

Present situation and party task: Resolution adopted by the CC of the CPN (Maoist) held in April 2007

Published in The Worker #11, July 2007

a) Objective situation

— Country's political situation is being expressed today in a revolutionary crisis. The contradiction between Nepalese people's resolve of establishing federal democratic republic, along with forward-looking restructuring of the state, on the one hand, and the feudal and imperialist powers trying to maintain status quo is going ahead daily towards a serious confrontation. Only the constituent assembly election in time, providing an easy political way out, could have resolved that contradiction. However, the reactionary forces that are scared of the popularity of left people's opinion in general and our glorious party the CPN (Maoist) in particular, with various pretexts and conspiracies, are succeeding to defer the constituent assembly election. In this way, it is clear that the country is in a serious political crisis.

— It is worthy here to keep in mind that the reactionaries had already sown the seeds of conspiracy from the last April 24, 2006 against Nepalese people's aspiration of peace and progress. A stern ploy to isolate the CPN (Maoist) was noticed in the agreement reached on April 24 with the king and the so-called parliamentary promulgation following it. Under the pressure of country wide mass mobilisation on the part of our party and extensive ideological and political intervention against such plot of parliamentarians the peace negotiations could go ahead only after June 16, 2006. But, as a result of months-long disorder resulted in within major parliamentarian parties when the foreign power centres, including the US imperialism, issued public statements against the eight-point understanding reached on June 16, 2006, a danger that the peace process could be disrupted had already emerged. The agreement on November 8, 2006 was possible as a result of the synthesis of Kamidanda Meeting of the Central Committee organised in the aforesaid context and the pressure of mass mobilisation and political intervention it followed. Instead of showing preparedness to implement the agreement according to schedule, machinations to push away those agreements continued. As a result of moral pressure of patience our PLA exhibited inside the camps, pressures from civil movement and serious and responsible initiatives on the part of our party, the interim constitution and the interim government, though late, could take their shape. Shattering entire conspiracies of the domestic and foreign reactions, party succeeded in a completely new way to show one's representation in the interim legislature, as to give a glimpse of federal state in harmony with people's aspiration. The reactionaries, panicked with party's popularity, which was heightened further by this success, ganged up in a campaign to defame our party and create disorder in the name of Madhesi movement under the collaboration and master plan of the imperialists, expansionists and feudal elements.

With the support of slogans that our party had raised during people's war and that were established as the just demands of Madheski people, and sneaking into them, all of the reactionaries and opportunists got united to create terror and defame Maoist movement.

This disorder that kept up for about a month was fulfilling the reactionary intent to delay the formation of interim government, on the one hand, and also was dreaming of "sweeping" Maoists from Madhesh, on the other. However, when the mass meetings in Biratnagar, Janakpur and Birgunj that the party had initiated from Kathmandu on February 13 went ahead and when inspiring participation of people was observed in lakhs in those meetings, then the reactionaries started fabricating conspiracies further. Along with misinformation against the Maoist party, leadership and the movement in Goebels style, the reactionaries went on centralising in their plot to brutally and cowardly kill Maoist cadres. As a climax of this conspiracy, Gaur massacre in Rautahat was staged.

As a result of people's anger witnessed all across the country and party's conscious political tactic against that terrible massacre, they were compelled to form interim government and declare the date for constitution assemble election in spite of open pressure and threat on the part of the US imperialism. Nevertheless, bringing forward the UNO, election commission etc. and showing technical problems a ploy to postpone the constituent assembly election has already been devised.

From the aforesaid account, it has been clear that the imperialists, expansionists and feudal elements will never go into constituent assembly election till their victory is ascertained in it.

— Along with the design of postponing constituent assembly election, the reactionaries are going ahead with a strategy of encircling the CPN (Maoist) from all directions. In the name of second round of verification, to declare the thousands of combatants of the PLA unable for unification, to attempt for disarmament, to increase torture outside the camps in both legal and illegal ways have been the main specificities of the reactionary strategy. Focusing on these specificities, the party should decide the tasks ahead.

