a material ground in a rapid way for the communist principle of work according to the capacity and distribution according to the need. Fifthly, and mainly, imperialism has been preparing a revolutionary objective situation for 80 percent people of the world by intensifying the class struggle, principally the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people to the maximum.

The objective situation of the internal contradictions of the imperialists and unequal development and distribution as per the inherent character of capitalism, will lead to the revolution in any country in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and its international importance is just evident. It magnificently justifies Mao's analysis that Asia, Africa and Latin America shall be the storm centres of revolution. These characteristics clearly indicate that 21st century shall be the century of People's Wars, and the triumph of the world socialist system. Apart from this, it also shows that there has been a significant change in the prevailing concept of model of revolution after the 1980s. Today a new fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection into the protracted People's War and that of protracted People's War into the armed insurrection has been imperative. Without such a fusion, a genuine revolution is impossible in any country of the world today.

The historical need of today is to advance the world revolution through the means of People's War in accordance with particular characteristics of each country by developing genuine Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to lead the masses in different countries. This historical responsibility can't be borne until the universality of Mao's contributions for the world revolution is upheld and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is established as its ideological commander.

The new situation has been preparing ideological and material ground for the formation of a new Communist International to advance the world revolution by learning lessons from the past experiences. RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement), constituted on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to co-ordinate revolutionary movements of various countries and to advance the world revolution, is a significant step in this direction. It has been developing through experiences of revolutionary movements and ideological struggles of various countries. Serious challenges are posed before the RIM for the development of a new International, like developing an integrated understanding through scientific synthesis of the world communist movement, mainly, Comintern, second world war and Stalin's role; struggling against ultra-internationalist Trotskyist deviation that minimizes the national liberation movement, on the one hand, and ultra-nationalist deviation that undermines proletarian internationalism, on the other; co-operating to develop the genuine Maoist Parties in various countries; and uniting with all existing revolutionary Parties through struggles, etc. Facing these challenges successfully, all genuinely proletarian revolutionaries need to accelerate their initiatives for the development of a new International. What is most important is to correctly grasp the nature of contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and establishing proletarian internationalism as the leader of national liberation movements. A world revolution isolated from the struggle to establish the worldwide significance of revolution developed in any

backward country of Asia, Africa and Latin America is just impossible.

Finally, it is crystal clear from the analysis of the world situation that the world order of the imperialists is the rotten, barbarian and terrorizing system, which is but a curse for the whole mankind. Material condition for the establishment of the great ideals of communism with complete elimination of exploitation and oppression of man by man has been growing more and more mature and the political parties of the proletariat need to take initiatives from new heights in order to courageously advance the world revolution. Twenty-first century shall be the century of world revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism shall be its ideological leader.

### **On the Situation in South Asia**

South Asia, with 20 percent of the world's population, has suffered greatly from poverty, scarcity, illiteracy and unemployment due to feudal and imperialist suppression. The people of this region have been making for years a series of dedication and sacrifices in the national liberation and democratic movements for their progress and liberation. It should be comprehended that both the feudal and imperialist suppression and the just struggle of the people against it are reaching to a climax and are heading toward the decisive collision. The more the revolutionary struggle of the people intensifies, the more the reactionary ruling classes of Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh kneel down before imperialism, increase the exploitation and suppression of the people and heighten the state terror. Ruling classes of each country of this region are facing severe contradictions with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Armed national liberation movements, democratic movements and People's War are shaking the whole region. Another positive aspect of this region is the advancing Maoist revolutionary movement by posing grave challenges to the reactionary classes and presenting a concrete alternative for the masses.

The Indian monopoly capitalist ruling class, the true successor of British imperialism, has been pursuing the expansionist policy of pressure, intervention and sabotage against the national aspirations of the people and neighboring countries. It has been endeavoring to quell with guns and state terror the aspirations of the people of Kashmir and North -Eastern states and New Democratic movements in Andhra, Bihar, and intensifying pressure, sabotage and provocative activities under the strategy of making Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka as new a Sikkim. With an intention to isolate Pakistan after the end of the Cold War and fulfill its desire for regional hegemony, the Indian ruling classes have knelt down before US imperialism and have opened the door for them for merciless exploitation of the people of this region in the pretext of liberalization. The Indian ruling class has been abetting the imperialist master plan to encircle China and make it capitulate completely by taking India in its grip. It has been making blatant interventions in the internal affairs of neighboring countries in order to enthrone its agents and advance the process of 'Sikkimization'. It has been harboring plots to link the People's War in Nepal going on for five years with Pakistan, China and smugglers and thereby misleading the Indian people.

It has been the characteristic of the Indian ruling class to conspire to use the common aspirations of national democratic revolution against the semi-feudal and semi-colonial

condition, distinct nature of geo-political position and economic, political, religious and cultural relations established among the people since history, to fulfill its regional hegemonistic aspirations. The Indian ruling class and its aspirations have been working behind the similar policy and nature of suppression and terrorist intrigues practiced by ruling classes of all the countries of this region. This distinct condition provides a unique nature to the need, possibility and importance of unity in the just struggle of the people of all countries of this region. Theoretically, the possibility of direct fusion of national liberation movement and proletarian movement, as stated by Lenin, can also be witnessed here. Due to the particularities of economic, political, cultural and geographical condition and the unchallenged hold of Indian monopoly capitalism, it will be very difficult for any single country of this region to successfully complete the new national democratic revolution and even if it succeeds following the distinct contradictions, it will be almost impossible for it to survive. The revolutionaries need to seriously concentrate on the fact that a particular country or a particular territory of a country shall be liberated through the force of common and joint struggle of the people of this region following the unequal stage of development, and that can play only a particular role of base-area for the revolution in the whole region.

Right here, all the revolutionaries of the region should pay their attention to Lenin's effort to generalize the great Russian October Revolution of 1917, founding of Soviet Union and their experiences. It is clear that real liberation is impossible unless it becomes a part of or serves the world revolution on the basis of proletarian internationalism. This is the peculiarity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The workers have no country and the slogan "Workers of the world, unite" has been always making the proletarian revolutionaries cautious about their international responsibility. The challenge of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particularity of the national liberation and democratic movements of this region under the guidance of the great idea and aspiration of proletarian internationalism, remains formidable. The unification of the struggles for right of nations to self-determination and the proletarian movement alone can meet this challenge. To grasp this properly, we should seriously ponder over the concept of national democratic revolution put forward by Lenin after founding the Soviet Union and in the initial period of Comintern, and the concept of New Democratic revolution put forward by Mao.

When we think over this, because of the distinct condition of this region it becomes clear that it is inevitable for the communist revolutionaries to devise an integrated strategy against the Indian ruling classes of monopoly bourgeoisie and their agents in various countries. This inevitability has knocked the door of the necessity of turning the region into a new Soviet federation of twenty-first century. Therefore, the Maoist revolutionaries of various countries of this region are required to debate from this height and to work out a unified understanding, integrated strategy, organizational structure of a distinct kind, and long-term and short-term plans of struggle.

Apart from the economic, political, cultural and geographical peculiarities, from the perspective of the growth of communist movement the region-wide influence of Naxalbari movement led by Charu Majumdar against modern revisionism, fraternal relations and exchange of ideas and technical co-operation growing among the Maoist revolutionaries, and common programmes at the people's level, etc., have been preparing concrete basis for the fulfillment of

this historical need. It is clear that the more the revolutionary struggle develops, the more intensifies the counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and therefore, there is need to develop integrated efforts among the revolutionaries.

The process of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the regional peculiarity will play an effective role in waging struggle against the conspiracy of U.S. imperialism in this region, mainly in India. Thus, the unified initiative of this region as an integral part of world revolution will make important contribution to the world revolution. Hence, the co-operation of mainly the RIM and other revolutionary internationalist forces is essential in order to advance this process in a natural and scientific way. However, the important thing is the responsible initiative of the revolutionaries of the region themselves. The road is difficult and challenging, but the future is bright; the victory of proletarian internationalism and that of the masses of the people is guaranteed.

## **On National Situation**

### **General Review of History**

Though formally considered sovereign, Nepal is, indeed undergoing in a state of semi-colonialism for about 200 years. This state of Nepal caused by the notorious Sugauli Treaty with the British blocked the natural development from feudalism to capitalism. The self-reliant economy with agriculture, trade, exchange etc. began collapsing from the time when the foreign capital made its intrusion into the Nepalese society. When some small industries were established to meet the interest of foreign capital, Nepal gradually transformed into a semi-feudal stage from feudal stage. Thus, Nepal is still in semi-feudal and semi-colonial state.

It is necessary to understand this situation of present Nepal from the historical background. Before the growth of centralized state, Nepal was divided into many small kingdoms, principalities and tribal republican states. At that time, the form of monarchy and state was not as it is today. The fact that Manjushree and Ne-muni, representing attempts from the north and south respectively to lay the foundation for patriarchal society from matriarchal one, had pursued the process of unanimous selection of the king prove that by 'king' it was meant nothing other than a "tribal leader." The Nepalese society has undergone a long historical process of changing the king according to the need, looking for, selecting, and punishing and sentencing the king to death in case he committed crimes. This helps to understand the very psychology of the Nepalese society.

Moreover, the fact that the process of inner-struggle, interaction and fusion with the people coming from north and, mainly, from south with high skill and technology of production system and war skill have greatly influenced the progress and psychological set-up of the Nepalese society, should be taken into account. The process has contributed to struggles and compromises between several feudal kings and tribal republics just before the emergence of the centralized feudal state. With the growth of class-division in the society, some relatively powerful feudal kings began identifying themselves as incarnation of god. The king who was not more than a tribal hero chosen by the people gradually established himself as the incarnation of god. With the

development of divine theory about king and state, the theory of full right of king over land is found to be established. In course of time, the previous status of the tribal hero has been changed into feudal, then to 'Great Feudal' from 'Feudal', to 'King' from 'Great Feudal', to 'Great King' from 'King', to 'Emperor' from 'Great King', and to 'Human God' from 'Emperor'. (Pushpa Lal Shrestha, "The Origin of Monarchy in Nepal")

The need of new production system as required by the general progress of productive forces made tiny kingdoms, principalities and tribal republics unnecessary. The objective necessity gave rise to a single strongly centralized feudal state in course of time. The success of feudal state-expansion of Prithivi Narayan Shah of Gorkha, though a new and weak state at that time, is nothing but the consequence of this objective need, and to undermine this fact would not be historical materialism. It is notable here that the Nepalese process of development of feudal autocratic monarchy tallies with Engel's research and analysis as described in his book "Origin of Family, Private Property and State".

Thus the monarchy bore a fully autocratic character with the development of a centralized feudal state in Nepal. Economic, political, administrative and all powers were centralized in the palace. With this centralization a series of clashes, violence and counter-violence started to occur among various feudal warlords inside the palace for power and property. It developed big feudal landlords families, on the one hand, and violent clashes for power inside the palace, on the other. For example, the families like Pandey, Thapa, Kunwar, etc. and their conflicts and clashes. Along with this, lingual, religious, cultural, economic, political and all other rights of the peoples were gradually snatched away. The state established Hindu feudal 'high'-caste chauvinism through the policy of reward and punishment.

Another important point to note is that when the centralized feudal state-expansion was going on in Nepal, expansion campaign of the British bourgeois class was also going on to its climax in India. They had been succeeding in founding their colonial empire by splitting hundreds of feudal kingdoms and invading them. As such, it was but natural that they would inevitably clash with each other at last. The Nepalese campaign, which had been marching forward by expanding itself to Tista River in the east, Kangra in the west, and Lucknow and Gorakhpur in the south, had been posing a great threat to British India. In such a situation, the British rulers declared war against Nepal with their superiority in capital, technology and military force. Fierce war broke out between the two sides. In several fronts Nepal defeated the modern army of the British. In the wars, the elders, women, and youths set historic records of dedication, sacrifice and bravery for the country but ultimately, Nepal was defeated and it signed a shameful Treaty.

One thing to be synthesized here is that supremacy of capital, technology and military force alone was not what defeated Nepal. The real and principal factor was the violation of people's rights and endless series of violent clashes among the feudal royal courtiers for the power and luxury developed in the palace with the growth of centralized feudal state. If, at least, Prithivi Narayan Shah's tactics of surprise, way of mobilizing the people and strategy of protracted people's war had been pursued, Nepal would not have to be shamefully defeated. On the contrary, as per the king's whim and palatial conspiracy they attacked all the patriots including Bhimsen Thapa who was relatively more patriot and envisaged a united front at the Asian level against the British. At last, the Jang Bahadur Kunwar dynasty, the puppet of British India, was

victorious in the palace and their autocratic rule lasted for 104 years in Nepal. This whole period was the blackest one from the point of view of democratic rights. Nevertheless, while discussing the history of Nepal, what should not be forgotten is a strong sense of patriotism and resistance that existed amongst the people and even in a section of the ruling class, along with the war against British India and the shameful defeat. Even today the strong feeling of national self-esteem against the external intervention, mainly expansionist intervention of Indian monopoly bourgeoisie, is linked with that sequence of history. This patriotic current amongst the people should be specially taken into consideration in connection with strategy and tactics of national democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. In fact, this historical inheritance has played an important role in the soft attitude of several persons of the reactionary classes towards people's revolution against Indian expansionism and its agents.

The force of national integration had been weakened in the initial stage by curbing economic and political rights and destroying the language, religion, culture of people of various caste and community, internally, and later by capitulating to the British India, externally. When we talk about genuine national integration today, it directly means in the present context, internally, nothing but restoration of the rights usurped yesterday and externally, opposition to the national capitulationism.

