

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **FOREWORD**

For the last eight years, a great People's War against feudalism and imperialism is marching ahead in a rapid pace under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist), an inseparable wing of the international proletariat and a glorious vanguard of the proletariat in Nepal. The old feudal state has been wiped out from the entire rural areas extending from the southern plains to the northern high Himalayas, and the process of building new people's power is advancing rapidly. This great process of the People's War is now preparing militarily for a strategic offensive from the stage of strategic equilibrium.

Foreign reaction, particularly American imperialism, is aggressively pushing ahead its conspiracy & intervention to snuff this great revolutionary process marching towards victory, while establishing the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and People's War in the 21st century and making the ringleaders of world imperialism awestricken. Foreign reactionaries, led by the USA, have been openly arming the so-called royal army to bolster the autocratic feudal monarchy, which has lost all mass base and credibility and is gasping in deathbed. Not only that, with a grand design of direct imperialist intervention against this great movement for completion of the democratic revolution with the wide participation of the masses, the USA has put our Party and the great Nepalese people in the so-called list of international terrorism.

The Nepalese People's War, striving for creating a new world for the masses against an imperialist world system that has created worldwide reign of plunder, aggression and terror through its military might and pushed the majority of the people of the world in a whirlpool of crisis, has naturally expected more support from the international proletariat and anti-imperialist masses all over the world.

We have been acknowledging the need and challenges to communicate to the world public the high records of devotion and sacrifices of the Nepalese

people to accomplish the Nepali revolution as a base area of the new world and the official ideas of the Party behind them. In this context, some official documents of the Party and collection of some of the authoritative articles in different subjects are now published in English. We hope that this process would be continued.

I would like to extend heartfelt thanks to the comrades of International Department, Central Publication Branch and the translators for striving to make this publication a success despite such pressure of the vicious civil war. I am confident that such publications will contribute to the historical necessity of turning the 21st century into a century of the people and the People's War with a great spirit of proletarian internationalism against world imperialism.

December 24, 2003

**Prachanda**  
**Chairman, CPN (Maoist)**

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## **Publisher's Note**

We are pleased to publish this second book in the series of our English publications after 'some Important Documents of the CPN (Maoist),' (2004). We hope this will fulfill, even though partially, the long standing demand of foreign readers to have first hand information on the revolutionary movement going on in Nepal.

This book is a collection of representative articles by the senior leaders of the CPN (Maoist), headed by Chairman Com. Prachanda, written over a period of last twelve years. Most of the articles included here are written by Com. Prachanda, so that the readers could get a first hand glimpse of the much talked about 'Prachanda Path'. Also articles by other leaders would help to understand different aspects of the revolutionarily movement.

The articles included here are grouped along different subjects like: (I) Ideological/Philosophical Question, (II) Politico-Economic Question, (III) Political Question (IV) Military Question (V) Organizational Question (VI) Women's Question, (VII) United Front/ National Question, and (VIII) International Question. This should be useful to understand the revolutionary movement from different angles.

We would like to thank Com. Basant, Com. Sher Jung and Com. Shova for translating most of the articles from Nepali. We thank all those who have made this publication possible.

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Publishers

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## **On Maoism**

**- Com. Prachanda**

Marxism was distilled as the science of revolution of international proletariat during the course of historical experience and development of class struggle. It is well known to all that Marxist science founded by Karl Marx through an intermittent struggle and show of a great genius has three component parts, including philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Being a science, continuous development of Marxism is a natural process. In the light of new experiences and problems of class struggle, Lenin raised Marxism in its totality to its second stage of development i.e. Leninism. Today this science has in the very process of struggle entered into a third, new and higher stage of development. This third, new and higher stage is the stage of Maoism developed by Mao Tse-tung. Thus, in the hands of international proletariat today there is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a total and integral entity of universal theory. Without grasping Maoism as Marxism-Leninism of present day world nobody can be a true communist. Because of its being Marxism-Leninism of the present day world, reactionaries and revisionists the world over have been attacking Maoism And Maoists viciously. Just as Marxism-Leninism was established in the process of struggle by the communist revolutionaries against all sorts of reaction, revisionism and opportunism, so will Maoism be established from the midst of vicious struggles.

In our movement, despite the spirit of grasping Mao's contributions as Marxism-Leninism these contributions have been expressed by the terminology 'Mao Tse-tung Thought'. We have been fighting against reaction and revisionism by accepting Mao's contributions as the universal theory of the proletariat and declaring. "Mao Tse-tung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the present day world." However, with the domination of Right revisionism in the international communist movement after the death of Com. Mao and restoration of capitalism in China, the situation has undergone a change. Today, revisionist Deng clique has been killing the

spirit of Mao's revolutionary teaching by using the terminology of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought'. Presently, the terminology of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' has been used, on the one hand, by the reformists in the sense of a hypothesis according to the actual weightage of the word 'thought' and on the other, by the communist revolutionaries in the sense of a universal principle. In this context, to continue with the usage of misleading terminology "thought" despite having the scientific terminology of "ism" with the weightage of the word "thought", and on the other, by the communist revolutionaries in the sense of a universal principle. In this context, to continue with the usage of misleading terminology "thought" despite having the scientific terminology of "is" with the weightage of expressing a universal principle is nothing but to provide loophole for Right revisionism. Hence it is essential for communist revolutionaries who have already been grasping Mao Tse-tung Thought as today's Marxism-Leninism to use the terminology 'Maoism' readily and firmly. In the light of rightist attacks on Mao's contributions after the counter-revolution in China many of the former revolutionaries, too, have been terrorized into attempting to use the terminology 'thought' in the sense of downgrading Mao's contributions, and not accepting it as the third stage of development of Marxism and as a universal principle. Here lies the crux of the problem. Such tendencies ultimately lead to the direction of reformism and revisionism. Because of this situation, theoretical importance of the interpretation of development of the three components of Marxism by Mao and the usage of the terminology 'Maoism' has increased all the more. Therefore, it is essential here to explain briefly the important contributions made by Mao in the field of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, which have raised Marxism to a new stage.

### **A. The Field of Philosophy**

1. Mao has established the law of contradiction as the essence of dialectical materialism and as the fundamental law of dialectics in all the fields of nature, society and human knowledge. The analysis of universality of contradiction and the process and importance of determining principal contradiction has raised to new heights the development of understanding of dialectics. The important role played by fundamental law of contradiction in formulating the strategy and tactics of revolution is self-

evident.

2. It is indisputable that in the field of theory of knowledge Mao's analysis has made important contributions by identifying class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment as the source of knowledge and through his analysis of the process of transformation of perceptual knowledge into rational knowledge and the interrelations of theory and practice.

3. Profound analysis and application of the question of one dividing into two as the principal aspect of dialectics during the anti-revisionist struggle, has made available in the hands of the revolutionaries a sharp weapon to fight against revisionism.

4. The analysis of consciousness and superstructure playing decisive role in certain concrete situations, while attacking the bourgeois thinking of revisionists about the "theory of the productive forces" and "economism" with on metaphysical and one-sided approach on the question of interrelations of base and superstructure, has exposed the pseudo-bourgeoisie.

5. The experimentations of Mao on the need and process of turning philosophy into an invincible weapon by moving it out of the library and reading rooms of the philosophers, have provided the basis for turning dialectical materialist philosophy into a mighty physical force.

## **B. The Field of Political Economy**

1. In this field the analysis of the nature of bureaucratic capitalism is an important discovery of Mao. The exposition of the characteristics of bureaucratic capitalism in the oppressed nations as an agent of monopoly capitalism to plunder the people in alliance with feudalism, has helped, on the one hand, to expose the inhuman character of imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism and, on the other, to clarify the target of revolution in the oppressed nations. The historical significance of the conclusion that only through the destruction of bureaucratic capitalism and confiscation of such properties can imperialism be driven away from the oppressed nations and the foundation of socialism be laid, is quite clear.

2. Mao has played important role in laying a firm foundation of the basic principles of economy in the socialist stage (with a critical study of the experiences of the Soviet Union). The revolutionary significance of the

slogans "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" and "Red and Expert" put forward with the view that not by bureaucratic command but by increasing the initiative of the masses (through massive propagation of correct economic policy) can the socialist economy be developed firmly, is quite evident.

3. In the context of New Democratic revolution, the rationality of such economic policies as to destroy feudalism on the basis of land to the tiller, to confiscate all foreign and domestic economic establishments with a monopolistic character and to limit, control and guide private capital that do not control public life, have been proved in practice. From the above facts the developments made by Mao in the field of political economy is quite clear.

### **C. The Field of Scientific Socialism**

1. Mao's historical contribution in the development of the total concept of New Democratic revolution in the oppressed nations is clear to all.

2. The international proletariat has been armed with a powerful weapon with the development of the theory of People's War as the pinnacle of the Marxist military science on the basis of the experiences of class struggle in the era of imperialism. This theory has clarified the scientific method of defeating a powerful enemy. The significance of Mao's crisp saying, "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is self-evident.

3. The theory of continued class struggle during the entire period of socialism and from this the theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as developed by Mao keeping in mind the counter-revolution in Soviet Union, has been a mighty theoretical weapon to prevent restoration of capitalism in the socialist period. The successful implementation of the total plan of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China as the third great revolution carried out under the leadership of the proletariat, has been the historic beacon for the world proletariat.

4. Such sayings (of Mao) as "Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" and "In the coming 50 to 100 years, the world will pass through great upheavals" have unique significance. This has made great contribution in formulating the strategy of revolution for the world proletariat. Mao



himself has used these in the struggle against Russian revisionism and American imperialism.

Thus, in the totality of the three components of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism Mao has raised the Marxist science qualitatively to a new stage. In this situation the proletariat has acquired the theory of its liberation in the form of a single weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In the Nepalese communist movement, arguments against the usage of the terminology 'Maoism' have been forwarded even from the direction of undermining Mao's contributions. Without refuting them it is not possible to move ahead. Primarily they are as follows:

1. "Theory of the era": Some people say, to constitute an "ism" it should represent a whole era. According to them, Marxism is the product of the era of capitalism. Leninism is the product of the era of imperialism. But Mao has no era, and hence there cannot be any Maoism, etc.

The people who argue this may have neither understood the simple law and development process of science, nor grasped Marxism as a science. To attempt to confine the development of science to the speed of development of an era is absolutely unscientific and ridiculous. In a single era science can develop into many stages. If one really talks of an era, from the point of view of development of society imperialism, too, is not any new era but only the highest and moribund state of capitalism. Therefore it is not proper to say 'Leninism'. Bankruptcy of those advancing the argument of an era is thus, clear.

2. Some people say, since Mao has no original contributions it is not appropriate to use the terminology 'Maoism'. According to them, whatever Mao has said was already told by Lenin. The situation gets all the more serious when the people supporting the usage of the terminology 'thought' argue that way. It is no doubt that the people who argue this way have taken the road to abandoning even 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' and towards rightist opportunism. Mao's contributions have already been discussed briefly. However, the question may arise if one argues this way, why not say even Lenin had interpreted Marxism in a new context? Why have such people then accepted Mao Tse-tung Thought as their guiding principles? The

answer is simple only to mislead the people. If not so, either they have to reject Mao Tse-tung Thought as the guiding principle of the Party or should stop the act of undermining Mao's contributions.

3. Some people are found to argue, we should not call Maoism in haste; nobody will hear our words in such a big issue and ever that terminology cannot be established: also this will merely flare up unnecessary dispute. Even if there may be honesty in the intention of many of the people who argue this way, the arguments themselves do not conform to the Marxist method. The question here is of right or wrong and no of haste or no haste. Such arguments are wrong because they will ultimately lead to unnecessary compromise and merely work towards perpetuating illusion.

In conclusion, to conduct anti-revisionist struggle at a higher level, to accelerate the process of development of a new type of and a militant Communist Party, to provide a new pace to the work of development of revolutionary struggle and people's war, the usage of not the misleading terminology 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' but the scientific terminology 'Maoism' is absolutely essential.

(December 1991)

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**The Problem of Ideological Deviation in the  
Nepalese People's Revolution**

- Com. Prachanda

Why is it that the process of revolution is not correctly developing decades after the historic need of New Democratic revolution was resides in semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepal which has been decrepit by feudalism and imperialist exploitation and oppression? This question is the one, which frequently hits the minds of Nepalese revolutionaries. Though generally, objective condition for democratic revolution prevails in the country, the tendency to evade to initiate revolutionary struggle under the pretext that subjective condition for is not ready has been dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. This tendency has set a tradition of being a mere follower of this or that reactionary clique instead of providing revolutionary slogans and leadership, no matter how critical is the reactionary regime and how strong the people's aspiration for a change is the main reason for it is the deviation of communist movement from revolutionary ideology of the proletarian class. Lenin, with emphasis, would say repeatedly, "There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory " Lenin had laid this emphasis during the life and death struggle against revisionism of Second International which would utter reformism and revisionism in the name of Marxism. During the historic struggle for a revolutionary theory, the established revisionists of Second International would hurl at great Lenin a bunch of allegations like 'dogmatist', 'leftist verbose', 'impractical', 'bureaucratic', 'with mechanical thinking', 'infantile' etc. Today the elements from UML to Mohan Bikram have been using the same allegations in a single voice against the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) since it waged a fierce struggle for the Nepalese People's revolution and against the deviation that defined the reformism and parliamentarism, which was dominant in the history of Marxism. This is not an issue of mere coincidence and biasedness but of a serious ideological importance. Hence today it is the historic responsibility of supporters of the Nepalese revolution to think over it seriously and sufficiently.

## **Revolution or Reformism? The Main Problem is of Revolutionary Ideology**

Marxism is a science of social revolution. Dialectical materialism, the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, considers the absolute character of struggle prevalent even in the relative unity of opposites of the matter concerned as the causing factor of growth and destruction of every incident of nature, society and human thinking. The dialectics of evolution of every matter and event which are interrelated and in the dynamic flow of continuous change is, as Lenin says, not in a simple and straight line but seems in a zigzag curve; it does not happen spontaneously and unknowingly gradually but does happen in the forms of a sequence break of continuity, a leap, a calamity and revolution, transformation of quantity into quality, and negation of the negation. This is scientific essence of the Marxist dialectics regarding development.

When this scientific conclusion was applied in the evolution process of social life, it became clear that the contradiction between productive forces and production relation has been giving the motion to whole society. In every historical period, the level and nature of class struggle has been determined as per the nature of contradiction between productive forces and production relation. But whatever the level of development of productive forces, in every historical period, the growth of class struggle has been in the form of a breaking of continuity, a conscious push or revolution against regressive class by forward moving class. This process of social revolution has been accomplished neither spontaneously and by itself gradually nor by subjective will of somebody against the objective condition of development. That is determined and confined by the level of development of contradiction between productive forces and production relation. Marxism has provided a scientific method of revolutionary role to the proletarian class, which it must and can play within the limit of the contradiction. When this scientific method that changes the world as Marxism was invented, the conscious and revolutionary role of world's proletariat and toiling masses of the people has grown qualitatively. It has provided the history with fast pace through storm of class struggle that shakes the world. It makes it clear that, indeed, Marxism is revolutionism. Reformism defines Marxism in such a distorted way that there all other

things are accepted but the revolution is opposed. In the 'Marxism' of reformists, quantity is never transformed into quality; there is only quantity, quantity and again quantity. In real life, what has been clear from the point of view of revolution is the quantity of reformists does not increase but goes on decreasing and ultimately degenerates into opposite leap or naked reaction. In Nepal, UML group is proper example of it. It is so because the reformists do not increase the quantity of revolution but that of reformism and qualitatively develops into reaction as per the rule of dialectics. The 'Marxism' of reformists does not need any conscious shock; break of continuity does not occur and situation of catastrophe should never come in their 'Marxism'. Antagonistic opposites never clash with one another in the 'Marxism' of reformists. But they reach a state of mutual coordination and agreement anyhow. Whatever they talk orally, in the 'Marxism' of reformists, the struggle between the opposites is temporary, momentary and relative where the unity is lasting, permanent and absolute.

The reformism is always a worshipper of spontaneity because its struggle is concentrated for reforms, not for the revolution. It never attempts to establish the leading role of proletarian class in the movement and make the people class conscious but always follows the movement and people, and amazingly, explains it as Marxism. Nowadays, quite cunningly, the reformism has sowed seeds of reforms but spread the illusion among the cadres and people that they can harvest the grains of revolution. What has been explained as Marxism for decades in Nepal is virtually reformism, following which revolutionary movement could not be accomplished and did not take place either.

Another important point is that Marxism teaches us to assimilate the fact that it is in course of struggle against untruth, bad and ugly that the truth, good and beautiful develops. As Marxism itself is the philosophy of struggle, it has developed through fierce struggle against various unscientific and unrevolutionary tendencies. As it is a science also, it has made it clear that its nature is to withstand problems of new kinds that appear in newer situations, and then develop. Accordingly, today Marxism has become Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in course of struggle. It has become a totality and an indivisible unit of the science of social revolution. One characteristic feature of the reformism of today is that it opposes

Maoism and rejects the supremacy of the growth of Marxist science. It does not consider it as an indivisible unit of the totality of Marxist science and attempts to fragment it. In doing so, its intention is to kill the revolutionary essence of Marxist science and conspire to use it in accordance with reformist interest. In today's world, nobody can be a revolutionary Marxist if he separates the highest summit of science of the revolution attained by the proletariat or underestimates universal character of Maoism. Generally, in the history of communist movement, the reformism has been always running its reformist business by rejecting the supremacy of development of revolutionary ideology. The reformism has been attempting to cover its anti-revolutionary essence by opposing Marxism at the time of Marx, 'supporting' Marxism but opposing Leninism at the time of Lenin, and 'supporting' Marxism-Leninism but opposing Maoism in today's world. All those who talk of so-called MaoThought but do not accept the contributions of Mao as a new, third and higher stage of development of Marxism fall under this camp.

For the outlook as mentioned above, the reformism stands always opposed to the revolt against status quo. This is the anti-revolt and anti-revolution character of the reformists behind their charge of 'dogmatist' and 'extremist' hurled at the revolutionary Marxists in every historical period and stage. The opposition of contemporary 'socialists' to Marxism, the opposition of most of the parties of Second International to Leninism, and that of modern reformists to Maoism simply reaffirms it. Thus, it is evident that the problem of developing revolutionary movement is the problem of struggle against reformism. It means, it is the problem of extension, use and development of revolutionary principle. Leaving it aside, neither any revolutionary movement has developed in the world nor it is possible in Nepal.

### **Charge of a Maoist on the History of Nepalese Communist Movement**

The founding of Communist Party in Nepal in a propitious national and international situation inspired by revolutionary goals is definitely an event of historic importance. It can be easily understood that, at the time of founding, it was natural that there had been some inadequate revolutionary immaturity in applying the universal truths of Marxism in the historic

particularity of the Nepalese society. But within a short period of 6 years of founding the Party, instead of seriously advancing in fulfilling its revolutionary goals it badly sank into the swamp of reformism and legalism. After that for a long period, Marxism was so vulgarized and distorted by the reformists that it was degenerated into petty bourgeois reformism in general. A tradition to follow reactionary policy like liberal bourgeois class in political and tactical questions but talking of Marxism and democracy in ideological and strategic questions was set in. Reformism and parliamentarism began to be worshipped in the name of proletarian class, Communist Party and Marxism. Differences between Communist Party and bourgeois parliamentary parties in important issues like political line, forms of struggle, daily conduct and behavior disappeared. A trend to follow bourgeois parliamentary politics by strangling independent politics of proletariat and putting forward the logic of relatively 'progressive' became dominant.

Talking about political line outside of parliamentarism began to be regarded as anti-Marxist. Two mutually antagonistic world outlooks between proletariat and bourgeois classes were used in practical political movement. The difference between the Communist and the Congress degenerated into that between liberal bourgeois and radical bourgeois. The naked bootlicking of feudalism and imperialism in the name of Communist Party and Marxism is the climax of reformism. What else can be a greater mistake than expecting a fruit of revolution while sowing seeds of petty-bourgeois reformism? Therefore, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) thinks that a revolutionary movement cannot be developed unless petty-bourgeois reformism is completely divorced on the basis of proletarian revolutionary principle. The political debate going on since long in the Nepalese communist movement and the discussions in the form of revolutionary and reformists are nothing but a dispute in essence between developed reformism son and developing reformism. Today there can be no other essence of opposition of Mohan Bikram-Nirmal Lama trends to the reformism of UML. The Maoists hold the view that the mistake lies in taking Marxism as reformism. The process to correct it should start right from there. The root of reformism, which emerged since 1957, must be uprooted and seed of revolutionary Marxism should be sown in its place. Those who are intoxicated by reformist poison and view revolutionary

Marxism as extremism cannot do this task. For this, a decisive struggle against reformism is essential.

In this context, we need to recall Lenin's struggle against revisionism dominant at the time of Second International and Mao's struggle against the Khrushchovite revisionism. What most of the parties and leaders of Second International would interpret as Marxism about 100 years ago was, indeed, capitalism penetrated in the communist movement. That was treachery against Marxism in the name of Marxism. That was a great betrayal against proletarian class and toiling masses of the people, and a climax of the petty-bourgeois vulgarization of Marxism.

However, the dialectics of history is such that in the development of every process, another contradictory aspect emerges inevitably. Existence of positive element in the negative and vice versa is a universal law of contradiction independent of the will of human being. Accordingly, Lenin, during his vigorous struggle against the renegades, who had distorted and misinterpreted the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and molded it to suit imperialism, not only defended Marxism but also developed it to the level of Marxism-Leninism. He had given particular emphasis on, "There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary ideology", when the life and death struggle against those renegades had been going on. This applies even in the struggle waged by Mao against modern revisionism.

The history of Nepalese Communist movement also cannot be an exception to universal law of contradiction. Most of the old leaders of the Nepalese Communist movement have committed treachery against revolutionary ideology of Marxism in the name of Marxism. Like all other reformist and revisionists of the world, they have been betraying the Nepalese proletarian class and general working people. They have been playing the role of powerbrokers to resolve political crisis of reactionary class by worshipping reformism and parliamentarism in the name of Marxism. But here, too, as per the law of dialectics of development, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party has inevitably emerged from within the communist movement amidst the struggle against the old leaders and renegades of the Party and revolution, and it has been unfurling the red flag of revolution stepping on their heads. It should be never forgotten that this development is a consequence of long



ideological struggle against revisionism and external class struggle. When the process of applying revolutionary principle for revolutionary movement began in the context of historical development of Nepal, all elements from developed reformist UML to developing reformist Mohan Bikram also started to display their real character by presenting old logics of Kautsky and Khrushchev in the same language, and they have been still doing so.

### **Historical Factors for Growth of Reformism**

However, there has been certainly no sin committed by a particular person or group behind the growth of reformism in the Nepalese communist movement. Historical materialism teaches us to look for a concrete historical reasons for this, because, ultimately, the roots of various political tendencies are connected with economic production and life style and mutual relations of people caused by it in certain country, time and conditions. Marxism has taught us to learn ideas and tendencies of various classes formed in this context and establish the Communist Party as a conscious vanguard of proletariat by assimilating the interest of the proletariat, the last and revolutionary class of the society, and waging struggle against ideological tendencies of all other classes. The abundant experiences of international communist movement have shown that major source of opportunism inside the Communist Party is petty-bourgeois economic base. The unstable and fluctuating life style of the people involved in these petty-bourgeois economic activities is politically expressed in the rightist and 'leftist' deviations of communist movement. The petty-bourgeois class lying between two naturally contending classes- proletariat and bourgeois- has no scope virtually. Its life is pushing it down every day, on the one hand, but it is haunted by a dream to be capitalist, on the other. One part of it is already transformed into proletariat economically, but its consciousness is to be a capitalist at any cost. Therefore, this section of the petty-bourgeois class is, by nature, frustrated, resentful and impatient. Another section is making some earnings in life anyhow and views a possibility in the horizon to upgrade itself into a bourgeois class. This section naturally does not want the status quo disturbed. This conservative, unstable and vacillation, life condition and nature of the petty-bourgeois class are the reason of ideological deviation and disorder.

