

## **Document**

# **Present Situation And Our Historical Task\***

Today the great Nepalese People's War (PW) is in a specific stage of strategic equilibrium and in preparation for strategic offensive. Theoretically this stage is very complex and sensitive step by itself. In imperialist era, whenever any country's people's revolution advances up to this stage of development then it becomes obvious that it starts clashing with the world imperialism. Development of this stage obviously brings about the possibility of realizing the new challenges and opportunities of the respective people's revolution. On top of this, particularly in today's world when there exists not one single genuine socialist country and American imperialism is trying to bring the whole world under its grip by openly bullying in the name of "globalization" and "liberalization", "expansion of civilization" and "war against terrorism", it is obvious, the Nepalese PW at this stage of development and its future course of advancement, will particularly become more complex and hence will become even more momentous.

Together with the ideological synthesis of the Party's 2<sup>nd</sup> National Conference and its application process, qualitative progress started showing up in the development of the PW. In the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, along with the expansion of quality and quantity of PW the interventionist activities of imperialism, particularly American imperialism, started intensifying. By pushing forward the fascist feudal forces through the palace massacre, imperialism is trying to dig its teeth and nails into Nepal by openly helping them socially, economically and politically against the great PW. Realizing the strategic importance of Nepal's geo-political position and the long-term effect of the victory of PW as a big challenge, the imperialists have declared their strategy of preventing the Nepalese Maoist movement from capturing the state-power. The fact that American imperialism which is imposing naked aggressive war on those oppressed countries and people who are opposing imperialism, in the name of so-called war against terrorism after the September 11 episode, is now looking at cease-fire and negotiation process in Nepal as part of its same strategy and propagating it as its victory and that it has included the Maoist movement in list of international terrorism, all these reveal the level of advancement of the PW and the challenges that lay ahead of it.

In spite of overwhelming opposition of the world public opinion, American imperialism is arrogantly declaring it as a warning to all those small and big forces of the world, which dare to talk of rebellion by citing example of its "success" in suppressing Iraq and Iraqi people through the strength of ultra-modern military technology. In this context it is paramount to develop the Party's strategy and tactics most seriously when the old state and the main parliamentary forces of the country are showing their national capitulationist character and imperialism is bullying as aforesaid.

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\* Presented by Chairman Prachanda and adopted by the Central Committee Meeting of the Party in May 2003

## **ON WORLD SITUATION**

All the basic contradictions of the world have now sharpened proving the claims of ‘end of history’ and ‘rise of new world order’ by the imperialists as utter rubbish. Not only has the principal contradiction of the world between imperialism and oppressed nations and people become explosive but inter-imperialist contradictions, too, have sharpened. This situation has developed with the increasing plunder, intervention and terror of US imperialism under the strategy of establishing an unchallenged domination over the whole globe after the fall of the erstwhile Soviet Union.

Proclaiming the so-called US prosperity and civilization based on exploitation, capture and plunder of overwhelming human and natural resources of the earth as an ideal model of the world, the Bush clique of the imperialist moneybags has claimed and practiced its privilege of attacking any nation, organisation, movement and people raising their voice against it. It has become the main trend of imperialism to impose war on the people in the name of this or that excuse in order to save its economy from collapse, which is based on war industry manufacturing weapons of mass-destruction that has the power of destroying the human race.

Since the last decade there has been deep recession occurring in the imperialist economy in general and American economy in particular. Financial capital has domination over industrial capital, and financial capital is in turn controlled mainly by the Americans through organizations like “World Bank”, “International Monetary Fund”. The monopoly of financial capital and its unlimited centralization has created unequal wage distribution, unequal development, and unemployment and has dangerously intensified the gap between the rich and the poor. The development of science and technology and the concentration of capital is unlimitedly increasing the productive capacity of imperialist economic units, but the demand and market is not only not expanding at the same pace but in fact becoming even more limited because of inequality in development and distribution. Because of this inherent logic of the imperialist economic system there is bound to be clash between the imperialist factions for the capture of market.

Today the background of the Iraq war, which is indicating a big turning point and change in the world situation, is proving that point. Because the dollar is the international medium of exchange the Americans are arbitrarily printing dollars in order to cover up more than five hundred billion dollars of trade deficit. And if the Europeans and other imperialist forces that control nearly half of the American currency start using other medium of exchange instead of dollar then it is certain it will ruin American domestic economy that is sustaining itself by obtaining cheap credit. It is this situation, which is actually behind the collapse of big companies and banks belonging to the Americans. At present the growing development of Euro is giving challenges to the future of the dollar. In this situation, Iraq was beginning to receive money for its oil through Euro from 2000 onwards. Venezuela had been doing this right from the beginning. Many imperialist countries were slowly converting their foreign exchange deposit into Euro from the dollar. Many countries closely affiliated to America started showing interest in reserving their limited foreign exchange deposit in Euro currency. On top of that for the last seven years, the oil producing countries started refraining to invite American companies to develop the oil resources. Under such a situation, if Euro captures the huge world market of oil and if dollar gets left behind (of which clear indication was beginning to show) then it would have ruined American economy and it

would make sure that its hegemony in the world would end. Thus objectively even before the event of September 11 there had already arisen a great danger on American economic domination. In such a situation it is but natural to occur clashes among NATO country members themselves as a manifestation of the contradiction between excess production and limited market. Then the American imperialism saw no other alternative than to wage war with its huge military might which has given it its superpower status in order to safeguard its economic hegemony.