During the later period of Rana regime the world had entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Mankind had witnessed the grave consequences of First and Second world wars and powerful undercurrents of national liberation movements and socialist movement. In India, anti-British movement was marching toward the climax. In this historical context, political activities grew up against the Rana regime in Nepal, too. The bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class growing within the feudal state, while working simultaneously as agents for the British imperialism, also began demanding its 'proper' share in the state. Together with the historical wave of national freedom and revolution, the Communist Party, which truly represented the people, was also formed during this period. One should understand the political struggle of 1950 in this context.

Actually in 1950, the desires of the king-compelled by the Ranas to act as their puppet for 104 years-to be the real ruler, of the Indian monopoly bourgeois class-which was an heir to the British-to have for their own agents an 'appropriate' position in the state power of Nepal for the hegemony of the comprador class, and of the Nepalese people for the liberation from feudalism and imperialism, had been expressed simultaneously against the Rana regime. When the people's struggle was likely to develop directly against feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois classes, the notorious Delhi Compromise was signed as a conspiracy against the necessity of history and sentiment of the people. In fact, the Delhi Compromise, which was signed by the King, the Ranas and the (Nepali) Congress under the direction of India, was in essence, a compromise between feudal, and bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois classes for share in the state-power in the interest of monopoly capitalism. That was a serious deception and betrayal to genuine need and aspirations of the people.

In order to understand the reason behind this compromise we must theoretically go to the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. With the development of this era, the capitalist class lost its progressive role whatever was left and turned totally reactionary.

Politically, its regression was expressed in compromising even with medieval feudalism against the aspirations of the people for bourgeois democratic revolution. Basically, there is no difference in the nature of treaties signed by British India with the Rana regime and new Indian rulers with the King, the Ranas and the Congress. Today what the modern revisionism has been trying to confuse the masses about is inherent in the dissemination of bourgeois form of parliamentary 'democracy', separating the imperialist reactionary essence from it. Today parliamentarism has been like a torn piece of rags of the reactionary imperialists, and it has been the daily routine of the revisionists to serve the feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class for the fascist oppression on the people, covering this blatant historical truth with empty rhetoric.

The Party must be clear about the fact that feudal, and bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois classes are not the same. Feudal and landlord classes are very conservative and they advocate medieval feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie serves the interests of imperialism. The bureaucratic capitalist class acts as a bridge to combine these contrasting trends into a single thread. That is why bureaucratic capitalism which emerged together with the development of the era of proletarian revolution, is called the 'hybrid' produced by the unholy alliance of feudalism and imperialism. In fact, the analysis of bureaucratic capitalism is the great contribution of Maoism in the context of revolution in third world countries. It should not be forgotten that today a feudal is a 'landlord', an 'industrialist', and can be even a high level bureaucrat of the state at the same time. Similarly, a comprador or a bureaucratic capitalist also may be all the three at the same time. But the partial difference between the interests of a landlord and a comprador can't be eliminated completely. Therefore, the 'struggle' goes on between the representatives of the same class for particular share in the state and various imperialist and expansionist groups keep on intensifying it for their own interests.

In Nepal, whatever changes have occurred in the system of management of reactionary state-power from 1950 till now, they are, in essence, only the changes in the shares of partnership of the state-power between the feudal, bureaucratic and comprador classes. Feudalism uses the label of 'nationalism' and imperialism that of 'democracy' in order to deceive the masses. The characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the experience of Nepal have made it clear that imperialism and feudalism do not go against each other. In this situation, it is important to understand that the genuine communist policy is that which, strategically, develops independent revolutionary struggle by freeing the masses of the illusion of 'nationalism' spread by feudalism and that of 'democracy' spread by imperialism, and, tactically, concentrates the struggle against the one which has seized the state-power and has been directly exploiting and suppressing the people, whether in the pretext of nationalism or democracy. In Nepal, this is what has caused serious deviations in the communist movement. The biggest plague of the Nepalese communist movement of talking about utilizing the contradictions of enemies without strategically developing independent revolutionary struggle or of declaring the slogans of nationalism or democracy of enemies relatively progressive and advocating it, has been creating grave problems for the success of the revolution even today.

There is no difference between the revisionism of today which endeavors to protect the country-selling fascism and corruption of the Nepali Congress government against the country and people in the pretext of the danger of revivalism, and the revisionism of yesterday which

would attempt to safeguard the corruption and state-terror of the autocratic Panchayat regime on the pretext of threat of Indian expansionism. The Party should understand the importance of enlightening the people about it.

Only on the basis of this can it be scientifically understood the political development of 1950 onwards. Incessant struggle for nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood has been the characteristic of the people who have set lofty examples of dedication, devotion and sacrifice in the peaceful and violent struggles for their progress and liberation. But due to lack of correct political leadership (which could lead this stream of the masses to the struggle to achieving class state power), the feudalism and imperialism, mainly Indian expansionism in our particular context, have been always successfully using or rather misusing them for the benefit of feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes. The Nepalese people were exploited from 1950 to 1960 in the name of 'democracy', though the masses had been vigorously resisting against Delhi Agreement to the Gandak Agreement, and against feudal land relations to corrupt bureaucrats. Its height can be witnessed in the martyrdom of Chiniya Kaji to Bhim Datta Pant, who led the armed struggle in western Nepal, and peasants' struggle in the Terai region to countrywide resistance against the Gandak Agreement.

On the pretext of nationalism, a notorious coup was staged in 1960 by the feudals in order to utilize the great process of people's resistance for consolidating their own hold over the state power. The feudal elements succeeded in imposing autocratic monarchical Panchayat dictatorship on people in the cover of 'nationalism'. Shortly the cover was unmasked and people's resistance advanced in various ways and reached the movement of 1990, setting several records of dedication, devotion and sacrifice. Feudalism and imperialism were once again successful to betray the aspirations of the people and need for total change, as they ended up with a compromise for sharing the state-power between various groups of reactionary classes. The fact that the 1990 compromise concluded in the palace was, in essence, nothing but a repetition of the notorious 1950 Delhi Compromise has been verified by the later events. Reactionaries have turned back the clock of history and taken it to between 1950 and 1960.

However, the people may be fooled for once, twice or thrice but not for ever. Reactionaries attempt to resolve the problem by pushing back the clock of history, but nobody has been able to do so, nor will ever be. The reactionary elements may turn back for their own interest for power, but can never turn the people back from their experience and consciousness they have gained during the struggle. Historical experience clearly shows that the people do not trust anything other than the new revolutionary options. The Nepalese people have gathered long experience of waging struggle against the trend of imposing fascist rule by chanting hollow slogans of 'democracy' and 'nationalism'. The thunderous launching of protracted People's War under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on 13 February 1996 against feudalism and imperialism for founding a New Democratic system in Nepal was virtually the centralized and synthesized manifestation of this new awakening. The height it has gained during these 5 years stands on the base of the experiences of long struggles of the masses. It is essential to focus our attentions on the following historical conclusions:

- A. The analysis of the reactionaries that the king and monarchy are deep-rooted in the Nepalese society is not true. It has been already mentioned elsewhere that before the

emergence of centralized feudal state, democratic system of tribal type prevailed and had a great influence in Nepal, and the tradition of electing, changing and sentencing the king to death, if required, shows that by king it was meant nothing at all other than a 'tribal hero or leader' at that time. Therefore, the tradition of the Nepalese society has not been monarchist but democratic and autonomy-oriented. It was only after the emergence of the centralized feudal state in a certain stage of development of class division that attempts had been made to unnaturally impose the king and monarchism through the practices of the system of reward-and-punishment and divine theory.

- B. The shameful defeat in the war with British-India and nature of the treaty signed indicate the contradiction and alliance of feudalism and imperialism. Though Nepal became semi-colonial, the war played an important role in exposing the national capitulationist character of feudal ruling classes and developing patriotic and national feeling of modern sense amongst the people. The contradiction of that time between the Bhimsen Thapa trend that did not want to kneel down to the British, and the king and Jang Bahadur trend that acted as their stooges, can still be found among the Nepalese ruling classes today. At a time when contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries is the principle one, it is of great importance that the proletarian class correctly understands the historical contradictions and deals with them for the cause of democratic revolution.
- C. The centralized feudal state has imposed Hindu feudal and Brahmanist ethnic chauvinism on lingual, ethnic, religious, cultural and traditional rights of people of various communities, nationalities and religions of Nepal and thereby hindered the natural development of genuine national unity and power. Therefore, the New Democratic revolution needs to lay the foundation of a consolidated national unity on the basis of equality and freedom in accordance with the right of nations to self-determination.
- D. Following the denial of minimum political rights to information and activities by the Rana regime for a long time, and very delicate and fragile economic base of other classes, except the feudal and bureaucratic and comprador classes, the class-base and identity of political parties have not been very strong and mature. This is what has caused the formation of and disappearance of many political parties from 1950 onwards and trend of making drastic changes even in the basic policies now and then. Political difference between the Party of the proletariat and the elements that represent the feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes is evident. Political fluidity resulting from the fluidity of economic class base does not only exist in a Party of the proletariat but also poses a great threat to it. Therefore, the Party should always make efforts and struggle to be flexible with due consideration to the fluidity of other political groups and to protect itself from its influence.
- E. The major subjective factor behind the failure in making due political advancement even after the continuous struggle of the Nepalese people since around 1950 and their dedication, devotion and sacrifices displayed in them, is nothing but the reformism and revisionism dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. The main characteristic of the Nepalese revisionism has been the deviation from the historical need of leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution. It always harped on the policy of following various groups of reactionary classes, instead of developing independent revolutionary struggle for the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat

with the question of seizing state power in command. Eventually, the reactionaries have always been successful to betray the people. After the launching of People's War led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), things have changed qualitatively.

### **On the Synthesis of the Nepalese Communist Movement**

We have been incessantly discussing and making evaluations of the development process of the Nepalese communist movement. Our sole objective in doing so is to overcome revisionism by scientifically synthesizing the history with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the new consciousness of class struggle and to guarantee the victory of revolution by accelerating the process of revolutionary polarization. For this we have been stressing on making ideological and political line the basis for the evaluation, because we consider our starting point the scientific conclusion that ideological and political line determines everything. Because of new consciousness that goes on synthesizing together with the growth of the revolutionary movement and the need of acceleration of the movement, we need to make such observations repeatedly.

We have regarded the founding of Communist Party of Nepal, which was inspired by international and national contemporary revolutionary movements, as an historical event of far-reaching significance. Also, we consider the preliminary declaration, policy and programme of the Party on democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism basically correct. But later, the Party leadership deviated from its basic principles of its declaration, policy and programmes. The main factor for this has been the nonproletarian petty-bourgeois thinking of the leadership, as stated by the Party. Emerging in the First Congress of the Party in 1953 and getting well-organized and come into open in 1955, this petty-bourgeois reformism remained dominant in the Nepalese communist movement for decades as tailism. Giving up the necessity of developing independent revolutionary struggle on the basis of the leadership of the proletariat and unity of the workers and peasants in the bourgeois democratic revolution, has been the main characteristic of the Nepalese revisionism. It violated fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on proletarian leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. As a consequence, the Party changed into a device to make reforms and fulfill the strategic objectives of various reactionary groups.

The impact of international communist movement, mainly that of India, may be taken as another reason for this. It is notable that Communist Party of India had decided, on the advice of Stalin, to withdraw the historic Telangana armed struggle. A revisionist thinking of regarding protracted People's War as an 'ultra-leftism' had developed among the leaders of the Party. Communist movement is an international movement. So it is but natural that ups and downs in the international movement influence the Communist Party of every country. On top of it we should not forget the influence to be generated by continuous relations between the communists of India and Nepal.

Thus, when the Party leadership was entrapped in tailism abandoning the necessity of proletarian leadership in the democratic movement, the Khrushchovian revisionism emerged in Russia as modern revisionism with parliamentary theory of peaceful transition in the international communist movement. As expected, it had a serious impact on the Communist

Parties all over the world. This dreadful international revisionism helped the revisionism developing in the Party leadership in Nepal to grow more blatantly and rapidly. It is then that the Rayamajhi trend emerged as naked capitulationism. When the Communist Party of China led by Mao upheld the banner of struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism, debate on ideological and political line began in Nepal, too. The international communist movement was clearly seen divided into two camps: the Khrushchovian revisionist trend and Maoist revolutionary trend. In the beginning, Com. Pushpa Lal Shrestha played an important role for an organized and systematic dissemination of the Maoist revolutionary political trend. (Please note that he had been opposing the revisionism developed within Rayamajhi, Manmohan, etc. right from the First Congress but he lacked strategic and tactical clarity required to break off decisively with revisionism and lead the revolutionary movement). Shortly thereafter, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the bourgeois revisionists was launched in China under the leadership of Mao shaking the whole world. Naturally, the great revolution had its direct influence in Nepal, too. It played an important role in generating waves of zeal among the youths, students and revolutionaries.

Actually, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Mao's struggles against Khrushchovian revisionism had provided a solid ground for reorganizing the Party in Nepal on the basis of a revolutionary line. Right then, attempts for the same were made from various angles. Among them, the attempts made by Pushpa Lal through Gorakhpur Conference, by the Central Nucleus in 1970 and by young revolutionaries through Jhapa revolt, are the most important ones. All these three attempts carried similar basic principles in them, like accepting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Thought as guiding principles, supporting Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and opposing Khrushchovian revisionism, completing New Democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat against feudalism and imperialism, necessity of armed struggle to make the revolution a success, and, therefore, that period of history particularly draws the attention of all revolutionary communists today. The principal question we should specially pay our attention to is: in spite of the great international environment of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, and ideological similarities in all the three attempts mentioned above, why could not there be a single united Party?