— There has now been planned and naked foreign intervention upon the national independence, security and self-respect of Nepal. The US imperialism is openly provoking Madheshi and other nationalities to replace the historical process of national liberation by communal violence. Defying the entire norms of diplomatic value, the American Ambassador is constantly attacking upon the internal affairs of Nepal. The reactionary Indian ruling class is instigating cross border terror in Madhesh in an open and planned way. The danger of Sikkimisation and Bhutanisation has been very much increased. Nepali Congress, which is leading the interim government, has been only a meagre shadow of foreign reaction.

— In spite of aforesaid conspiracies of domestic and foreign reactions, the CPN (Maoist) has been established today as a legal, revolutionary and popular force. International posture and also the diplomatic relation of our party is strengthening and extending day after day.

Subjective aspect

1.

— Since the ceasefire declared on the last April to the comprehensive agreement reached on November 8, through the eight-point agreement of June 16 in Baluwatar, our party's subjective condition has been growing up aggressively and successfully from the viewpoint of ideology, politics, organisation and psychology. Amidst this, the organisations from urban middle class to workers, students, women, intelligentsia, teachers, civil servants, businessman etc., the various sects of the masses, grew up qualitatively. Rebellions in thousands from the reactionary and opportunist organisations, activists have joined the Maoist movement. Conferences of various mass organisations and fronts were accomplished in a magnificent and aggressive way. There appeared a wave of attraction and encouragement from all directions.

2.

— From last November to the process of forming interim government now, the subjective condition of our party has sometimes become aggressive, sometimes defensive and sometimes stagnant. This phase that has gone through the course of sometimes victory-rally, sometimes protest-rally and sometimes funeral-rally is going ahead with ambiguity then clarity again ambiguity and again clarity. In the last phase, as a reflection of enemy's mounting conspiracy, countrywide financial crisis and including Gaur massacre, serious questions, apprehensions and pains have emerged within the party. The painful situation in camps of the PLA has given birth to all-round rage. Even though an expectation that several of the problems will be resolved in a new way has now arisen after the party has joined the interim government, the ambiguity and curiosity on the future plan of the party still continues.

3.

— Although the tactic of interim government, constituent assembly election and democratic republic is a very old tactic put forward by our party, a big change has been witnessed in the situation of political and military conflict that had continued since the past ten years when the Chunwang meeting, based on that tactic, placed a concrete plan of its implementation and 12 point understanding with parliamentary parties was reached. This change was not only the result of the shift taken place in the political power equation inside the country, but it was the result of our determination to find a new way for the twenty-first century revolutions and go along new application in accordance with the new synthesis of the experiences of revolutions and counter-revolutions in the twentieth century. Naturally, while trying to find a new way one has sometimes to confront with an easy situation and sometimes a complex one. Now the encouragement, ambiguity, wave and pain that has been observed time and again within the party is the result of our effort trying to walk along a new way.

4.

— There exist right, "left" and centrist angles in understanding every new tactic and plan. It applies in the context of ongoing tactic also. The right trend, which is principal now, thinks that compromise, agreement and participation in the government is everything, enjoys fully in it and turns down the necessity and preparation of insurrection. The danger of centrist trend also has grown up now, because confusion and vacillation arises easily as a result of intense ebb and flow of the situation. As a result of new and piercing struggle against the enemy, the "left" trend that sees everything sunk and dark everywhere is expressed in a little of pessimism and a little of rage.

Becoming clear on the main objective of present tactic, which is to reach at the goal by defending to and steeping at the achievements of people's war, to go ahead as to face challenges firmly is the introduction of a revolutionary trend.

5.

— Confronting with the ringleaders of world imperialism, the achievements, while arriving at the interim government, which the party has acquired subjectively one after another in the international diplomatic field, cannot be devalued. No revolution can succeed in any country without changing, up to a certain limit, the adversity of international situation into a favourable one with the strength of new ideology and diplomatic initiative. From this point of view, our course up to the interim government expresses new ideological intervention and so it should be understood this way.

6.