It is in this background that the incident of September 11 occurred. This incident, in fact became a very big excuse for the crisis ridden American imperialism to launch a war. The Bush clique of the oil business that was looking for a lame excuse to wage a war has now declared protracted war in the pretext of so-called war against terrorism on the basis of huge military built-up in order to establish unipolar economic and military hegemony.

Although the real strategic aim was to capture oil in order to ward off its competitions and to tighten its control over the world economy, tactically it gave the name of war against terrorism and started by attacking Afghanistan. When this trend lead to initiate war by the American and the British troops on the sovereign nation Iraq, which has second largest oil deposits in the world, in the pretext of destroying the so-called mass-destructive chemical and biological weapons in its possessions which was never proved, then big upheavals and changes started appearing in the world situation and is continuing to do so.

In the course of preparatory phase of war, mainly in Europe, America and including the whole world, unprecedented waves of people's movement started developing. The huge and mammoth anti-war people's rallies right at the heart of imperialist countries, alleging war as "crime against humanity" and comparing Bush and Blair as "Hitler of 21<sup>st</sup> Century", have created a revolutionary objective condition for the new wave of world revolution. Although the unified anti-war and such initiatives taken by the people all around the world, including Europe and America, could not stop the war against Iraq immediately, but it created strong base for alternative people's power and future resistance against imperialism. This war that was waged despite vehement protest by tens of millions of people around the world, has in fact exposed the mask of democracy worn by the imperialists. Their real military fascist character has once again become exposed before the whole world. This world situation, which developed in course of war on Iraq, is a very positive aspect.

Iraq war has not only brought to surface the contradictions between imperialist countries but it has also intensified it to a large extent. France, Germany and Russia were openly seen to oppose the war policy of America and Britain. The threat of France to veto against the war in United Nations and the declaration that American 'unipolar world hegemony is not tolerable', all these explain the level of contradictions existing between the imperialist countries. It is clear that this kind of resistance reached such a height, primarily because of one's economic self-interest and secondly because of the pressure exerted by the rallying people on the streets. But, these imperialist countries very well know America is the only force that can save today's imperialist world system, and hence in their opposition one can easily smell the tendency of aligning with America and to appease it. These countries while advocating UN and opposing war not only undertook no concrete steps to stop it but they helped the war indirectly and in their

propaganda they made clear that America should not lose. Whatever may be, there is increase in competitions among the imperialist forces for the oil and the market and that the Iraq war has all the more intensified and deepened that contradiction. This development in the world situation is another important change.

Those Third World reactionary rulers who are competing with one other to gain American blessing by supporting America's monopolistic hold over the world after the end of cold war are now realizing that their position has weakened because of the experiences of the last decade. At present all the reactionary rulers of the Third World are at one end facing increasing fury and resistance of the people and at the other end are under the dual pressure and threat of world imperialism, thus being squeezed from both the sides. Despite the disapproval of the United Nations, massive opposition put up by the people and innumerable appeals, requests made by most of the Third World rulers, gruesome attack made on a sovereign country, Iraq, by the American and British imperialists has reminded and revived the almost forgotten non-alignment movement. It is through this movement that the Third World rulers have become compelled to oppose this war. But, because of their own reactionary nature, they are not able to take any strong stand against imperialism and there is no possibility for it, too. While many fascist rulers of the Third World are openly and nakedly hobnobbing with imperialism in order to prolong their life and existence, some others are looking for a middle road of compromise with a terrorized mentality. Whatever it may be, the very fact that inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening and in the same proportion the non-alignment movement is getting revived; all these indicate a change in the world situation.

The so-called military success in Iraq war has increased even more the arrogance of American imperialism to maintain its hegemony over the world. They have haughtily declared the so-called "success" as a warning against those small and big forces of the world that dare to raise their voice against America. They are now centralizing their threat on Syria, Iran and other countries under the strategy of controlling the whole world through their hold on oil by installing puppet governments all over Arab countries who are willing to kneel down before them.