On the basis of our present experience and thinking, we firmly opine that a single united Party could be formed at that time and should have been. If it had been so, the condition of the Nepalese communist movement and people's revolution would certainly have been in a higher stage. Hence, it becomes the duty of sincere communists of the country to endeavor to seriously think over and study that period of history, and link the disconnected chains. We, as a Party that has been leading the great People's War, are committed to make the most responsible initiatives to discharge our duty. At the same time, we appeal to all sincere and genuine communists scattered in various groups to deeply ponder over the issue and create new waves of polarization.

As far as the question relating to the main hurdle in the Party unity at that time is concerned, we should look for it in the ideological and political line and working style of the then leadership concerned. Thus, despite lacking in experience and containing some element of mechanicalism in thinking, the Co-ordination Centre emerged together with the Jhapa revolt was much more correct and superior to others in the ideological and political line, mainly in revolutionary spirit. It had upheld the banner of revolt, in accordance with the spirit of GPCR, against revisionism

that was dominant in the Party since 1953. It had been striking at veiled revisionism, that is, revolutionary in words but revisionist in practice. Therefore, the Jhapa revolt has occupied a historical place of pride in the Nepalese communist movement. The Jhapa revolt had, in essence, played the same role in the Nepalese communist movement as what the Naxalite revolt had done to expose revisionism in the Indian communist movement and establish the universal contributions of Mao. Therefore, the Jhapa revolt can't be accused of splittism. In fact, it had provided a ground for unity of the revolutionaries.

From the perspective of ideology, political line and commitment to the goal, the efforts of Puspa Lal in reorganizing the Party also had been positive. Indeed, the ideas and political line of Pushpa Lal have helped, in totality, the revolutionaries, and not the revisionists. Pulling him to the revisionist camp by the revisionists is nothing but sheer dishonor to him. His works and contributions such as the dissemination of Marxism, historical leading role in founding the Communist Party, view on the proletarian leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution, devising preliminary manifesto, policy and programme, emphasis on revolutionary peasants struggle, continuous stand for republican system, view on protracted People's War, opposition to modern revisionism and support to universal contributions of Mao, dedication for revolution throughout his life, genuine effort to materialistically explain the history of Nepal, etc. prove the fact that Pushpa Lal Shrestha was a sincere communist leader of the Nepalese communist movement. Since the communist revolutionaries have degraded him as a rightist, the revisionists could dare to distort his contributions and thereby use them for their own vested interests. Definitely, he suffered from some ideological and some circumstantial weaknesses. Of them, a liberalist weakness in practical implementation of political line, mechanical materialist weakness in the analysis of class character of Nepali Congress, lack of seriousness about total planning for the development of armed struggle and people's army are the major ones. But these mistakes alone do not suffice to label him as a rightist in the relative context of that time. In comparison to his total contributions, his errors stand far below and, in all, in spite of some weaknesses, he was a sincere communist leader. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries of today should firmly struggle against the revisionism of various forms, but with the same essence, which either uses his personality for lowly parliamentary interests, or defaces him by declaring him as an agent, renegade and rightist, and, must honor Com. Pushpa Lal without any hesitation.

At that time, the Central Nucleus was ideologically in the most ambiguous and disputable state. Firstly and most importantly, the Nucleus was completely unclear about the Russian model of general armed insurrection and the Chinese model of protracted People's War in regard to the New Democratic Revolution and armed struggle and this represented eclecticism. Secondly, it declared the New Democratic Revolution as the maximum programme and presented the Government of Patriotic and Democratic Forces as the minimum programme as regards to the principal political line and, thereby, displayed a kind of neo-revisionism. Thirdly, at that time, it assailed, theoretically, Pushpa Lal and Jhapa rebels, and practically, Nepali Congress and thereby, helped autocratic monarchy and the then Panchayat dictatorship. Fourthly, as regards to the principal contradiction, it declared equal contradiction of the Nepalese people with both domestic reaction and Indian expansionism, and, thereby, indirectly, blunted the struggle against the Panchayat autocracy. In totality, the thinking of Manmohan and Mohan Bikram at that time would ideologically represent eclecticism, neo-revisionism and pro-king line in the Nucleus. It is to be remembered that Manmohan played main role in turning the Party towards the revisionist

and pro-king direction right from the First Congress. Besides, Mohan Bikram also would advocate in favour of the king. If they talked about Mao and armed struggle, it was merely a cover to conceal their revisionism. But later, Manmohan disliked even that cover, exhibited naked revisionism and pro-king thinking and turned completely passive. But, Mohan Bikram actively embellished this eclectic neo-revisionism with revolutionary phrases and institutionalized it through the Fourth Congress. It created an enormous ideological confusion in the Nepalese communist movement for over a decade. The only positive aspect of the Fourth Congress was the correct analysis of the class character of Nepali Congress. But it should not be forgotten that in doing so, the then leadership of the Fourth Congress was motivated by the objective of opposing the revolutionaries and not by any revolutionary objective. It is evident in Mohan Bikram's policy and conduct towards parliamentarism and Congress fascism today.

The above mentioned state of ideological and political line and working style make it clear that what struck at the possibility of formation of a unified Party on the basis of revolutionary political line developed by the influence of the GPCR in China was none but the eclectic neo-revisionist line institutionalized by Manmohan, Mohan Bikram and, principally, the Fourth Congress led by Mohan Bikram. This is the most splittist line of the Nepalese communist movement. The books such as "The Renegade Pushpa Lal" and "Refutation of the Ultra-leftist Thoughts" written by Mohan Bikram from the neo-revisionist angle were mere devices to hit at the possibility of Party unity.

It is true that in the beginning, a large section of the sincere revolutionaries ignorant of political line had been united under the banner of Fourth Congress due to the so-called personality of Mohan Bikram, revolutionary phrases and eclectic politics with double meanings. Revolutionaries including immortal martyr Com. Azad had made efforts to explain and apply it in their areas as per their revolutionary objectives. But, without overcoming the eclectic neo-revisionism existing in the basic ideological and political line, the revolutionary spirit, intention and attempt to partially correct it alone could not resolve the problems and they were not. As was inevitable, the Mohan Bikram trend unleashed a series of splits inside the Fourth Congress. Wherever this trend prevails, it is bound to recur.

When the internal struggle was intensified in Nepal after the end of possibility of formation of a unified Communist Party on the basis of correct line at a very crucial bend of history, Mao died in China. Within one month thereafter, bourgeois revisionists conspiratorially seized the state power in China. Naturally, it had extremely negative impact all over the world and in the Nepalese communist movement as well. It consequently led the leadership of the then Marxist-Leninist group, which had been vacillating after the severe setback of Indian Naxalite movement following the death of Charu Majumder, to revisionism. But the Fourth Congress opposed the counterrevolution in China and led the Nepalese revolutionaries to rebel against revisionism. With this historical event, on the one hand, the M-L group which emerged from the Jhapa revolt and led the revolutionary trend in the Nepalese communist movement for about one decade degenerated into revisionism and gathering all new and old revisionists has now turned into the gendarme of the state and system of the feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalists, and, on the other, the sincere and genuine revolutionaries of the Fourth Congress fighting against and rebelling from old and new revisionism, devising correct ideological and political line, and uniting all the revolutionaries, have been leading the great People's War in Nepal today.

Moreover, they are resolutely marching forward to rejoin the disconnected chains of history with initiative for revolutionary polarization and to make the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal a success.

At last, while synthesizing the Nepalese communist movement, it can be said that it is marching forward by forging new unity on a new basis in accordance with the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-transformation, or thesis-antithesis-synthesis. The founding of the Party, its preliminary manifesto, policy and programme was unity or thesis. In the process of development, various trends, internal conflicts, ups and downs, splits and factions was struggle or anti-thesis in the Nepalese communist movement. The great People's War led by CPN (Maoist) going on for 5 years is a manifestation of the transformation and synthesis or a new unity on a new basis. The whole process of the Nepalese communist movement can also be seen as a negation of negation. The initial correct policy of the Party was negated by the revisionism and later the revisionism by the correct revolutionary policy, and, eventually, the great process of People's War emerged. But it would be against the dialectical principle of development to understand or take it as perfect and final. The process of unity-struggle-transformation will continue. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has provided us with a key to handle this dialectical process of development in favour of the proletariat and lead mankind to the apex of communism.

### **Additional Points on the Party History and the Process of Ideological Synthesis**

Today we are synthesizing our ideas in the background of the experiences of 5 stormy years of the great People's War. After the death of Mao and counter-revolution in China thereafter, the international communist movement had to face an extremely strenuous and challenging situation. Consequently, revisionism turned dominant all over the world.

Imperialism and revisionism intensified their assault on the universal contributions of Mao in the science of proletarian revolution and achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This situation was like a situation of life and death struggle for the genuine revolutionaries of the world. In this hard and complex situation, the proletarian revolutionaries of the world including Nepal had been upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and GPCR, and conducting ideological struggle against world revisionism including the Chinese one. This struggle led to the formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). This inspired the People's War in Peru and armed struggles of people accelerated under the leadership of communist revolutionaries in various countries of the world. In this context, RIM Committee kept on playing important role in synthesizing experiences of the world and disseminating experiences of the parties through great ideological struggles against centrist revisionism and rightist liquidationism of various types in the international communist movement. Among all of them, those of People's War in Peru initiated by Communist Party of Peru led by Com. Gonzalo had been the highest and most important. Also, the document and articles written and prepared by Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and its Chairman Bob Avakian played an important role in lifting the debate to a new height. At the same time, positive and negative experiences of armed struggles in various countries including Turkey, India, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Iran had been the agenda for direct debates and interactions.

In spite of serious setbacks and losses in the developing international communist movement by the capture of the leaders including Com. Gonzalo in Peru by the enemies, and capitulationist rightist opportunism emerged simultaneously with the conspiracy of the enemies, the struggles waged by Communist Party of Peru, RIM and revolutionaries of other countries of the world raised the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to another new height in the later period.

The international reality that the later two decades of our Party history have been closely linked with the international communist movement, which had played a significant role in the preparation of the great People's War, its launching and development, shows the importance of our ideological synthesis. This makes it clear that we are not only synthesizing application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particular context of Nepal but also the international communist movement to some extent. This process of synthesis grows much more serious and responsible particularly when the international importance of the People's War initiated after drawing lessons, mainly from Peru after the great setback to the People's War there, is naturally evident.

#### **A. Struggle Against Neo-Revisionism of the Fourth and Fifth Congress and Party Unity**

It has been already mentioned above about the first three decades of the Party in reference to the Nepalese communist movement. We, therefore, concentrate on the struggle against eclectic neo-revisionism of the Fourth Congress and growth of ideological and political line. Please remember that at the end of the analysis of the line of Fourth Congress, it is stated, "It is true that in the beginning, a large section of the sincere revolutionaries ignorant of political line had been united under the banner of Fourth Congress due to so-called personality of Mohan Bikram, revolutionary phrases and eclectic politics with double meanings".

Revolutionaries including immortal martyr Com. Azad had made efforts to explain, and apply it in their areas as per their revolutionary objectives. But without overcoming the eclectic neo-revisionism existing in basic ideological and political line, the revolutionary spirit, intention and attempt to partially correct it alone could not resolve the problems and they were not resolved. Another aspect to pay attention to is that the rightist reformists had also been united, as is natural, inside the Party as a result of the eclectic neo-revisionism of the Fourth Congress. When the revolutionaries started explaining the line in a revolutionary manner, the rightists, as an inevitable reaction to it, put forward reformist explanation of it as suited to their interests. Mohan Bikram Singh, the chieftain of Fourth Congress line, came forward to stand against the reformist line sincerely led by Nirmal Lama and co. by displaying some mysterious revolutionary hypocrisy like the 'Tiger cave' (i.e. a guerrilla training camp-tr.) and intensifying his eclectic neo-revisionism with a design to salvage his sagging 'image'. It seemed there existed three trends, though there were only two in essence. It was not possible for the sincere revolutionaries to fight firmly on the basis of ideological and political line against Mohan Bikram's neo-revisionism. As a result there was no solid ground for unity of the revolutionaries. In this situation, the Fifth Congress was convened.

During the Fifth Congress, several sincere and genuine revolutionaries were also illusioned and divided, though they were in the majority, in the Central Committee and in the house. Because the discussions were focused only on issues like 'hiding the mistakes', and 'sexual scandal', instead of ideological and political line, and Mohan Bikram presented himself as the principal planner and author of the documents that disguised neo-revisionism as theoretical struggle against centrism. The expulsion of Mohan Bikram from the Congress hall on the charge of indiscipline in sexual conduct, for which any action against him could have been taken whenever required, before or after the Congress, undermined the ideological and political status of the Congress, on the one hand, and, on the other, helped him to draw attention and sympathy of several sincere revolutionaries. Since there was no struggle on ideological and political basis, clear and firm view could not be formed even inside the Party. Eventually, the leadership of the majority was constituted as proposed by the minority. Because of serious weakness of the majority group and the Congress, Mohan Birkram was successful in confusing several sincere revolutionaries, and preparing a separate group, and to split the Party within one year.

It is to be noted that in the Congress, present General Secretary of the Party, Com. Prachanda, had, on behalf of the majority side, vigorously assailed Mohan Bikram declaring, for the first time, that the question of his sexual conduct is minor but major question is serious deviation in his outlook and political line. Com. Prachanda had prepared a document enlisting Mohan Bikram's ideological and political deviations, which of course, was not likely to be adopted officially.