There is a fairly large section of this class in Nepal. One thing that we should pay attention to is, today the feudal and imperialists are conscious that life-standard of this class in general, and the ones who are called 'educated' in particular, does not degenerate from middle class status, thus learning 'lessons' from the experiences of world proletarian revolutions. The reactionaries have been mobilizing the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia by working out a master plan of distributing money to them and engage in counter-revolution and activities. In the Third World countries, the imperialist countries have been unleashing a campaign of involving generally petty bourgeois and particularly educated people in the counter-revolutionary activities in the name of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In this way, mainly the semi-feudal semi-colonial condition of economic and social development of Nepal and secondarily, conscious tactics of the reactionary class have formed strong material base for petty-bourgeois thinking. For example, the UML group can be taken to illustrate the fact that rightist tendency of communist movement transformed into the process of reformism on the basis of petty-bourgeois class outlook and is sold to the money of imperialists and degenerated into reaction in a rapid pace.

Whatsoever, in the Nepalese communist movement, major historical class source of rightist reformism is petty-bourgeois class. The proletarian class must pursue a protracted process of revolutionary struggle compulsorily to oppose it in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like ours. In Nepal, it is impossible for the proletariat to defeat this petty-bourgeois tendency and establish its leadership in the movement by using various forms of struggle like the proletariat of the countries where there are huge forces of modern working class concentrated in large cities.

There is one more reason behind the dominance of reformism in the Nepalese communist movement. That is, the influence of various ideological tendencies prevailing in the international communist movement. In this context, the influence of growing relation of the then prominent leaders of Nepalese communist movement with Indian leaders involved in Indian 'freedom struggle' and mainly with their visions of the Indian communist movement is said to have played a substantial role. The parliamentarism dominant in the Indian communist movement after the

withdrawal of Telengana armed struggle and the company of the then Nepalese communist movement leaders with the parliamentary leaders have created an environment to easily accept parliamentarism in Nepal, too. Similarly, the emergence of the Khrushchev revisionism in the international communist movement provided ground for the petty-bourgeois reformism in Nepal. Though this international influence is only a secondary reason for the growth of reformism we should not forget its role in it.

Also, the impact of the Hindu fundamentalist culture has been a causing factor for reformism, directly or indirectly. As a consequence of the impact of this culture, some people of high class like feudal, landlords etc. and some who are called smart and clever but with feudal culture easily get to the leadership. Naturally, they interpreted Marxism to suit their class interest and set a despicable working style of dealing with the Party as their fiefdom and party members as their servants. Misinterpreting Marxism with various kinds of stupid logic like the cheats of the villages became their characteristic particularity. They practiced a pompous working style with cunning logics with a view to preventing the communist movement from going towards revolutionary direction and confusing the sincere revolutionaries. Like the Hindu pundits who take the support of religion and mythology to conceal their corrupt and feudal culture and character, they pursued a hypocritical style to apply Marxism. It was their specialty to look very gentle externally but to undertake feudal, vulgar and corrupt activities internally. This kind of fraud and hypocritical character can be amply seen in the leaders from Ramajhi to Mohan Bikram. It was only natural that these leaders were always worried about distorting Marxist revolution. It shows that it cultivated reformism easily in the communist movement. Moreover, it elucidates the need to unleash a fierce and life and death struggle in order to establish a proletarian culture in the communist movement.

Apart from the factors above-mentioned, the representatives of revolutionary tendency of the communist movement could not, right from the beginning, correctly assimilate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism due to the lack of ideological study and develop the struggle against reformism which helped in rapid growth of reformism, in the communist movement.

## **Ideological and Political Expressions of the Nepalese Reformism**

### ***Revolutionary Strategy, Reformist Tactics***

Adopting a strategy of ascending Mt. Everest but tactics of descending towards Indian Ocean is the particularity of Nepalese reformism. This is exactly what is meant by the adoption of the strategy of New Democratic revolution but tactics of liberal bourgeois class. Generally, there is no dispute in the Nepalese communist movement in considering the Nepalese society as semi-feudal and semi-colonial, and accepting political strategy of New Democratic revolution (though the UML has separated itself from this process now). It is not possible for the present reformism to declare the anti-New Democratic revolution strategy as their political line and confuse the people and cadres due to the ideological victory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the reformism is manifested in tactical issues because it is in this issue that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism directs the communists of each country to make a "concrete analysis of concrete situation" and devise policies in accordance with their conditions. This is where reformism finds a place to hide in.

Everybody knows that the relations between strategy and tactics is and should be indivisible like that between whole and part. When you adopt a strategy to overthrow feudalism and imperialism and establish a New Democratic state in its place, naturally you should adopt the tactics accordingly. But, to everybody's surprise, firstly, the Nepalese reformism devises strategy of liberal bourgeois class, and not that of the proletariat, in the name of tactics. To devise tactics of 'struggle for restoration of multi-party system', 'demand for constituent Assembly under monarchy', 'demand for restoration of parliament', 'government of patriotic and democratic forces', 'transfer of state power to the people', 'struggle for protection of multiparty system' etc. are some examples. It only justifies the fact that a parallel strategy of New Democratic revolution was devised in the name of tactics. Secondly, the Nepalese reformism always separates the issue of revolutionary state power from the movement in the name of tactics. Lenin had said- "If somebody opposes reformism ideologically but keeps the revolutionary slogan away from the movement, that is reformism itself." In Nepal, the reformism of Mohan Bikram, Nirmal Lamas and the like falls

under this category. They act as if they oppose reformism ideologically but always are opposed to the slogan of revolutionary state power in the name of immediate movement.

The reformists very cunningly attempt to hide the fact that if one makes the political slogans of liberal bourgeois as his tactics, it serves the strategy of the reactionaries, not the New Democratic revolution.

In order to achieve the totality of certain process, attempts should be made to attain its parts. But the Nepalese reformism attempts to attain the part of a some other different process by talking about achieving the totality of one. It is nothing but unscientific to apply a different method in resolving a qualitatively different contradiction instead of applying a conducive one in resolving a particular contradiction. It is what is called talking about going to east but in practice going to the west. The Nepalese reformism has been always rejecting the fact that, in order to attain the strategy of New Democratic revolution, the tactics of capturing the local people's state power through protracted process of armed struggle right from the beginning should be adopted. The reformism opposes the tactics of revolutionary struggle quite tactfully. It has been creating confusions by talking about the New Democratic revolution to the cadres and people and presenting the tactics Com. Lenin applied in the context of socialist revolution. It is self-evident that the tactics of revolution that Com. Lenin applied in a particular condition of historical development and that of revolution to be accomplished in the oppressed semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries with historically different condition of development cannot be similar. Moreover, the tactical principles to attain total strategy of New Democratic revolution are what Mao had developed in course of the Chinese revolution and objectively of which have been already proved. To talk about the strategy of New Democratic revolution but as per the policy on tactics is concerned, to follow the synthesis of Russian revolution, and not of the Chinese one. Isn't it contradictory?

The Nepalese reformists have not been doing so in order to sincerely learn from Lenin but with an objective of making him a cover to conceal their reformist and parliamentary character. Anybody with a little sincerity may easily understand that Lenin had himself raised the question on how to

accomplish the proletarian revolution in Eastern countries where there are majority of peasants. Mao has answered the historic question by accomplishing New Democratic revolution through Protracted People's War with a strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside on the bases of the leadership of the proletariat and workers-peasants alliance in course of long and fierce class struggle. The Nepalese reformists are so dishonest that they, no doubt, talk about New Democratic revolution but do not want at all to hear the tactics to be followed and always talk of tactics of parliamentary struggle. Many years pass by, the reactionary classes get trapped into huge political crises, and the people stand up for struggle again and again but tactics of the reformists never changes. Even after 50 years, they talk of the same tactics and get drowned in the reactionary elections, and sometimes get involved in the peaceful people's movement. In the name of tactics, they sometimes follow liberal reaction in contrast to hardcore reaction. They talk of tactics and get sunk into the struggle for reforms throughout life and raise the slogan of reactionary state-power against that of revolutionary state-power that is, Nepalese reformism. As a matter of fact, the people who adopt this kind of tactics don't have any right to talk about New Democratic revolution. But reformism has been making unethical attempts to the contrary. In this way, it has been serving reaction by declaring the revolutionary tactics to be adopted for New Democratic revolution as 'extremist'.

### ***Reformism in Determining Methods of Struggle***

Marxism-leninism-maoism thinks that the main form of struggle is war for new democratic revolution. But the nepalese reformism always keeps saying it is the peaceful people's movement. Marxism-leninism-maoism considers the publicity of necessity of armed struggle among the people in an organized way as the essence of its teachings. But for reformism, talking about armed struggle and even the dissemination of its necessity among the people is 'extremism'. For them, peaceful people's movement and parliamentary struggle is the main form of struggle forever.

The reformists rule out Mao's view that all activities of the Party should be centred for the preparation of armed struggle for New Democratic revolution until it begins and in its service after it does begin. In order to

confuse the people, they say that they are also in favor of armed struggle but presently they are conducting peaceful movements and preparing for the armed struggle since it is no time for. They hide the fact that the people can be never trained with reformist and peaceful struggles for armed struggle. "today, cash, credit tomorrow" is their principle. This is what leading the people in parliamentary peaceful and reformist struggle and telling them to wage armed struggle tomorrow, means. In reference to the East European parties, Mao had said, "They did not wage revolutionary class struggle. Therefore, they shall harvest what they have sown". In the same way, the Nepalese reformism regards the sowing of seeds of revolutionary struggle as 'extremist' act and does sow that of peaceful struggle. So it has been now taking its reactionary fruits. Are the reformists including UML not examples of it?

In regard to the forms of struggle, the reformists do present one logic in order to provoke the cadres and people against revolutionaries. That is, "The armed struggle is not a matter of propaganda, this is something done internally. But since the Maoists are 'leftist phrase mongers', 'extremist' and 'infantile', they are making such stupid propaganda of it" etc. If deeply thought, this logic of the reformists looks very dangerous. This logic which is presented with an intention to deviate the people with low level of ideological knowledge from revolutionary struggle shows that they think that the armed struggle is something to be done by a handful of people inside the Party, not by the people. According to this logic, what they are preparing is not People's War but terrorism. If they are really preparing for armed struggle as this logic shows, it is not Marxism at all but terrorism. But, dear readers! Please don't get scared! The fact is that 'our' reformists are not preparing for terrorism either. What I mean to say here is if politics of armed struggle is hidden from the people and attempts are made to wage, it is terrorism theoretically. In this context, it would be appropriate to study the discussions about commonalities between economists and terrorism, which Lenin has made in his renowned work "What is to be Done?" The real essence of the logic is to prevent the people from getting trained with politics of armed struggle, isolate the revolutionaries from people and confuse the cadres and people. With this logic, the reformists all over the world have been rejecting the fact that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution today, the People's War is the only path for revolution

and that it is the historical duty of communist revolutionaries to fully involve in its preparation, initiation and development. The Nepalese reformism has been ruling out the historical necessity that in Nepal, the armed struggle is what must be concentrated on for New Democratic revolution right from the beginning. Offering the people the poison of peaceful, parliamentarian and legal struggle and talking about armed struggle internally are manifestation of hypocrite character of the reformism.

When the Maoist is propagating among the people that preparation and initiation of the protracted People's War is essential today, all the reformists of the country talk about the threat of extremism. What does it mean when one sees 'extremism' in spreading the messages to the people of getting heartily involved day and night in various kinds of struggles and, mainly rural class struggles with thousands of people; directly participating in their pleasures and pains; organizing people's service, people's awareness, labour camps, cultural programmes; conducting struggles focusing on proper places particularly as per the unequal situation of development of the country; and of total change and inevitability of protracted People's War for this in all the programmes of national and global level! It only means-not to get unified with people and not to give them revolutionary politics. Dear readers! What is an important point here is the reformists have been thinking or acting as if the protracted People's War is armed insurrection, and opposing it. Lack of clarity in this issue has created illusions among many sincere revolutionaries, too. The armed insurrection and protracted People's War is not the same thing. Owing to the present condition of economic, political and social development of Nepal, the possibility of capturing central people's state by accomplishing armed insurrection at the same time does not historically prevail. Therefore, if somebody talks about initiating armed struggle under the strategy of armed insurrection, it is simply an adventurism, extremism and stupidity. The Maoists are fully aware of it. This is because of this historical condition of Nepal that we've said that we should move forward through the process of protracted People's War under the strategy of encircling cities from countryside. It is said that guerrilla warfare holds strategic role in the beginning. Seriously thinking on specificity of Nepal, the Maoist has said, "Give priority to the tasks of village but don't leave out them in the city"; "Give priority to



illegal struggles but don't leave out the legal ones too"; "Give priority to certain strategic areas but don't spare other areas, too"; "Give priority to war tasks but don't spare people's struggles, too"; "Give priority to underground tasks but don't spare open ones, too"; "Give priority to rural class struggle but don't spare countrywide struggle, too"; "Give priority to publicity inside the country but don't spare the task of worldwide publicity, too"; "Give priority to the task of building military organization but don't spare that of other front organization, too"; "Give priority to depending on our own organization and force but don't leave out the actional unity and the task of gaining help and support of international community". Where is the extremism here? I challenge the reformists to prove it ideologically.

Whatever the Maoist has been doing today throughout the country, they are all within this policy. It is crystal clear to all the people who possess even a little sincerity to and knowledge about revolution that this is not extremism but Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is also clear like broad daylight that what the reformists have been branding as extremism is virtually revolutionary Marxism only.

There is anti-revolution essence of the reformists behind their false allegation that the Maoist has been trying to accomplish armed insurrection without any preparation even though we have been talking of waging guerrilla warfare under the strategic defensive. They have no other objective than confusing the people and cadres and satisfy their mean ego, fulfilling their electoral interests and spreading the poison of reformism for this purpose.

### ***Manifestation of Reformism on Reactionary Election***

Today the policy on the parliamentary elections has been an important tool to examine which party is revolutionary and which is reformist. Nepal is no exception to it. It is reformism, which has been drawing the Party in the dirty swamp of parliamentarism since 1955 and strangling the throat of Nepalese revolution. Understanding this fact deeply holds a great significance.

In history, there was a period when people's voice could be raised inside the parliament and it had some political sense. Generally, this period was

before World War-I. But after capitalism developed into imperialism, era of proletarian revolution began and the world moved forward through the disasters of First and Second World Wars, the parliamentary system completely turned into a tool of the imperialism to impose wars on the people. Imperialism means war, whereas capitalism of the past was directly not a synonymous word to war. In this situation for the proletariat, possibility to publicise its revolutionary politics inside the parliamentary system ended not only in the underdeveloped countries but also in the developed ones. Since this fact was not grasped, the proletarian class had to bear deadly losses in Chile, Indonesia etc. Therefore, it would be a great historical illusion to think that the proletariat can make any preparation for revolutionary struggle from inside the parliamentary system in a country like Nepal, which is tied in the shackle of feudalism and imperialism.

It is known to all that the more the parliamentary system has grown useless and fascist, the more the reactionary class has been declaring it to be universal. The mistake the reformism of communist movement commits is that it also accepts it as universal. This is justified by the fact that the reformists say the use of parliamentary election is a tactical issue but adopt a strategy of participating in it in their whole life, no matter where the world has reached; how naked the parliamentary system has grown; how conducive environment has been prepared for revolutionary struggle; how different the country, time, condition have been; and whatever the nature of revolution. And, when they are able to win lesser seats in the parliament, they play the role of opposition in the name of exposing the system, but when able to win more, they even form the government with the mercy of and with puppets of feudalism and imperialism. In today's world, it has been proved universally that the use of parliamentary elections does not bring out a result other than this. We have been watching the Nepalese reformism for more than 4 decades, which has been declaring it 'tactics', but practically devising a strategy to participate in the elections for the whole life. Dear readers! Isn't it a proof that the reformism also accepts the parliamentary system as universal indirectly?

The Nepalese reformism talks of New Democratic revolution but it has rejected Mao's teaching that for this stress should be laid on the People's War right from the beginning, and has established parliamentarism in its

place. Consequently, all these groups and subgroups have been directionless parliamentary dirty gangs full of cheatings, conspiracies and personal interests. There may be some sincere persons also but the history, as Engel's says, has proved them to be more dangerous.

In this context, what the Maoist says is there can be no use of parliamentary elections separated from the armed struggle, i.e., People's War in Nepal. Through the use of parliament in the name of tactics, it is possible neither to develop a revolutionary party nor accomplish the revolution in Nepal. Today's reality of the world is that if a party gives up the People's War and gets involved in the elevations, it shall inevitably be trapped into parliamentarism and if it walks on the path of People's War, the possibility of using the parliament collapses. If it is properly thought about the, scientific and revolutionary truth of the Maoist's statement that the question of reactionary elections must be linked with the People's War can be understood. It is impossible to develop the revolutionary movement in Nepal and the liberation of Nepalese people is impossible without despising against and waging a life and death struggle revisionist renegades who have gone to the parliament under the cover of Lenin in the pretext of creativity. This is also not possible by the reformists who have given up the path of People's War and gone to parliament forever in the pretext of exposing the parliamentary system. All those reformists taking this path are bound to inevitably degenerate into reaction like UML.

### ***Manifestation of Reformism on the Slogan of State Power***

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has taught us that the proletarian class always does and must put forward the revolutionary slogan of the state power not only strategically and ideologically but also directly, practically and tactically. If the revolutionary slogan is not put forward from this point of view or another slogan of reformist state power of reactionary class is given on any pretext it cannot help in building revolutionary movement. To talk about a strategically revolutionary but tactically reformist state power is, indeed, equal to betraying the cause of proletariat and helping that of reactionary class. It would be appropriate to recall the historical contexts when Marx and Engels followed the tactics of proletarian revolution from the very beginning, Lenin gave emphasis on provisional revolutionary

government and Mao stressed on slogan of democratic state power of workers-peasants- soldiers.

But the Nepalese reformism has never raised the slogan of state power in revolutionary Marxist way. Here a tradition to talk strategically about democratic revolution but advocate the reactionary state power practically and tactically and struggle for it has been set. This disease has grown widespread ever since the then party general secretary Manmohan Adhikari told the king in 1955 that the Party will only propagate peacefully about socialism and made the Party legal to the extent that it would support parliamentary system. It resulted in tactical support to the parliament, in spite of talks of republic strategically, and participation in the elections without any hesitation. After that, the Party always moved after the liberal bourgeoisie in the name of tactical slogan of the state power. All the slogans that were presented in the Darbhanga plenum in 1960 were the slogans of reformist state. All the slogans have represented the cause of liberal bourgeoisie, not independent revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Then after it was nothing but a conspiracy of the reformists to compare between the Constituent Assembly under monarchy or sovereign parliament and declare it a revolutionary slogan and confuse the cadres and people for a long time. The Nepalese reformism, later in the context of the slogan of state power, presented a strategic slogan parallel to the people's state power in the name of tactics and carried out a conspiracy to mislead the people. The slogan of the Government of Patriotic and Democratic Forces and that, though ambiguous, of transfer of power to the people of similar nature fall under this category. To present a slogan of another parallel state power in the place of New Democratic state power and put forward different forms of struggle has been the particularity of the Nepalese reformism. Due to this character in the name of so-called leftist front, the reformism made the establishment of multiparty system its tactics regarding the state power in the historic movement in 1990. Now their tactics has been to defend it. This kind of outlook regarding the slogan of state power has made the reformism of Nepalese communist movement a weapon of the feudal and bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie to resolve its political crisis. Moreover, people's aspiration for change has been again and again betrayed.

In this regard, the Maoist clearly says that to present a slogan of another state power in the place of that of New Democratic state under any pretext and logic is to betray Marxism and revolution. In order to capture the New Democratic state totally, one has to engage in a process to capture that partially or tactically. For this, there can be no revolutionary tactical slogan in Nepal other than marching towards the direction of capturing central state power by intensifying local class struggle and capturing local people's state power. Revolutionary movement is impossible to develop unless a decisive struggle is fought against the tradition set by reformism to present an anti-Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, anti-New Democratic revolution and capitalist slogan regarding that of the state power.

### ***Reformism on the Unity, Split and Two-Line Struggle***

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has directed us to make the Communist Party as a militant vanguard of the proletariat on the basis of revolutionary principle through ideological struggle and class struggle. Marx & Engels had fought fiercely against petty-bourgeois elements inside the Party. During the bourgeois democratic revolution, Lenin pointed out the fact that a militant party can be built only by fighting vigorously against bourgeois fellow-travelers of the workless movement and undergoing through several splits from those kinds of elements. Mao has taught us that we should wage a life-and-death struggle against opportunism and a revolutionary party should be built through storms of People's War. The essence of the discussions is that the Communist Party should be built and developed on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science and should never be made a place to gather crowds on the basis of petty-bourgeois idealist thinking.

But the Nepalese reformism has been making the Party a tool for compromise and co-ordination on the basis of petty-bourgeois idealism, and not a means for struggle on the basis of science. It has been interpreting the unity and split on the basis of the same unprincipled compromise, and not from a dialectical point of view on the basis of revolutionary ideology and politics. Here the decisive struggle against opportunism on the basis of revolutionary principle is named splittism, sectarianism, and dogmatism. Who is for unity and who is a splittist? Its deciding criteria is revolutionary

principle and politics of proletarian class, but the Nepalese reformism has been rejecting this scientific view. It has been upholding the philosophy of compromise and co-ordination inside the Party in the name of presenting itself as anti-splittist and pro-unity. Today it has further developed and filled the Party with correct & wrong elements of all kinds and degenerated party to the level of a puppet of feudalism and imperialism, and this process still continues. Not only that any cheat, feudal or smuggler can easily enter all reformist parties of Nepal but these elements can be seen as dominant there. The Nepalese reformism is suffering from a modern revisionist trend that kills the revolutionary party of proletarian class in the pretext of making the Party of the entire people. It has been a profession of the reformists from UML to Mohan Bikram to make allegations, like renegade Kautsky, Khrushov and Tengs- Shiao-Ping, of 'sectarianism', 'dogmatism' and 'extremism' against the Maoists who advocate the revolutionary principle, revolutionary struggle and revolutionary party. The main difference between these reformists and Maoists is that they oppose revolutionary Marxism and revolutionaries, and unite with opportunists whereas the Maoists oppose opportunism and pay stress on the unity of the revolutionaries. In Nepal, reformism is so extensive that a large section of intelligentsia brainwashed by it is found to be attempting to convert the Communist Party into a co-ordinationist party in the name of Marxism and oppose the Maoists, who follow Marxist science.

What all these reformists fail to understand or reject, is that the revolutionary party is not a party of reactionary election votes; that is a fighting squad of the proletariat. In the Party of the proletariat, the unity and principle are achieved not through compromise but through struggle; he/she is the splittist who goes against revolutionary principle and who advocates parliamentarism and reformism.

The reformists do not consider the inner struggle of the Party as the reflection of class struggle outside, and they do not struggle dialectically on the basis of principle but in an unprincipled manner on the basis of diplomatic maneuver. Hence, they use bourgeois tricks and conspiracy in handling two-line struggle, instead of open and clear proletarian method. Because of all these factors, practically no difference is seen between these so-called communist groups and Pancha\*-Congress groups.

Today, the Maoist party has fought decisive struggle against the idealist thinking on the questions of unity, split and two-line struggle, and been applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism firmly. This is why all reformists of country have been alleging the Maoist to be dogmatist and displaying their real splittist and anti-revolutionary character.

### ***The Distortions Produced by the Development of Reformism***

Reformism has produced a great heap of garbage of various kinds in the Nepalese communist movement. The largest of them is the degeneration up to the level of serving feudalism and imperialism, i.e., naked reaction in the name of Marxism and Communist Party openly. This has developed deviation, frustration, and mentality of capitulation among several people who were likely to transform themselves into revolutionaries.