American imperialism, which has been strengthening its military hold on Afghanistan and Pakistan, is now implementing the strategy of tightening its noose in South Asia. Because of the capitulationist nature of the present reactionary governments in this region, they are getting successful in this strategy. American imperialism, which has been playing the game of cat and mouse among the Indian and Pakistani rulers using the weapon of Kashmir conflict, is now concentrating its attention in containing the Nepalese people's great democratic movement that has been gaining success one after the other through the People's War. It is by realizing the consequences of 21<sup>st</sup> century's forward-looking movement from an ideological point of view and the geo-strategic position of Nepal (being in between the vast China and India), and by assessing the possible success of Maoist movement as a spark of new world revolution against world imperialism which could ignite a prairie fire on world imperialism, that they have been intensifying their interventionist activities in Nepal for the last past three years. In order to sustain the most reactionary feudal autocratic elements, they have been increasing strategic, economic and material aid against the People's War. The conclusion of a so-called agreement against terrorism for the period of five years between American imperialism and the old state of Nepal, while formal negotiation was going on after the cease-fire, and the recent listing of the

Nepalese Maoist movement among the terrorists, all these indicate the seriousness of the present situation. Even this brief analysis of the present world situation makes it amply clear that, despite ups and downs in history, the basic features of imperialism and the compulsions for Bush to wage war remain the same and proves that comrade Lenin's analysis is scientific and relevant even today. For the masses of the world, there is no other alternative than resisting the war through revolution. The situation up to the Iraq war is preparing objective ground for bringing a wave of world revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. An historical duty has been placed on the shoulders of the international proletariat to prepare itself boldly for undertaking leadership of world revolution based on the fundamental principles of MLM in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There can be no other military strategy than the People's War to smash imperialism.

## WORLD SITUATION AND THE NEPALESE REVOLUTION

The unprecedented development in communication technology has made today's world unbelievably small. Because of the development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the favorable and unfavorable international situation will be playing strategic role in determining the success of any specific country's democratic revolution. On top of it the development of science and technology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has qualitatively enhanced the importance of international situation for determining the success of revolution in any country. In today's condition, any ups and downs in the revolution of any country are related with the ups and downs that occur in the world situation. The development of revolution in the last seven years amply explains this reality.

Had world imperialism, particularly American imperialism in today's context, not helped the old state directly, the Nepalese revolution would have by today developed further ahead with relative ease and somewhat differently through the use of the thought, strategy and tactics synthesized in the Party's historic Second National Conference. The Nepalese revolution has been affected by the activities of American imperialism, like bringing the most brutal and fascist feudal elements through the infamous palace massacre to take on the Nepalese People's War to intensifying its interventionist activities in Nepal with the declaration of the so-called war against terrorism after the September 11 event. We can clearly and with experience say that had the old feudal state and its royal army not had direct involvement of American military advisors in planning, construction, training and direction in the post "emergency" period and that had it not received financial and military assistance from foreign reactionary forces including America, the old rotten feudal state in Nepal had no chance of surviving in the face of People's War till today. The very fact that it was able to defeat the feudal state in various fronts despite unleashing fierce military atrocities and terror with direct imperialist assistance and direction and was able to develop People's War up to strategic equilibrium, proves the great victory of the Party's political and military line.

To advance by "giving birth to powerful counter-revolution" and "creating unusual complex situation" is the law of revolution according to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The law of development of Nepalese revolution could not have been outside this law. There is no doubt that the imperialist forces are now in preparation for even more vicious assault as the Nepalese People's War is in preparation for strategic offensive from its current position of strategic equilibrium. The entire complexities, opportunities and challenges of Nepalese revolution are the

manifestations of this objective condition. From the ideological and strategic point of view, Mao has correctly said that imperialism is actually paper tiger. But, from immediate and tactical point of view it is also real tiger that devours human beings. Till the Iraq war, imperialism is proving itself as both paper tiger and real tiger. From strategic point of view it proved itself to be paper tiger because imperialism generated hatred, resistance and anger against it in Iraq war. But, tactically it is drinking the blood of people of Afghanistan and Iraq and is roaring towards the masses of the world by baring its bloodstained fangs. Iraq war has indeed made revolutionary condition ripe all over the world. However, at present there is no revolutionary wave under the leadership of the proletariat. But, in Nepal, the development of revolution has reached a very sensitive stage of preparation for strategic offensive. It is essential to understand that the series of tactical steps undertaken by the Party such as cease-fire, negotiation, political way out etc. are based on this strategically favorable and tactically unfavorable world situation and the condition of strategic equilibrium inside the country.

In the present context, when along with the restoration of capitalism in China there is no other socialist state existing, when despite objective condition turning favorable currently there is no advancement in any strong revolutionary movement under the leadership of the proletariat, and when world imperialism is pouncing on people everywhere like an injured tiger, is it possible for a small country with a specific geo-political compulsion like Nepal to gain victory to the point of capturing central state through revolution? This is the most significant question being put before the Party today. The answer to this question can only be found in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on this depends the future of the Nepalese revolution.

It is the correct or wrong ideology and political line that determines everything. It is worth remembering that historic initiation of People's War was undertaken by the Party even when in the West imperialism was celebrating victory both ideologically and physically after the end of the cold war, and even the People's War in Peru's had met with a serious setback in a very unfavorable international situation. All reactionary and rightist revisionist forces, inside and outside the country, were forecasting that the initiation of People's War was an "extremist deviation" devoid of objective condition and that it would be smashed within a few months. But, the People's War has developed to the present challenging situation within 7 years, against such allegations and forecast. It is quite clear that behind this fast development are the correct thought, line, plan and program of the Party.