But that note was handed over to the then elected General Secretary Com. Kiran. Afterwards, young revolutionary comrades including Com. Badal had made attempts to advance the discussions based on ideology. The fierce attack on Mohan Bikram's ideological and political line, however, could not unite all sincere revolutionaries because it was not well-organized and developed to the level of a correct line, but the discussions created a new wave and indicated future possibility of formation of revolutionary thought against eclectic neo-revisionism of Mohan Bikram.

Though ideological and political line was the same, the Party split after one year as stated above. As a matter of fact, the split played an important role negatively in the ideological development. A period of four years thereafter, in which Com. Prachanda had discussions, interactions, joint works, studies and organizational activities with other young revolutionary comrades including Com. Kiran and Com. Badal, was extremely fruitful for the ideological development of Com. Prachanda. He played an active and leading role in laying the foundation for ideological and political development of far-reaching importance by grasping and expressing the guiding principles as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, changing the reformist view on political power, determining the basic nature of protracted People's War and organization and struggle, linking the reactionary election with the need of the People's War, emphasizing all activities of organization and struggle with the preparation of People's War in command, changing the eclectic view on principal contradiction, defining rural class-struggle and four preparations and engaging in the preparation of armed guerrilla warfare, stressing on the Party unity and new

polarization declaring that the splits in the past were not on the ground of ideology and politics, etc.

It is to be noted here that the progress in the ideological and political line expresses its complete splitting away from the original line of the Fifth Congress and both Mashals formed after the split. This new line, in fact, expresses the synthesis of the experiences basically of the whole Nepalese communist movement, not only of a particular group, and to some extent, of the international communist movement. Indeed, Com. Prachanda was selected for the post of General Secretary of Mashal for his active and leading role in developing a new line<sup>2</sup>. In the context of evolution of this line, there was a long and fierce struggle against rightist opportunism in the Mashal. As the ideological and political line determines everything, the new line led the leadership to the realization that it was essential to unite all communist revolutionaries on a new basis, to further improve it and establish it among the people. This consciousness inspired one to realize the fact that the People's War in Nepal could not advance under the leadership of a particular group alone split on non-political basis in the past. Consequently, in a propitious environment created after the historic people's movement in 1990, a concrete and conscious initiative for Party unity was advanced under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. Ultimately, Party unity took place with its own originality, particularity and complexity<sup>3</sup>. In the Unity Congress, the line led by Com. Prachanda was extensively refined and established by conscious efforts of all unified communist revolutionaries. It boldly overcame the liquidationism that had entered into the unity process with a rightist reformist objective.

After the split, as stated above, the Mashal led by Mohan Bikram did not attempt to transform and develop the ideological and political line, it rather took a more rightist form. Measures like conspiracy, suppression, disciplinary actions etc. began to be used against the sincere revolutionaries who emphasized on advancing the Party towards the revolutionary direction. Nevertheless, revolutionary struggle against rightist neo-revisionism of the leadership continued further. But, as was natural, it was impossible to defeat the revisionism of the Nepalese communist movement, which had seized the main leadership from inside, and to lead the whole group towards the revolutionary direction, and it didn't happen either. Eventually, as expected, the process of revolt by the revolutionaries against rightist neo-revisionism of Mohan Bikram followed after some time. In this regard, the very first revolt was by Dynamic Youth League under the leadership of Com. Anukul and others. This faction joined itself in the process of refining the line developing within the Mashal.

The second great revolt took place under the leadership of Com. Sheetal Kumar and Com. Jeetbir etc. and a new Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) was formed. After the historic people's movement in 1990, it joined the unity process and participated in refining and establishing the line led by Com. Prachanda, and in defeating the rightist liquidationism. We will discuss later about another significant revolt in the group led by Mohan Bikram, and Party unity with the rebel Mashal.

The fact that the former Fourth Congress and Proletarian Workers' Organization had also joined the historical unity process is well known. In this context, what is important is

that the revolutionaries associated with former Proletarian Workers Organization rebelled again from the Unity Centre formed by the rightist liquidationist after their expulsion from the Party, and they joined the Party unity again and are actively working for the cause of great People's War.

**B. Struggle Against Rightist Liquidationism and Evolution of Strategy and Tactics of the Nepalese People's War.**

After the adoption of revolutionary political line by the Unity Congress following the collective efforts of all communist revolutionaries, the reformist and liquidationist group led by Nirmal Lama, Rup Lal etc. began laying hurdles on the way when the line was to be applied into practice. It was crystal clear that the line could not be implemented unless a decisive struggle was launched against the reformist and liquidationist trend that wanted to turn the limited use of the first parliamentary election held in a particular situation, after the historical people's movement in 1990, into parliamentarism. This liquidationist clique was maintaining unholy alliance with some evil elements outside the Party and making the application of Party line impossible by its immoral activities such as exposing all secrets of the Party, indulging in open groupism and conspiracy. After strenuous struggle for three years after the Congress, the Party succeeded in expelling the liquidationists and reformists from the Party under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. Behind this success, the important role of resistant rural class struggle developing in the Western region, mainly in Rolpa, Rukum, should not be forgotten. The new triumph in the parliamentary and non-parliamentary political struggle, externally, and hard and challenging two-line struggle, internally, remarkably developed the ideological and political maturity of the whole party and Com. Prachanda. Thus the expulsion of rightist liquidationists through the First National Conference opened the practical door for the implementation of Party line. The National Conference of the Party qualitatively increased the zeal of whole Party and determination to implement the revolutionary Party line. The Conference directed the Party to prepare for People's War and focus on its initiation. All these express the historical significance of the First National Conference.

Shortly afterwards, an Extended Meeting of the Central Committee was held which took an important decision to boycott the parliamentary election and conduct primary resistance struggle. The significance of this Extended Meeting lies in the fact that it practically took out the Party mechanism from the parliamentary swamp, which had been heavily polluted by parliamentarism for four years. It is to be noted that Com. Prachanda had to work very hard to take the Party to this stage. The role RIM committee played in this regard is also very important. Ultimately, as per the decision, the boycott movement turned successful with completely new experiences of new types of resistance struggle. The success built a concrete ground for preparation and initiation of the People's War.

Because of its securing the highest number of seats in the so-called parliamentary election, the extremely revisionist UML clique was enthroned as the gatekeeper of the reactionary state. It had been intensifying the steps of leading the whole Nepalese communist movement to a reactionary path. This would also express, on the one hand,

the attraction of the Nepalese people to the communist movement and, on the other, the danger of liquidation of the same. At this very crucial juncture of the movement, the Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee was held, which turned out historical and far-reaching.

The Extended Meeting and its decisions was a milestone of historical importance, as Politburo Member Com. Jeetbir has put it while summing it up, in the whole Nepalese communist movement in general and in our Party history in particular. The meeting presented a Maoist synthesis of the experiences of Nepalese history, communist movement and armed struggle for the first time. The historic meeting enlisted the class-analysis of Nepalese society and its characteristics, and then on their basis devised plan for final preparation and scientific outline of strategy, tactics, stages and sub-stages of the Nepalese People's War. Today the synthesis and outline has been proved correct even by the five years of experiences of the great People's War and in fact represents the higher understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism developed in the whole Party and mainly Com. Prachanda.

The meeting dropped the term 'Unity Centre' from the name of the Party as it smacked of compromise and groupism and named the Party, "Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)" in its place. The change in the name was not a simple technical change but it expresses, in essence, the revolutionary idea, ideological uniformity built on the basis of development of Prachanda's leadership and the end of factionalism. The change manifests the historical declaration of the Party to make GPCR against revisionism and universal contributions of Mao the starting point of its task. It objectively and finally expresses the new unity on new basis established in the Party. The importance of comprehending it correctly is equally valid today as before for the revolutionary polarisation.

After the great and historic Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee, the whole Party and all organizations under it involved with full zeal and confidence for the last preparation. Inside the Party, several training camps for the cadres were held under all bureaus with the direct participation of the General Secretary. It played an important role in comprehending uniformly the essence of decisions taken by the Third Extended Meeting and in making a firm resolution to score victory over death for the great People's War. The then United People's Front led by Politburo Member Com. Jeetbir played a historic role in spreading the essence of the decisions of the Party and message of the final preparations to the general masses outside the Party. Through the mass-meetings held countrywide, appeal was made to hundreds of thousands of masses to rise in rebellion. Moreover, Com. Prachanda, in his capacity of in-charge of the Central Military Commission, directly led in various technical and military trainings of primary level and the arrangement of minimum war logistics.

After the internal and external preparations were completed, in the last meeting of the Party Central Committee before the initiation of the People's War, Com. Prachanda presented a historic plan for the initiation and the commitment of the Party. After serious discussions, the Central Committee adopted the plan. However, it should be noted that

the Central Committee could not fully succeed to reach the height of centralization acknowledging the role and importance of leadership as required by the initiation of People's War. Instead, the discussions on it led to some doubts and coldness among responsible comrades at the Centre. But as the leadership was fully conscious about preventing any mistake or weakness to occur in the commitment to the plan for initiation, it could not create any problem.

Lastly, all the leaders and cadres of the Party left for their working field with resolute determination to shed their blood and fight until the victory of the people is achieved and great beacon of communism is reached. At last, the historical day of February 13, 1996 arrived when the revolt was thunderously launched in a cautious and planned manner as directed by the revolutionary principles of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism under the leadership of the political vanguard of the proletariat in accordance with the distinct condition of the country. The sentiments of the people suppressed for thousands of years were superbly manifested through the revolt that represented a new war in the history of New Democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism.

### **C. Struggle of the Party after the Initiation of People's War**

After having entered into the armed struggle from the peaceful one, with a great leap, old contradictions ended and new ones emerged which is but a dialectical principle. The initiation of great People's War struck the old state of the reactionaries and 'heaven' of their benefactors with a powerful earthquake and posed a grave threat to them. It rang a danger bell to the parliamentarian dream of old and new revisionists. It created new waves of new curiosity and attraction among the masses. But the enemies tried to nip in the bud the great initiative of the masses and turned extremely fascist by unleashing a reign of terror, massive arrests, suppression, raping, torture, and genocide. The revolutionary fighters and masses set new records of dedication, devotion, bravery and sacrifices in their resistance. Unmasking the reactionary and revisionist hypocrisies, the Party focused its attention on synthesizing the new situation and devising new plans.

Even before the completion of one month, political and military goals as specified by the First Plan were achieved. Then-after Politburo of the Party adopted the Second Plan for People's War presented by General Secretary Com. Prachanda with serious evaluation of the situation. The full meeting of the Central Committee extensively explained the plan with some serious ideological synthesis as complementary plan to it. With its ingenuity and grandeur, the People's War entered the Second year.

At the very beginning of the Second year, some highly responsible comrades of the centre suffered from serious anarchist deviations. The anarchism, which appeared in a very sensitive period, shocked the whole Party. The deviation of the responsible comrades, who had been very intimate and co-operative for the Party and movement for two decades and played a significant role in the ideology-building after the Party unity, damaged the natural growth of psychology of • General Secretary himself. This unexpected central accident caused on several occasions doubts more than necessary. In this context, broad interactions of General Secretary with Com. Jeetbir helped in

resolving the problem. But as the whole Party was united under the leadership of General Secretary Com. Prachanda, and the deviated comrades had expressed their commitments to stay disciplined after serious repentance and self-criticism, the problems were resolved in a relatively easy way. No doubt, this event incurred a great loss to the Party but though negatively, played an important role in the growth of dialectical method of comprehending the inner-struggle of the Party and dealing with it.

It helped in the development of revolutionary alertness, carefulness, and sharpness in the whole Party. The fact that the comrades concerned have been holding central responsibilities and working sincerely with full zeal and self-confidence and playing significant role in the development of the revolution displays the spirit of the comrades concerned on the one hand and Maoist view of the whole party and leadership on the other.

In the middle of the second year of People's War a meeting of Party Central Committee was held which reviewed the Second Plan and worked out the Third. In one year of implementation of Third Plan, political and military efficiency of the People's War grew up and expanded. This growth and expansion indicated a need of a qualitative leap in the plans. At the end of this plan, the government launched an extremely fascist and genocidal 'Kilo-Sera-2 operation'. Series of killings all over the country followed. Thus, the Party was compelled to think qualitatively for both positive and negative needs. Taking into account the seriousness of the situation, Fourth Extended Meeting of the Party was organized on the other.

The cent percent presence of the comrade's concerned crossing over the fascist campaign of the enemy called 'Kilo Sera-2' proved the efficiency to break the circle of the enemy. The historic nature of the Fourth Extended Meeting lies, mainly, in developing concepts and conditions of the growth of base area in Nepal, making Party alert about probable reformism in the army, creating qualitiveness in the concept of formation of people's army, theorizing the distinct needs of political and military intervention on local and central level in the particularity of Nepal, and laying emphasis on the centralization and establishment of leadership as required by the development of People's War etc. Also, the process of resisting against the enemy with countrywide shock program was initiated since the Fourth Extended Meeting.

The resolution of the Fourth Extended Meeting synthesized in the slogan "March Forward to the Direction of Building Base area" provided far-reaching directives for progress of total People's war. The decision on the centralization of the leadership is, in essence, indivisibly associated with the great objectives of building base area. Those decisions of Fourth Extended Meeting, which have been proved essentially correct, indicate Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology being synthesized in the Party. However, one major thing to note here is though the Fourth Extended Meeting unanimously adopted the resolution on centralization and establishment of the leadership, there was no uniformity in its comprehension. Trends to take it as a victory or defeat appeared in the Party. Some public expressions of some responsible Comrades made the situation more serious. Distrust and doubts started growing in the very sensitive level of leadership in the Party.