Due to predominance of reformism in the movement, a section of petty-bourgeois is degenerating through the path of 'left' liquidationism, which appears in the communist movement as a product of reformist sin. Totally frustrated and disappointed, this section of petty-bourgeois, as a last expression of impatience, defy marching through troublesome and lengthy route of ideology, politics, organization and struggle, and makes revolutionary noise in contrast to the objective situation and ultimately runs away from the revolutionary struggle. Though this kind of tendency has not yet come to the surface in an organized way and been a major problem in the movement in Nepal, however, it appears in the form of individuals and smaller local groups. In the name of opposing revisionism, it attacks even revolutionary Marxism from 'left' angle and damages the revolutionary movement. Nowadays in Nepal, the people suffering from this disease are found to have been advocating leftist liquidationism, saying, 'All are renegades', 'Nobody is revolutionary' etc. This is also indeed a distortion produced by the reformism dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. Though not a major problem presently, the communist revolutionaries should be aware of it, lest it may get organized tomorrow and pose a threat to the development process of the People's War.

Another group of intelligentsia involved in the communist movement has taken the path of downfall due to reformism, declaring that the main solution of all problems is cultural transformation. Involved in the

occupation of endless interactions, these people place themselves above ideology, politics, organization and proletarian discipline, and have been attempting to cover their inferiority complexed mentality by displaying a sense of significance. These elements who actually runaway from the field of ideological struggle of communist movement have been acting as priests who give advice and teachings to people. Reformism is no less responsible for this distortion which talks about cultural transformation idealistically. But Marxist science holds that ideological and political line decides everything. We can understand it as nihilism from philosophical point of view.

### **History of Struggle Against Reformism and Present Situation**

We briefly discussed above about the Nepalese petty-bourgeois tendency that takes Marxism as reformism, its manifestation and consequence. However, it does not mean that there is no revolutionary trend and tendencies. In fact, there has been a revolutionary trend in the communist movement since the beginning and has been waging struggle in various ways against opportunism of various kinds in the course of its development process. But for a long period in the history, this trend failed to grasp Marxism correctly, and then could not develop to the level of applying it in the historical development process of Nepalese society and waging a decisive struggle against opportunism. Consequently, various kinds of opportunism became predominant in the movement, and the reactionary class was successful in suppressing and betraying the people's movement in this or that way.

What we want to say right here is the struggle of the people against reactionary class and that of the revolutionaries against opportunism has taken a qualitative leap. In other words, the reactionary regime is in extreme crisis, the people are going in favor of total change, and in this state of contradiction, a revolutionary party guided by essential revolutionary principle has been developed to lead correctly. This development is a result of class struggle as well as long and fierce ideological struggle of revolutionary Marxists against 'leftist' and mainly rightist petty-bourgeois tendency. The reformists and several kinds of opportunists have been making efforts to distort and confuse the development of the revolutionary



principle and revolutionary party, and check the growth of revolutionary movement. But we claim that the revolutionary principle achieved by the people as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism through a long process of class struggle and ideological process and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party developed on this basis shall burn the reformist garbage into ashes and lead the revolutionary struggle of the people against reactionary class to victory gradually. This claim is based mainly on following points which the opportunists have been trying to distort :

\* To grasp the science of revolution of the proletarian class as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the first and fundamental condition and basis. During the struggle against opportunism, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) successfully assimilated this science of revolution in its totality, i.e., as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It also assimilated the fact that in today's world, nobody can be a revolutionary Marxist without accepting Maoism as the higher stage of development of Marxism-Leninism. Today nobody can be a genuine revolutionary without firmly grasping the inevitability of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a starting point of building a new party, new movement and new society. Ever since the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) took Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as an ideological weapon of proletarian class, it led the revolutionaries to wage decisive struggle against and divorce from the opportunism of various kinds which had been dominant in the Nepalese communist movement, and leading the people towards the process of revolutionary struggle. In fact, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been today a scale to measure the difference between the Marxists and revisionist reformists.

\* The assimilation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guiding principal inspired CPN (Maoist) to study natural & historical development of the Nepalese society. The study of the history enabled it to make an objective assessment of economic, political and cultural state of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society of today. It taught the Party the development of bureaucratic capitalism emerged together with the unholy coalition of feudalism and imperialism in Nepal and its critical situation today. It also taught the Party to deeply assimilate theoretical and practical ways of total change necessary in Nepal and how that is possible. The study enabled the revolutionaries to answer the questions why and how to accomplish New

Democratic revolution in Nepal in a way naturally different from that of the reformism dominating the Nepalese communist movement.

\* The assimilation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism enabled the revolutionaries in Nepal to comprehend the confusion and ambiguity prevailing in the question of nature of political power and struggle and reformist vicious circle, and develop a revolutionary political line for founding New Democratic state power in the place of reactionary state power by struggling against it. Moreover, it inspired the Maoists to adopt a qualitatively different line, i.e., a political line of capturing the central state power by building New Democratic state power at the local level, which would be in contrast to the tradition of Nepalese revisionists to struggle for reformist state to serve the purpose of the reactionary class. It also elucidated the fact that talking about any state power, excepted the New Democratic one in both theoretical and practical sense and struggling for it, is nothing but a despicable conspiracy of revisionist in Nepal.

\* Thus, the study of history and struggle against revisionist illusions enabled the Maoists to make an assessment of real position of class friends and foes and particularities of today's Nepalese society, and understand the theory on the military strategy and tactics of the New Democratic revolution in Nepal. It led them to devising military plan to initiate armed struggle in Nepal on the basis of that kind of military principle. This is how the Maoists could march towards this direction with full confidence after making synthesis of how the People's War can move forward as a total war in the world today and what its particularities are in Nepal.

\* This process of assimilating the revolutionary principle moved the Maoists towards the direction of carrying out rural class struggle for New Democratic revolution unifying with mainly the oppressed peasants living in large areas. It taught the Maoists to comprehend the limitless power of the Nepalese peasants, and to participate in their pains and pleasures and learn their real problems.

\* This principle taught the Maoists to learn real sense of adjustment between the legal and illegal and rural and urban struggles. In addition, it taught them to learn the development process of the Party as a militant

vanguard of the proletariat, and building United Front on basis of unity of workers- peasants and People's Army under the leadership of the Party.

\* In all, this study has taken the Maoists to the extent of launching the process of founding New Democratic state with historic initiation of the People's War by grasping the essence of Lenin's view that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary ideology and Mao's view that whether ideological and political line is correct or not determines everything, and exposing all sorts of opportunism. Who is genuine revolutionary and who is opportunist? Now this shall be decided by the attitude and policy it will adopt towards the People's War.

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or Revisionism?**

**- Com. Prachanda**

Through scientific research of social development, Marxism proved with irrefutable facts that the development of communism with establishment and consolidation of socialism shall end up modern capitalism in the process of ruthless and fierce struggle of the last and revolutionary class of history, the proletarian class. This thought of scientific socialism equipped the struggle of working class with an invincible powerful weapon. The research and its practical application shook the heaven of the capitalist class. The research of Marxism and struggle of working class have been a struggle of life and death against capitalist class and its stooges and various forms and non-proletarian class tendency. The capitalist class and its stooges have been vehemently attempting to save their paradise of plunder by making many conspiracy, sabotage, repression and intervention against proletarian class movement from inside and outside in order to uproot Marxism. They have been declaring thousands of time to disappoint the revolutionary proletarian class that Marxism has been 'old' and proved to be useless. But after every time they do it, this is a fact of the world's history that Marxism and proletarian class movement get more powerful, illuminating and extensive and strike their heads. The development of Marxism into Leninism and Maoism is its concrete evidence.

When Marxism-Leninism-Maoism turned victories the world over in principle, the capitalist and imperialist elements were compelled to support Marxism, though not sincerely, and betray the proletarian class and oppressed people. In this context, Lenin's statement that the dialectics of history is such that the ideological victory of Marxism compels the enemies to put on a mask of Marxism is quite ponderable. Lenin had proved with adequate proof that revisionism together with the development of imperialism breaks the national circle and turns international. Today the imperialism has captured the leadership of socialist system built by the sacrifice of millions of workers and distorted it and they have once again declared that Marxism has turned unsuccessful and are celebrating. But

their celebration is, however, like a self-satisfaction of a man on death bed and it's being proved by the facts of history and worldwide struggle of struggle, which can shake the world and worldwide economic crisis. The very facts on what is based the imperialist declaration that Marxism has been old have proved it irrefutable. The history has once again laid the responsibility on the shoulder of proletarian fighters to cut into pieces the webs of confusion of modern revisionists and been inspiring them to advance on the worldwide victory campaign. For this, it has been a task of primary significance for the revolutionary Marxist as a subjective preparation to expose revisionism and imperialism and show its real face, to the oppressed people and make them understand the reality.

What is revisionism? In fact, to make reforms in Marxism, which is unified with the cause of class struggle of proletariat and mould it to suit the non-proletarian interest is revisionism. The need of revisionism comes out of its class base in the modern society. The greater the number of non-proletarian, particularly petty bourgeois class in a particular place, the more propitious base there for revisionism. Indeed revisionism is capitalism and imperialism that have penetrated into the workers movement. Therefore, any attempt to weaken the struggle against revisionism under any pretext is revisionism in itself. It is impossible to present a wide analysis of revisionism and the struggle the revolutionary Marxists have been waging against it in this brief article. Here an attempt is made to briefly identify certain issues of revolutionary Marxism and the ways revisionism is manifested.

## **1. Class Struggle**

One of the major scientific inventions of Marxism is to accept the role of class struggle as a driving force of history. All revolutionary Marxists from Marx, Engels say: to Lenin, Stalin and Mao are seen to have taken the cause of class struggle as a sequence of their activities and outlook. In this context, Marx-Engel say for about 40 years, we have been emphasizing on class struggle between capitalist class and proletarian class as a driving force of history, particularly as a great organizer of the modern social revolution; therefore, it's impossible to help the people who want to pull out the class struggle from the movement. Similarly Lenin says, the key to find out rule of law in this illus comment and endlessness. The key is the theory

of class struggle. In the same way, Mao has greatly stressed on considering the class struggle as key.

One of the major features of revisionism is to give up, weaken or blunt the class struggle under various pretexts. As Lenin says in the field of politics revisionism, attempts to make reforms at foundations of Marxism or class struggle. In the past, the renegade Kautsky of Second International had rejected class struggle citing the fear of massive growth of technology and arms. Similarly, Khrushchov and Gorbachov, under the pretext of changed world situation, have been applying fascist dictatorship in the place of proletarian dictatorship, pronouncing peaceful transition, peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. In China, the Deng clique has declared that the class struggle has ended, has applied capitalist economic principles and been running fascist dictatorship. Thus it is evident universally that revisionists reject or weaken the class struggle under various pretexts and apply bourgeois dictatorship under the banner of class coordination. In our country also, several revisionist groups including the Jhapa clique that is called UML have been supporting the same Khrushchov, Gorbachov and Deng cliques and weakening the class struggle. Here revisionism has been weakening the class struggle in various ways such as continuous emphasis on peaceful and legal movements, entering into Panchayat system\* and misleading the people, postponing the militant struggle for the future, stress on unity, coalition and company with bourgeois and various reactionary and corrupt elements.

## **2. Party**

What is a Communist Party and how it should be? Revolutionary Marxists like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are found to have viewed it as a militant, disciplined and class conscious vanguard of the proletariat and practiced accordingly. Revolutionary Marxism has been always stressing the fact that this kind of Party should be run by carrying out ideological political and practical struggle against all sorts of non-proletarian tendencies and characters. In this context, Marx-Engels say: if people of different class desire to join the proletarian movement, the very first condition for them should be that they do not come with bourgeois and petty bourgeois biases with them but that they assimilate proletarian outlook

heartily and sincerely. They continue: but if the leadership of the Party goes into hands of these kinds of people in this or that way, the Party gets sterilized directly and its proletarian spirit collapses. Lenin has formulated an extensive, deep and concrete theory on the Party of the proletariat. Lenin launched Bolshevism by unleashing a ruthless, uncompromising and life and death struggle against the opportunists inside his own Party, who created hurdles in founding the Party as militant and disciplined vanguard of the proletarian class. Mao had always given emphasis on building a Communist Party based on revolutionary working style guided by Marxist-Leninist principle and line.

Revisionists are found to be emphasizing on building a loose and broad party by means of coalition with even non-proletarian elements of various types, which ends the role of the Party as a leader of proletarian class. In this context, Khrushchov- Gorbachov's theory of the Party of the entire people is noteworthy. Revisionism attempts to develop the Party into a crowd of ideology less and selfish elements. By doing so, they are on the one hand, betraying against the cause of proletariat and on the other, some cunning leaders misguide the people and make them ladders for fulfilling their vested personal interests. As these revisionist elements need larger crowds or voters for the parliament, they carelessly trade on their principle not to let the so-called Party split, whereas the revolutionary Marxists are always prepared for split many times, if needed for the defense of principle. However, it does not mean that split is right but fighting unflinchingly against the elements, who betray the cause of proletariat and rebel against them, if necessary, is absolutely correct. Lenin's view in this regard should be taken seriously. In the world, no social democratic party has been ever maintained, particularly during the period of bourgeois revolution, without any fierce struggle and several splits with bourgeois fellow travellers.

What is to be noted is the fact that revolutionary Marxists attach great importance to fierce struggle against all kinds of non-proletarian tendencies in order to develop the Party as a vanguard of the proletariat whereas revisionists emphasize to develop it as a common platform of various non-proletarian tendencies. Revolutionary Marxists consider the two-line struggle of the Party as its dynamism of it and source of life-blood whereas revisionists temporarily settle it through non-ideological compromise and

develop the Party as a motionless and lifeless crowd. The revolutionary Marxists hold dialectical outlook in regard to the development of the Party whereas revisionists do hold the metaphysical view. Thus, the revolutionary Marxists serve the cause of proletarian class whereas revisionists serve that of capitalist and imperialist elements.

### **3. Forms of Struggle**

Fundamentally, there is a difference in the outlooks between revolutionary Marxists and revisionists in methods of struggle, too. Marxism- Leninism- Maoism stresses the fact that continuous dissemination the necessity of violent revolution as a universal law of revolution among the people must not be abandoned at any cost. The genuine revolutionaries lay emphasis on the struggles to violate prevailing laws and system as a pre-condition for preparing the people for revolution. Lenin say: "the need of organized dissemination of concept of this very violent revolution among the people is the essence of all teachings of Marx and Engels. Lenin has given stress on continuous struggle against the elements who prevent or try to prevent the dissemination of violent revolution, the essence of all teachings of Marx and Engels, from being taken to the people. Stalin has said: if somebody thinks that this kind of revolution can be accomplished peacefully, within bourgeois democracy conducive to bourgeois rule, it means that he has gone mentally bankrupt and lost common human sense, or has abandoned proletarian revolution fully and blatantly. On it Mao states: the lesson we get from the experiences of class struggle in the imperialist era is that it is only with the power of guns that the working class and toiling masses of the people can defeat the armed capitalists and feudal. Therefore we can say that the whole world can be changed only with the guns. Thus, it is crystal clear like broad daylight that the revolutionary Marxists give priority to revolutionary forms of struggle with an objective of preparing the people for revolt right from the beginning.

But as far as revisionists are concerned, they always emphasize peaceful and legal forms of struggle. Modern revisionists, who are familiar with the universal truth of Marxism- Leninism- Maoism, externally show that they have accepted the need of violent revolution for the future or strategically but reject it tactically. Immediately revisionists are not ready at all to go out



of peaceful and legal movement but show as if they accept the necessity of violent revolution for the future. In Nepal, the revisionists including UML have been applying the same method.

One point to be seriously considered is that in this era, which is the era of proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism teaches us that proletarian revolutionaries should continuously educate and train the people with militant spirit so that they are not unarmed at the time of bourgeois, imperialist attacks. For this, it is essential to stress revolutionary forms of struggle in accordance with power and position, which directly hit at the present regime, help in moving forward by violating the prevailing laws and system and can prepare basis for countrywide revolt in a conducive situation in the future. Right here revisionists of our country serve the reactionaries by confining the struggle in a legal and peaceful circle and keeping the people unarmed at the time of need.  
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**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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**Question of Ideological Struggle Brought Forward  
by People's War**

**- Com. Prachanda**

The process of initiation of People's War and its continuous development by concluding one chapter of ideological struggle within the revolutionary movement has initiated a new one. Reformist and parliamentary cycle, which was dominant in the communist movement, has been broken and a new process of debate and transformation has come up today. As great Lenin said, "Ice has been broken; the road is open; the way has been shown and that has been illuminated, now the history is moving forward in the speed of railway engine." Old contradictions in the Party and movement have been resolved and new contradictions have taken birth. In fact, the unity built up in the Party, movement and to a certain extent in the Nepalese society on the old basis has been broken. New epoch of debate, polarization and unity in the field of ideology, politics and culture has begun. In its essence, it is a historical achievement having far-reaching importance of initiation and continuation of People's War.

Invincible principle of proletarian class, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has taught us that ideological struggle takes place as the reflection of class struggle and its synthesized form goes on transforming into material strength. Till the class society exists, the class conflict is expressed into the conflict of ideology and ideological conflict is expressed into a new level of class conflict. This conflict provides forward motion to the society. In course of struggle against empiricists Marx had resolutely presented the fact that ignorance had never served the people nor could it ever. If so, from where does the necessary knowledge come to serve the people? According to Marxist science it comes from struggle. Mao has concretely formulated class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment as the source of knowledge. In its essence, Nepalese People's War is the concrete expression of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

What some of the people think is that having come forward by initiating People's War, attention now should be paid for the development of People's War not for ideological struggle. From whatever angle it might come, this thinking is against Marxist science and so goes against the People's War itself. Reality is that People's War itself is the result of the development of ideological struggle and People's War for its own development demands further minute, sharp, intense and extensive ideological struggle. People's War demands not to suspend ideological struggle but demands more active participation in it. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has goaded the proletarian revolutionaries to remain resolute on the fact that more the clarity comes about in the midst of ideological struggle more the development of People's War takes place in the same dimension.

In our context, it is true that the influence of ideological struggle and contradiction does not exist now in the level prior to that of People's War. But the People's War itself has given birth to contradictions of new and higher nature. Higher level of ideological struggle is inevitable to solve them.

Some of the people do not understand the necessity of identifying new contradictions created by People's War and of taking initiative from new level to resolve them. They go on sticking onto the old things. That appears in the form of continuing efforts based on old contradiction, equation, closeness etc. People's War is a qualitative leap. It has destroyed old contradiction, equation, closeness and distance. Such kinds of thinking appears from their inability to grasp the great reality that a new unity has been achieved based on affinity and belief towards People's War. Reality is that people, who had presented themselves as revolutionaries and close to us in the peacetime, have now been exposed as opportunists after the initiation of People's War. But those thousands of revolutionary fighters, who were not in our account and were assumed to be less significant in the political scenario of the past peaceful period, have today started playing real character roles. Past cliques and equations have all been disarrayed by the wave of People's War. What the history has anticipated from the Nepalese revolutionaries today is, a new unity on the new footing and background that the People's War has developed.

In this situation if one thinks of moving forward on the basis of old group and equation, that is a regressive thinking. Revolutionaries must struggle resolutely against such a regressive thinking because it is against great achievements of People's War. Here the question is not of between the revolutionaries and opportunists only, it is necessary to renew relation among revolutionaries based on the new situation developed by People's War. If one of two revolutionaries cannot or disagrees to transform oneself according to the necessity and consequence of People's War, the relation is shattered, and if the revolutionary continues unnecessary effort to maintain that relation based on past closeness, that too does not remain revolutionary. Things are in new motion and wave of changes. Old revolutionaries, in order to catch the wave of motion and change, must work hard several times more than the new revolutionaries do. If one tries to take advantage of his some of the good works in the past, that will not be a tolerable thing for revolution and the People's War. Necessity of the war is that old should make effort to catch the spirit of new comrades and, new should make effort to learn the experiences of the old. In all, every revolutionary must constantly remain alert to maintain new unity in the new level. For this, it is necessary to raise up further the ideological struggle against all sorts of sectarian, dogmatic and empiricist trends of thinking.

People's War is creating an objective environment to further sharpen and rectify revolutionary ideas, but the thinking that People's War itself and automatically develops revolutionary ideas is not a dialectical materialist thinking rather it is a mechanical materialist one. Such type of mechanical materialist thinking is found in some people. It is certain that the great transformation, which is taking place in our Party today, was impossible without People's War. But it does not mean that ideas are rectified without conscious effort. Furthermore, People's War is demanding more conscious effort for ideological advance. It is a historically proved fact that the struggle against feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends and traditions prevailing in the Party, movement and the entire society is going to be too long and intense. People's War is the first step in this direction. In course of initiating People's War, we had tried to establish those quotations of Marx, Lenin and Mao with particular importance, in which significance of revolutionary wars was emphasized to understand not only as a weapon of fighting enemy and seizing power but also as a means of removing garbage

from within. If People's War is understood only as a means of fighting enemy and capturing power the garbage within us will not be moved off. In this situation, firstly, it is impossible to defeat enemy and capture state power, secondly, if somehow state power is captured internal garbage gets already developed into enemy before achieving victory over external enemy. The incidents of counterrevolution that took place in countries including Russia and China have heightened the seriousness of responsibility upon today's revolutionaries. What type of a seed we sow today, alike breeds tomorrow.

Development of People's War in the form of the highest expression of class struggle is correct, but along with this if a scientific method of removing garbage off existing in the Party, movement and the masses could not be advanced consciously and artfully, it will be incomplete. What is that method? That method is that of inner-struggle inclusive of discussion, debate, criticism, and self-criticism. In other word, it is a method of continuously advancing ideological struggle against all sorts of non-proletarian trends.

In this context, our Party has been emphasizing on the entire revolutionaries to make message of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the starting point of thinking and activities. That is the pinnacle achieved, under the leadership of the proletariat, by the human being in a way to making this earth without exploitation and atrocity and in the direction of building a developed, scientific and ideal society. In today's world, it is impossible to take one step forward in the direction of revolutionary movement, without looking at with the eyes of that pinnacle. However cycles of strategy and tactics need to be made in a fight against the enemy, a revolutionary today must be resolute in grasping the consciousness of Cultural Revolution and making effort to advance ahead of it. Sooner or later, non-proletarian trends of thinking will be dominant in Party and movement if failed to enhance continuously this process of self-struggle. How should revolutionaries take revolutionary lessons in their efforts of transforming oneself through People's War? It is necessary to think of this question seriously.

Among the entire historical lessons, one of the important lessons of Cultural Revolution is fight against individual interest and crush revisionism. Root of revisionism in Party and movement is based upon individual interest. It is impossible to crush revisionism without struggling mercilessly against innumerable forms of individual interests. If inner struggle together with People's War does not continuously advance against different manifestations of individual interests finally a danger of the Party getting converted into the UML will arise. While being involved in People's War anxiety of a post troubles us, if more concern goes into individual prestige and if a thinking such as earth will stop moving without oneself comes up, that is revisionism. It is wrong to think that such thinking will automatically go off soon after being involved in People's War. For this, a continuous wave of conscious struggle is inevitable. People's War has definitely created such an objective situation.

What has been happening in the course of class struggle is that the leadership and power instead of developing cadres and masses as scientific, democratic, independent thinker and initiator, since thousands of year, has been developing silent followers and slaves. Despite of opposing it principally, its effect has been cast directly or indirectly inside our Party also. There are several examples where Party and movement have changed their color soon after opportunism appears in the leadership level. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and mainly the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has provided a scientific orientation for loosening that knot, -- the slogans 'Bombard the Headquarters', 'It is right to rebel' and 'Red and expert' are its expressions. Greatness of the Cultural Revolution lies in providing a scientific method of continuous revolution in order to develop whole masses and cadres as a force capable to control over the state and the leadership. We must emphasize to develop capacity of our Party, movement and the masses, through People's War, efficient to bombard the headquarters, enhance active and independent participation of entire masses in the state power, and develop critical and revolutionary consciousness in the entire cadres to independently fight opportunism arisen in the leadership. Party's main spirit, behind our saying that we should move forward by making Cultural Revolution the starting point, is this. Leaders may die, leaders may degenerate but if there is a process of developing

revolutionary successors, the revolutionary movement advances forward. This is also the crux of Cultural Revolution.