Today the challenge before us for leading the People's War to victory, while facing current imperialist intervention and national capitulationism, is in essence the challenge of developing the ideological and political line. If the Party based on concrete analysis of concrete condition fails to develop ideological and political line in order to face the new situation and falls victim to dogmatism or pragmatism, then it will become impossible for the revolution to attain victory. It is important here to discuss three kinds of deviations that may come from present world situation in the revolutionary movement.

It is imperative for the Party to be clear that in the present day revolutionary movement the first and the main danger is the rightist capitulationist deviation that overestimates the strength of the enemy and underestimates the strength of the people. This kind of deviation can be manifested in different forms, such as seeing cease-fire as a form of absolute peace process, to see negotiation

as a process of compromise at all cost instead of taking it as another front to fight against the enemy, to show disinterest in the essential and painful work of consolidating the people's army and mobilizing the masses and to be involved in diplomatic engagements with different sections of the enemy and be unduly hopeful from such interactions, to be ready to change the Party's strategic goal in the name of applying creative tactics in order to suit world situation and to face its pressure, to be content with repetitive cycle of status quo rather than developing the thought and the leadership, to consider breakdown of cease-fire so as to advance the revolution as a self-destructive act, etc.

Against the above deviation, another deviation can be seen in the form of "leftist" adventurism, which underestimates the strength of enemy and overestimates the strength of people. These are manifested in the form of seeing cease-fire and negotiation as unnecessary and irrelevant; it dismisses, in the name of conforming to the goal of strategy, the need of tactical maneuvering in order to face the complexities brought about by the development of revolution; it considers recognition and utilization of contradiction among the enemies as opportunism; it suffers from one-track-mindedness which considers that revolution can be concluded in a straight line; it understands thought, line, plan and program synthesized in the past as completed rather than taking pain to develop them continuously,etc.

Against the above two contradictory deviations, there can be seen another deviation in the form of vacillation and escapism. This kind of deviation prevents oneself from taking any firm stand on rightist, 'leftist' and revolutionary lines. Ultimately escapism becomes its destiny. Against these deviations the Party advocates continuous ideological struggle on the basis of MLM and Prachanda Path. It considers it necessary to raise to a further height the Party's established thought based on strategic firmness and tactical flexibility according to the requirements of the new situation.

According to the demand of the new situation, it considers the necessity of developing to higher height, the Party's established thought based on strategic firmness and tactical flexibility. The victory of Nepalese People's War is neither impossible as thought by the rightist capitulationists nor will it is so straight and simple as thought by the leftist adventurists.

After the Afghanistan and mainly Iraq war, it is certain that the eyes of world imperialism together with that of anti-war world public opinion (including revolutionary communists) are getting focused intensely on Nepal, and in the coming days this will all the more get focused. After the Iraq war it has become all the more clear that neither the religious fundamentalist rulers or organizations nor the reactionary fascist rulers of the Third World countries are actually able to resist imperialist military interventions. We should be clear about the three reasons behind it. First, such reactionary rulers are alienated from their own people, and as a result they fail to organize the unlimited energy of people's active initiatives in the resistance war. Second, such rulers use same war-fare tactics as used by the imperialists, in which the super power imperialism is thousand times stronger; as a result these rulers or religious fundamentalist groups of the Third World countries cannot sustain the war for long. Third, even while resisting against the imperialist war it is impossible for the world public opinion to remain in full and continuous support of such reactionary rulers or religious fundamentalist groups.

It is obvious that in the context of the Nepalese People's War such a situation will be fundamentally different. War against imperialism can only be successful through the technique of People's War; this is an irrefutable fact based on fundamental ideology of MLM and historical experience. In today's context when the world opinion is going against imperialism, there is increasing probability of Nepalese revolution creating a new wave of world revolution and playing a role of global historical importance. If the Nepalese People's War undergoes a set-back due to rightist liquidationism and leftist adventurism or due to some other reasons, then it will play a big negative role for the advancement of world revolution. Because of our impressive victory campaign for the last seven years and the present stage of strategic equilibrium, the imperialist enemies are compelled to invent new strategy one after another. Building upon the experiences of Indonesia, Chile, Vietnam, Nicaragua and in the later period, Peru, imperialism is trying to develop open and hidden strategies to smash the Nepalese People's War. Among these the best option is seen as to prepare for a massive military strike by establishing the charge of terrorism. Under such a situation the future development of People's War is certainly not going to be smooth and simple. However, if it advances on the basis of correct strategy and tactics by mobilizing world opinion and by tiring imperialism, there is full possibility of leading the revolution to victory. Certainly, for this the Party will have to go through many changes in tactics, and turnings and ups and downs. Here the main question is to remain firm in the strategic commitment of not letting the revolutionary flag of 21<sup>st</sup> century to fall down. It is imperative to establish the strategy of People's War as an opposite and alternative pole to American imperialism and to advance ahead by moving forward or backward, and right or left, based on the concrete analysis of concrete condition. In this context the Party needs to pay special attention to the following points.