— Subjectively, the present party tactic, on the one hand, is very lively and full of

possibilities and on the other is very dangerous too. In such a piercing and sensitive moment, ideological, political, organisational and sentimental unity does have special significance. Our party is basically united now in aforesaid questions and so this is definitely a matter of pleasure and pride. But, in order to cope with today's challenges, the unity we have does not meet the required level. The factionalism in some regions including Madhesh and the act against Chunwang spirit by taking the name of Chunwang itself expresses seriousness of the problems in those arenas. As a result of factionalism, the party had to suffer a big loss in Madhesh. It is necessary to elevate the ideological struggle against non-proletarian trends including factionalism, anarchism and sectarianism and comprehensive rectification campaign to a new height

On the upcoming orientation and task

1.

— Taking into account of the aforesaid objective and subjective situation, it becomes clear that party has to make an important tactical shift in the days ahead. In the backdrop of naked foreign move and intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal, and terror and disorder in Madhesh, it has been urgent to raise voice in favour of nationalism, national independence, sovereignty and geographical integrity. For a long time, mainly since the palace massacre, we correctly rendered priority to the struggle against feudal autocracy. The development of events from the 12-point understanding to now has already proved the correctness of that policy. While struggling against autocracy, the struggle against national betrayal naturally got the secondary position. Now, the struggle against national betrayal has got the primary position again. Therefore, it is necessary on the part of the party to take a policy of forcefully raising voice in favour of nationalism. The other tactic linked inseparably with this policy is that we should give priority to the tactic of struggle against Nepali Congress in place of the tactic of co-work, compromise and agreement existing with them till now. Only by giving importance to nationalism and democracy against national betrayal and totalitarianism of the Nepali Congress can we go ahead by clarifying some ambiguities noticed within the party, movement and the masses as well.

2.

— In order to push forward the aforesaid political tactic, a policy of intensifying struggle in the interim government, interim legislature and the streets should be undertaken.

3.

— In the situation when constituent assembly election does not take place in time, declaring republic with no delay, all-round pressure to fix up date for election, on the basis of political consensus, should be created. What is important to pay attention here is that a danger of hammering upon the necessity of thorough change and people's aspiration by declaring status quo its republic, which represents the interest of feudal, bureaucrats and comprador bourgeois, by reactionary forces including the Nepali Congress, has increased. Therefore, by politically establishing the reality that the republic could be materialised as a result of devotion, sacrifice and initiative of revolutionary communists, the party should maximally emphasise on the question of transforming that republic into People's Republic. Now, in the context when conspiracy is being hatched to postpone the constituent assembly election it is necessary to warm up the government, legislature and street, all of the three fronts, by raising the question of republic to the level of a movement.

4.

— Until the camp management of the PLA, salary for the fighters and their living is regularised, a policy of not agreeing to verification of any kind and raising voice from government and legislature should be undertaken. After the management and living has

been regularised we should, by bringing several of the fighters out, take up a policy to make them participate in movement. If the state denies management and living, then the fighters inside the camps should be mobilized to create pressure.

5.

— Initiative should be speeded up to finalise the question of materialising party unity among the revolutionary communists and building a broad left republican front against the national betrayal and totalitarianism of the Nepali Congress. That kind of party unity and front building should be taken up in the form of a footing for new movement and polarization.

6.

— Works of the ministries under our party should be handled in a well-managed and planned way as to consolidate people's relation, solve financial problem by broadly mobilising cadres all across the country, extend international relation and build up necessary prerequisites to make the revolution victorious.

7.

— Special attention should be paid to enhance party work and influence within police, army and bureaucracy from both the central and local level. All of the policemen, armies and bureaucrats are not of the same kind and so it is necessary to go ahead with special plan to unite patriotic and nationalist elements remaining within them. Only in this way can we prepare a base for dissolution of the old and success of the revolution. The preparation for insurrection and its success depends upon the all-round preparation not upon anyone's subjective wish and sentiment.

8.

— Party's continuous proletarianisation and rectification, and extension of people's relation and its consolidation are such weapons that take party towards the pinnacle of continuous victory. In the changed situation, it is necessary to change the unnecessary centralisation of leaders and cadres in cities and ignoring of the rural works. Nowhere and never can one find a readymade and easy way to revolution, only by facing hard labour, sufferings, grieves and complexities can one reach finally to the pinnacle of victory.