The question of developing proletarian consciousness by fighting against the entire reactionary and revisionist ideas in relation to leader, party and the masses must be made a question of ideological struggle. In this context, it is necessary, on the one hand, to fight against dictatorial, bureaucratic and slave mentality and it is equally necessary to fight against the anarchist trend of undermining the importance and necessity of leadership and state, on the other. It is necessary to understand deeply the following synthesis of Comrade Mao on the relation of leader, party and the masses. "Marxism-Leninism accepts that leaders play a great role in the history. People and their parties need leaders. Those, who represent the interest and aspiration of the masses and stand at the forefront of historical struggle, are capable to serve the people as leaders. But, any leader of the Party and the state when starts adapting oneself above a member among the masses and the Party, then he keeps himself away from the masses and deprives of real knowledge." In that situation, if the consciousness of cadres and people does not develop then a situation comes where Party and the movement would face a big loss. In this question, revolutionaries need to be cautious from today.

In brief, People's War is the life and death struggle against enemy. To make People's War reach successfully to its final victory and not to allow the Party to change its color even after that, revolutionaries must take initiative seriously from today. For that they should study further deeply and grasp the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and develop by using them in practice of class struggle. Ideologically, the struggle against dogmatism and empiricism should further be enhanced minutely and widely. As Mao said, all the revolutionaries should be sharp to find poisonous germs of the Party and revolution and abolish them by using Marxism-Leninism as a microscope. Victory of People's War is inevitable.

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Philosophical Concept of Prachanda Path**

- Com. Kiran

### **1. Introduction**

Prachanda Path is the set of ideas that has emerged amidst application of MLM in the particularity of Nepalese revolution and it has strength to serve world revolution. Owing to rapid development of the great People's War under the guidance of Prachanda Path, Nepal has become today the center of attraction and hope of the world proletariat and exploited and oppressed masses.

Germany, which was backward compared to advanced England and France, gave Marxism. Russia that was backward compared to Europe and other countries gave birth to Leninism. China, which was underdeveloped and oppressed by imperialism, gave rise to Maoism. Today, the credit of giving birth to new ideas in the form of other height of Prachanda Path is going to Nepal, the third poorest country of the world. It is a matter of glory.

Nepal, a small country of the Himalayan sub-continent had in the ancient times given historic message of new ideas and philosophy to the world. Gautam Buddha, a great thinker that gave message of atheism, dialectics and federalism to the world was a Nepali. Likewise, a preacher of Shankhya philosophy, Kapil, who gave the message of materialism and dialectics to the world and who is assumed to be the founder of Kapilvastu, the district where Gautam Buddha was born, is also a great philosopher of Nepal. Prachanda Path is excellently advancing ahead in the process of connecting this link of history that gave the message of new ideas and philosophy to the world.

Marxism has three component parts, they are: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Prachanda Path, which is the developed set of ideas of MLM, is also formed comprising of these three component parts. Among these three, here an effort has been made to have a short discussion on philosophy of Prachanda Path.



## 2. Concept Regarding Theory

Development of Prachanda Path as a whole and its philosophical concept has taken place in the background of grasp of MLM, historic necessity of class struggle of Nepalese revolution, the struggle against all kinds of wrong thinking and trends prevailing in Nepalese communist movement and the synthesis of positive and negative experiences of international communist movement.

Comrade Prachanda has grasped the theory of MLM as a science of revolution. By grasping seriously the theoretical contributions of Mao, he, first of all in the Nepalese communist movement, put forward an concept of using the terminology of Maoism in place of Mao Thought. In the document entitled "On Maoism" which was presented and adopted in the Unity Congress, he, by refining this concept further, synthesized scientifically the theoretical contribution of Mao in the form of MLM. With the grasp of this science of revolution, he raised high the flag of struggle against reformism, which was deep rooted in the Nepalese communist movement, in order to defend, apply and develop it. He said, "Marxism, because of being a science, has clarified its character that it must go on developing by confronting against new forms of problems emerged in new situations.

Accordingly, Marxism has in course of struggle developed into MLM today. One of the characteristics of today's reformism is that it denies the summit of development of Marxist science by opposing Maoism. ... Problem of development of revolutionary movement is the problem of struggle against reformism, that is, it is a problem of defending, applying and developing the revolutionary theory." [Problems of Nepalese Revolution, (In Nepali) Part-1, p.3]. Comrade Prachanda has been specifically emphasizing on the concept of defense, application and development of revolutionary principle.

Prachanda Path has been termed in the historical Second National Conference of C.P.N. (Maoist) as an ideological synthesis of rich experiences of five years of the great People's War. The Party, in this conference, has taken up Prachanda Path as an inseparable dialectical unity between international content and national expression, universality and particularity, whole and part, general and particular, and has comprehended

that this synthesis of experiences of Nepalese revolution would serve world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism.

On the process of development of Prachanda Path and its phases, Comrade Prachanda says, "This synthesis of experiences, according to the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism, has been acquired from the process of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. MLM has taught us that this cycle goes on moving up to infinity." (The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History, p.79).

Development of Prachanda Path is advancing ahead in its third phase. These phases can be presented as: political and military line of Nepalese revolution that was adopted in the Third Expanded Meeting of C.P.N. (Maoist) held in 1995 -- the first phase; ideological synthesis of the rich experiences of five years of great People's War that took place in the historical Second National Conference of C.P.N. (Maoist) held in 2001 -- the second phase and the process of development following this conference -- the third phase. Comrade Prachanda has also shed light on the process of development of Prachanda Path that according to the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism it goes on constantly developing through the course of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. While looking at from this angle, it is found that Prachanda Path also is rapidly developing to its third phase with the speedy development of Nepalese revolution and the People's War.

Along with the grasp of MLM, Prachanda Path has been developing in the process of its defense, application and development and this concept also carries specific international significance regarding the process of development of revolutionary theory.

Philosophical concept of Prachanda path can basically be studied as follows.

### **3. Dialectical Materialism**

Comrade Prachanda has defined philosophy of dialectical materialism as the philosophy of struggle of a Communist Party and has said that its development too takes place amidst struggles. The philosophy of Prachanda

Path is dedicated to the interest of proletarian class and oppressed masses and the great goal of communism.

### **(a) System of Materialist Dialectics**

In the history of philosophy, two kinds of world outlooks that look at every matter, event and the process remain in action are: dialectics and metaphysics. Comrade Prachanda has been standing for materialist dialectics against metaphysics.

Comrade Prachanda, siding with dialectical materialist world outlook on development and opposing the metaphysical one, which has been dominant in the Nepalese communist movement, says, "Dialectical materialism the world outlook of MLM holds that the reason behind the development and destruction of every event of nature, society and human thinking lies in the inherent absolute character of struggle that exists also in the relative unity of opposites of a matter or the related question. Dialectics of development of each object and its phenomenon, which are interrelated with each other and exist constantly in a dynamic flow of changes, is such that, as Lenin said, does not take place in a straight line but takes place in a spiral form, that development does not take place spontaneously without notice and in a gradual way, rather it does in the form of a rupture in continuity, leap, catastrophe and revolution, in the form of transformation of quantity to quality and negation of negation. This is the essence of Marxist dialectics on development." [Problems of Nepalese Revolution, (in Nepali), Part-2, p. 1-2]. Here, on the development of an object, the Marxist concept of unity of opposites, transformation of quantity into quality and negation of negation and opposition to metaphysical conception that advocates that external reason, opposing the inner struggle inherent in it, is the main cause of development of an object, perceives development in straightforward not in a zigzag way and holds gradual development against qualitative leap have been forcefully presented.

"It is self-evident that the struggle, which establishes MLM in the movement, has a special philosophical significance. In the course of struggling against the reformist and evolutionary concept of development prevalent in the Nepalese communist movement, the Party did sharpen specially the science of development of Marxist dialectics regarding

collision, rupture, leap and catastrophe. This thought gave a big blow to the opportunism that was cultivating reformism in the name of quantity, by harboring a mechanical view on quantitative and qualitative change, and provided a strong base for the initiation of revolution. From the historic initiation of People's War to this day, special directive of this very revolutionary conception of collision, rupture, leap and catastrophe in the Party's policy, plan and program has ensured continuous lifeblood to class struggle and two-line struggle. Typical experiences have been gained in the course of solving problems of class struggle and two-line struggle through the application of Maoist dialectics on the law of contradiction. The process of application of the science of "one divides into two" and the unity - struggle -transformation of the opposites from the heights of the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has led to the development of a unique wealth in the form of continuous development and establishment of the revolutionary current within the Party on the basis of broad democracy by defeating all sorts of non-proletarian tendencies, which has enabled to smash the chain of conspiracies by reaction and revisionism. Guided by this particular concept the currently undergoing Party rectification campaign has, through the process of unity-struggle-transformation, raised the Party to unprecedented heights of new unity on a new basis. The application of class struggle in the course of struggle against revisionist thinking of from book to book, from thought to thought and from reform to reform, has led to the development of a distinctive thought of grasping the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. The Party has been developing distinctive revolutionary conceptions on the operation of dialectical relations between objective and subjective conditions, between the whole and the part and between quantity and quality. It is clear that a distinctive thought is taking shape with the above applications in the field of philosophy, after the archetypal development of People's War for five years. (Ibid. Part-2, page 192-193).

Because of underlying specificity of materialist dialectics, the concrete backdrop of its application in Nepalese revolution and amidst this process the fact that specific ideas have been developing in the domain of philosophy also are forcefully expressed in these quotations. These ideas, which have been very concisely presented, are philosophically very sound and essential.

## **(b) Basic Law of Materialist Dialectics**

Comrade Prachanda has grasped deeply the law of unity of opposites -- the law of one divides into two and the law of contradiction -- as the only basic law of dialectics. Comrade Prachanda says, "Unity and struggle of opposites is the basic law of dialectics". (Ibid. p. 76). This concept is based upon Maoism.

Likewise, Comrade Prachanda, shedding light on the nature of unity and struggle of opposites, further says, "Unity is relative, temporary and transitional, where as, the struggle is constant and absolute." (Ibid. p. 76). Here, on one hand, the concept that holds that the unity of opposites is relative, temporary and transitional and struggle is absolute has been firmly grasped and the reformism and revisionism, which is dominant since long in the Nepalese communist movement that assume the unity of opposites is absolute and the struggle is relative and temporary, have been attacked upon, on the other.

Comrade Mao had initiated struggle against both kinds of metaphysics in which one holds the unity of opposites in the sense of monolithism and other separates such type of unity into pluralism. Standing upon the foundation of Mao's philosophical concept, Comrade Prachanda's role in the task of effectively advancing this struggle further is remarkable. He says, "Comrade Mao's evaluation of Stalin is against the right revisionist turncoat that negates him completely, on one hand, and the sectarian dogmato-revisionism that shows even the mistakes of Comrade Stalin as positive, on the other. In the international communist movement, Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchov etc. fall under the first category, whereas, Enver Hoxa of Albania falls under the second one. Another important point to note is that Euro-Communism, in the pretext of opposing Stalin's concept of monolithic unity and bureaucracy, began opposing the integrated dialectical materialist science of Marxism from a bourgeois anarchist pluralist angle." (The Great Leap Forward....,p. 9-10). These ideas, which in the process of enriching and developing unified dialectical materialism are directed against modern, dogmatic and pluralistic revisionism, are of forceful and universal significance.

Comrade Prachanda, in the context of mentioning basic laws of dialectics, has shed light on quantitative and qualitative changes. In relation to quantitative and qualitative changes, concept of Prachanda Path is based upon Leninism. In this context, he has on one hand accepted the significance of gradual changes and, on one other, has specifically emphasized upon collision, rupture, leap and catastrophe of the qualitative change.

While talking about materialist dialectics, it is found that Comrade Prachanda has paid necessary attention to thesis-antithesis and synthesis or the negation of negation. In the context of evaluating the process of development of Party history he, in the same document, says, "While synthesizing Nepalese communist movement it can be said that it is advancing ahead achieving new unity in a new basis according to the dialectical law of unity-struggle-transformation or thesis-antithesis and synthesis. ... The entire process of Nepalese communist movement can also be understood in the form of negation of negation. Revisionism negated the initial correct line of Party and the correct revolutionary line again negated revisionism. As a result of this, the great process of People's War came forward. But, if it is understood or meant in the sense that this process has been completed and ended here, it would be against the dialectical law of development. This process of unity-struggle-transformation will go on continuously." Here, Comrade Prachanda has, on the basis of negation of negation, presented excellently the dialectical process of development between Marxism and revisionism prevailing in the Nepalese communist movement. This concept of Prachanda Path about thesis-antithesis and synthesis and negation of negation is based upon the basic law of dialectics -- the unity of opposites, against the triplistic concept on development.

While mentioning the concept presented by Prachanda Path on the basic laws of materialist dialectics, it is necessary to pay special attention to two points. First: Prachanda Path, by accepting the law of unity of opposites as the basic law of dialectics, has included the law of mutual transformation of quantity and quality and negation of negation into that basic law. Second: it has in the course of struggle against monolithism and pluralism enriched and developed the law of unity of opposites.

### **(c) Epistemology of Dialectical Materialism**

The dialectical materialism is directed against idealism. Comrade Prachanda, struggling against such kind of idealism on the basis of dialectical materialism has excellently clarified the fact that the development and refinement of revolutionary theory has been established amidst the great People's War. He says, "The bourgeois idealist cycle of idea, idea and idea that was dominant in the Nepalese communist movement has been shattered by the revolutionary theory through revolutionary practice. The door of the scientific process of developing and refining revolutionary theory through real revolutionary practice has been opened up." (Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-2, p. 40). Here, the idealism that goes from idea to idea that is prevalent in the Nepalese communist movement has been forcefully attacked, on one hand, and the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism that goes from revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice has been tremendously grasped, on the other.

Which one does have the principal role between matter and consciousness? Which is principal in between objective and subjective situation? In answer to these questions, he has firmly upheld the materialist concept, which holds, on one hand, that the object or objective situation is principal and, on the other, has grasped the dialectical concept that says the consciousness or subjective factor also influences the matter or the objective aspect. Comrade Prachanda says, "To think that the objective condition automatically prepares subjective situation in a mechanical and absolute way is against Marxist dialectics. Despite, matter is finally the main aspect in the interrelation between matter and consciousness, the later plays the main role in certain situation and the dialectical relation of one influencing the other between these two exists. It is also true in relation to the development of Maoist People's War. Therefore, what the Party is emphasizing is that People's War in Nepal is, on one hand, the result of long class struggle and, on the other, the development of intense ideological struggle that has taken place for decades within the Nepalese communist movement. The historic initiation of People's Warhead been possible only when the first factor prepared objective situation and second factor prepared the subjective one." (Ibid., p. 59-60). Here, on one hand, the mechanical and spontaneous

thinking that completely ignores the subjective preparation of revolution has been forcefully attacked and, on the other, light has been nicely shed upon the dialectical relation between objective and subjective factors and matter and consciousness.

What is the source of knowledge and where does it come from? Firmly grasping the Maoist concept of theory of knowledge, Comrade Prachanda says, "According to Marxist science it comes from struggle. Mao has concretely formulated class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment as the source of knowledge. In its essence, Nepalese People's War is the concrete expression of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment." (Ibid., p. 114).

While talking about the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, Comrade Prachanda has in several places mentioned that the process of practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge is infinite. Through such remarks, he has on one hand, taken up practice as the measure of knowledge and, on one other, has firmly grasped the concept of two leaps in the theory of knowledge that takes place from practice to knowledge and vice versa.

Comrade Prachanda has taken up very seriously the question of grasp of revolutionary theory, its application and development. He has been constantly emphasizing in the necessity of struggling against dogmatism and empiricism that are impediments to this process. He says, "For that one should study further deeply and grasp the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and should be developed by using them in practice of class struggle. Ideologically, the struggle against dogmatism and empiricism should further be enhanced minutely and widely." (Ibid., p. 118). In the name of defending theory, dogmatism has been creating obstruction to its application and development. Likewise, in the name of developing theory, empiricism has been annihilating its revolutionary content. Theory of knowledge of Prachanda Path is directed against such both types of thinking. Defending the main spirit of revolutionary theory, it emphasizes on the question of developing it through practice.

In the domain of theory of knowledge, Comrade Prachanda has firmly grasped the method of analysis and synthesis along with the scientific



method of their application. He says, "We must emphasize upon synthesis and pay attention to analysis. Our spirit of emphasizing upon synthesis is to emphasize upon the overall situation, is to emphasize upon revolution and the meaning of paying attention to analysis is to pay attention to break up of an object and event into parts and scrutinize the real situation in them. If analysis is emphasized, it creates a danger of empiricism, departmentalism and regionalism. Only by emphasizing upon synthesis and paying attention to analysis we will not only understand correctly the relation between part and whole but will also be applying practically the kernel of changing the world." (Ibid., p. 46). This method of theory of knowledge of Prachanda Path is based upon the essence of dialectical materialism that helps understand and principally change the world.

#### **(d) Enrichment and Development**

In the field of dialectical materialism, the basic concepts developed by Comrade Prachanda are: -

First, the basic law of dialectics: Comrade Prachanda, by standing upon the footing of Maoist concept has enriched and developed the law of unity of opposites -- the basic law of dialectics -- in the course of class war and two line struggle, on one hand, and the ideological struggle against modern, dogmatic and pluralistic revisionism together with the weaknesses of Stalin, on the other. This concept has raised the development of dialectical materialist monism to a new height and it has universal significance.

Second, transformation of quantity to quality: Comrade Prachanda, has further enriched and sharpened the Leninist concept on transformation of quantity to quality by presenting in the form of rupture, revolution, collision, qualitative leap and catastrophe.

Third, theory of two leaps of knowledge: Comrade Prachanda has further refined and enriched the theory of two leaps of knowledge on matter and consciousness and objective and subjective factors. A lively dialectical unity of necessity and chance, reality and possibility, whole and part, content and form, theory and practice, analysis and synthesis is found to have been expressed in the theory of knowledge of Prachanda Path.

#### **4. On Historical Materialism**

Comrade Prachanda, on the basic concepts of historical materialism says, "In each historic period, the level and nature of class struggle has been decided in accordance with the nature of contradiction between productive forces and production relation. But whatever be the level of development of productive forces the development of class struggle, in each historical periods, has taken place in the form of rupture in continuity, a conscious collision of forward-looking class against the regressive one that is in the form of revolution. This process of social revolution has neither taken place spontaneously and gradually nor has taken place in contrary to the development of objective situation by someone's wish. But that is determined and restricted by the level of development of contradiction between the productive forces and production relation." (Ibid. Part-1, p. 2).

Here, the contradiction between productive forces and production relation and class struggle has been taken up as the motive force of history and, the dialectical and historical materialist outlook, which regards history in the form of materialist qualitative leap, has been followed. In addition to this, the vulgar evolutionism that considers the development process of history in gradualism and, the historical idealism that regards history as an object of subjective wish, have both been forcefully opposed here.

### **(a) Historical Study of Nepalese Society**

On the process of historical development of Nepalese society, Comrade Prachanda says, "Nepal was divided into several tiny monarchial and different tribal republican states before the development of centralized feudal power. During that time, the form of monarchy and the state was not as of today. The fact that the Nepalese society has passed through a long historical process of changing King when necessary, electing king and punishing when fouled up helps understand more the psychological structure of today's Nepalese society. ... With the division of classes in the society, relatively strong kings are found to have defined themselves as an incarnation of god." (Great Leap Forward..., p. 25-26).

The facts that the process of development of Nepalese society had taken place through matriarchy to patriarchy, monarchy had taken birth through the traditional tribal process of selecting king, strength of monarchy was too weak initially but had gained it in the course of class division have been

excellently presented here. Besides, the incarnationist concept regarding divine origin of the king has also been forcefully refuted here.

How did the Nepalese society develop? Comrade Prachanda says, "When analyzing Nepal's history from the historical materialistic way, it can be easily inferred that Nepalese people have been struggling against complexities of natural forces and various man-made problems for their own survival and development. Modern Nepal was evolved through the struggle between and intermingling of, on the one hand; simple, innocent people struggling to live peacefully in steep slopes with their natural economic system and tribal culture, and at the other, the Hindus who had periodically intruded into this country from the south specially about 1000 years back with their superior technology of production and art of war after they were defeated by Muslims. In this historical process the rise of princes and chieftains and the struggle that kept pursuing between them has forced the people to be trained in violent struggle, which has been proved by the history. The Nepalese people who had acquired military and fighting prowess in the course of their historical development were able to fight bravely against the Britishers in the south and the Chinese in the north who were well equipped with modern knowledge, technique and weapons, during the later period. In the battles fought for their own sovereignty the children, old men, women, youths have demonstrated unprecedented sacrifices, bravery and cleverness on the basis of arms and ammunitions made in their own country. This had frightened and terrorized even large imperialist armies and their commanders and established the Nepalese (Gorkhali) people as one of the greatest fighters of the world. Even today any independent Nepali would feel proud when they remember the fighting prowess, bravery and sacrifice of the Nepalese people in the past history. It is a matter of no lesser pride that even Karl Marx, the proponent of communist ideology and the leader of the world proletariat, too, had appreciated the sacrifice, bravery and skill shown by the Nepalese people in those wars." (The Maoist, December 1995, p. 1)

In the course of building Nepalese history, devotion of the masses, role of sacrifice and bravery, class struggle, use of violence and situation of different wars have been excellently projected here.

On the basis of historical materialism, Comrade Prachanda has very deeply

and objectively presented the question of establishment of central feudal power. He says, "The necessity of new production relation that was demanding development of preliminary productive forces made the presence of tiny kings, chieftains and tribal republics unnecessary in the country. This objective necessity led to develop a strong and centralized feudal power. To devaluate the fact that all the objective necessities were the reasons working from behind the success of Prithvi Narayan Shah's campaign of expanding feudal power, despite being a newly emerged and a weak state, means only not to understand historical materialism. Here it is notable that the Nepalese process regarding the development of feudal absolute monarchy complies with the investigation and synthesis carried out by Frederick Engels in his book titled Family, Private Property and Origin of the State." (Great Leap Forward..., p.26).

Here Comrade Prachanda has taken up the establishment of central feudal power as an objective necessity of the historical process of development of Nepalese society. But, along with this, he has equally paid attention to the negative aspect of establishment of central feudal power. He furthermore says, "The centralized feudal state in Nepal has, by imposing Hindu feudal and Brahminist racial chauvinism upon the lingual, religious, cultural and traditional democratic concepts and right of different races, indigenous people and regions has obstructed the development of real national unity and strength and, it is necessary to establish today a foundation of strong national unity based upon equality and independence according to the right of self- determination in the present context of New Democratic revolution." (Ibid., p. 33). Comrade Prachanda holds that the unification, which was carried out on the basis of Hindu feudal and Brahminist racial chauvinism by Prithvi Narayan Shah, was the obstruction for real national unity and, conversely, he specially emphasizes on building up a real and strong national unity in a new way on the basis of right of self-determination through New Democratic revolution.

In the same document he says, "Even though it is considered sovereign formally, Nepal in reality, is passing through a semi-colonial condition since almost 200 years. This situation followed by infamous Sugauli Treaty with the British created an obstruction to the natural development of capitalism from the womb of feudalism in Nepal. Process of being disarrayed the

economy, which was heading towards self-reliance through agriculture, business, exchange etc. has started since then by way of intrusion of foreign capital in the Nepalese society. Having some small industries been developed according to the interest of foreign capital Nepal turned serially into a semi-feudal condition from the feudal one. In this way, Nepal continues to be in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition till now." (Ibid., p. 25).