It is important to emphasize no making the relation between world proletariat and the Party all the more concrete and broad. In today's world when it is impossible to achieve victory without collective effort of international proletariat on war against imperialism, it becomes all the more important to initiate live contact between different proletarian revolutionaries of the world and to make them more motivated for struggle through the RIM. The Party should give first priority to the work of organizing and mobilizing for the struggle under the collective effort of international proletariat.

The question of linking the Nepalese revolution with the increasing world opinion against imperialism is a question of great importance. The activities of the Party so far have certainly prepared a good ideological and political base for linking the Nepalese revolution with the anti-imperialist world opinion. With a collective and planned initiative the Party and international proletariat this relation should be made more lively, organized and struggle-oriented.

Along with the efforts of advancing the above two main relationships, it is important to make further efforts to utilize different imperialist and reactionary forces who have contradictions with American imperialism. It is important to note that Party's capacity of utilizing inter-imperialist and inter-reactionary contradictions will increase in proportion to the degree of consolidation of relationship between the proletariat and anti-imperialist world opinion.

It is only thus that we can fulfill our historical role of serving world revolution and continuing the Nepalese revolution.

## THE PRESENT DOMESTIC SITUATION

The present political situation of the country is going through transitional crisis period. Our Party with utmost seriousness, responsibility and flexibility, has been trying to bring forth forward-looking solution through peaceful means by declaring cease-fire and going for negotiation based on the specific situation of strategic equilibrium in civil war, the aspiration for the peace by the people, and increasing foreign intervention. Although international power centers and their Nepali stooges formally welcomed cease-fire and negotiation, in reality they also started conspiring against it as soon as cease-fire was declared. Incidents such as repression, arrests and killing spree let loose by the old state and its army, the campaign for military consolidation and the deliberate propaganda made by various reactionary parliamentary cliques that there was a secret pact between the Maoists and the palace, all indicate such conspiracies. Right from the very beginning, our Party has been exposing all these conspiracies and has been emphasizing to make cease-fire and negotiation a success in keeping with the aspirations of the people. In this context our sincerity, seriousness and responsible behavior was expressed not only in setting up of our negotiation team and the discussions and interactions we boldly and openly had with different political forces, intellectuals, journalists and people in general but also through our bold and open presentation of the agenda and our firm stand on it at the time of formal negotiations with the ruling side.

But the more it was found that not only the rural but also the urban middle class masses were getting clear and attracted towards our political actions and our commitment for the peaceful political solution, the more it became clear that conspiracies of foreign imperialists and their Nepali stooges started increasing in the same proportion. The incidents such as the conclusion of five-year agreement against so-called terrorism between American imperialism and the old state right at the threshold of formal negotiation, public declaration of the supply of war logistics worth Rs 300 crore by the Indian military chief in the name of “fighting against terrorism” to the old state, and in the later period, open announcement of the inclusion of the Maoist movement in the list of international terrorism by the State Department of America, open threats given by American ambassador in Nepal, the activities and open statements issued by the royal army and the misleading propaganda made by main parliamentary groups, etc all prove the above facts.

Right from ceasefire to present political developments have made it clear that our minimum and consensual agenda which seeks to provide a forward-looking political solution through round table conference, interim government and constituent assembly has been rejected by not only the palace clique that dreams of an autocratic monarchy but also the main parliamentary groups singing the tune of parliamentary democracy. Objectively, by this rejection they are proving that they are neither for peace in real sense nor they want real political solution in the country. In form it may appear as a triangular struggle involving monarchy, parliamentary forces and revolutionary forces, but in essence and if one looks from a class point of view, the struggle involving only two forces (reactionary and democratic forces) are seen. It has been practically proved that the differences between the autocratic monarchical and parliamentary groups are nothing other than that of share of power within the old state. It has been time and again proved in Nepal that monarchy in the name of nationalism (fake) and parliamentary forces

in the name of democracy (fake) want to occupy the seat of power and betray the nation and the people on identical class basis. Despite the present crisis ridden state of the country and our serious initiative, their refusal to come to term with constituent assembly, which is a mere bourgeois democratic practice, has once again proved how hollow and hypocritical their slogan of nationalism and democracy is. From this the objectivity of our policy that nationalism and democracy cannot be separated from each other in bourgeois democratic revolution has become all the more clear.