As is natural, the reactionaries and revisionists outside the Party intensified their conspiracy and propaganda to worsen the situation. Opportunist trends of various kinds started activating within the Party.

Former group mentality raised its head slowly. In order to overcome such a negative situation that lasted for about one year, and resolve the problem through open and clear discussions, a meeting of the Central Committee was held. Extremely serious, high and open discussions turned the negative situation into positive one and touching another height of dialectics it not only drew general solution to the problem but also founded new unity on a new basis through the process of unity-struggle-transformation. It was really a hard blow at the face of the opportunist trend inside the Party that did not want unity and reactionary and revisionist elements who were dreaming of our split. The new unity founded on a new ground through open discussions generated the self-confidence of the leadership on the efficiency of using dialectics in the Central Committee and the whole Party. In fact, the solution to such serious problem reflects the height of the ideology developed in the Party.

The founding of new unity on a new basis laid a concrete ideological and organizational ground for conducting “Rectification Campaign” as directed by the Fourth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee. The same meeting worked out the Fifth Plan for the PW. The Fifth Plan period which had succeeded in lifting the whole People’s War to a new height of development occupies an important place in our Party history for the following reasons-

1. In the very beginning of this plan implementation, alternative Politburo Member Com. Suresh Wagle (Basu) was martyred in Gorkha. His great martyrdom set up new and high records of sacrifice in the People’s War and intensified the resentment of the masses against the enemies all over the country. It further established the revolutionary image of the Party among the people.
2. In the middle of the Fifth Plan “Rectification Campaign” was conducted by the Central Committee, which strengthened ideological and emotional unity of the Party. The campaign, which was conducted to the lowest level, developed substantially the ideological level and efficiency of the Party to fight against the opportunism.
3. During this plan period, qualitatively high-level military successes were achieved in all regions in general and the Western region in particular. The successes achieved in the military field and political interventions at the central level on issues including negotiation opened the doors of new possibilities for the People’s War.
4. At the final stage of this period, all mysteries and characteristics of the Alok trend appearing as ‘left’ liquidationism were exposed through strenuous and incessant efforts of Com. Prachanda and others. Indeed, the exposure and synthesis of the Alok trend is a great success of “Rectification Campaign” which negatively

educated, enlightened and warned the whole Party and masses. In essence, this is yet another triumph of the proletarian line led by Com. Prachanda.

A need of ideological synthesis of the experiences of class-struggle and two-line struggle, together with the basic successes obtained during the period of Fifth Plan arose. In order to meet this need, the Central Committee decided to conduct discussion on ideological synthesis in the Party, international communist movement and, to a certain extent, in the masses also. A transitional plan was adopted for a period of discussions conducted with a view to taking final decision in the National Conference. During the implementation of Sixth Transitional Plan, the overall situation of the country was reviewed and a decision was taken to attack a district headquarter in the meeting of Western Regional Bureau under the direction of Com. Prachanda. Besides, concrete programmes for military actions and mass-mobilization were formulated as the extension of the Sixth Plan.

In this regard, the successful military raid on Dunai, headquarter of Dolpa district, raised new questions in the total political scenario of the country. This military action represents high-level military action of universal significance among the successes gained under the leadership of the Maoist revolutionaries after the restoration of capitalism in China. Together with the success, the mass attraction to the Party increased qualitatively. Contradictions and crises in the camps of the enemies accelerated. Right then the new policy on negotiation and united front put forward by the Party Centre played an important role in dividing the enemies politically. The so-called consensus of the enemies against the People's War was shattered by the military and political success mentioned above and, as a matter of fact, the consensus turned (in the immediate sense) against the fascist Giriya government. The reactionary government was ultimately compelled to stage a drama of negotiation.

The situation developed as expected by the Party centre. The possibility of holding national programmes of the Party, army and front in a grand manner in the political environment of negotiation drew closer. But capitulationist cowardice of Com. Dinesh Sharma, who was over-highlighted by the Party, had an extremely negative impact on the total situation, which was developing in a conscious and planned way. The Dinesh episode unmasked the governmental conspiracy and his capitulationist thinking. Therefore, the Party decided to expose the governmental conspiracy and expel Dinesh Sharma from the Party. The decision indeed ended the confusion, doubt and frustration emerged in the Party, revolutionary fighters and masses, and generated new self-confidence. The decision to expel Dinesh from the Party and publicly expose his capitulationist cowardice is the manifestation of yet another success of the proletarian line led by Com. Prachanda.

Though the Dinesh case disrupted the possibility of holding certain programmes in a certain way by creating a certain political environment, the party decisions taken in this regard and countrywide military actions continued. In this context, the historic success of nationwide general strike called by students' fronts, and countrywide mass meetings in third week of December last are of great importance. Thus by the end of

implementation of the Sixth Transitional Plan, ideological development and maturity of the Party have been further elevated, the synthesis of which should be done from the same height.

#### **D. Party Unity Between Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) and its Significance**

On December 26, 2000 or 10th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung, the profounder of Maoism, Party unity was held between Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) led by Com. Dinanath Sharma on the ground of similar ideological and political lines. The example of revolutionary political polarization set by Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) forwarded under the leadership of Com. Dinanath Sharma, a veteran, experienced and renowned personality in the Nepalese communist movement, after having rebelled against Mohan Bikram group's revisionism, has, no doubts far-reaching significance. The courage as displayed by CPN (Mashal) with full sense of responsibility of the historical need for revolutionary political polarization standing loyal to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, at a time when all the reactionary and new and old revisionist elements have been intensifying their attacks on the People's War from all corners, shall remain unforgettable in the history of the Nepalese revolution.

There can be no doubt that the Party unity held during the fierce fighting of great People's War will play a leading role in the process of new revolutionary polarization in the Nepalese communist movement. This unity had been entirely different from the ones in the past in which group-oriented unity and bargaining would be dominant. It has been a real unity of the revolutionaries from all perspectives such as ideology, political line, and spirit. The unity guided by high, scientific understanding that great People's War and the ideology upheld by its leadership are the assets of not only a single particular group but are collective assets of the whole international proletariat, all true and genuine revolutionaries and the masses, expresses the first and important success gained in meeting the objectives of ideological synthesis to link the disconnected series of the history.

In essence, the unity has been a hard blow against reaction and revisionism and has generated additional self-confidence and zeal for the revolutionaries. Upholding the ideas and sentiments as expressed in the unity process, we have to accelerate our efforts and initiatives in order to unify the revolutionaries still caught in the illusions of various revisionist leadership and, thereby, create new waves of polarization, and link all disconnected chains of the history. Without a collective effort of the revolutionaries and revolutionary masses, no great revolution of history has been successful, nor shall be. Great need of the revolution demands from the true and genuine revolutionaries to be free of personal and factional conceit, and to unite all revolutionaries and masses with a broad mind.

Present unity should be taken as a continuity of the historical Party unity held in 1990 on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line developed under the leadership of Com. Prachanda in the history of the Nepalese communist movement. The ideological synthesis being completed in the Party will lead to a serious and responsible initiative for another advancement in the process. We need to seriously grasp the scientific truth that ideological and political line determines

everything. If it is correct, everything is gained but if wrong, everything gained is lost. We can see the live picture of the scientific truth right in front of us as produced by the fact of how the revisionist line of Fourth Congress led to factions, conspiracies and series of splits but, on the contrary, how the line of Unity Congress led to unity, People's War and series of revolution. But we should not be conceited, or be content. Serious problems and challenges still lie ahead of the revolution. Lack of proletarian consciousness, tradition and working style required for the success of revolution still exist in us. Struggle against them should be advanced. We can serve well the world proletarian revolution by developing the struggle, linking all disconnected chains of the Nepalese communist movement and uniting them and making revolution successful. For that, we must be very serious.

Present Party unity has indicated positively towards the direction of fulfilling that historical responsibility. Now the whole Party standing on this point of unity should unite to accomplish another new unity on another new basis. We need to strongly grasp the ideas and sentiments expressed in the context of unity in order to uproot the heritage of sectarianism, conspiracy and split.

It is quite essential to particularly focus the attention of the whole Party on the following conclusions of the total analysis made on the international and Nepalese communist movement and Party history. The unity in comprehending these conclusions shall determine the level of unity of today.

1. Regarding the evaluation of Com. Stalin's role in the international communist movement, there are 3 different views- revisionist, dogmatist and Maoist. Modern revisionism rejects Com. Stalin totally, and dogmatism upholds him totally. But Maoism evaluates him as 70 percent correct and 30 percent wrong. In the Nepalese communist movement, however, there prevails a unique cocktail revisionism made up of Khrushchovian modern revisionism and Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism. Nepalese revisionism that has been expressed as tailism abandoning the leadership of the proletariat in bourgeois democratic revolution holds a Hoxaist view on the question of Party. Stalin viewed and managed the Party not as a unity of opposites but as a monolithic and homogenous mechanism and, thereby, committed metaphysical errors. Mao not only rejected the metaphysical errors but also developed qualitatively Marxist-Leninist theory of the relations of class struggle and two-line struggle and the methodology to deal with them. But the Nepalese communist movement neglected great contributions of Mao for a long time. In practice, the Hoxaist trend of imitating Com. Stalin's errors on the question of Party remained dominant in Nepal.

Consequently, metaphysical concept of monolithic and homogenous unity gave rise to a series of factionalist sectarianism, splittism and conspiracy. In the Party, practice of proletarian democracy and dialectical method of building up centralization on its basis were encroached upon. In Nepal, the Mohan Bikram trend has been the most glaring representative of the Hoxaite revisionism that refuses to learn from Stalin's mistakes.

As a result of decisive struggle against and breaking away from such cocktail revisionism the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception on the question of the Party has been

developed under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. The more strongly the Party grasps Com. Mao's appeal to learn from Com. Stalin's mistake, the greater would be its capacity to lead the revolution.

2. In the background of Great Debate with Khrushchovian revisionism in the international communist movement and the GPCR in China, enormous ideological basis and possibility for building a unified Party consisting of the Pushpa Lal group, revolutionary current of the Jhapa revolt and sincere revolutionaries of the Fourth Congress prevailed in the Nepalese communist movement. But the possibility was shattered and for this, the neo-revisionist pro-King and pro-Panchayat thinking and activities of Manmohan and Mohan Bikram were wholly and solely responsible. This evaluation of the Nepalese communist movement is expected to inspire all the sincere revolutionaries of the countries, who were equally active yesterday for the cause of revolution in different groups, to re-think. It should be clear that this ideology-based scientific evaluation of history also expects to unite all the disjointed chains of history for the success of New Democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. Moreover, this evaluation hopes that our Party itself, which has been leading the great People's War, would elevate the struggle to a new height against all kinds of factionalist sectarianism, conceit, and splittist trends and would take serious initiatives to unite the whole Nepalese communist movement.
3. The lesson of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and experiences of the Party history teach us that the Party unity led by Com. Prachanda one decade ago was a great leap in the direction of revolution and entirely a new beginning, and not any plus-minus change or transformation of any of the former groups of the Nepalese communist movement. The ideological and political line adopted by Unity Congress under the leadership of Com. Prachanda was not a natural result of the development of Fourth or Fifth Congress or any group under them, but virtually it was the outcome of long struggle waged by the revolutionaries against eclectic veiled revisionism that existed in them and breaking away from it. The ideological and political-line, in its essence, and in the relativity of that time, reflects the synthesis of the experiences of the Nepalese communist movement and, to some extent, contemporary international communist movement. Objectively, this unity with its originality and specificity represents, as stated above, the far-reaching, historical and important process of linking the disjointed chains of history. It is not a mixture of insoluble elements but a process of chemical reactions, which produces a qualitatively different matter. If this scientific truth is not grasped correctly, it will be impossible to drive the chariot of revolution up to the last destination. Distrust, doubt and petty-bourgeois sectarianism will weaken the Party from within.
4. We learn from the experiences of the Party history that Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee holds historical importance from the perspective of the developments of indigenous ideas, strategy and tactics of the Nepalese revolution. Evolution of the Party in the form of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and its synthesis provided the real and genuine key to turn the strength of the Party unity into physical strength against enemies and apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particularity of Nepal. The internal and external preparation for People's War made on this basis laid the foundation for the historic initiation of the People's War. Just before

the initiation, the Central Committee enlisted commitments of the Party in accordance with the idea and spirit of the decisions of the Third Extended Meeting. These commitments issued fundamental directives for the distant future of the People's War, which has not only national but also international significance.

5. We clearly see that all Plans, from the first one prepared for the historic initiation of People's War to the Sixth one, have been proved basically correct and were implemented successfully. By the end of the implementation of the Fifth and Sixth plans, Dolpa military raid and its political implications, base areas developing in the Western region and the state of the local people's government, countrywide military actions and mass-mobilization, and the impact of the Party's political intervention at the central level, point out the fact that total People's War has reached a qualitative stage of development. Right here, what should not be forgotten is the fact that behind these successes, there have been indescribable dedication and devotion of the leaders, cadres and revolutionary fighters of the Party and masses, and sacrifices of lives of the thousands in the face of fascist terror and atrocities of the reactionary state and innumerable conspiracies of various revisionist elements. Also, it should not be forgotten that behind the development, implementation and success of the plans, there has been tremendous struggle against various kinds of capitulationism and adventurism, bureaucratic and anarchist deviations, splittist and factionalist sectarianism, blind servility and skepticism, rightist, 'Leftist' and centrist tendencies, parochialism and war-lordism, 'left' liquidationism, and meanest Alok trend etc. within the Party.