The fact that intrusion of foreign capital after Sugauli Treaty has destroyed the self-reliant economy of Nepal and in this process Nepal was turned into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country has been excellently exposed here.

In this course, bureaucrat capitalism took birth in Nepal. It was another turning point in the history of Nepal. Comrade Prachanda has termed bureaucratic capitalism as a hybrid offspring that takes birth through an unholy alliance of feudalism and imperialism. In such process of coalition between feudalism and imperialism based upon bureaucratic capitalism, on one hand, national capitulationist betrayers came forth and, on the other, great patriots too took birth in Nepal. This alliance attempted to spread illusion on the question of nationalism and democracy among the people, in one side, and hatched numerous conspiracies to terminate mass movements from 1949 to 1990 into a deceitful compromise, on the other. Comrade Prachanda, explicating their character that makes people confused says, "Feudalism proclaims nationalism and imperialism does the same about democracy only with an aim of confusing the masses. It is clear from the specificity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and our own experience in Nepal that feudalism does not go against imperialism and vice versa." (Ibid., p. 30).

These ideas are very much serious on the question of nationalism and democracy. The tailism that follows king in the name of nationalism and runs after imperialism-expansionism in the name of democracy has been deadly in Nepalese communist movement. Here, the main spirit which Comrade Prachanda wants to state is that the revolutionary communists, dissecting those illusions spread among the people by feudalism and imperialism and opposing tailism, must strive hard to organize and develop the war of nationalism and democracy in their own independent initiative.

Its content is that only the Communist Party can, in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, lead revolution aimed at nationalism and democracy, and only in this way, can it resolve the basic contradictions of the masses with feudalism and imperialism.

In the context of studying the process of historical development of Nepalese society, an article entitled, "The Policy of War of Nepalese New Democratic Revolution in the Context of Historical Development", and written by Comrade Prachanda, carries special significance. In this article, a scientific study of armed rebellions and different mass movements that have taken place in the process of historical development of Nepalese society since 1949 has been carried out along with that of prevailing class struggle and war. As a conclusion of this study he says, "What can we say from the experience of history is that the tactics of encircling cities from the countryside agrees not only with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory of protracted People's War but also with the historical process of development of Nepal. There can be no question of a New Party and new society in the countries like ours without the protracted process of People's War. The experience of class struggle has elucidated that People's War does not have any alternative in today's world. To enter into the course of People's War by shattering the opportunist illusions that deceive people by saying that the mass movement and the parliamentary struggle is principal has now become a historical necessity. People are the creators of history. Providing leadership to the Nepalese people, who have a glorious history of heroism, is the duty of today for the communists." (The Maoist, p. 15).

The fact that protracted People's War in Nepal is inevitable not only on the basis of MLM but also on the basis of particularity of history and present of the Nepalese society has been excellently presented here. Also, the opportunism, which opposes People's War saying that the mass movement and parliamentary struggle are principal here, has been exposed.

What is clear from this study of the process of historical development of Nepalese society presented by Comrade Prachanda is that the Nepalese society, since its tribal stage, that is since matriarchal and patriarchal one, has developed to the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition with the process of struggle for production, class struggle and different kinds of

wars and by passing through a course of establishing feudal central power carried out by tiny feudal states. Several insights and particular laws of Nepalese revolution have been revealed from this study of history.

### **(b) Context of World Revolution**

Comrade Prachanda, in course of studying the particularity of Nepalese society and revolution, has paid necessary attention to the context of revolution in South Asian countries too. Comrade Prachanda says, "Because of the distinct conditions of this region, it becomes clear that it is inevitable for the communist revolutionaries to devise an integrated strategy against the Indian ruling class of monopoly bourgeoisie and their agents in various countries. This inevitability has knocked at the door of the necessity of turning this region into a new Soviet federation of the twenty-first century." (Great Leap Forward?, p. 24)

Here, special attention has been paid to the necessity of developing a unified strategy as a common responsibility of revolutionary Communist Parties of this region in their struggle against Indian expansionism. The concept of unified strategy and that of a New Soviet Federation carries special significance.

Comrade Prachanda, in this course, has specially emphasized on the question of studying overall particularities of the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Comrade Prachanda, discussing particularities of present day imperialism and positive and negative aspects it heralds for revolution, says, "We must seriously pay attention to the subsequent distinct situation, created by imperialism with the evil intention of grabbing profits in the present world. Firstly, it has guaranteed the acceleration of the people's consciousness to move from the world of necessity to that of freedom, by linking high technology with the cheap labor of the huge population of the masses. Secondly, with globalization to grab profits, 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 in any place will have a great positive or negative impact on the world as a whole, and vice versa. Thirdly, the worldwide system of imperialism producing and distributing arms has been indirectly playing a role for the technical preparation of

People's War on a world scale. Fourthly, the unlimited production and globalization of its social process has strangely built up a material basis, in a rapid way, for the communist principle of work according to ability and distribution according to need. Fifthly, and mainly, imperialism, by intensifying the class struggle, principally the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed countries and people, to the maximum, has been preparing a revolutionary objective situation for 80 per cent of the people of the world." (Great Leap Forward?, p. 19-20)

The fact that an objective base for preparation of world People's War and establishment of communism has been developing in the midst of globalization in compliance with the goal of imperialism grabbing profit and the intense development of productive forces including that of electronic technology has been excellently presented here. After Lenin and Mao, new particularities of economy of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution have been inaugurated here very minutely, deeply and excellently.

How would it be appropriate to think of the theoretical concepts of a revolutionary war in today's new situation when the world in the process of globalization has been transformed into a small rural region? In an answer to this question he says, "Today, the fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection and protracted People's War into one another has been essential. Without doing so, a genuine revolution seems impossible in any country." (The Great Leap Forward?, p. 20). On the theoretical concept of revolutionary war, this new theory of fusion of two strategies has universal significance.

In the present situation of imperialist unipolar world order and its increasing intervention in Nepal, the development of ideological and political line guiding the revolution has been essential to enhance revolution in an appropriate way. Comrade Prachanda has specially emphasized on the question that the Party should be cautious in the struggle against dogmatism and empiricism, which can create obstruction to such development. He says, "The challenge, which has been erected, of leading revolution to victory by facing imperialist intervention and national capitulationism today, is ultimately a challenge of developing a correct ideological and



political line. If a Party, failing to develop an ideological and political line for the new situation on the basis of concrete analysis of the concrete condition, is plagued by dogmatism or empiricism, then it will be impossible to lead revolution to victory." (Present Situation and Our Historical Task, p. 5). These ideas that have been presented here on the development of ideological and political line have far-reaching significance theoretically. This question of development of the line is closely linked with the great goal of accomplishing revolution and preventing counterrevolution.

Comrade Prachanda, in the course of evaluating international communist movement and of opposing modern, dogmatic and pluralistic revisionism, in his document "The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History" has raised several important questions that are based upon new curiosity and investigation on the history of Comintern, role of Stalin and counter-revolution in the socialist countries. It should be regarded as a specific microscopic vision on the application of dialectical materialism in history.

As another link to this process, Comrade Prachanda, in the course of studying the experiences of revolutions and counterrevolutions in twentieth century, very seriously says, "Why all those parties that achieved victory by struggling, inside and outside of it, in the period of revolution ideologically against right, left and centrist deviations, being united with the necessity and interest of the masses and attaining unprecedented records of earth-shaking heroism, sacrifice in class war against enemy, turned all over the world into bureaucratic, revisionist, dissociated from the masses and counterrevolutionary ones relatively easily in a short span of time after seizure of power? Definitely, while arriving up to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, MLM has provided a basic theoretical answer to this. But, the necessity of developing organizational principle, methodology and concept in those basic theories so as to apply them to prevent counterrevolution still prevails. It is the problem of scientific application and development of the theory of continued revolution under two-line struggle inside the Party and dictatorship of the proletariat." (Present Situation and Our Historic Task, p. 9).

These ideas presented by Comrade Prachanda have come up by standing upon the foundation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution but by advancing far ahead of that. Then, how can the theory of continued revolution be scientifically applied and developed under the two-line struggle and proletarian dictatorship? By drawing up the essence of experiences of history, Comrade Prachanda has, in answer to this question, put forward concept of the development of democracy in twenty-first century. This concept is related with party, army and the state power.

### **(C) The Basic Concept**

The study, which Comrade Prachanda made in the course of historical development of Nepalese society, political particularity of the present world and the experiences of world communist movement on the basis of dialectical materialist outlook, has presented, revealed and enriched several basic concepts of historical materialism. These concepts can shortly be presented as follow:

1) Role of the masses in making history: Against the role kings and heroes play and the incarnationist theory in making history Comrade Prachanda has presented Nepalese people as the creators of history. Comrade Prachanda has been grasping closely the role played by the masses in history and today's world against class enemies and imperialism. Comrade Prachanda has a firm belief that the victory of revolution is ascertained however difficult and adverse situation it be if the masses are taken together. The mass line of Prachanda Path is based upon this concept.

2) Role of class struggle and use of force: Comrade Prachanda has very brilliantly revealed the role of struggle between productive forces and production relation, class struggle, different kinds of wars and violent revolution as the motive force of Nepalese history. In this context he has clarified the fact that guerrilla war of protracted nature has played a role in the process of historical development of Nepalese society. He has seriously embraced the universal significance of violent revolution. On the basis of historical particularity and MLM, grasping the theory of People's War, Comrade Prachanda has been developing it.

3) Relation between Nepalese revolution and world revolution: Comrade Prachanda has been grasping Nepalese New Democratic revolution as an inseparable part of world proletarian revolution. He has been excellently throwing light upon the fact that the influence of ups and downs and compatibility and adversity arising in the international situation has increased qualitatively for the reason that an unholy coalition has, in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, taken place between feudalism and imperialism and beyond that the world has been narrowed owing to intense development of science and technology. He has regarded Nepal as a base area of world revolution. All these factors have played important role in deciding and developing the Party's line.

4) Significance of conscious effort in history and revolution: Comrade Prachanda has sharpened the concept regarding the role of qualitative push and consciousness that the masses and revolutionaries should play in the development of history. All the concepts presented by Prachanda Path like, the leading role of the proletarian class, independent initiative, creativity, subjective preparation, qualitative push etc. that are necessary for revolution are based upon this fact.

5) Theory of continued revolution: It expresses the concept that the nature of two-line struggle is protracted according to the protracted nature of class struggle. This is based upon the concept of grasping seriously the experiences of revolution and counterrevolution and the theory of continued revolution under proletarian dictatorship that Comrade Mao developed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

## **5. World Outlook and Line of Revolution**

There is dialectical relation between world outlook and the line. On one hand, the revolutionary world outlook plays an important role in building, refining and developing revolutionary line of a Party, whereas, the revolutionary line provides specific energy in the task of enriching and developing such world outlook, on the other. Prachanda Path has grasped the dialectical relation between world outlook and line exactly in this way. Comrade Prachanda has played a leading role in the task of determining and developing political and military line of Nepalese revolution based on the

application of dialectical and historical materialism. This line is based upon the comprehensiveness of idea, policy, plan and program.

### **(a) The Question of Class Struggle**

On identification and handling of contradiction Comrade Prachanda says, "To wage People's War, to accomplish revolution means to resolve antagonistic contradictions prevailing in the society. Not only one contradiction, there are numerous contradictions in any society and in our semi-feudal and semi-colonial society too. All the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes, levels and sects fall under People's category (like for example, workers, poor peasants, rich peasants and petty bourgeoisie and up to national bourgeoisie). There are lots of contradictions among them too. Likewise, within the ruling class also there are contradictions among feudal, bureaucratic and comprador classes with one another and they exist within each class too. MLM has provided us a key to understand this mesh of contradictions and to advance society ahead by resolving them one by one. That has taught us a method of making effort to analyze classes, differentiate between enemy and ally, unite class allies against the main enemy by resolving contradictions with the former in a friendly way, find principal contradiction among those existing between ally and the enemy class, and not only that, use consciously the contradictions among enemy classes, hit at one target at one time with one fist and make another enemy a temporary ally, if possible, or if not, neutralize other one while hitting at one target. In this way, correct identification and handling of contradictions in the context of world, country, region, district, village and area at a certain time and also in the case of a particular action, is a guaranteed Marxist weapon for communist revolutionaries to develop revolutionary movement and lead people one by one to victory." (Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-2, p. 50-51).

A philosophical insight of understanding the problems of class struggle on the basis of the laws of contradiction and resolving them has been presented here. A philosophical guidance to centralize attack upon main enemy, attract others to one's own side or make effort to neutralize them and resolve contradictions among allies in a friendly way by carrying out

concrete analysis of the concrete situation, has been presented here excellently.

In the arena of political and military line, Prachanda Path has been effectively applying and establishing the concept of materialist dialectics of rupture in continuity, revolution, qualitative leap and catastrophe. The process of initiation of People's War, its continuity and development has taken place amidst innumerable series of People's rebellions and shock-like military actions. In the task of bringing out originality, particularity and grandeur, the dialectics of Prachanda Path is very much militant, revolutionary and noble.

The ideological, political and military line of Prachanda Path is based upon mass line. On this, Prachanda says, "By grasping the famous Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle of 'masses are the creators of history' the Party is developing overall mass line according to the particular situation of Nepal. By synthesizing the historical process of rebellion of the masses, the Party has been emphasizing upon the question of organizing aspirations of People's revolt. Without a goal of seizing People's power through People's War, to talk of mass mobilization and mass line is revisionism." (The Great Leap Forward?, p. 71-72). This mass line is based upon the understanding of organizing aspirations of oppressed nations, indigenous, lower class and downtrodden people and women, developing People's War with the goal of making masses the master of political power with their help and from the vision of people to people. Here revisionism that deceives people has been strongly opposed.

Comrade Prachanda has specially emphasized on the question that necessitates developing ideological and political line to develop People's War in the present situation when the danger of imperialist intervention is increasing. In this backdrop, what kinds of strategies and tactics are necessary to develop and devise? Answering this question Comrade Prachanda says, "An undeniable fact, which has been proved by the universal principles of MLM and experiences of history, is that it is possible to achieve success against imperialism only through the process of People's War. Possibility of Nepalese People's War playing a role of historical significance by creating a new wave of world revolution in the present

context, when the world opinion is agitated against imperialism, is becoming prominent. If Nepalese People's War by getting plagued with right capitulationism or left adventurism suffers a setback, in this or that form, it will play a big negative role in the development of world revolution. Because of forceful victorious campaigns of past seven years and the present condition of strategic equilibrium the imperialist enemy has been compelled to adopt a new strategy against the People's War. The imperialism, taking into account of experiences of Indonesia, Chile, Vietnam, Nicaragua and latest Peru, is making effort to develop open and disguised strategy to annihilate Nepalese People's War. Among them to prepare for intense military offensive by establishing the accusation of terrorism is going to be the most effective way. In this situation, future development of Nepalese People's War will not be so easy and straightforward. But, while advancing ahead on the basis of correct strategy and tactics and by making the world opinion agitated and offensive on imperialism it is fully possible to make revolution reach to victory. Definitely for this, the Party will have to go through several changes, twists and ups and downs in tactics. Here the main question is to remain firm in the strategic resolve of not letting to lower down the flag of revolution in the twenty-first century." (Present Situation and Our Historic Task, p. 5-6). These statements are rich from both angles of revolutionary optimism and science. By pointing out entire conspiratorial activities of imperialism against the great People's War, special attention has been paid here to the process of research and development of correct strategy and tactics against them in order to make revolution a success. It has opened up a new door of development in the line and technique of People's War.

### **(b) Question of Two-Line Struggle**

According to the understanding of Comrade Prachanda Communist Party is a division of one into two. He has taken up contradictions and two-line struggle existing in the Party as the main reason behind Party's life and development. He has been emphasizing on the question of identifying correctly the contradiction, on the basis of materialist dialectics, inside the Party and going on resolving them. In this process, several lessons and concepts on two-line struggle have been developed.

Comrade Prachanda says, "Main lesson that the communist revolutionaries must take from the overall experiences of Party unity and struggle is 'emphasize upon ideological clarity, stand firmly placing politics at focus, becoming most flexible in minor tactical and practical questions, pay full attention to uniting revolutionaries by isolating opportunism'." (Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-2, p. 32). This lesson on the question of correctly understanding and handling two-line struggle has been established in the Party since long.

On class struggle and two-line struggle, an important synthesis had taken place under Mao's leadership during the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. What was mentioned in that synthesis is that the nature of two-line struggle inside the Party is also protracted in accordance with the protracted nature of class struggle in the society. These struggles do not disappear but exist sometimes in high and sometimes in low level like the waves in an ocean do and only by understanding such situation and the laws revealed thereof can the revolution be definitely advanced towards victory. Comrade Prachanda, quoting such concept on the question of synthesis, says, "The aforesaid synthesis regarding the nature of two-line struggle is the synthesis of MLM. The fact that two-line struggle is not a process that appears and disappears in times but is the one that exists constantly, sometimes in high and sometimes in low level is clear. When two-line struggle is not developed and expressed in higher form, then it is within the limit of non-antagonistic struggle and is resolved through the method of criticism, self-criticism and disciplinary action. But, when it develops and appears in higher form then that is expressed in antagonistic way, which is resolved through a qualitative method." (The Maoist, February 1999, p. 22).

This concept, which has been synthesized by Comrade Prachanda from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and our Party's experiences, is understandable and substantial. This synthesis has provided new energy that has trained the Party in the question of advancing ahead by understanding correctly the two-line struggle existing in the entire international movement and learning positive and negative lessons from it.

The dialectics of Prachanda Path considers Party as the unity of opposites. To resolve problems of two-line struggles by applying materialist dialectics

in Party life, carry out struggle constantly against factionalism, splittism and all kinds of non-proletarian thinking, trends and styles of work, advance the process of rectification campaign ahead, propel the Party forward in a revolutionary direction by attaining height of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and going ahead of that achieving new unity in a new height amidst unity-struggle-transformation, make Party lively, dynamic, healthy and militant etc, are notable in this context. What is especially remarkable thing here is that the materialist dialectics of Prachanda Path has excellently succeeded in the task of shattering both the monolithic feudal world outlook and practice of Nepali Hoxaite Mohan Bikram Singh, who created an obstruction in Party unity by exercising factionalism and splittism. Apart from this, the dialectics of Prachanda Path has excellently succeeded also in struggles against liquidationism, anarchism, individualism, mean Alok tendency\* and pluralism. It is in favor of unified and centralized leadership in all domains of idea, policy, plan, command and activities including organization and struggle.

While speaking in overall, to apply materialist dialectics in the field of social revolution, class struggle and two-line struggle is the particularity of Prachanda Path. In the process of historical development of class struggle and present national and international particularity, the materialist dialectics of Prachanda Path is very much humble in determining and developing political and military line of Nepalese New Democratic revolution and advancing through resolution of problems of class and two-line struggles.

## **6. Development in the Field of Scientific Socialism**

Based upon and through the application of historical materialist outlook perceiving social life, revolution and party, Comrade Prachanda has developed some important theoretical concepts amidst the study of political economy of imperialism and that of bureaucratic capitalism and class analysis in Nepal. Those theoretical concepts can be presented in short in the following way.

### **(1) Development of Tactical Theories**

The fact that the development of tactical theories of Nepalese revolution has taken place in the form of Prachanda Path amidst great People's War has



been mentioned in the process of ideological synthesis. According to him those theories are, "Balance between political and military offensive, balance between local and central intervention, balance between People's War and mass movement, balance between main and secondary force, balance between main and secondary regions, balance between centralization and decentralization, balance between independent initiative and tactical unity, dialogue and maneuvering, balance between local and central united fronts, balance between work inside and outside of country, balance between struggle and two-line struggle etc." (Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-2, p. 195). These tactical theories are based upon idea, policy, plan, and program. In addition to this, political slogan, People's government, new People's power, anti-imperialist strategy and tactics, handling of different contradictions etc. that have been presented and developed by Prachanda Path fall under tactical theories and many of them are of strategic significance too.

## **(2) Concept of Fusion Between Proletarian and National Liberation Movement**

This concept of fusion of proletarian revolutionary movement and national liberation movement into one another is based upon Leninism. It has inseparably linked up the question of right of self-determination of nations and local autonomy with proletarian internationalism.

## **(3) Theory of Fusion Between Strategies of Protracted People's War and Insurrection**

Although the path of insurrection is basically necessary for developed countries and protracted People's War for underdeveloped ones but in today's context particularities of insurrection in protracted People's War and vice versa are closely linked up. In this situation, the theory developed by fusion of protracted People's War and insurrection has special significance and it has become universal.

## **(4) Concept of South Asian New Soviet Federation**

This concept is based upon the historic necessity of fighting jointly against Indian expansionism that has been a common enemy of revolutionary

communist parties and oppressed masses of different countries in this South Asian region. This reflects theoretically the common feeling of historical friendship and aspiration of liberation that has developed since long among the people of different countries in this region.

### **(5) Theory of Development of Democracy in Twenty-First Century**

This theory is based upon the question of development of democracy in Party, army and People's power. It has presented a concept that guarantees to keep Party, army and power under People's control and supervision, use them in People's service, democratize and revolutionize them continuously and ensure the right of rebellion in all of these three fields. Here, the things accounted for are to go on proletarianizing the Communist Party constantly, ensure right to build another Communist Party by rebelling against if that goes wrong, participate one section of the Party in power and involve another section in People's service, discourage use of force in two-line struggle, make army reach to people but not in barracks and arm the masses, ensure ally classes to participate competitively in the power and not confine to cooperative role only etc. In order to institutionalize these tasks, special emphasis has been given to build up and develop certain theories, methods and concepts.

Someone may also perceive this great process suspiciously. Paying attention to that Comrade Prachanda says, "Here the question we have raised does not have any relation with treachery of those revisionists and liquidationists of different colors of the world who by opposing People's democratic dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat have been entrapped into formal democracy of the bourgeoisie. Here our question is centered in the objective of developing state power as an institution that can organize the continuous flow of revolution. The real democratic dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship can ultimately be consolidated in the process of wide and lively democratization of the seizure of power. There can be no other meaning of democratic centralism, a great scientific theory, than this. Why the Parties, which succeeded to seize power by correctly exercising democratic centralism before capturing it, turned later to be victims of formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism? The logic that revisionism had been dominant inside the Party does not answer it fully. The

weaknesses of this or that form that came into effect in the application of dialectical materialism also are responsible for it." (Present Situation and Our Task, p. 10).

In the domain of history of revolution, class struggle and two-line struggle, the real value and importance of application of dialectical materialism has been very deeply and weightily displayed here. Attacking upon the tendency and thinking that tries to escape (from responsibility) by attributing revisionism for counterrevolution and continue exercising formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism, here, the fact that there had been weaknesses from Marxists in the course of applying dialectical materialism has been forcefully and effectively presented. Here the critical and revolutionary essence of dialectical materialism has been revealed very much creatively and militantly. The essence of new ideas on state power that Comrade Prachanda has presented is associated with the concept of consolidating proletarian dictatorship on the basis of development and wide democratization of the state power, an institution that can organize constant flow of revolution.

In overall, this concept on the development of democracy in twenty-first century developed by Comrade Prachanda is the latest theoretical invention of MLM in the arena of scientific socialism. It has a far-reaching and epoch-making significance in the history of international communist movement. This new invention, by endowing quality to the development of Prachanda Path, has played a role of very strong theoretical foundation in order to raise it to the universal level.

## **7. Conclusion**

This is a short study brought about on the philosophical concept of Prachanda Path. This overall philosophical concept is based upon the dialectical unity between fundamental development of People's War and fundamental ideas of Prachanda Path. Comrade Prachanda has played an excellent role in the task of developing theories of scientific socialism in the midst of applying dialectical materialism. This concept of development of democracy in the twenty-first century has, on one hand, charted a clear course to reach communism by shattering entire obstructions that come up in the socialist society and, on the other, has hit hard with a strong

theoretical blow upon those class enemies and revisionists, who while pretending to be great democrats and accusing revolutionary communists of dogmatism, totalitarianism and mono-partyism, are in fact the real killers of People's democracy. Summing up seriously the revolutions and counterrevolutions of twentieth century, we are going to accomplish a very new type of decisive People's War in the twenty-first century on the basis of new enriched theories of democracy asserted by Prachanda Path.