What we have been saying from a class and theoretical point of view and what has become all the more exposed in the present cease-fire and negotiation process is that it is the clash of interests between different international reactionary centers which is behind the mutual recriminations and contradictions between different reactionary groups in Nepal. As the royal army and the palace elements are being manipulated and protected by western imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and the main parliamentary forces by the Indian rulers who seek special hegemony in South Asia, they are having a continuous tug of war between them. Hence the whole Party should be clear that, in the background of political development particularly after the palace massacre, the idea of seeing either the monarchical or the parliamentary forces of Nepal as more democratic or more nationalistic than the other, will be specially harmful and wrong. It has become all the more clear in the present day Nepal that we can never have any ideological and political relationship with either monarchical or parliamentary groups except to manage contradictions in a particular situation. The chain of events is proving that the monarchical elements are moving ahead with the strategy of strengthening the state and smashing our movement with the backing of American imperialism by using us in the name of peace negotiation. Similarly, the main parliamentary forces are moving ahead with the strategy of using us, in the name struggling against regression, in order to reach the seat of the old state and destroying our movement with the help of foreign reaction. In such a situation, there can be no other strategy for the revolutionaries except to expose their strategic conspiracies and strive to raise people's revolution to a new height by mobilizing the masses and using contradictions among reactionary forces.

Will such conspiratorial methods adopted by international forces and reactionary elements of the country end the relevance of our serious, responsible initiative towards cease-fire, negotiation and peaceful political solution? To many people this may seem so. But, from factual and scientific point of view, these conspiracies of the enemy have all the more widely proved the relevance of our initiative. First of all, our initiative has not only established our movement's political superiority amongst rural populace, urban masses and people all over the country but also amongst quite a many people all around the world. It has also played an important role in exposing the military fascist misdeeds of imperialism and its Nepali stooges. To put it in concrete terms, the war mongering and unjust intervention resorted to by American imperialism even when serious initiative for arriving at political solution through negotiation was taking place, has led American imperialists and its Nepali stooges to at once fall down in the eyes of urban intellectuals to general masses and progressive people all over the world. We should deeply acknowledge that this would play a big national and international political role for the future counter-offensive. Secondly, initiative and naked intervention of American imperialism will increase our Party's chance of using inter-imperialist contradictions and the ones between reactionary rulers of different countries. Thirdly, our initiative and the naked

conspiracy of the enemy has widely intensified the contradictions among different reactionary and revisionist groups of the country and brought them out on the surface. From this we have got good opportunity to make clear our position amongst those cadres and masses that have been under the illusion of reactionary and revisionist groups. According to the Party's principle theoretical understanding, negotiation is also one of the fronts of the struggle and hence we must stress on taking it to a logical conclusion. But, we must firmly grasp that this tactics is invariably inter-connected with the strategy of political preparation for counter-offensive. In the end, while firmly adhering to the aforesaid analysis of the monarchical and major parliamentary groups from a strategic and class perspective, we should strive from an immediate and tactical point of view to make necessary adjustments, understandings and tactical unity with other imperialists, foreign reactionaries and major parliamentary forces inside the country against American imperialism and its Nepali stooges as far as they are prepared to go. Only thus can we effectively carry forward our offensive against the main enemy.

## **On the Experiences of History and Development of Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

*“Marxism is not lifeless dogma, not a completed, readymade immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action” -Lenin*

The main essence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is to advance ahead through continuous revolution by scientifically synthesizing world proletarian movement enriched by the great experiences of revolution and counter-revolution. In giving leadership to the democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism in Nepal, our Party has been from the very beginning laying emphasis on applying the teachings of MLM, not in the form of dogma but in the form of creative application and development as a “guide to action”. In this great process of applying and developing the teachings of MLM based on the concrete condition of the Nepalese revolution, we have been waging continuous struggle against rightist revisionists as well as the dogmato-revisionists. The process of ideological struggle that is invariably linked with the necessity of class struggle has brought the People’s War to this level of development within the period of 7 years through one leap to another. The Party has already synthesized the discovery at “Prachanda-Path” as a special chain of ideas in the Nepalese revolution based on this development process of class struggle and ideological struggle.

Here what is important to note is that the starting point of the Party’s ideological and practical struggle has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that has developed Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the highest synthesis of the science of proletarian revolution. This means, to uphold continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a theoretical basis to prevent counter-revolution and to carry forward ideological struggle based on the principle of “Three Dos and Three Don’ts” for the continuous proletarization of the Party. Our Party has been firm that any deviations from this will mean deviation from the proletarian movement. But, if it is taken to mean readymade and complete answers for the requirement of revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century then one should be clear that it is against the teachings of MLM and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The synthesis up to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution definitely equipped the world proletariat with the ideological weapon of MLM. But, after the demise of Com. Mao, capitalism got restored in China and there is now not a single socialist state in the world. It would be a subjective deviation to deny the fact that this has given a big setback to the world proletarian movement and that it has brought big negative change in the world situation. Objectively there is no change that this is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and that revolution is the main trend of the world. This does not mean that we should underestimate the big loss proletarian class has faced through counter-revolution in China in the struggle for power and that we should not take seriously our effort to stop such counter-revolution in future by taking lessons from these defeats. In the present context of world revolution or in the context of revolution in any particular country, it has become very necessary for the political vanguard of the proletariat to give answer to this big question.