The experiences and successes achieved in the internal and external struggles have prepared the preconditions for ideological synthesis of the Nepalese revolution. Through negative and positive experiences of every struggle, the whole Party and its supreme leadership have matured ideologically and politically and definite ideas about the Nepalese revolution have developed. We should be clear that the concretization of the ideological synthesis has been quite essential because the Party has been achieving successes in all the important struggles from the Party unity till today under the leadership of Com. Prachanda.

6. The above analysis makes it clear that it is highly necessary to learn lessons from, generally, the whole international communist movement, and particularly, the Comintern, and positive and negative experiences of Stalin's role in order to advance the revolution in any country of the world today. The Party has attempted to evaluate the history basically relying on and moving further ahead from Maoism and the GPCR. Hence, it should be perfected amidst struggles with a view to advancing the world revolution in the 21st century.

## **On Three Instruments of Revolution**

### **1. On Party Building**

We have been continuously struggling hard to enable the Party to lead up to communism through democratic, socialist and cultural revolutions in accordance with the

revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this regard, the long ideological struggle against tailist revisionism that abandons the proletarian leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution but was dominant in the Nepalese communist movement, has been the most important one. This ideological struggle is linked with the struggle against metaphysical thinking that practices factionalism on the pretext of monolithic unity instead of dialectical method of developing the Party through unity of opposites and two-line struggle. Indeed, the historic Party unity and its line led by Com. Prachanda upholding the views of Mao on party and two-line struggle developed while leading the GPCR divorced decisively from the tradition that regarded faction as Party but was still dominant in the Nepalese communist movement, and laid strong foundation for a real Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Unity Congress set up a scientific method to conduct two-line struggle on actual and genuine ideological and political basis instead of hypocritical tradition of addressing the individual and factional dispute with ideological struggle within the same revisionist line. Accordingly, the very first struggle was with rightist revisionism that wanted to turn the Party into a legal parliamentarian mechanism with freedom of factionalism, and not as a unified leader of the revolution based on a certain ideology. The strenuous ideological struggle, which lasted for three years, and victory gained in it further refined the concept of a militant communist Party of new type.

The entire decisions of the Third historic Extended Meeting of Central Committee transformed the Party into a Maoist one that was able to lead the People's War. The Meeting strongly raised the fact that the policy, plan and program should not be based on gradual evolutionist concept but that of the revolutionary concept of leap, shock, discontinuity, break up from the old etc. From the perspective of the party building, the development of this concept decisively hit hard at the reformist tradition and set up scientific and revolutionary concept of unity-struggle-transformation.

The Party had been laying great emphasis on the significance of linking the revolutionary thought, policy and program of the Party with the general masses since the unity process. Extensive exercise of legal and illegal, open and underground, country-wide urban mass-struggle and rural class-struggle exemplify the specificity of our view on Party building. In fact, this view manifests the scientific application of the Maoist view of mass line on the Party building.

The commitments of the Party as adopted by the Central Committee Meeting held just before the initiation of the People's War armed the Party ideologically against any reformist deviation likely to emerge in the future. They have, indeed, projected the general line of the Party up to communism. Every Party member should continuously study and ponder over those commitments so as to draw inspirations to lead the Party and revolution up to the ultimate destination, the importance of which is universal.

The storms of both internal and external struggle before and after the People's War qualitatively changed the old structure and working style of the Party. New and young Party members from poor peasants, women, depressed communities, oppressed nations

and nationalities, and backward regions rapidly came out of the crucible of the People's War in an unimaginable number. Today in almost all the districts of the country there are a majority of the Party members developed in the process of the People's War. As Lenin had said, the process of revolution has made several old party members to waver and even degenerate but electrified thousands of others. Even today, the old factionalist remnants can be witnessed in the thinking, conduct, behavior and working style of several old Party members, but there is not even a semblance of old biases and prejudices in the new ones. The Party honors the healthy blood transfusions of the new members.

In the meanwhile, the historic Fourth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee was held which took three important decisions on Party building. They are: to conduct rectification campaign, to centralize and establish the leadership at various levels, and nomination of youths to the Central Committee. All these three decisions manifest the development of Party's Maoist view on the leadership building. What is noteworthy here is that through these decisions attempts have been made to implement the concepts of Revolutionary Committees developed during the GPCR on Party building. The Party emphasizes to institutionalize it as a scientific method to keep the Party committees lively and healthy through new blood transfusion by maintaining appropriate balance of the old, adult and young revolutionaries. Firmly grasping the principle of continuous revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party has, through the decisions, endeavored to develop the revolutionary successors. Against bureaucratic centralism and bourgeois anarchism, the three decisions express high understanding of proletarian democratic centralism.

With the solution to the problem emerged in the Party centre after Fourth Extended Meeting through open discussion, central initiative undertaken for rectification campaign, exposure of the Alok trend, and, lastly, expulsion of Com. Dinesh Sharma from the Party on account of his self-protectionist cowardice and the new Party unity, a qualitative maturity developed in understanding dialectical method to build the Party through class-struggle and two line struggle. Due to all these struggles and victories gained, a strong headquarter led by Com. Prachanda developed as a core of the Party unity. On the basis of struggle against and victory over right, 'left' and centrist trends, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology was synthesized in the HQ. To defend this HQ from the attacks of all kinds of enemies and opportunists has been the duty of all Party members.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the progress of Party building has been completed. According to the principle of class-struggle and two-line struggle, new needs, problems and challenges appear and facing them requires continuous revolutionization of the Party. For the development and success, the Party should concentrate on the followings:-

- A. The Rectification Campaign has not been complete even relatively. The Party must stress to give relative perfection to it. We are afraid the campaign will be merely a formal process of ideological interaction, and criticism and self-criticism. The problem exists more in the upper committees than in the lower ones, which must be ended. In fact, the quintessence of rectification should be

reflected in physical and organizational proletarianization. For this, the Party centre should forward the process of organizational rectification and physical proletarianization with concrete plan and policy.

- B. On the basis of the current new synthesis of the Nepalese and international communist movement, the Party should accelerate its efforts for a new revolutionary political polarization. The Party should not underestimate that a large section of the revolutionaries are still kept in illusion by various reactionary and revisionist leaderships. A true revolution cannot be successful until they are united. Without any conceit and bias, we should continuously make serious and responsible initiatives in order to link the disconnected chains and develop a unified Party.
- C. In the Party, there has been substantial inadequacy in the studies of history of international communist movement. As synthesized above, it is particularly necessary to evaluate both positive and negative experiences of international communist movement to draw correct lessons from them for the success of revolution in any country of the world. Hence, the Party should increase its study and research in a planned way.
- D. It is necessary to take seriously the suggestions, complaints and criticisms of various quarters that the dealing and relation of the Party with people has been like that of a master, instead of servant, on several occasions and places. As per Mao's teaching, we should accept correct things told by even the enemies and the Party must emphasize on standing resolutely on the principal duty of serving the people in any difficult situation and not imposing pressure, interference and or load of any kind, anywhere.
- E. It is essential to develop the proletarian style of simple living and hard working. Ample economic and physical resources centralized in the Party with the emergence and development of the People's War and new state power is likely to slacken the proletarian life and working style of the cadres. Moreover, it provides a picture of the danger of emergence of new bureaucratic capitalist class within the Party. Hence it is imperative that the Party should more deeply acknowledge the experiences of Russia, China, and, mainly, GPCR and advance the struggle against those trends.
- F. Taking into account the future development of the war, more emphasis should be given to the security of the leadership of various levels, chiefly, the central level, and underground structure of the Party should be made more organized and up-to-date. Admitting the fact that our security system is not that much scientific and strong, all Party committees should make planned efforts to take concrete initiatives in this direction.

## **2. On the Formation of Army and Military Line**

Synthesizing the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the universal character of revolutionary violence, armed struggle, protracted people's war and the

formation of army in a class-divided society, the debates on them in the Nepalese communist movement and the practical experiences, the Party has been developing the formation of People's Army and Nepalese military line. Making serious observation of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial situation of Nepal, and the need of the new democratic revolution, the Unity Congress of the Party, under the leadership Com. Prachanda, adopted the military line of protracted People's War, with strategic role of base areas and guerrilla warfare based on the strategy of encircling the city from the countryside.

After having defeated and expelled from the Party the rightist liquidationists who slandered the military line of People's War as 'extremist' and 'militarist', doors were opened for the development of the strategy and tactics of People's War. From the perspective of the formation of army and development of military line, the decisions synthesized by General Secretary Com. Prachanda in the Third Extended Meeting of Central Committee hold the most significant position. With a general review of the Nepalese history it proved the fact that Nepalese people are used to violent struggles since long, and there has been major role of dedication, sacrifice and violent struggle of the people behind whatever reforms and freedom they have been enjoying today. The Meeting presented an orientation of future military line with an objective evaluation of the positive and negative experience of the Nepalese communist movement and armed struggle. Also, the Meeting drew a concrete outline of building the army and strategy and general line of the People's War on the basis of evaluation and definition of class conditions and fundamental characteristics of the Nepalese society and international situation. Accordingly, it defined four sub-stages under the stage of strategic defensive in the Nepalese particularity.

Opining that today the People's War can be advanced only as a total war and it is essential to do so, the Meeting formulated the necessary tactical steps as follows:

“Stress on rural works, but do not leave the urban ones, too; stress on the illegal works but don't give up legal possibilities, too; stress on certain strategic areas, but don't leave other areas, too; stress on the works of war, but don't leave the mass-movements, too; stress on the underground works, but don't leave the over ground ones, too; stress on the rural class-struggle, but don't leave the countryside struggles, too; stress on the guerrilla warfare, but don't leave the political propaganda and exposure, too; stress on the dissemination inside the country, but don't leave the worldwide publicity, too; stress on the works of the formation of army, but don't leave the works of the formation of fronts and other organizations, too; stress on relying on one's own organizations and forces, but don't give up tactical unity and taking support and cooperation from international community, too”. This tactical principle was sure to provide a specific character to the process of development of the Nepalese People's War and the experiences have proved its objectivity today.

In accordance with the spirit of the decision of the Third Extended Meeting, the Central Committee meeting held before the People's War took the hilly regions from east to west as the backbone of People's War and according to the economic cultural, historical and geographical characteristics and North-South flow, Regional Commands

were specified. With a view to turning the People's War as a storm of the armed masses, a concrete policy of developing the military organization in the form of Fighting Group, Defense Group and Volunteer Group was devised at that time. As expected, they have been developing now as people's Main (military) Force, Secondary Force and People's Militia. Also, the meeting fixed quota for military actions of various levels throughout the country. At last, disseminating throughout the country the principal slogans like "It is right of the people to rebel", "March on the path of People's War to establish a New Democratic state against the reactionary state", etc. the People's War was initiated as a rebellion on February 13, 1996.

The balance maintained between centralized plan and decentralized execution, countrywide actions along with focus on certain strategic areas, political intervention at the Central level and military actions, military activities and mass-mobilization and mass-struggles, displays the specificity of the Party's military strategy and tactics. After the implementation of three plans under this process, the acceleration of the People's War demanded new and qualitative plans. Accordingly, Fourth Extended Meeting of Central Committee put forward a plan for building base areas. The Fourth Extended Meeting not only specified conditions for building base areas, the strategic backbone of the protracted People's War, but also provided theoretical explanation of guerrilla zone and base area and cautioned the Party about possible reformism in the military field. The Meeting, stressing most on the issue of the formation of army, developed the concept of Main Military Force, Secondary Force, and People's Militia. It formulated a unified military policy of combining all three military forces in centralized and decentralized actions as per the need. Taking decision of far-reaching significance in military line, the Fourth Extended Meeting divided the whole country into proposed base areas, guerrilla zones around them, and the areas of general actions around them, and the cities including the capital as propaganda zones.

Strategically the decisions of the Fourth Extended Meeting have been mainly directing all the activities up to the end of Sixth Plan. In the background of the development of military force all over the country, including Dolpa military raid, their influence on the national politics and the need of facing the main military force of the enemy, a challenge of developing a qualitative plan, in the special context of army formation, has occurred in the Party. On the basis of correct synthesis of the experiences of the past, the Party needs to devise plans for future.

While synthesizing the characteristics of international and national situation and the great People's War today, the Party needs to further develop its views on serious theoretical questions regarding the military line. The question is principally centralized on the strategies of protracted People's War of encircling the city from the countryside, and that of the general insurrection. It is quite clear these two military strategies, generally known as Russian and Chinese model of revolution, are two different strategies of two countries with two different stages of development. But today there has been an important, if not fundamental, change in nature of differences of these two military strategies. Without grasping this change properly, apt development of the formation of army and military line will be almost impossible in any country of the world.

As a result of the end of the cold war, condition of the so-called unipolar imperialist world, domination of imperialist capital in the oppressed third world countries in the pretext of globalization, direct control over the economy of every country of the third world in the pretext of liberalization and privatization through financial institutions such as World Bank, IMF, world military strategy prepared by the imperialist on the basis of progress in the information technology and science including electronics etc., it has become necessary for the proletariat to synthesize more seriously about military strategy of the People's War in the 21st century. Objectively the new situation clearly indicates the change in the nature of strategic difference that occurred between armed insurrection and protracted people's war generally by the Eighties of 20th century.

There should be no confusion at all that basically the developed imperialist countries must pursue the path of armed insurrection and the oppressed countries of the third world that of protracted People's War even today. But the change occurred in the world situation as mentioned above has created a situation that necessarily links the characteristics of armed insurrection and protracted People's War with one another, and, moreover, there is a need to do so. Because of this situation of the development, it has been almost impossible to successfully advance the strategy of protracted PW of encircling the city from the countryside and building base areas in any third world country, without pursuing several characteristics of armed insurrection from the beginning.