In the historical process of Nepalese society making a qualitative leap from the world of necessity to that of freedom, Prachanda Path has been imparting intense and accelerative motion to it through the great People's War. Along with the same accelerative motion of intense class war Prachanda Path also is developing. This is based upon a great goal and ideal of accomplishing revolution and preventing counterrevolution. Standing at the apex of MLM, facing intensive challenges of governing imperialism and proletarian revolution in the twenty-first century, Prachanda Path, which is struggling to explore great possibilities, has developed several new theoretical concepts. The theoretical contributions of Comrade Prachanda that have been enriched through new contents amidst the process of theoretical development and new inventions are demanding to be expressed accordingly in a new form. In this situation, Prachanda Path is now standing in a new turning point of history to make a qualitative leap in the process of becoming universal, not particular. We must be serious on expressing new content in a new form.

December, 2003

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### ***Footnotes***

- \* i.e. the royalists
  - \* i.e. autocratic monarchical system from 1960 to 1990
  - \* A petty-bourgeois tendency represented by one Alok in the Party, which was exposed and defeated in the year 2000.
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# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Politico-Economic Rationale of People's War in Nepal**

**- Com. Baburam Bhattarai**

*"At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution." - Karl Marx*

### **1.0 Context and Theoretical Premises**

An armed People's War has been initiated in Nepal from February 13, 1996 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) with the proclaimed aim of establishing a New Democratic socio-economic system and state by overthrowing the present socio-economic system and state. This should be understood under the background that Nepal has slid to the status of the second poorest country in the world in terms of physical and cultural developments; 71% of its population fall below absolute poverty level; 46.5% of national income is in the hands of 10% of the richest people; more than 60% of its total population is illiterate, more than 90% of its total population live in rural areas and 81% of the labour force is engaged in the backward agricultural occupation; 10% are fully unemployed and 60% are under-employed or in disguised employment. Similarly the growth rate of food grain production, the most important national production, has shown decline in the last 30 years; foreign debt constitutes more than 60% of the gross domestic product and its intensity is increasing as years pass. It is thus but natural for everybody to be eager to know how the People's War and New Democratic Revolution is going to solve the above formidable problems. It is no secret that the present reactionary state for the last 50 years has been harping on various attractive slogans along with eight Five Years Plans in the name of solving these

problems, but after each plan or campaign these problems have been further aggravated and the socio-economic position of the country has further slid down compared to other countries. In this context it is necessary to find out the root cause or the causative factor of this condition and provide a scientific solution, instead of merely looking at the outer symptoms of problem and solving it in a partial or isolated manner. For this, it is necessary to find out the solution by analyzing the problem with a historical materialist method, or the concept of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist political economy; and today in Nepal the Maoist People's War is trying just that.

In the process of producing goods required for satisfying their physical and cultural wants people use certain objects and technology (i.e. productive forces) and in that process a distinct relation (i.e. productive relation) is established among themselves. It is through the interactive combination of productive forces and production relations that a particular social system (i.e. mode of production) takes birth. Similarly, the contradiction between the ever changing productive forces and production relations provides the motion for the development of the society. In general, since the development of productive forces is faster and the development of production relations takes place at much slower pace, at some stage of development of society the production relations block the development of the productive forces and this leads to retardation and distortions in society. Under such a situation it becomes necessary to smash the old production relations and to develop new production relations in their place. Only through this way that it is possible to remove the prevailing distortions and obstacles and in their place to develop new productive forces and give impetus to the forward march of society. This is the process and point of time of social revolution. Against this, the reactionary ruling classes of society and their allies attempt to develop productive forces by using various reformist steps, without smashing the old production relations, which have become obstacles to the process of development. Thus, in history, the first path to development is known as the "revolutionary" path and the second one as the "reformist" path. However, the relevance of the "reformist" path will only remain so long as there is possibility of developing productive forces within the old production relations and upon exhaustion of that possibility the "revolutionary" path becomes necessary and inevitable. It is important to understand here that in Nepal the attempt

to create a New Democratic system by smashing the old system through the protracted People's War under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) has been made when all the attempts to carry out reforms within the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial system long ridden with crisis had failed.

Similarly, it is important to note right in the beginning that, just as in the case of all objects in the world, the decisive factor in the development of society is the motion generated by the inner contradictions within itself (i.e. between productive force and production relations). However, under specific conditions the intervention of external forces affect the internal development process in significant ways. Specially after the advent of capitalism and its highest stage, imperialism, because of the process of centralization and concentration inherent in the capitalist process of development (i.e. the process of devouring all the small capitals by the tentacles spread by the bigger capital and the expanded reproduction of capital), today no social system in the world is outside the influence of imperialist interventions, and it is not possible either. Similarly, the more the social formations are in primitive and backward state the more damaging is the influence of imperialist interventions in their internal development process. Specially in societies which are on the eve of transition from feudalism to capitalism, the alignment with imperialism distorts the internal production relations by promoting the growth of comprador and bureaucratic capitalism (i.e. a fake capitalism which functions as an agent of foreign monopoly capitalism, engages in financial and commercial activities instead of productive activities and assumes a monopolistic character since the very beginning by relying on the state) instead of industrial capitalism. That is why it is necessary to smash the relationship with external imperialism while bringing progressive transformation in the internal production relations through revolutionary means.

Besides this, it is important to understand the dialectical inter-relationships between the development process of society and the spatial structure. This is because along with the development of the social process, changes take place in the physical structure too, although the nature and quality of the change may be different or less than in the social structure. As far as the relationship between the two processes are concerned, it would be more scientific to view the physical structure more as "reflection" of the social

structure and to a lesser degree as the "causative factor". It is necessary to understand the transformation processes of the social and spatial structures in their inter-relatedness as the distortion and malady of the social process is reflected in regional structure through uneven regional development, etc. It is only through this that the importance of the Maoist protracted People's War based upon the strategy of encircling the city from the countryside can be understood.

Based upon the above short account of the conceptual premises, the external and internal class relations of the Nepalese society and the resultant socio-economic and spatial problems may be analyzed and the path of the People's War to solve these problems may be evaluated.

## **2.0 The External Relations and Processes: Imperialism and Expansionism**

### **2.1 The Imperialist Oppression**

The present is an era of imperialism or monopoly capitalism. Because of the nature of unequal and uneven development inherent in capitalism most of the world's capital and wealth has become concentrated in the hands of the few imperialist countries of the West and the North, whereas most of the countries of the East and the South (i.e. Asia, Africa and Latin-America) are suffering from underdevelopment and poverty. That the gap between the rich and the poor have never been so wide in the history of mankind so far and this is growing ever wider has been acknowledged by the statistical findings of the imperialist organizations themselves. For example, only the annual sale amount of 200 big multi-national companies of the imperialist countries exceed the gross domestic production of all the countries except the nine big rich economies ( i.e. U.S.A, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Russia, Italy, Canada and Australia) and they alone own one-third of the world's wealth. Similarly, the income differences between the world's richest and poorest countries in the decade of 1960s was thirty times whereas now it has increased to more than sixty times in the decade of 1990s. In a worldwide scale the siphoning of wealth from the oppressed countries to the imperialist countries takes place in the form of profits of capital investments in industries, interests of financial loans, commercial profits of trade in goods and services, etc. That is why whatever capital



investments the imperialist forces make in oppressed countries through multilateral means like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc. and through unilateral means like transnational corporations of their own country or their government, they take away ten times more capital to imperialist centres from the oppressed countries in various ways. Besides this, through their monopoly in science and technology, communication and capital the imperialist countries have caused the overall development process of the oppressed countries to be distorted and dependent. At the other end, according to the "bigger fish eats smaller fish" logic and rule of the imperialists there will always be fierce competition among monopolist capitalist groups to expand their hegemony and there will be war in order to maintain their own economic areas of influence (or territories), or to redivide the old economic territories. This is proved by the fact that after the advent of imperialism in the current 20th century, two world wars have occurred (more than 160 wars have occurred after the Second World War) and six times more people have lost their lives in wars in this century as compared to in wars in the previous 19th century. Similarly, the very fact that imperialists spend one thousand billion US dollars per annum in armaments (almost half of which the USA alone spends) proves the nexus between imperialism and war. That is why imperialism is also called "era of war capitalism". Thus, at one end, contradictions between imperialism and oppressed nations are sharpening intensely and, at the other end, imperialism is pushing the whole world to the brink of war. Under such a situation it becomes not only natural but also inevitable for oppressed nations to fight the war of liberation based on the strategy of relying not on capital, armament or technology but on the oppressed masses.

Among the oppressed nations of the world, Nepal stands amongst the most oppressed ones. The very fact that it has slid down from the thirteenth position among the poorest countries in the decade of 1970s to the second poorest position in the world now indicates the pathetic state of the country. That this poor and underdeveloped state of the country is not because of lack of natural resources or due to laziness of the labouring masses but due to the internal and external reactionary class relations, can be proved by comparing Nepal's position before and after the semi-colonial Sugauli Treaty of 1816 with other contemporary countries of the world. Nepal sandwiched between the giant states of China and India and surrounded on

the southern, western and eastern sides by India in the lap of Himalayas, was in its history first oppressed by British colonialism, and after the 1950s oppressed by various imperialist powers, and principally by Indian expansionism. After the Sugauli Treaty and up to now, the internal development process of Nepal has remained stunted and distorted by the destructive effect of external imperialist or/and expansionist forces. All the economic and non-economic indicators of social development prove this. Specially after the decade of 1950s when it was tied to imperialism through trade, finance and other means, the process of underdevelopment, distortion and dependency has become all the more intense. The fact that today the foreign debt has mounted to more than 150 billion rupees , annual trade deficit has reached nearly 50 billion rupees (which is equivalent to the annual budget), dependency in every field of economy has aggravated, etc. provides enough indication of the oppression of imperialism. According to the stipulation of the International Monetary Fund, any country whose foreign debt is more than 200 to 250 percent of the total export trade and whose debt-servicing ratio is more than 20 percent of the export trade is said to be in a "critical" state. However, in Nepal, both of these parameters have jumped in 1994-95 itself to more than 600 and 35 percents respectively. Hence there is no doubt that the condition of Nepal has become critical and tragic because of its entanglement in the imperialist net. It has thus become necessary to wage People's War in Nepal in order to get liberated from the oppression of imperialism and to march forward along the path of self-reliant development. From this point of view the People's War in Nepal is part of the world anti-imperialist national liberation movement.

## **2.2 The Expansionist Oppression**

The biggest direct manifestation of world imperialist oppression and exploitation in Nepal is the Indian expansionist exploitation and oppression. Expansionism is the process of exploiting and oppressing the smaller and the weaker economy by a stronger economy, which has not developed to the level of imperialism but derives its strength from the backing of external imperialist forces and its own state. Similarly because its hegemony cannot be maintained on purely capitalist competition the expansionist power uses extra-economic coercions (e.g. military, political, cultural, etc.) to maintain

its economic areas of influence or the market. That is why Indian expansionism which is itself a prison-house of various oppressed nations has been exploiting and oppressing various neighbouring countries of South Asia and other Asian, African and Latin-American countries with the backing of imperialist forces such as the USA, UK, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, etc., or multi-national companies together with its own central state headquartered in Delhi. Indian expansionism has been keeping Nepal as its captive market through unequal treaties thrust upon it at various times taking advantage of the fact that Nepal is India-locked from three sides and that it is only through India that transportation, communication and trade connection with the rest of the world is possible. Historically, in 1816 British-India forced Sugauli Treaty upon Nepal reducing it into a semi-colony, and it is henceforth that Nepal's path of independent and self-reliant development; got blocked and a process of socio-economic retardation and under-development (i.e. distorted and dependent development) was initiated. If one is to compare the socio-economic development indices immediately before and after Sugauli-Treaty, this becomes very clear. For example, prior to that period Nepal was self-sufficient in basic industrial production, e.g., cotton fabrics, copper and brass utensils, domestic instruments, military armaments (including modern rifles), sugar, etc., and food grains. But after this, with the penetration of factory-made goods from India and concomitant decline of Nepalese industries, Nepal has now been reduced to a total dependency. This process did not take place all of a sudden but it started with the Sugauli-Treaty, then intensified particularly after the Nepal-India trade agreement of 1923 (which made Nepal a 'common market' of India) and reached to the pinnacle in the decades after the semi-colonial Treaty of 1950 with so-called "free" India. At present it is mainly through the 1950 Treaty that Indian expansionism maintains its semi-colonial and commercial, industrial, financial and fiscal monopoly over Nepal, and expansionist oppression and exploitation in different fields have been safeguarded by the periodic trade and transit treaties and other treaties and agreements based on the inherent unequal relations emanating from the 1950 Treaty. Semi-colonial relations have multifarious dimensions like economic, political, military, cultural, etc., and in Nepal, Indian expansionists exploitation and oppression, too, has multifarious character. However, all different forms are ultimately for economic exploitation and oppression and in Nepal, too, economy is the

main and most glaring aspect of oppression and exploitation of Indian expansionism.

Traditionally Indian expansionism has been using Nepal as a captive market for its industrial goods. That is why up till the decade of 1950s, about 95 percent of Nepal's foreign trade used to take place with India. In the subsequent decades, with the increasing direct penetration of other imperialist forces into Nepal, India's trade share got reduced to about 30 percent, but the structure of trade is grossly unfavourable to Nepal ([see, Table-1](#)). In addition to that it is important to note that due to open border between Nepal and India, almost one third of the total trade takes place informally or illegally and thus the size of trade with India is always higher than provided by the official statistics. If one is to judge by the structure of the trade, Nepal's export/import ratio with India before the Sugauli Treaty was 5 times more in favour of Nepal and that remained 2 times even more during the period of 1923 trade treaty, and after the 1950 treaty it went 2 times against Nepal and today in the 1990s it has become almost 7 times against Nepal. Thus it is clear that with the ever increasing trade deficit Nepal's economy is getting entangled with the Indian expansionist trap beyond any redemption. Secondly, if one is to analyse the commodity structure of imports and exports, then Nepal is seen exporting less value-added goods mainly unprocessed or semi-processed agricultural products (64.14%) whereas it imports higher value-added industrial products from India (about 75%) and this ratio is further aggravating every year against Nepal. Thus the process of imperialist oppression and exploitation through "unequal exchange" is seen operating in the case of Nepal, too. Thirdly, as the semi-colonial Treaty of 1950 provides "national treatment" to the Indian monopoly capitalists to reside in Nepal and engage in economic activities in equal footing with the Nepalese citizens, they are able to monopolies the economy of Nepal completely. At present about one dozen India-based billionaire capitalists (mainly the Marwaris) have main control over Nepal's industry and commerce. According to the estimation of one Indian researcher done some time back, about 80 percent of Nepal's industry and commerce was in the hands of Indian or Indian-origin capitalists. The Indian expansionist state has been putting anchor on international transit facilities, which a land-locked country like Nepal is entitled to enjoy unhindered. Through this it has been additionally helping itself to hegemonise Nepalese economy by forcing upon Nepal adverse and unequal

export-import trade conditions. This is reflected in the conflict that periodically arises every decade when trade and transit treaty is renewed and when the Nepalese people register protest against it. Another important aspect of the mechanism of making Nepal a captive market of Indian expansionists is that multi-national companies of various imperialist countries like USA, UK, Japan, German, etc., sell their goods produced in their India-based branches to Nepal, or they open sub-branches of their Indian branches in Nepal. For example, products of multi-national companies based in India like Bata (shoes) Hoecht (medicine), Proctor and Gamble (soap, chocolate, etc.), Nestle (coffee, milk products, etc.), Brook bond (tea), etc., and products of Indian joint-ventures with multi-national companies such as Maruti-Suzuki (automobiles), Hero-Honda (motorcycle), etc. are sold in Nepal. Similarly, multinational companies have opened sub-branches of their Indian branches in Nepal such as Hindustan Lever (soap) etc. This way world imperialism enters Nepal by riding over Indian expansionist horse. This combined intrusion and oppression of imperialism and expansionism has not only stunted the development of Nepal's national industries but it has also created a situation where previously self-reliant industries such as soap, tea, shoes, biscuit, paper, etc., are now beginning to get liquidated one after the other. Similarly those industries which have come up since the decade of the 1980s and are the principal exporters to the third countries (more than 92 percent of the total export), like woolen carpets and garments, have been overtly or covertly controlled by Indian expansionists due to their hegemonistic control over raw materials, labour, capital and trade. Similarly, the tourism sector, the main foreign currency earning service industry, is also under the control of Indian capitalists. This is proved by the fact that out of four five-star hotels, at first all the four and now three of them have collaborations with Indian capitalists (including one fully owned by the Indians) and that the forward and backward linkages of the tourism industry are intimately connected with the Indian economy.

Besides making Nepal a captive market for its industrial goods, the other specificity of Indian expansionist exploitation and oppression is its control over Nepal's natural resources, mainly the latter's rich water resources. Most of the rivers which irrigate the most populated northern Gangetic plains flow through Nepal and the cheapest and the easiest resource of energy required by India for future industrialisation and general consumption can

be the huge water resources of Nepal, which has the second largest water resource potential in the world (out of estimated potential of 83000 Megawatt of hydro-power only 0.5 percent has been tapped so far). That is why the Indian expansionists have been in the past usurping Nepal's water resources mainly for irrigation purposes through the Sharada Dam Agreement in 1920, the Kosi Agreement in 1954 and the Gandaki Agreement in 1959. However, in 1996 through the so-called "Integrated Mahakali Development Project Agreement" they have taken full control of whole of the Mahakali river for the irrigation and power purposes. The earlier concluded Kosi and Gandaki Agreements were nakedly semi-colonial treaties as they had deprived irrigation to the Terai, the grain bowl of Nepal, by diverting all the irrigation water to India through the dams constructed just at the Nepalese side of the border (allowing only the negligible amount of water to Nepal and prohibiting to build other dams upstream for a considerable distance). The present Mahakali Treaty, however, has adopted a more fatal form of neo-colonial exploitation and oppression by talking equality in theory but in practice ensuring monopoly in the use of water and electricity to the Indian expansionists and instead imposing trillions of rupees of foreign debt upon Nepal. Besides this, through the "Joint Communiqué" of June 10, 1990, the Indian expansionists have opened the door for exercising monopoly over Nepal's most important water resources in future by declaring all the rivers of Nepal as "common rivers" for India as well.

Another fatal form of exploitation and oppression by Indian expansionism is seen in the form of securing the innocent, diligent and militant hill youths of Nepal into the mercenary services and other sectors as cheap labour and thus keeping semi-feudal agriculture of Nepal ever dependent on it. This process of exploitation of labour and temporary and "relay" (i.e. taking the father's place by his son!) migration which started immediately after the Sugauli Treaty has had a disastrous effect on the historical development of the industrial proletariat and indigenous capitalism in Nepal.

Similarly the common market and open border maintained by the trade treaty of 1923 and the "peace and friendship treaty" of 1950 has made Nepalese financial and monetary system totally dependent on the Indian

financial and monetary system and this has had a very adverse effect on the development of national capital and industrialisation in Nepal.

In this overall context there is no doubt that 180 years of uninterrupted semi-colonial relation with Indian expansionism has had very negative and destructive effect on the development of internal class relations and socio-economic structures and in essence in the development of national capitalism in Nepal. That is why it is one of the most important objectives of Maoist People's War to break the chains of semi-colonialism and to usher in a new type of national capitalism (or New Democracy) by mobilizing people of all ranks and classes suffering under all forms of semi-colonial exploitation and oppression.

### **3.0 Internal Social and Spatial (Regional) Relation**

As development of society gets influenced by the intervention of imperialism and expansionism but the main cause and basis of development must be sought in the internal class relations or production relations, it is necessary to seek the root cause of underdevelopment, poverty, socio-economic-regional inequality and cultural degradation of Nepal in the internal social and spatial relations and thereby attempt the path of its progressive transformation. In general, the present state of Nepal is in the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism but it has got stunted and decayed to semi-feudal and semi-colonial state due to external imperialists/expansionist intervention and internal reactionary class relations. Also, Nepal has its own geographical and historical specificities as reflected in the fact that out of the total land area 79 percent constitutes hilly region and only 21 percent as the plain land; there is immense geographical and ethnic diversity; it has had no direct colonial experience in history; for the last 225 years it has had an uninterrupted central state of the same reactionary classes, etc. In this context it would be useful to analyse the present socio-economic structure of Nepal and the problems arisen thereof in the light of some of the main social and geographical relationships.

#### **3.1 Semi-Feudal Relations and Retardation in Agriculture**

The basic economic foundation of the present Nepalese society is agriculture. This is because more than 81 percent of the labour force in the country is engaged in agriculture and nearly half of the gross domestic product comes from agriculture sector. That is why the level of development of productive forces and productivity in agriculture has a decisive effect on the development of economy as a whole and the existing production relation in agriculture plays a decisive role in determining the nature of the overall social structure.

The productive forces in Nepalese agriculture are extremely backward and are almost primitive in nature. First of all, the nature of the means of production reflects the level of development of the productive forces. The lower and more backward the level of development of agriculture the more it has to rely on the traditional means of production such as land, human and animal labour, primitive equipments, etc. In general even today nearly 99 percent of the total investment in Nepalese agriculture is made in land, human and animal labour and primitive equipments and only about 1 percent is invested in modern means of production (e.g. machine, fertilizer, pesticide, high breed seeds, etc.). On top of this more than 81 percent of the total labour force engaged in agriculture indicates a very primitive stage of the economy because excess labour gets wasted in the form of disguised employment or under-employment and ultimately has adverse effect on the overall national production. That is why the more developed the economy is the lesser percentage of labour force is engaged in agriculture and the extra labour force gets engaged in more productive sectors like industries or services. (For example in the United States less than 7 percent of the total labour force is engaged in agriculture.). While in Nepal the situation is that in an average three persons are engaged per hectare of land and in hilly region it is even six persons per hectare. Similarly, the other important index of development of productive forces in agriculture is the availability of irrigation facility. In Nepal up to the year 1991/92 only 13 percent of the total cultivated land (i.e., out of 2.6 million hectares) including 18 percent in the Terai region and just 8 percent in the hilly region has had permanent irrigation facility. This is not due to any natural lack of water or mountainous topography but due to purely social reasons. This is mainly corroborated by a report submitted earlier by the Asian Development Bank, according to which 60 percent of the total cultivated land in Nepal,



including 80 percent in the Terai and 25 percent in the Hills, can be provided with irrigation facility. Mainly because of lack of irrigation the cropping intensity in Nepal is estimated to be just 90 percent (or less than one crop in a year), which indicates a very low level of development of productive forces in agriculture. Similarly, the primitive structure of agricultural production and the decreasing rate of production indicates low level of productive forces in agriculture. The more backward or lower is the society the more is the ratio of production of use values. From this point of view in Nepal, 80 percent of the total agricultural production is in food-grains and the production of cash crops is negligible that too centralized in the limited areas of the Eastern Terai region. The most annoying aspect is the decreasing rate of agricultural production. According to the official statistics for the decade of 1984/85 to 1994/95 the overall rate of growth of agricultural production was (-) 0.68 percent whereas for food grains it was (-) 7.23 and even among that for the principal crop rice it was (-) 16.17 percent. Thus Nepal, which was once a food grain exporting country, has now been reduced to a food importing country. The net import of food-grains worth 3.5 billion rupees in fiscal year 1994/95 from India and other countries indicates this. The conversion of most of hilly districts, which were traditionally self-sufficient in food-grains into food-deficit districts, provides enough indication of the declining and alarming state of agriculture in the hilly regions. The most important index of development of productive forces in agriculture is the productivity of land and labour and their rate of growth. However, it is not difficult to understand the abysmally low level of productivity of both land and labour in Nepal where the population/land ratio is very high and the use of irrigation and modern inputs in production is very low. According to one estimation made some years back, the average production per hectare of 10 crops was Rs.2700 at current prices whereas productivity of labour (annual) was only Rs. 1461. This very low level of productivity is further decreasing every year and except for few districts of Eastern Terai region, the state of agriculture is very delicate and alarming throughout the country, particularly in the hilly regions.