In the same way, with the entry into 21<sup>st</sup> century, there has been unprecedented development in science and technology, particularly in electronic communication technology, in the world. Just as this intense development has been affecting the world in different ways, similarly this makes necessary demands for improvement and development in the political and military strategy of the proletarian revolution. Any positive or negative incidents in any corner of the world has so rapid, intense and direct repercussion in the world that such phenomena has never occurred earlier in humankind's history.

This way, the experiences of counter-revolution give us inspiration to learn lessons from the limitations and weaknesses of past revolution, and the advancements made in science and technology inspire us to make creative development in the strategy and tactics of revolution. From the point of view of epochal development of human society it is still the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution; however, because of above important changes that have come in subjective and objective conditions it has necessitated today's proletariat to develop and refine their ideology and strategy based on concrete analysis of concrete situation.

On the basis of experience of history, analysis of present world situation and five years' enriched experiences of the Nepalese People's war, the Party's Second historic Conference has made many important political and military syntheses. The qualitative result brought in the development of People's War due to the application of that synthesized idea in the past two years, has not only proved its scientific basis but also it has prepared a strong base for higher ideological, political and military synthesis. On the basis of these developments in the world situation, including the development of Nepalese class struggle from the Second National Conference up to today, and from the September 11 event up to the Iraq war, it is necessary to develop and refine the strategy of the democratic revolution. In this context it is specially worth considering following points on relationship between the Party, Army, State and the People.

## **The Party**

The experiences of revolution and counter-revolution in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century have glaringly showed that the work of defending and developing the revolutionary proletarian character of the Party

becomes all the more difficult in the period after the capture of the state power. Why is it that those victorious Parties in the world which have undergone intense ideological struggle against the rightist, leftist and centrist deviations inside and outside of the Party and which have created unprecedented example of earth-shaking bravery and sacrifice by fighting against the enemy in class war while identifying itself with the needs and interest of the people, after they capture state power become transformed into bureaucratic, revisionist, and counter-revolutionary Parties, alienated from the masses within a short period of time? Certainly, basic theoretical answers for this have been given by MLM by the time of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But, these basic theories need to be developed into an organizational theory, methodology and system so that they can stop counter-revolution, and this is valid even today. This is the problem of application and development of the theory of two-line struggle within the Party and continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Experience has proved that after assuming state power, when various leaders and cadres of the Party are involved in running the state affairs, then there is strong chance that physical environment may swiftly reduce the Party into a bureaucratic, careerist and luxurious class. With intensification of this danger the Party will become more formal and alienated from the masses, in the same proportion. This process when it reaches to certain level of its own development, it is bound to be transformed into counter-revolution. In order to prevent such danger as counter-revolution to happen, it is important to develop further organizational mechanism and system so that Party is constantly under the vigilance, control and service of the proletariat and working masses according to the theory of two-line struggle and continuous revolution. For this it is very important that there should be a mechanism to guarantee overall people's participation in two line struggle and that one section comprising of capable and established leaders and cadres should be constantly involved in mass work and another section should be involved in running the state machinery and that after certain interval of period there should be re-division of work thereby strengthening the relationship between the whole Party and the general masses. Right from the beginning it should be stressed that the Party and the state under its leadership should adopt a policy and methodology of keeping lively relations with the masses, working hard and living in privation and to be wholly devoted to the cause of communism. It should present Party, leaders and cadres as ideal and inspirational examples. It should emphasize to develop policy and structure which will help in waging intense ideological struggle and will expose before the masses those leaders and cadres who misuse their position, dictate over the masses and who are luxurious and careerists. In this context, it should be stressed to discourage the tendency of using coercive measure of state power in two-line struggle in the Party and to emphasize in establishing and encouraging scientific methodologies of judging between right and wrong through ideological struggle with the participation of the masses and the cadres. It is important to guarantee the system of reserving the right of judgment to the cadres and masses in deciding if certain rebellion inside or outside the Party is justified or not.

## The Army

The experience of revolution and counter-revolution in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century has clearly shown that if the proletarian class advances ahead with correct revolutionary ideology, policy and programme

then the people can develop from almost zero to the level of an invincible people's army which can reduce to dust the ultramodern and powerful army of the enemy. But if wrong ideology prevails then the same army can become a weapon of counter-revolution. The experience has shown even in the context of the people' army that before the revolution, it has been in unison with the masses, full of devotion, bravery, sacrifice and ideological commitment, thus being invincible before the enemy; but after the capture of state power the same starts staying in barracks under special management and the material condition for turning into a bourgeois modern regular army gets intensified. If one is not able to guarantee the development of methodology and structure which will keep the army under the supervision, control and service of the masses and proletarian ideology then such tendencies will go on multiplying till it reaches a specific point when it will automatically get transformed into a weapon for serving counter-revolution. In order to stop repetition of above condition it is necessary right from the beginning to pursue ideological and political work amongst the people's army with great importance and to make conscious the whole people's army and the masses to rebel against counter-revolution. Together with this, it should be guaranteed that the people's army of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not marked by modernization with special arms and training confined to a barrack after the capture of state power but remains a torch-bearer of revolution engaged in militarization of the masses and in the service of the masses. It is only by developing armed masses from both ideological and physical point of view that one can resist foreign intervention and counter-revolution; this fact must be made clear before the armed forces right from the beginning. The main thrust of work for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century people's army should be to complete the historical responsibility of developing conscious armed masses so that they may learn to use their right to rebel.