The military line of general armed insurrection contains some fundamental characteristics such as continuous intervention by the political party of the proletariat at the centre of reactionary state on the basis of political propaganda right from the beginning, training the masses including the workers with continuous strikes and street struggles on the basis of revolutionary demands, developing works in the military force and bureaucracy of the enemy in a planned way, waging intensive political struggle against various revisionist and reformist groups from the central level, and, lastly, seizing the central state power through armed insurrection in appropriate international and national situation, etc. It is evident that the proletariat of a third world country should incorporate the above-mentioned characteristics of general insurrection from the beginning.

What we can witness from this situation is, generally, as a result of distinct impact on the development process of strategic stages of the protracted People's War and when there is no external military intervention, the base areas should be developed and preparation for the final insurrection should be advanced even under the stage of strategic defense, and the stages of equilibrium and offensive are relatively very fast, short and insurrectionist. The seriousness of this subject can be understood in the background of the latest setback to the Peruvian People's War. In case of external military intervention, it will turn into a national war and even then its development process will basically follow the same direction.

When we view the experiences of the Nepalese People's War, a distinct manifestation

of this process can be seen. Continuous political intervention in the central reactionary state, incessant strikes and street struggles, and other mass-movements by various classes of the people, political propaganda against various revisionist and opportunist elements, rebellion-like initiation of the People's War, countrywide shock-program, general strikes, and, simultaneously, military actions, army formation, and development of base areas and military line etc. make clear the distinct relation between the two strategies. Therefore, what can be pronounced clearly is that protracted People's War can be advanced and army formation and base areas may be developed qualitatively, only by raising the strategies of preparation for the insurrection to a new height. It is guided not only by the particularities of the national situation of Nepal but also by that of the international situation. Hence, the importance of the synthesis will be not only national but also international. The international situation and development of South Asian and world revolution, which we have discussed above, point towards the same conclusions. In fact, it is impossible to move forward without developing highly centralized and offensive political and military plans against the enemy under every Plan. From this perspective, the Party needs to develop qualitative military plan against the enemy by integrating the preparation for the insurrection.

For this, central military HQ and general staff should be developed in order to mobilize the people's army of the country under an integrated and centralized command and a provision for handling all activities of defense and offense should be ensured. The Party Central Committee shall pursue a distinct mechanism to institutionalize the process with a central nomenclature, which will elevate the development of army formation and military line to a new height.

### **3. On the New Democratic State and Development of the United Front**

It is the characteristics of the Nepalese revisionism to speak of united front without making the development of independent revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat a starting point. In the course of struggle, the revolutionary concept of the Party concerning the united front has been developing against such revisionism. The question of political power is the central question of the revolution. If struggle is not waged for the sake of state power, the development of genuine revolutionary united front becomes impossible. In the New Democratic Revolution proletarian leadership and joint democratic dictatorship of the people on the basis of worker-peasants alliance is the only class ideological basis for state and united front. The doors of its development opened only after the party led by Com. Prachanda grasped firmly the above-mentioned fundamental Maoist concept. This concept has established the scientific proposition that prior to the initiation of war the aims of all sorts of organizations and struggle should be to assist for its preparation and after the initiation of war for the purpose of serving it.

For the first time after the historic initiation of People's War in Nepal, the question of state power and united front required a creative development as per its particularity. Along with the study of total nature of its impact in less than one year of People's War, the Party proceeded by adopting the resolution presented by Com. Prachanda that the New Democratic state in Nepal shall take the form of a class, national and regional

United Front under the leadership of the proletariat. The theoretical essence of this concept is inherent in the necessity of integrating the national liberation movement in the proletarian movement as stated by Com. Lenin and Com. Mao. In fact this concept expresses the creative development of the principle regarding revolutionary united front in the particular social structure of Nepal and India where Hindu feudal high-caste chauvinism is dominant.

With the beginning of the Second year, the People's War created a situation of power vacuum, mainly in Western Nepal and in various rural areas. In this situation, through its Third Plan the Party took some concrete decisions to exercise local people's power in the form of United People's Committees. United Front in Nepal obtained practical shape in the form of concrete expression of the state power from below through the development of local United People's Committee and the process of formation of various national and regional fronts on the basis of the recognition of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination and program of national autonomy. Central political intervention, countrywide mass-mobilization and development process of people's struggle in various forms are other specificities that should not be lost sight of.

In the Fourth Extended Meeting of Central Committee, the Party, synthesizing the above-mentioned total situation, as proposed by Com. Prachanda, propounded concrete policies for the defense, consolidation and extension of local New Democratic power founded in the Nepalese particularity. The dialectical relationship between central United Front for the central political intervention and local United Front in the process of exercising state power was defined accordingly. According to this definition it was clarified that it was essential to develop a United Front that emphasizes on developing a structure of local democratic state power from village through ilaka (area) up to the base area level, and at the central level, too, one that plays the role of an embryonic state for the defense, development and co-ordination of the local people's power.

According to the ideas developed by the Fourth Extended Meeting, today, in Western zones, open state power at various district levels and undeclared one in base area level is being exercised. A situation of preliminary exercise of people's power at various levels under all of the regional commands has been developed. Development of various nationalities fronts is taking place gradually. At the same time, the Party's political intervention against the old state from the central level is rising constantly up to the level of 'dialogue', 'constitution' and 'United Revolutionary Government'.

It is now imperative to think qualitatively about the above-mentioned experiences as developed by the People's War and the current national and international situation as synthesized above. The experience has made it explicit that both the strategic process of people's power and United Front and the tactical steps as it's complementary needs to be elevated to a new height.

Strategically, the development of revolutionary United Front as an Organizing Committee of New Democratic Government for the co-ordination of entire local people's power and base areas and an organized political offensive against the enemy is

quintessential. Defending the achievements of the PW, this sort of Government will follow the process of preparing the masses for general insurrection taking into consideration the characteristics of current international and national situation. The Organizing Committee of the New Democratic Government led by the proletariat and founded on local people's state power and base areas shall take the form of a class, national and regional United Front against feudalism and imperialism. According to the New Democratic program it would be primary agenda of the new government to formulate concrete policy, rules and laws about all aspects of nationality, democracy and livelihood and implement them in base areas and local state power, and to take a firm initiative to develop struggle in other areas on their basis. The new Government Organizing Committee will develop various central departments and ministries as per need in order to meet the purpose. As a legal representative of the Nepalese people this Organizing Committee will emphasize on developing national and international relations and publicity. While making such a strategic front, special importance should be given to the patriotic trend in accordance with the historical characteristics of Nepal. Party Central Committee will issue concrete policy and directives in order to undertake the tasks mentioned above.

Apart from the development of the above-mentioned strategic process of the state and UF, the Party under the leadership of Com. Prachanda has been developing tactical theory on the questions of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies, developing the tactical united front to centralize attacks on the main enemy, building people's broad national unity against the so-called national consensus of the enemy, etc. Unless the importance of the tactical theory is grasped properly and a proper attention is paid to its total development, the achievement of the strategic goal becomes impossible. The development process of tactical theory expresses, in essence, the capacity of the Party under the leadership of Comrade Prachanda to apply the dialectical and historical materialism in the Nepalese context. The importance of this tactical theory has increased greatly in the current imperialist world situation and the condition of universal defeat faced by the proletariat in the struggle for state power today.

The development of Party's tactical theory is being expressed in the series of tactical United Fronts from top to bottom in order to attract broad masses in the revolution, handling process of the weapon of negotiation, debate on making a new people's constitution, slogan of United Revolutionary Government, discussions with various political parties, social organizations, institutions and national personalities, coordination of central and local struggles of different mass organizations, method of study and utilization of contradictions within the enemy and opportunist groups for the benefit of the movement, etc. Its use according to new necessity would be discussed in future plans.

#### **4. On Party Mass-line**

Acknowledging the well-known Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle, "The People are the creators of history", the Party has been developing total mass line in accordance with the particularity of Nepal. Synthesizing the historical process of general mass rebellion, the Party has laid great emphasis on organizing the aspirations for rebellion of the

masses. It is revisionism to speak of mass mobilization and mass line without a political goal to seize state power by means of PW. Virtually, revolutionary mass line of our Party is inseparably linked with the tough ideological struggle against revisionism deeply rooted in the Nepalese Communist movement that talks of the so-called mass struggle on the basis of reformist demand revolving around the old reactionary state. The revolutionary mass line started to speed up only after the revolutionary line led by Com. Prachanda was modified, adopted and established by the Unity Congress.

Development of this line gave a forceful blow to the decades-old reformism that had been deceiving the masses by misusing mass rebellion and their aspirations for total change, for ordinary reform or minor cosmetic change within the reactionary old state. This signified that the mass line before the initiation of PW meant preparing for the PW and afterwards rendering service to the PW. In the context of developing Party mass line the struggle against sectarian dogmatism, that undermines the scientific truth, 'trust the masses and be in the midst of the masses in the harsh hours', cannot be forgotten either. Because of the attempts to grasp deeply the Maoist idea of mass line, the Party did not have to face isolation from people in the harsh moments. Hence the Party has been ever laying emphasis upon the conception that correct line always exists for the supreme cause of the people and the line cannot be correct unless it merges with the supreme cause of the people.

The mass line of Party has been based on the dialectical inter-relation between preparing ground for initiation of PW through mass struggle and mass mobilization of various forms before the initiation and greater mass mobilization through it after the initiation and it has been elevated to newer heights through constant development. To seize the state power by revolutionary violence has become the main objective of mass work set by the Party today. In accordance with this, military organization of various levels has been the main form of organization and military actions at various levels the main form of struggle. Development process of armed masses as the main, secondary and basic forces and the diversity of guerrilla actions elucidate it.

The Party has been laying emphasis constantly on the task of the development of people's struggle and various people's organization on the basis of various demands along with the development of this main form of organisation and struggle, as an important part of mass-line. The basic policy of the Party is to accelerate this process with an objective of organizing general masses. In this regard, in base areas proposed today mainly in Western region, the task of organizing general masses in any of the organizations is being done as per need. For us, it is essential to urge constantly to put into practice the scientific exhortation that 'organized mass is the iron fort in the struggle against enemy'.

Taking into consideration the class specificity of the definition of the people according to the nature of revolution, our another characteristic is to develop mass line on the basis of class outlook. Accordingly, to grasp the reality that the people of other classes or strata except feudal, bureaucratic and comprador capitalist classes, are the masses in the present phase of NDR, and to make mass mobilization and build organization, has become the basic task of the Party today. In this connection, organizing and revolutionizing the general peasants, mainly, poor peasants should be accepted as activity of primary importance. The fact that after the historic initiation and development of the PW the process of organizing the general peasants including the poor

ones has taken a qualitative speed can be easily noticed. The role of peasants in NDR gets clear from the fact that peasants are the source of main, secondary and basic military force developed under the leadership of the Party and are the base for their defense and development. The utmost important objective of the Party's mass line is to effectively organize and revolutionize the peasants by firmly grasping the historical fact that 'no power in the world can stand the united peasants' uproar', and accept the directives of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism regarding the invincibility of the organization of the poor.

After the historic initiation of People's War in Nepal, the glorious achievement advancing forward with surprising rapidity is the development of revolutionary women's movement. The old state and its managers have been entrapped in the whirlpool of surprise and terror by the impact left by People's War on the other half of the population which is grinded doubly under class and gender exploitation and atrocities. The rapidity in the extension of rural peasant women's organizations, increasing series of higher records of devotion, dedication, bravery and sacrifice revealed against enemies countrywide and mainly in the areas of struggle have guaranteed the victory of total People's War and revolution. In comparison to men the higher resistance capacity of women against repression and atrocities of the enemy including sufferings, brutal tortures and rapes has explicitly displayed the miraculous power inherent in women to rebel.

Upholding more firmly the Marxist science that women's participation is the measuring rod for the success of any great revolution in the history, it is another significant aspect of the Party's mass line to assist in elevating the process of this revolt to the consciousness of the proletariat. The basic policy in this regard of the Party would be to march forward by grasping the historical reality that the new democratic and socialist norms and values may be established only when patriarchal, feudal values, conceptions and norms, including bourgeoisie values on family, sex, marriage, personal property, are completely uprooted with participation of women in the revolution.

Serious studies of the development of the historical peculiarities of Nepalese society and formulation of national and regional policies on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and their implementation is another important part of the Party mass line. The guarantee of progress and emancipation of a great majority of total population victimized by exploitation, suppression, and discrimination of Hindu feudal 'high' caste chauvinism of century-old reactionary state and deprived of economic, political, religious and cultural rights, is the objective of national and regional policy of the Party. The honour and recognition of the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination and the program of the establishment of national autonomy clarifies the proletarian policy of the Party on the question. It has already been stated that this policy expresses the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution about the fusion of proletarian revolutionary movement and national liberation movement into each other in the peculiarity of Nepalese society. The policy which aims at developing fronts and organizations of the oppressed nationalities and regions, and guaranteeing their participation in the local and central New Democratic states has been playing a role of historic importance and will do so in making the huge part of the Nepalese society jump into the political process.

This policy represents the only scientific method to make oppressed nationalities including

Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Tharu, Newar, etc. and millions of people of Karnali Pradesh (region) participate in the great journey of revolution. Acknowledging the economic and political importance of the Terai, the Party is laying emphasis on the program of regional autonomy for the Madheshee community as against the discrimination and oppression of the old state. The Party gives high priority to involving Madheshee community in revolution. Its historic importance lies in the development of Nepalese national unity against Indian monopoly capitalism.