What is then the main reason behind the extremely low level of productive forces and mounting crisis in agriculture, the backbone of the country's economy and social structure? For this it is necessary to analyse the

production relations in the agriculture sector. The most important means of production in agriculture is the land and the condition of ownership of cultivable land determines the mode of organisation and extraction and utilization of surplus product (i.e. production relation). In absence of scientific records and reliable data on land distribution in Nepal, it becomes very difficult to make an objective analysis of land relation; however some generalizations can be made from the data collected from government and quasi-government or non-government sources. The first picture one gets about the current land relation in Nepal in general is that distribution of land is very unequal and a large majority of population is of landless, semi-landless and poor peasant status.

In the relativity of the availability of cultivable land and its productivity in Nepal if one is to define those who own less than 1 hectare of land as "poor peasant", those owning from 1 to 4 hectares as "middle peasant" and those owning above 4 hectares as "rich peasant" or "feudal", then even data based on government statistics tell that about 70 percent poor peasants own only around 25 percent of land, 25 percent of middle peasants own around 45 percent of land and about 5 percent of rich peasants own 30 percent of land ([see, Table-2](#)). According to the more reliable report presented by one specialist from the UN's FAO, who had come to Nepal to evaluate the effects of much publicized "land reform" in 1964, the condition of land relations in Nepal is even more unequal. According to which, 8 percent of the Nepalese population is totally landless and of those who have land, 65 percent of poor peasants own only 10 percent of land, 25 percent of middle peasants own 25 percent of land and the 10 percent of rich peasants own 65 percent of land. And, in Terai those big landlords owning more than 10 hectares each garner more than 50 percent of the total land, whereas in the Hills the poor peasants constitute more than 80 percent of the population ([see, Table-3](#)). Thus it is easily discernible that the principal reason for the low development of productive forces in the Nepalese agriculture is the lack of land in the possession of labouring majority of peasants, whereas the overwhelming proportions of land is centralized in the hands of the non-labouring handful of persons.

Apart from the ownership of means of production, how the labour is organized and how the produces are distributed and how they are consumed will determine social class relationship and will finally determine social

relations of production. In the Nepalese agriculture there is dearth of reliable statistics on this. However, a broad pattern of class relations in the Nepalese agriculture can be discerned by generalizing the data from governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental sources.

There is no doubt that there is a majority of "owner-cultivators" who own small pieces of land and who work on their own land. However, as even those landlords who own more than tens of hectares of land and have never stepped onto their farmland are enumerated as "owner-cultivators" according to the official agricultural census, it is impossible to believe that the number of "owner-cultivators" have increased from 60 percent in 1961 to 80 percent in 1971 ([see Table-4](#)). That is because in order to circumvent the tenancy law most of the landlords have made false declarations that they have been cultivating their own land and hence the numbers of "owner-cultivators" have been inflated. Similarly even now not only big landlords but also the middle peasants, because of various reasons (for example, because of physical disability due to illness or old age and engagement of other members of the family in other occupations etc.), have hired out lands to tenants for cultivation instead of cultivating themselves, but in government records they have been registered in the name of "owner-cultivators" instead of the tenants. From that point of view the figures provided in the report of a specialist from the FAO, according to which the number of "owner-cultivators" is 65 percent and land cultivated by them is 49 percent, may be accepted as being nearer to the truth ([see, Table-5](#)). Except those who cultivate their land through their own family labour, the rest either hire it out to the tenants or get cultivated by different forms of bonded labourers or waged labour. Because up till now the rights of the tenants have not been secured in the country and the number of unregistered tenants exceed far more than the registered tenants, it is not possible to make an estimation of the number of tenants and the amount of land tilled by them. According to the government based agricultural census conducted every decade from 1961 to 1991, the number of tenants as percentage of total cultivating households is shown to vary from a maximum of 40 to a minimum of 10 and the land tilled by them as a percentage of the total cultivable land is shown to vary from a maximum of 25 to a minimum of 6, which as mentioned above is clearly on the lower side. The report of the FAO representative shows the number of tenant households as 30 percent

and the land cultivated by them as 24 percent; whereas according to other studies conducted by non-government organizations, the number of tenants are shown as 40 percent and the land tilled by them is shown as 30 percent. From our own practical experience, we feel the latter estimations are more nearer to the truth. By geographical differentiation, the ratio of "owner-cultivators" is higher in the Hill regions and that of "tenants" in Terai and Inner Terai, which is quite natural considering the availability of cultivable land and the pressure of population. According to the conditions of tenancy, nearly two-third of tenants till the land on share-cropping basis and the rest on fixed rent, either cash or kind, and other tenurial conditions. In share-cropping the tenants surrender half of their produce to the landowners, whereas in other parts of the world the tenants give away only one-third to one-sixth of the produce. Although the tenancy system exists under capitalist mode of production as well, however under Nepal's tenancy system specially in the share-cropping system, tenants are forced to till other's land for bare subsistence needs rather than to earn capitalistic profit, the rights of tenants are not secure, the rate of rent is high, the tenants are bonded to the landlord with the high interest on loans and other labour service conditions apart from the rent on land. Because of all these, this labour-relation is of a semi-feudal type and of a retrograde nature.

It is thus clear that the principal mode of surplus extraction in Nepali agriculture (and involving all sectors of economy) is the semi-feudal relation and the same relation plays the principal role in the underdevelopment and retrogradation of the Nepalese agriculture (and by implication the whole economy). Apart from the owner-cultivators and the tenants, the remaining nearly 5 percent of the landlords use bonded labour and waged labour to cultivate the rest of 20 percent of land. Among them bonded labour system known as Harwa, Kamaiya, etc. exists in the central and western Terai region and a system of farming of land by seasonal waged labour exists in eastern Terai and areas around urban centres. The system of bonded labour whereby the labourers are kept under control as serfs and made to work in the land is a continued form of medieval feudal system and from that point of view this is the most primitive and retrograde labour relation existing in the Nepalese agriculture. Although the waged labour system is basically of a capitalistic nature, however in the case of Nepal its quantitative size is not only relatively quite small, but if one is to

analyse it in depth, it will be difficult in most of the cases to accept it as progressive capitalist relation. This is because a majority of those who cultivate this way, do it not with the purpose of expanded reproduction of capital in the agriculture sector itself but do it either for subsistence in a small scale or for investing the agricultural surplus in trade or finance in the urban areas. As a result, this is not found playing any significant role in the development of the productive forces in agriculture. In totality although different labour relations exist in the Nepali agriculture, there is no doubt that the semi-feudal relation remains the principal and determining relation both qualitatively and quantitatively. Here it is necessary to be clear that although numerically the small owner-cultivators are in a majority, since they are tied with various economic and non-economic exploitative chains of the landlords, usurers and feudal tyrants, they are not "free" and have no independent social standing as it outwardly appears to be and they are forced to tow with the laws of the prevailing dominant semi-feudal relations of production.

Besides the ownership of land and labour-relation in the process of production, the characteristic reactionary role of the usury capital, too, has forced the Nepalese agriculture to get stuck to a semi-feudal state and has retarded the process of development. Peasants are usually in need of loan for production and consumption purposes. Taking undue advantage of this situation the feudal-usurers provide credits to the peasants at high interest rates and with oppressive conditions and by entrapping them in a vicious circle of indebtedness they enforce semi-feudal exploitation through interest and labour-service payments. This practice has been going on for a long time in the rural areas. In recent times, the centre of gravitation of this exploitation has been shifting gradually towards the merchant-usurers from the feudal-usurers, without in no way lessening the peasant's oppression either in quantity or quality. Besides this traditional form of usury capital, for several decades hence the imperialist financial capital has entered into the agriculture sector in the form of bureaucratic capital with the backing of the state. The main vehicle of the bureaucratic capital is the Agriculture Development Bank, which injects imperialist financial capital into backward Nepalese agriculture sector at high interest rates (i.e., 19 percent). This represents 85 percent of the so-called institutional credit. However according to the recent rural credit survey conducted by the Nepal Rastra

Bank, even now 80 percent of the rural credit is under the control of traditional usurers and institutional bureaucratic capital is able to snatch away only 20 percent as its share. According to the same survey, more than two-thirds of peasants are caught in the debt trap of "traditional" and "institutional" usurers and that the poor peasants are more depended on "traditional" usurers who charge double (in practice three or four times more) the interest rates than the "institutional" ones. Similarly if one is to analyse by purpose of the credits advanced by the Agriculture Development Bank, it is seen that instead of investing on such sectors like irrigation, etc. which would enhance the development of the productive forces, more is invested in such sectors like "agricultural marketing" which would make the Nepalese agriculture a mere appendage of world imperialism. This way it is clear that in the Nepalese agriculture new bureaucratic capitalist relations have been superimposed on the old semi-feudal relations, but instead of developing the productive forces in agriculture it has only made it distorted and dependent.

Because of backward semi-feudal relations in the Nepalese agriculture sector, on the one hand, there is rampant disguised unemployment and under-employment as a result of entanglement of surplus labour in the production work, and on the other, there is large scale seasonal or temporary out-migration of labour from rural areas to urban areas and specially to India to supplement the deficit in-farm income with non-farm earnings, thereby perpetuating the reactionary process of reproduction of backward semi-feudal relations. According to a study of the Nepalese Planning Commission done some time back, out of the total labour days in rural areas nearly 63 percent remained unemployed. As a result nearly one-third of the labour force is flighted towards India as seasonal or temporary labour in order to supplement the farm earnings. The existence of this rampant disguised unemployment and underemployment is both cause and effect of backward agriculture, and without transferring this large scale surplus labour to non-agricultural sector it is just impossible to develop the agriculture sector and the overall economy.

Since the decade of 1950s many attempts have been made to bring about reforms within the Nepalese agriculture without destroying the basic class-relations or to develop the productive forces by preserving the existing

production relations. After the Second World War and specially after the end of the Rana rule in the decade of 1950s and 1960s attempts were made under the existing state structure to implement "land reforms" which have sought to bring about gradual reforms without destroying the old feudal structure and to facilitate penetration of imperialist financial capital. Similarly attempts were also made to implement growth-oriented different "development" plans based on the model of "green revolution", which were designed to make inroads into third world oppressed countries by the imperialist countries through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. After the failure of that model and apprehending the increasing danger of peasant revolution in oppressed countries, such programmes as the "Small Farmer Development Programme" which were brought forward by the imperialists through the World Bank in the decade of 1970s, were also implemented in Nepal. After the 1980s, along with imperialist slogan of "globalization" and "liberalization" once again such policies and programmes as making agriculture "export-oriented" and "enterprise oriented" are pushed forward through state apparatus. But just as the witch acting as an exorcist, it is impossible to improve or to change the economy oppressed by feudalism and imperialism under the direction of imperialists and under the leadership of feudal and bureaucratic capitalists, and this did not happen in Nepal, too. As a result, an agricultural economy marked by rampant poverty, disguised unemployment and underemployment, very low productivity, declining rate of growth and general retardation, exists in Nepal. The ruling classes and their planners have been trying to cover up this pathetic state of agriculture economy by making the excuses of mountainous geography, unfavourable weather, etc. But the truth is just the opposite of it, as the land, water, favourable climate and labour needed for agriculture are rarely available in a better condition elsewhere as in Nepal. Thus, the principle objective and rationale of people's war in Nepal is to develop productive forces in agriculture and to lay the foundation for overall development of the: economy by establishing new and progressive production relations after smashing the prevailing reactionary production relations backed by the reactionary state.

### **3.2 Decline of Industry and Expansion of Comprador and Bureaucratic Capital**

The most important measuring rod of economic and overall development of society is the quantity and quality of industrialisation. Because unlike in agriculture dependent more on the natural means of production it is in industry dependent more on the man-made means of production that the production process can be organized in large scale and in a more flexible manner and hence the overall development of society is faster due to rapid growth of social productivity. The higher the level of development of society the larger is the participation of total labour force in industry and greater the share of social product contributed by industry. Although the origin and existence of cottage industry as an adjunct and part of agriculture is seen from the primitive society, but still the rise and development of modern big scale factory industry has taken place along with rise and development of capitalist society. Historically the birth of industrial capitalism was accompanied by several concomitant processes, viz. the process of primitive accumulation of capital which resulted from the concentration of surplus social product from the old feudal agriculture sector as capital in the hands of few merchant capitalists; the process of deprivation of petty producers of old feudal society from their means of production and their transformation into free workers selling their labour power; and the process of producing the means of subsistence and the means of production as commodities to be transacted in the free market. In other words, it is necessary for industrial capitalism to have concomitantly a 'capitalist class' who invest capital in the process of production in order to earn continuously rising profits, 'a free proletarian class' who can go to any place to sell their labour power without any hindrance, and a 'free market' where subsistence goods and means of production can be sold and raw materials needed for industrial production can be purchased unlike the limited market of small upper class consuming only luxurious goods. If due to various reasons one or all three of these are deficient or lacking then it is not possible to develop industrial capitalism. On the contrary, the birth of and development of merchant capital took place since the beginning of human society in the course of exchange of goods necessitated by inequality and diversity in production in different communities. Similarly inequality in production among different producers within the same community necessitated credits at times and led to the birth of usury capital (or, interest bearing capital which is called financial capital after the birth of modern banks). Both of these two capitals do not participate in the process



of production; however, merchant capital helps in realizing the value of capital by making the produce reach to the consumers and for this it usurps part of the profit of production capital, and finance capital usurps part of the profit of production capital in the form of interest for helping to make investment in advance. That is why when they operate within the capitalist mode of production and under the hegemony of industrial capital, the merchant capital and financial capital do not have so much of independent strength and they play progressive role in society. But in pre-capitalist feudal or semi-feudal society they present themselves as independent players and just as parasites in a tree, the bigger their size the more destructive and negative influence they exert on the development of the society. After the rise of world imperialism, the merchant capital and usury or financial capital of the third world's feudal and semi-feudal societies have turned themselves into comprador and bureaucratic capital as agents of imperialist capital. Their expansion plays doubly negative roles in the oppressed nations, through, on the one hand blocking the development of free industrial capitalism and, on the other hand, by transferring third world's capital to world imperialist centres as super profits in trade and as interests. In this background, it would be useful to analyse the decline of traditional industries and the stunted growth of national industrial capital and the expansion of comprador and bureaucratic capital in Nepal.

**3.2.1** As mentioned in the earlier part, up till the beginning of the 20th century the state of traditional industry was quite encouraging in Nepal, but when factory-made goods started getting imported without restrictions from British India then the local industries started dying gradually. During the global imperialist economic crisis of the 1930s and with the demands created on industrial goods by the Second World War, Biratnagar Jute Mills was established in 1936, and together with this the era of modern factory industries was ushered in Nepal. However, if one is to view the state of development of industries in Nepal after 60 years since then we find that it is in a state of continuous retardation and now the role of industry in the country's economy is just insignificant. This is proved by the fact that the proportion of total labour force engaged in industry and the share of industry in the gross national product is very low and that instead of increasing, it is decreasing or is stagnant. For example, of the total labour force engaged in various economic activities the percentage of those

engaged in industry was 2.19 in 1952/54, 1.32 in 1971/72 and mere 1.25 in 1991/92. Similarly, of the gross domestic production, the percentage share of industrial sector has been mere 15.63 in 1964/65, 9.60 in 1974/75, 6.01 in 1984/85 and 10.33 in 1994/95 (whereas in developed economies, both the shares are above 40 percent). Apart from the small and negligible size of industrial sector in absolute terms, the industrial structure or type of use and quantity of goods produced also indicate a very backward and distorted state of the Nepalese industry. In Nepal, production of the basic goods (e.g. cement, electricity, etc.), capital goods (e.g. agricultural equipments, machines, etc.) and intermediate goods (e.g. construction material, thread, paper, etc.) essential for the overall development of economy is very low. Whereas the production of consumer goods and on top of that consumer non-durables (e.g. food stuffs, liquor, cigarettes, etc.) is quite high as compared to the overall production (or, more than 80 percent of total capital investment and more than 60 percent of total number of industries and workers). While amongst the consumer non-durables the production of luxury goods (e.g. beer, wine, cigarettes, soft drinks, etc.) consumed by a very limited upper class is high and is growing in a faster rate, the production of subsistence goods used by the majority of middle and lower classes is low and in a declining rate. For example, in the year 1994/95 the production of beer and soft drinks (Coca-cola, Pepsi cola) was such that they could be distributed at the rate of one liter each for the whole population of Nepal, whereas production of cotton fabric was such that one meter was available for every three persons and only one pair of shoes was available for every 30 persons. On top of this during the last ten years the production of beer increased five times more, whereas production of cotton fabrics and shoes fell down to one third.

Similarly, industries which are conducive for quick profit and which have no guarantee of stability (e.g. stainless steel in the 1960s, carpet and garment industries in the 1980s) have been mushrooming and vanishing in no time as compared to industries based on the indigenous raw material, labour and market, or which have greater value-added within the country. Those basic industries which were established within the country at state level with external help at a time of international conflict of cold war in the decade of 1960s are either in pathetic conditions due to negligence or corruption, or are being sold out at a throwaway price to the comprador

bourgeoisie. Most of the industries are closing down either due to lack of raw materials or because they are not able to compete with foreign goods and nearly 50 percent of industries are utilizing less than 55 percent of their total capacity. Even after the decade of 1980s when the much propagated "liberalization" campaign was launched as directed by world imperialism, the multinational companies have not been investing as much capital as expected by the ruling classes and instead they are found investing more in sectors which benefit them most in terms of quick and big profit returns such as in beer, liquor, soft drinks (Pepsi-cola, Coca-cola), hotels etc. Similarly fake industries that assemble only imported parts (e.g. T.V., radio, etc.) or just paste local labels are increasing. In totality, the development of national industrial capital has been stunted and only a distorted and dependent kind of fake and rootless industries are developing to some extent. It is not difficult to understand the reasons behind the retardation and decline of industries in Nepal. The principal factor behind this is, at one end, the existence of semi-feudal relations and backward agriculture in the country and, at the other end, the lack of concomitant development of capital, labour and market needed for developing industrial capitalism, due to intervention of imperialism and expansionism.

First of all, historically in Nepal, as the primitive accumulation of capital from agriculture and trade sector has been centralized in the hands of the big feudals of the ruling classes and India-based comprador bourgeoisie and because up till now their hegemony in the economy still continues, the development of the national industrial capitalist class has been marred. For example, the first modern industry, the Biratnagar Jute Mills, was started in joint collaboration of an Indian Marwari called Radha Kishen Chamaria and the then Rana Prime Minister, Juddha Shamsheer, and even today in most of the big industry and trade joint investment of Rana-Shaha ruling family and the Marwaris continues to exist. This comprador class in total alignment with Indian expansionism finds it more fruitful to invest in foreign trade or to work as agents for foreign capital rather than developing national industrial capitalism. As this very class has been enjoying the patronage of the state so far, the emergence of any other independent national capitalist class has been impossible. Secondly, development of free working class has not taken in the country as semi-proletarian labourers are tied to the backward semi-feudal agriculture, the surplus labour from rural areas

migrate to Indian cities as temporary or seasonal workers and labours from India are engaged in industries inside the country in general and in the Terai in particular. And thirdly, because of backward agriculture and prevalent rural poverty, adequate internal market for industrially produced goods and industrial raw materials could not develop; and whatever internal market existed it has been captured by imperialism and expansionism. Because of extreme economic inequality in the country, majority of the people do not have purchasing power and thus whatever limited number of industries are open they produce only luxury goods for the consumption of the limited rich, and since they too have limitations to expansion the industries cannot flourish. As per the foreign market, at one end, because of the low productivity the Nepalese industries cannot easily enter into competition, and at the other end, the Indian expansionists do not provide access to the Indian market by placing any number of hurdles of trade and transit and they also block the access to the third country's market. This way within the existing internal and external class relations and structure it is impossible to develop national industrial capital in Nepal and industrialize the country, which is proved by the hollowness and complete failure of the slogan of industrialization in the country for the last 60 years.

**3.2.2** Against the decline and deceleration of national industrial capital engaged in production in the country, the expansion of merchant, usurers or financial capital engaged only in distribution and facilitating in the flight of national capital towards the foreign countries through commercial profit or interests has been going at a rapid rate in the form of comprador and bureaucratic capital in the last decades. Though the absolute size of the merchant and financial capital in a society dominated by backward semi-feudal agriculture and subsistence economy is not substantial as yet, the rate of their expansion has been rapid and has grown more speedily in recent times. For example, amongst the labour force engaged in various economic sectors those engaged in trade and 'service-sector' (although in 'service-sector' not only financial services but other social services also are included) constituted 4.51 percent in 1952/54, 4.97 percent in 1970/71 and 8.32 percent in 1990/91. Similarly in total national production, trade and service sector's share was 12.81 percent in the year 1964/65, 14.34 percent in 1974/75, 27.23 percent in 1984/85 and 31.38 percent in 1994/95. The faster growth rate after the decade of 1980s can be attributed to the so-

called 'liberalization' policy and it is not difficult to comprehend the basically foreign-inspired and reactionary nature of this growth.

If one is to look at the state of merchant capital in Nepal, although its history is very old, however its size and influence has not been so big in the overall economy. But the main characteristic of merchant capital in Nepal is that right from the beginning its role has been more in the external trade than in the internal trade. Hence, as it was not attached with the country's production process, it got transformed into comprador capital instead of transforming historically into national industrial capital. The main reason behind this is that Nepal being situated in the trade route between Tibet and northern India, thus entrepot trade prevailed here right from the beginning and after the opening of road to Tibet via Sikkim in the beginning of 20th century and after the inundation of Nepalese markets by Indian factory-made goods merchant capital of Nepal got intertwined with trade with India. Even now the size of internal trade in the country is small, because only about 30 percent of production in the agriculture sector goes to the market and according to a survey conducted some time back internal trade worth only Rs.15 per person per month takes place in the country. But against this the quantity of foreign trade and that too mainly import trade has increased intensively. In the year 1964/65 the share of foreign trade in the gross national product was 16.75 percent (among that import trade contributed 11.32 percent), in 1994/95 its share increased by two and a half times more reaching to 40.13 percent (out of which import trade was 31.52 percent). Similarly, about one third of the annual budget revenue of the state comes from foreign trade and that, too, mainly from tariff in import trade, and when the sales tax is included about 60 percent of the state budget revenue depends upon the trade sector. From this it is clear that the current state is increasingly depending upon merchant capital and that the state itself is responsible for expanding bureaucratic capital. Although tourism regarded as one of the main earners of foreign exchange is called a 'service industry', as most of the materials used in it get imported from foreign countries and 50 percent of the total earnings goes back to the foreign countries, the present form of tourism should be considered as just one part of bureaucratic capitalism.

In totality, if one is to analyse the structure of Nepalese merchant capital there is no doubt that its nature is 'comprador' as it mainly helps in realizing the value of foreign capital by selling the industrial goods of the imperialists and the expansionists. Similarly since it remains 'independent' of the production process within the country and helps in the flight of internal capital towards foreign countries in the form of commercial profit, it is clear that its expansion has a negative and destructive effect in the development of national economy. Since historically Indian traders and landed feudals of Nepal have had monopoly over the Nepalese merchant capital (e.g. 75 percent of wholesale trade of Kathmandu and Terai is in their hands, all major tourist hotels have joint investment from Rana-Shah families and the Indians, etc.) the merchant capital instead of integrating with the internal production process is centralized in the foreign trade, the foreign trade has been limited to the fulfillment of the demands of consumer goods for a handful of the richer classes, etc., the Nepalese merchant capital has transformed itself into comprador capital instead of developing into national industrial capital. Hence unless this process is corrected by destroying comprador capital and by nurturing national capital it is not possible to develop the country's economy.