## On the State

The capture of state power through people' war under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat has been the central and difficult question of revolution yesterday and today. But the experience of 20<sup>th</sup> century has clearly proved that the question of continuous democratization of the state power, so that it starts withering away, is thousand times more difficult and complex than capturing state power. The importance and rigor of the subject can be judged from the fact that at one point of time within a century successful revolutions in Russia, China and other countries had shaken the whole earth, while at the other end the events of big counter-revolutions in those powerful socialist countries lead to a situation of no socialist state.

It is a fact that while capitalist imperialists are successful in camouflaging their military fascist essence by covering it with the so-called democratic mask, at the other end, the proletarians despite having a democratic essence are not able to consolidate their hold on the state. There may be many historical and theoretical reasons behind this, but today the problem of developing democracy has become very complex before us. What are the main obstacles in maintaining the balance between the need of resorting to dictatorship over the defeated class enemy and the necessity of exercising democracy amongst the people? Why is it that people's democracy or proletarian democracy under people's democratic dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat have in essence become formal, mechanical and conservative? Here our question has nothing to do with those revisionist and capitulationist renegades of the world who have fallen back to bourgeois formal democracy by condemning people's democratic dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat. Here our question is centred around the development of state power as an

organisation to facilitate continuous revolution. In the end it is the broad and vigorous democratization process, which will in essence consolidate real people's dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship. There can be no other meaning than this of the great scientific theory of democratic centralism. Why is that these parties that were able to exercise democratic centralism correctly before the capture of state power have now fallen pray to formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism after they have succeeded in capturing the state power? That the party is dominated by revisionism cannot provide full answer to this question. In the end the responsibility lies with this or that weakness committed by Marxists in the application of dialectical materialism.

A Party, which may be proletarian revolutionary, and a state, that may be democratic or socialist, at a particular time, place and condition, may turn counter-revolutionary at another time, place and condition. It is obvious that the synthesis of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, namely the masses and the revolutionaries should rebel in such a situation, is fully correct in its place. However, as if a particular Communist Party remains proletarian for ever once a New Democratic or Socialist state is established under the leadership of that Party, there is either no opportunity, or it is not prepared, or it is prohibited, for the masses to have a free democratic or socialist competition against it. As a result, since the ruling Party is not required to have a political competition with others amidst the masses, it gradually turns into a mechanistic bureaucratic Party with special privileges and the state under its leadership, too, turns into mechanistic and bureaucratic machinery. Similarly, the masses become a victim of formal democracy and gradually their limitless energy of creativity and dynamism gets sapped. This danger has been clearly observed in history. To solve this problem, the process of control, supervision and intervention of the masses over the state should be stressed to be organized in a lively and scientific manner, according to the principle of continuous revolution. Once again the question here is to dialectically organize scientific reality that the efficacy of dictatorship against the enemy is dependent upon the efficacy of exercising democracy among the people.

For this, a situation must be created to ensure continuous proletarization and revolutionization of the Communist Party by organizing political competition within the constitutional limits of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist democratic state. Only by institutionalizing the rights of the masses to install an alternative revolutionary Party or leadership on the state if the Party fails to continuously revolutionize itself that counter-revolution can be effectively checked. Among different anti-feudal and anti-imperialist political parties, organizations and institutions, which accept the constitutional provisions, of the democratic state, their mutual relations should not be confined to that of a mechanistic relation of cooperation with the Communist Party but should be stressed to have dialectical relations of democratic political competition in the service of the people. It should be obvious that if anybody in this process transgresses the limits legally set by the democratic state, he would be subjected to democratic dictatorship. From the very beginning it should be stressed to end a situation of not having to prove the correctness of one's ideas, the need to get united with the interests of the masses, and dedication, devotion and sacrifice and loyalty to the masses to establish the leadership capacity of the Party once the state power is captured. Special care should be taken to ensure that centralization of thought and leadership in the state would not lead to a situation of curtailing the rights of self-determination of the masses.

In the context of democratic revolution in Nepal, we have been talking about the liberation of the masses from class, national, regional, and gender oppression. We have also pledged national and regional autonomy along with the rights to self-determination. Similarly we have been talking about Party freedom for anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces. In this situation it should be stressed on correctly organizing the masses' right to self-determination for the continuous democratization of the state.

Thus, only through the appropriate development of the Party, Army and State as stated above that democracy in the twenty-first century would enhance the process of continuous revolution and counter-revolution. •

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