The Party is stressing on the policy to organize and revolutionize the Dalits, i.e. depressed community, who are the masters of basic labour and number more than 20% of total population, but are most suppressed by the inhuman atrocities of old state, for a battle of equality and freedom. The particularity of our Party policy related to the Dalits is to ensure their liberation and participation in the state with special rights. After the initiation of People's War, this part of the masses has also been rapidly advancing in the process of revolt. The Party wants to lay further emphasis on the necessity to put into practice more effectively the correct policies on the mass line, which it has developed in the Nepalese particularity.

Policies of the Party on students, workers, intelligentsia, teachers etc. elucidate another significant expression of revolutionary mass line. The Party has been continuously urging to develop students' movement as the bearer of radical change synthesizing the experiences of struggling traditions of young students in the revolutionary movements of all countries in general and in Nepalese history in particular. There has been the unforgettable role of the students' front in the past both in preparing the nationwide ground for the initiation of People's War and later on rendering service to it. It has been the essence of the Party policy to advance in a planned and conscious way in the revolution the physical and mental capacity of the young students, who assimilate the new consciousness, necessity of change and the very essence of revolt in a most natural way. A week long successful general strike recently called by the students' front, proving the whole educational machinery of the old state to be a paper tiger, reveals its strength. Even now the Party feels the necessity to add more emphasis on advancing the work of students' front by linking the preparation of future general insurrection and its role as a reserve force in constant development of People's War. The specific indivisible relation between students and peasants throughout Nepal indicates the historical role students can play in the preparation of insurrection.

The Party has been developing the line of revolutionary workers movement during ideological struggle against trade unionist parliamentarianism and economist reformism in the workers movement. The worker's front has been, along with its revolutionary transformation, providing direct help in the process of People's War right from the beginning. Because of the strong trade unionist influence of reformism and dual relation of an overwhelming majority of workers in Nepal with rural agricultural system and modern (industrial) productive system, it has not yet attained qualitative rapidity. The Party will put its special efforts in advancing the worker's front, like that of the students, by linking it with the preparation of future general insurrection.

The Party has been urging continuously for revolutionary transformation of the intellectual's and teacher's fronts according to the political line and revolutionary idea. The essence of the Party's policy is to acknowledge the significant role of intellectuals in revolution and struggle

continuously against vacillating and anarchic, individualistic character persistent in the intellectuals trained by the old state. Prior to the historic People's War, and even afterwards, intellectual's and teacher's fronts have been certainly playing important role. But in comparison to the needs, that is lacking immensely. The problem of proletarian revolutionary transformation is the main problem of development of this sort of front. The Party will lay emphasis on advancing these fronts effectively with such transformation.

From the very beginning the Party is stressing on advancing the cultural front as its another important organ of mass line. The Party attaches high importance to the publications and mainly the historic role played by the cultural front through cultural groups and teams scattered throughout the country for the initiation of the People's War. Such cultural activities have directly contributed in involving millions of masses in the great process of revolution, ideologically and emotionally. After the historic initiation of People's War virtually a huge cultural army has been developing today by means of continuous production of articles, composition and publication of poets and actors at the central level and through waves of development of cultural teams and programs all over the country. The Party stresses on the question of revolutionary transformation of the leadership of the fronts by learning lessons from the experience of history and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. With regard to the need of rapid development of People's War, the Party gives primary importance to the production and publication of novels, video or audio cassettes based on organizational consolidation, experience of the war etc. The experience has proved that if we manage the task of the cultural front properly by ascending to another new height, qualitative progress shall be made in the preparation of future general armed insurrection. And the Party will focus its attention in this direction.

The Party has acknowledged the emigration of millions of Nepalese in search of jobs in India as a significant characteristic of Nepalese society. In fact, the success of Nepalese People's War and revolution cannot be imagined if Nepalese dwelling in India are separated from it. Acknowledging this reality in the Third Extended Meeting of Central Committee led by Com. Prachanda, the Party has mentioned the role of Nepalese residing in India as the strategic characteristics of the country. The front of the Nepalese in India has been playing the role of far reaching importance in the process of historic initiation of People's War and in its total development afterwards. The Nepalese front in India has made its contributions to the Party and People's War with several important technical and organizational assistance and other activities such as organizing and revolutionizing the Nepalese people according to the spirit of People's War, disseminating the People's War of Nepal among the Indian people in alliance with various fraternal parties, organizations and institutions, organizing protest meetings, demonstrations and other resistance programmes against the state terror created by reactionary state, and going back to the country for activities like direct participation in the movements, if needed. The Party will continue its endeavor in making it broader and effective along with the revolutionary transformation in the form of expression of Party mass line.

The Party has been urging continuously to organize YCL in the form of a factory producing cadres to participate ideologically and physically in the process of revolution.

The Party has been attempting to make its mass line effective through development of various

departments, forums etc. along with the above-mentioned basic fronts for the purpose of mass mobilization. Its positive result has been established in the revolution. The Party policy of developing various departments, forums will continue according to the need of the revolution. In this connection, acknowledging the significance of propaganda war, the internal and external publications have to be made more systematic. According to the new characteristics of the age, the Party will emphasize upon the management of the publication and propaganda more scientifically.

Thus, the Party has been developing Maoist mass line to awaken, organize and revolutionize more masses in faster and better ways for the success of People's War and revolution. Five Years' experience of People's War has been goading this process to move forward from another height. No enemy of the world will be able to defeat us as long as the Party continues this revolutionary mass line.

### **A Great Achievement**

As an inseparable part of the international proletariat, the Party determined the line of the Nepalese revolution in the midst of class struggle and two-line struggle, based on the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This was the first important achievement in the direction of development of ideas of the Nepalese revolution. A new epoch was initiated in the Nepalese history on February 13, 1996 with the historic initiation of People's War in the guidance of the same line and with the great aim and determination of reaching to Communism through New Democratic, Socialist and Cultural Revolutions. Under the leadership of the Party, this historic attempt in itself was another great qualitative leap in the direction of upholding and application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the revelation of specific laws of the Nepalese revolution. Today, the synthesis of experiences of five stormy years of PW has developed into a set of ideas guiding the Nepalese revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and it is a great achievement of five years of the PW.

This great achievement stands on the great foundation of the historical records of untold grief, pain, dedication, bravery, courage and sacrifice of millions of masses and the revolutionary fighters. This achievement has been acquired at the cost of blood shed by thousands of best sons and daughters of the Nepalese people. This great achievement has been attained through consistent contribution of the whole Party, all leftist, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces and all the communist revolutionaries of the world including the RIM. In this whole process, the Party has been leading successfully on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, resistance against genocidal campaigns of reactionary regime, exposure of the revisionist conspiracy and lies and struggle against deviationist trends inside the Party itself. Because of the successful leadership in this struggle, today, not only the Party's set of ideas but also a team of worthy leaders at the central level and a promising section of thousands of cadres as revolutionary successors have been developing. Because of the correct and continuous leadership of General Secretary Com. Prachanda, ever since the Party unity up to the present height of synthesis of ideas a strong proletarian headquarter, as a centre of gravity of unity of the Party has been developed around Com. Prachanda. So, the Party names the set of ideas that have developed in the form of centralized expression of collective leadership, as 'Prachanda Path'. Developed in

the background of prolonged discussion inside and outside the Party and International Communist Movement, most importantly high level of theoretical interaction with the RIM Committee, Prachanda Path while enriching MLM expresses the specific set of ideas of the Nepalese revolution. This set of ideas crystallized in the form of Prachanda Path, will act as a significant guide in the onward march of the Nepalese revolution.

MLM is the science of social revolution of the proletariat. Being a science, it always obligates its development through practical application in the class struggle to change the world. The synthesis of experiences of the Party as 'Prachanda Path', finally expresses the specificities of the application of the universal principles of MLM in the practice of Nepalese revolution. This synthesis of the Nepalese experiences, based upon the indivisible dialectical relationship between international essence and national form, universality and particularity, whole and part, general and specific, objectively serves the world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism.

This synthesis of experiences has been acquired through the process of "practice-knowledge-again practice-again knowledge" based on the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism. MLM has taught us that this is a never-ending cycle. Through practice of class struggle and ideological struggle, our Party developed the Party line as initial knowledge, and applying that knowledge again in practice to change the world attained present synthesis as a new knowledge. It is clear that this process is not going to end and complete over here, it is bound to continue to develop all the way, through the process of again practice and again knowledge. The communist revolutionaries should continuously try to be expert in applying the universal principles of MLM to correctly grasp and apply the law of this dialectical motion of development.

### **Great Leap Forward and Sketch of Future Plan**

Ideologically, the synthesis of idea of the Party by itself represents a great leap forward. From this height of thought, the importance of evolution of a totally new plan with regard to the country's concrete condition is obvious in itself.

The series of high military successes that has been achieved through the execution of Party's Fifth Plan while arriving at the end of the execution of Sixth Plan has yielded into a qualitative jump with the successful military raid at Dunai, Dolpa. During this period many qualitative successes in the field of Party's political central intervention were also achieved. These successes and mainly the successful Dunai operation made a qualitative influence in the national politics. The masses were rapidly drawn towards the Party and the People's War whereas the reactionaries and revisionists had to face a new challenge of red terror.

Today the country is moving forward with increasing clashes between the old state's parliamentary fascism and the New Democratic state founded and growing through People's War. The old and the new states have become the present political reality of the Nepalese society. The old state, caught in the vortex of economic, political and social crises, has got down to prepare for genocidal fascist exercises against the country, its people and growing people's state.

This is made clear by the immense effort put up by the enemy to develop the so-called armed police force and regional administrators simultaneously. The conspiracy of reactionary and revisionist alliance against our Party and People's War has reached the climax of nastiness. The enemy has invested millions of rupees to misguide the masses with penetration, sabotage actions and planned false propaganda. The enemy and the revisionists have been hatching new forms of conspiracies to arrest and murder the revolutionary leaders and cadres.

In fact, this situation is the result of terror and defeated mentality of reactionaries and revisionists because of the qualitative development of the People's War. Strategically, the Party sums up this to be the result of victory of People's War. But from tactical point of view, it considers the enemy's conspiracy and exercise as new challenges posed by the old state and feels necessary to face it seriously. In accordance with the famous proposition of Mao that 'it is the nature of reactionaries and revisionists to create trouble till the end and that of the people to continue the struggle until a complete victory is attained', the country's state of affairs is taking its course today as per the very law of development of class struggle.

In this situation, according to the above-synthesized idea, it is essential today to develop a political and military plan to attack the enemy from newer heights. In new situations, it has become urgent to advance this type of plan from both strategic and tactical levels. Principle slogan of the strategic main plan will be "Consolidate and expand the base areas, March towards the direction of forming New Democratic Central Government". Under this great slogan, the Party Central Committee will develop a concrete plan related to the political and military objective and its preparation. From tactical point of view, the policies like centralizing attacks on the main enemy, continuing the Party policy for negotiation, stressing on the development of tactical united front etc. will be retained. But this alone will not be enough to achieve the above-mentioned strategic objectives today. For this the Party needs to advance in a planned way the issues like organizing a conference of all political forces to be participated by representatives of all political parties and people's organizations of the country, conducting the election for an interim government by the conference and guaranteeing the formation of constitution by the people under the leadership of this elected interim government. The Central Committee will develop a concrete program and plan for its initiation. This outline plan will incorporate the tactics of general insurrection in the protracted People's War, in accordance with the characteristics of international and national situations today, and will have great importance in mobilizing the whole Party, Army, United Front, class and mass fronts and the masses.

- **Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path!**
- **Long live the Proletarian Internationalism!**
- **Long live the World Revolution!**
- **Long live the Great People's War!**
- **Long live the New Democratic Revolution!**
- **Glory to the Fallen Heroes!**
- **Long Live Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)**

## Foot-notes:

1. Today what the experience has proved irrefutably is that Mohan Bikram trend is a feudal trend that strangles Marxism and revolution in the pretext of upholding them. Its characteristics are to be softer towards and to defend the group of reactionaries, which has seized the state power and rules the country and people in an anti-national and fascist way, but to assail with full force those who wage revolutionary struggle against that rule. Its policy of assailing the Jhapa revolutionaries, Pushpa Lal and Nepali Congress in the past, and the Maoist People 's War and the forces supporting it, today, proves this.
2. Actually, the publicity that the then leadership of Mashal was changed because of a technical mistake in the Sector case is a mistake of presenting the secondary issue as the principal one. It created confusion in the then Mashal and even after unity for a long time. Com. Kiran has clarified it in his Preface to The Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-II
3. Before discussing the development any further, it is essential to be clear about some wrong thinking. Among them. the principal one is the bias and sectarian factionalist thinking. Even this thinking is expressed in two ways. One views the improved line and leadership with the vision of the same old particular faction and rejects or undervalues the historical importance of unity, evolution of thought and its role in establishing it among the people, and the other claims that everything happened after the unity and thereby rejects or undervalues the objective process and reality of ideological evolution. The former fails to understand the scientific fact that the evolution of thought is not the asset of former groups only but of the general masses, and to accept that the evolution of new thought in our condition is a result of fierce struggle against all factionalism and spliticism in the Nepalese communist movement and their so-called line and a break with them. The latter also ultimately expresses a factionalist, sectarian view, which attempts to separate the line and leadership from each other and views the leadership with the eye of previous groups and unnecessarily links the line alone with itself. Indeed this kind of thinking is the remnant of petty-bourgeois sectarianism, personal biases, factionalism and spliticism prevailing in the Nepalese communist movement since long. It fails to acknowledge the universal character of science. Therefore, the whole Party should struggle against and be alert and conscious about such thinking.

From: <http://www.ucpnm.org/english/doc7.php> [May 21, 2010]