As far as the question of financial capital is concerned, the usurer's capital levying high interests and other service charges has been traditionally existing for a long time and even now it has a wide net-work in the rural areas. The birth of modern organized financial capital, however, took place only after the establishment of Nepal Bank Limited in 1937. Nevertheless up till the decade of the 1960s, at one end foreign currency was under the control of Reserve Bank of India, whereas internally individual usurer's capital was the main source of all credits. After the establishment of different financial companies (e.g. Nepal Industrial Development Corporation, Agriculture Development Bank, etc.) and commercial banks under the aegis of the state and foreign capital investment at the end of the 1950s and in the decade of the 1960s, the expansion of bureaucratic capital in the form of financial capital took place in a faster pace. In the decade of the 1960s the gross assets of all financial companies was to the tune of only 14 percent of the gross national product, but in the decade of 1990s it increased to about 50 percent. After the decade of the 1980s, foreign banks started entering in the country and in the last two years eight foreign banks

have been established, and along with it the gross assets of commercial banks have increased by nearly 10 times from 7.7 billion rupees to 75.99 billion rupees. However, if one is to investigate the structure of this fast growing financial capital, it won't be difficult to discern its reactionary nature. First of all, the landed feudals and merchant comprador capitalists instead of investing on production-oriented industrial ventures invest their surplus from agriculture and profits from trade in this new form of usury where higher interests and quick returns can be achieved. This retards the development of agriculture and industry. Secondly, since most of the investments made by these financial institutions (approximately 50 percent) are in trade and in consumption credits and less in productive sectors of agriculture and industry, this will have negative impacts in the long-term development of the economy. Thirdly, as these financial institutions are basically appendages of imperialist finance capital, through them the country's capital will be flighted away and thus it will thwart the development of industrial capital in the country. The very fact that the present fast rate of expansion of financial capital has no positive correlation with the development of agriculture and industry in the country, conclusively proves the reactionary nature of this financial capital.

Another example of the penetration of imperialist financial capital and its destructive activities in the form of bureaucratic capital is the so-called foreign aid. After the decade of the 1950s when the entry of imperialist and expansionist financial capital in the name of foreign aid was initiated, its quantity has been increasing in subsequent decades and along with it the total foreign loan and dependency of the country have also increased. As a result it has now become entangled in the vicious circle of debt trap in the form of requiring further foreign loans to pay back the foreign debt. In the year 1970/71, foreign loan per capita was Rs. 15, but after 25 years of 'development', i.e. in 1994/95, foreign loan per capita was increased by 400 times, to more than Rs. 6000 and one fourth of the annual budget revenue had to be spent in foreign debt servicing. Similarly, how the country's external dependence has been increasing is demonstrated by the fact that whereas in the year 1975/76, 40.8 percent of total 'development budget' was dependent upon foreign loan and aid; in 1994/95 that dependency had increased to 61.60 percent. Also, the principal objective of the foreign loan, apart from earning the interests, has been to expand imperialist and

expansionist markets. This is proved by the fact that for the last 40 years more than 60 percent of 'foreign aid' has been used in the field of transportation and communication. Similarly, in keeping with the imperialist plan of checking the mounting crisis in oppressed nations after the decade of the 1970s from breaking into revolutionary upheavals, in Nepal, too, billions of rupees have been pumped in the rural areas in the name of NGOs/INGOs.

Thus, to develop national industrial capital by destroying the comprador and bureaucratic capital and to pave the path of self-reliant development by breaking away with dependency, a revolutionary transformation of society and the process of People's War have become inevitable.

### **3.3 Regional Inequality and the Nationality Question**

Social processes take place in geographical space. Hence social division of labour gets manifested in geographical division of labour. In history, the division between town and countryside started along with the social division of labour. That is why along with the historical development process of society the process of organisation or transformations of the geographical space also goes ahead. In other words, according to the system of production, distribution and consumption of goods in the society, the structure of human settlements, transportation and communication system and the overall regional structure also get crystallized. In pre-capitalist societies particularly in feudal mode of production which are primarily based on agriculture (in which land, the principal means of production, cannot be transported from one place to another), and in which market exchange has a negligible role, there is abysmally low differentiation of geographical regions. There exist only few towns as military forts or politico-administrative centres and as consumption centres of a miniscule parasitic classes of society, and rest of the productive classes of people live in small rural settlements or hamlets scattered widely. As a result mono-centred regional structure marked by a big capital city at the centre and homogenous small rural settlements all around is the specificity of feudal society. It is only after the advent of the capitalist mode of production that big modern cities developed as the centre of production, distribution and consumption and unprecedented changes in the regional structure started



taking place. Along with it wide regional disparity and uneven development takes place as a geographical manifestation of social inequality resulting from the process of centralization and monopolistic tendency inherent in capitalism. The regional structure of feudal or semi-feudal society tied in a colonial or semi-colonial relation with international monopoly capitalism (i.e. imperialism) is like a hybrid of feudal and capitalist structure. In other words, at one end, the overwhelming agricultural hinterland is in a backward rural stage while, at the other end, there exist limited urban centres and islands of extraverted 'development' that accumulate social surplus product from backward regions, and transfer it to foreign countries and import foreign products to distribute countrywide. This condition of unequal development generates among oppressed and backward regions a consciousness of regional identity and autonomy or independence and this usually takes the form of a nationality question. Because those inhabiting the backward and oppressed regions are often the indigenous people, and where there is a confluence of common territory, language, economy, and culture such as a regional oppression manifests itself as national oppression and this way the regional and the nationality questions get inseparably intertwined with each other. This (regional unequal development) is the main reason why nationality question becomes more intense after the advent of capitalism or imperialism. In this very light we should understand the regional and the nationality question in Nepal, which is in a stage of transition from feudalism to capitalism.

Even now in Nepal 90 percent of the total population live in the rural areas and only 10 percent live in the urban areas. This is the overt manifestation of low geographical division of labour corresponding to the low social division of labour of a semi-feudal agriculture-based society (whereas in developed societies 80 to 90 percent of the population live in cities and only about 10 to 20 percent live in the villages). In 1953/54 urban population in Nepal was 3 percent and after 40 years it has reached to 10 percent, which is not significant by any account. However, the process of urbanisation and the mode of development of transportation and communication system in the last 40 years indicate some important changes in Nepal. In 1952/54, out of ten urban centres having more than 5000 population five were in Kathmandu Valley and five in the Terai and by distribution of urban population Kathmandu Valley had 83 percent and the Terai had 17 percent.

If one is to look at the history prior to the establishment of some trade centres in the Terai in the aftermath of extension of Indian railways up to the Terai border of Nepal by the end of 19th century, then the settlements that could be called urban centres were only Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur, and thus the total urban population of Nepal was centralized within the Kathmandu Valley. This urban-rural structure and their distribution pattern conform overwhelmingly to the mono-centred structure of the feudal society. However, out of the 33 settlements officially designated as 'urban centre' in the form of municipalities in 1991, 3 are in Kathmandu Valley, 22 in Terai and 8 in the Hilly regions, and the distribution of urban population in them is 35 percent, 53 percent, and 12 percent respectively. This way it is evident that when after the decade of 1950s the Nepalese economy was increasingly entangled with imperialism and expansionism, as its physical manifestation 'urban' centres mushroomed along the Indian borders and the overall regional structure of Nepal started becoming extraverted. Nevertheless the earlier primacy of Kathmandu Valley as the capital region was retained though in a slightly reduced proportion. This condition is further proved by the fact that the road and air traffic flow and communication systems are mainly oriented towards Kathmandu and then towards cities in the Terai, and that of the total vehicular traffic in the country those going to and fro Kathmandu Valley constitute 40 percent. Such a mono-centred and extraverted regional structure reflects the semi-feudal and semi-colonial social structure and the process of unequal and distorted development in the country.

If one is to analyse the condition and pace of development of the main geographical regions of the country, then one sees a very alarming picture of absolute backwardness at one end, and an increasingly unequal and distorted development at the other. Physically, Nepal can be divided into the Himalayan Mountains, the Hills and the Terai plains (including the inner Terai) from the north to the south and into Koshi, Gandaki and Karnali watersheds from the east to the west, and the Kathmandu Valley situated within mid-hilly region as a separate region because of its specificities of historical development. Leaving aside the pre-historical period, if one is to observe the history of the past three thousand years the east-west spine of the central Hill region in the middle is seen to be the main habitation zone and the Kathmandu Valley was the most developed area. It is only after the

end of the 19th century when there was massive deforestation of Terai (as the economic importance of timber and fertile land of Terai was enhanced with the extension of Indian railheads up to the border) and furthermore after the eradication of malaria in the decade of the 1950s, that the habitation in Terai started increasing. Among Hill regions, prior to the establishment of the centralized state, the level of development was almost identical everywhere; however afterwards, the Gandaki region in the middle became more developed because it was nearer to the seat of central state and was the place of origin of the principal military and non-military bureaucracy and also it was full of plateaus and river basins favourable for agriculture as compared to the Kosi and Karnali regions, which are far off from the citadel of the central state. The fact that before the decade of 1950s, 60 percent of the total population of the country lived in the Hills (including Himalayas) 5 percent in Kathmandu Valley and 35 percent in the Terai, clearly indicates that the Hill region was the main habitational zone till then. However, by the decade of 1990s the pattern of distribution of population in different regions had undergone a change and it was 42 percent in the Hills, 11 percent in Kathmandu Valley and 47 percent in the Terai. In the context of the continued agricultural-based nature of the economy and no significant level of industrialisation anywhere, it is clear that this population transfer is not an economic sector wise vertical transfer (i.e., from agriculture to industry, which is historically progressive) but merely a geographical territory wise horizontal transfer (i.e., from agriculture to agriculture). Thus, migration from Hill agriculture to the Terai agriculture will not solve the problem in the long term, but it shifts the problem from one place to another and only postpones the problem for some time. This in fact further retards the development of the Hill region constituting a vast territorial expanse (i.e. 79 percent of total area). As regards the increasing trend of migration towards the capital region of Kathmandu Valley, it is to a certain extent due to the availability of non-agricultural employment opportunities and mainly due to the distress flight of the semi-proletarian peasants as 'informal refugees'. Together with this because of the centralization of almost all the economic and social services including central administration and physical facilities in it, the rural feudals and the nouveaux riches from all over the country flock to Kathmandu to invest their agricultural surpluses in financial and commercial activities or in real estate business. Some indication of how the

capital from all over the country gets poured into Kathmandu and that Kathmandu itself consumes most of the share of 'development' is provided by these figures: 60 percent of the deposits and 50 percent of the credits of commercial banks are centred in Kathmandu; one third of internal trade of the country takes place in Kathmandu; 69 percent of investments in tourist hotels are made in Kathmandu; 60 percent of motor vehicles in the country are registered in Kathmandu; 60 percent of industries in the country are located in or around Kathmandu, etc. Against this, Hilly regions and most of the rural areas are without basic physical infrastructures such as roads, water, electricity, etc. and social services like education, health, etc. When a district wise composite development index with indicators of agriculture, industry, finance, social service, physical infrastructure development is constructed, it is seen that districts of Kathmandu Valley (i.e. Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur) rank first; far eastern Terai districts (i.e. Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa) come second; districts like Parsa, Kaski, Banke, Chitwan, etc. with big urban centres come third; rest of the Terai districts come fourth; and the Mountainous and Hilly districts stand at the lowest rung. (See, Bhattarai, B., The Nature of Underdevelopment and Regional Structure of Nepal, CSRD/SSS, JNU, New Delhi, 1986) Even among districts in the Mountainous and Hill regions, the districts in the Karnali watershed are most underdeveloped. Thus, along with the general backwardness and underdevelopment of the entire country the inequalities among regions is increasing within the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial dispensation and unless this process of mono-centred and extraverted development is rectified, it is certain the regional disparity in future will get even more acute.

The oppressed regions within the country are primarily the regions inhabited by the indigenous people since time immemorial. These indigenous people dominated regions that were independent tribal states prior to the formation of the centralized state in the later half of the eighteenth century, have been reduced to the present most backward and oppressed condition due to the internal feudal exploitation and the external semi-colonial oppression. They have been left behind the historical development process because of blockade of their path of independent development and imposition of socio-cultural along with economic oppression upon them with the backing of the state by those forces who had

come from outside. Thus it is quite natural that the question of regional oppression of Mongol dominated eastern, central and the western Hilly regions or the Austro-Dravid dominated Inner Terai and Terai regions are manifested in the form of national oppression. There the regional and the national questions have intertwined with one another. Besides this, the problem of the Khas dominated far western Karnali region can occur as regional question instead of a nationality question and it will have to be tackled accordingly. Thus, according to the concrete situation it is necessary to solve the problem of oppressed regions and nationalities by granting regional and national autonomy.

#### **4.0 The Economic Policy, Programme and Process of the New Democratic Revolution**

From the above analysis of the condition and process of social and regional development it is clear that the main hurdle for the development of social productive forces is the internal and external class-relations, or the social relations of production under the prevailing semi-feudal and semi-colonial dispensation. Hence it is not possible to forge the Nepalese society historically ahead just through reforms or change only in the superstructure and by keeping the base of the old society intact. It has become a historical necessity to establish a new kind of socialism oriented capitalist, or New Democratic, system of production by destroying the old semi-feudal mode of production chained to imperialism and expansionism. To put it more clearly, history has been compelled to bid goodbye to the feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes hindering in the development of society from the arena of Nepalese history and to hand over the responsibility of organizing a new and higher form of social system (i.e. New Democratic system) to the new progressive classes (i.e. workers, peasants, petty bourgeois and national bourgeois). The People's War is the inevitable instrument of this historic New Democratic revolutionary transformation. The People's War waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and with the joint participation of all the progressive classes of society is aimed at building a New Democratic base after destroying the base of the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial society and ultimately at creating a classless and exploitationless society.

The economic development policy, programme and process of such a New Democratic revolution can be presented as below.

#### **4.1 Economic Development Policy**

The main economic development policies of New Democratic revolution in Nepal will be as follows:

##### **A. Revolutionary Change of Production Relations**

The main economic policy of New Democratic revolution in Nepal would be to change the old relations of production in order to develop the productive forces and to give a faster pace to the development of society in general. Although there exists an interactive relation between production relations and productive forces and that any change in one affects the other but in the present historical stage of the Nepalese society the retrograde semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations have become the main obstacle in the development of a new and higher form of capitalist mode of production. In this situation the attempts at placing emphasis only on the productive forces (or, capital and technology, and that too foreign!) and keeping the old relations of production intact would not only be completely retrograde but have in practice, too, proved a failure. Thus the main policy of the revolution would be to confiscate the means of production that have been in the hands of the reactionary classes, mainly land which has been in the hands of the feudals and capital in the hands of the comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes, and then to hand them over to the progressive forces (i.e. workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) and to organize the mode of production in a new way. It is only by unleashing the revolutionary initiatives of the majority of the working and the progressive masses that revolutionary transformation of a backward economy like that of Nepal would be possible. That is why it can be said that the slogan of "Grasp revolution, Promote production" advanced by the great Mao would be relevant to Nepal as well. However, because of the backward semi-feudal state and a very low level of development of productive forces in Nepal, the principal form of the new production relations would not be socialism at the outset but of a capitalistic type and only after going through a transitional stage that a socialist transformation would be carried out. In the New Democratic stage big and basic industries

and financial companies would be under social ownership of the state, some of the larger means of production would be jointly owned by the state and the individual and in agriculture, the largest sector of the economy, there will be private ownership by the peasants and in small and medium industry and trade there will be ownership by the industrialists and traders.

## **B. Independent and Self -Reliant Development**

The other principal development policy in the New Democratic economy would be the independent and self-reliant development free from the oppression and exploitation of imperialism and expansionism. The country's development is impossible without freeing itself from the trap of imperialism and expansionism because the process of underdevelopment of Nepal was accelerated after it got entangled in an unequal and exploitative relation with world imperialism and particularly with Indian expansionism, and at present it is caught in an irretrievable foreign debt trap, unbearable trade deficit, all round dependency and plundering by foreign capitalists and multinational companies. Hence, instead of the present extraverted and dependent development policy an inward-looking and self-reliant development policy relying upon its own natural resource, capital, labour, technology and market would be followed. This does not at all mean that there would be no economic ties with foreign countries or there would be no utilization of modern science and technology as falsely alleged by the imperialists or their agents. There would be the policy of maintaining trade and other relations with all on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and national needs and of utilizing modern technology to the extent possible. However, its viability in practice would depend upon the policy of the foreign forces towards the revolutionary state.

## **C. Planned Development**

The other important policy would be to make a planned development of the economy through a scientific assessment of the available and potential resources of the country and physical and cultural needs of the society. At present there prevails a tendency of producing and distributing goods in an anarchic manner with the view of making profits for the few monopoly capitalists and for the indefinite market under the control of imperialists/expansionists in the name of so-called open market or for the

conspicuous consumption of a limited upper class of the society. Because of this, at one end, there is a big wastage of larger part of productive instruments and resources of the society, and at the other, a majority of the people in society are deprived of even of the minimum basic needs of life. Thus it is right both in terms of economic logic and social utility to organize the economy scientifically and in a planned manner according to the needs of the society, as against such an anarchic, wasteful and inhuman mode of production. However, while talking about planned development one should refrain from the tendency of citing the negative experiences of the past Soviet Union (specially after 1956) and visualizing a command economy. Here planned development means the creation of a genuine mass-oriented and efficient economy functioning under a centralized leadership and guidance and decentralized initiative and management, which to a large extent was practiced in China during Mao's time.

#### **D. Balanced Development**

The other important economic policy of New Democratic revolution would be to bring about balanced development both economically and geographically by maintaining a correct balance and harmony between country and town, between Hill and Terai, between agriculture and industry, between small scale cottage industry and big modern industry, etc. At present there is increasing inequality and imbalance between different economic and geographical regions. Balanced development in the country will be achieved by ending pre-capitalist and bureaucratic capitalist: monopoly in the economy, by granting national and regional autonomy to the oppressed nationalities and regions and geographical regions, and by pursuing the overall planned development strategy. The main strategy of balanced development would be based on treating industry as the leading sector and agriculture as the foundation in the development of the economy, and in the context of regional development, pursuing the policy of 'urbanisation of the countryside' and not the 'ruralization' of the cities.

#### **4.2 Economic Development Programme**

To remedy the grave economic distortions and problems prevalent in the country the following economic programmes will be carried out with full sincerity and as a national campaign in keeping with the above basic



policies during the course of the New Democratic revolution and on its completion.

### **A. Revolutionary Land Reforms**

In a semi-feudal agriculture-based country like Nepal, the New Democratic revolution means basically the agrarian revolution. That is why revolutionary land reform is the biggest and the most important economic programme of New Democratic revolution. The principal objectives of land reforms would be: (1) to make maximum use of the productive capacity of majority of the peasants and to accelerate the development of social productive forces by making landless peasants the owners of the land and by availing adequate means of production (land, credit, etc.) to the poor peasants; (2) To increase social production by bringing to maximum use of the wasted or under-utilized means of production (land, money capital, etc.) belonging to the feudals; (3) to avail capital and raw materials for the country's industrialisation by increasing agricultural production and by diversifying agriculture; (4) To ensure adequate internal market for the industry by enriching peasants which constitute a majority of the country's population, etc.

The principal strategy of land reform would be to usher in capitalist relations by destroying completely feudal, semi-feudal and bureaucratic capitalist relations prevalent in agriculture. It would be primarily based on the policy of "land to the tiller". In other words, the land of those feudals (and also guthis) who do not put their labour or capital on the land would be confiscated without compensation and distributed to the landless and poor peasants and the tillers would be made owners of the land. However, the land belonging to the middle or rich peasants (who may have hired their land out to others due to various reasons) will not be confiscated, but a ceiling to landownership, tenancy right and the rate of rent will be fixed and implemented. Together with this all forms of debt incurred by landless and poor peasants would be completely nullified and labour-services and other forms of payment forced upon them would be cancelled. In order to enhance production and productivity of agriculture and to protect the backward agricultural sector from the competition of industrial, commercial or financial sectors, adequate institutional provisions of irrigation, modern

inputs (e.g. fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, machines, implements etc.), credits and market would be made to the farmers and in order to guarantee proper price for the agricultural produces, necessary monetary and price policy would be implemented at the state level.

The process of implementation of land reforms would be the most important and scientific and revolutionary. It is not possible to implement revolutionary land reform programme without making the peasants conscious and organized, as they are subjected to oppression and exploitation from time immemorial and are very backward culturally. That is why it would be necessary to take co-operation from the local peasant's association and to mobilize the general peasant masses in order to prepare the actual records of landownership, to ascertain the class status of peasants (i.e. landless, poor, middle and rich peasants and feudals) and their role in the village, to identify the actual tillers and to implement land reforms at the village level. Similarly, land reform programme would be implemented in stages (i.e. in terms of both social class and geographical regions!) and by taking local specificities fully into account. In that process maximum caution would be exercised so as to avoid both 'leftist' and 'rightist' errors. Special attention would be paid while implementing land reform programme to mobilize the 70 percent of the landless and poor peasants actively in favour of revolutionary land reforms, to bring the 25 percent of the middle and rich peasants in support of the land reforms or not to let them go against the programme, and to strictly carry out the land reform programme against the 5 percent feudals and bureaucratic capitalists. Of the 2.6 million hectares of cultivable land currently available in the country if one is to confiscate only the minimum 40 percent of land belonging to the 5 percent of the feudals and bureaucratic capitalists then the surplus land turns out to be 1.0 million hectares. If one is to distribute this among the 70 percent of landless and poor peasant families then it comes to more than 0.5 hectare per family, and if one is to distribute it among the 44 percent landless and semi-proletarians (i.e. those owning less than 0.5 hectare) nearly one hectare each can be given to them. Similarly at present only 0.25 million hectares of land has permanent irrigation facility, whereas according to the estimation of technicians 1.4 million hectares of land can be irrigated. If one is to mobilize the huge surplus labour available to bring irrigation facility to the additional 1.15 million hectares of land then even within the

present technical level of production, agricultural production can be increased by many times. Hence there is no doubt that dramatic turns in the agriculture sector and in the overall economy can be brought about through revolutionary land reforms in the country.

## **B. National Industrialisation**

The other important economic programme in the New Democratic revolution would be to bring about industrialisation of the country at a rapid rate by placing industry as the leading sector in the economy. The principal objective of industrialization would be: (1) to increase general social production and productivity of labour and that of the overall economy by putting to use the surplus labour stuck in the backward semi-feudal agriculture sector into productive use; (2) to make way for the development of superior mode of production (i.e. capitalist and socialist mode of production) in agriculture and ultimately in the whole economy by producing necessary capital goods for the agriculture sector, by providing markets for agricultural products and by providing productive employment to the surplus labour in the agriculture sector; (3) to prevent the flight of capital away from the country and to end dependency by producing necessary capital goods, basic goods, intermediary goods and consumer goods; (4) to promote export by producing goods with comparative advantage in the international division of labour; (5) to cater to the higher material and cultural needs of the society; etc.

The coordination of capital, labour and market essential for national industrialisation will be done primarily through the process of revolutionary transformation of the existing society. For primitive accumulation of capital, the capital originating from the agriculture sector and lying idle in the hands of feudals or being spent on conspicuous consumption or in circulation for usurious purposes and the capital in the hands of big comprador and bureaucratic capitalists would be confiscated and brought under state control. Besides this, protection and encouragement would be given to the small and domestic industrialists in large numbers, to the small and medium traders and to the capital of national bourgeoisie in small numbers, and a maximum capital accumulation from the agriculture sector and its investment in industry would be promoted. Ultimately it is the

agriculture sector, which would be the main source of capital for industrialisation. Similarly, main emphasis would be on labour-intensive industrialisation since there would be dearth of capital and a surplus of labour within the country for a long time to come. Special attention would be given for the development and use of indigenous technology. Main stress would be on harnessing the immense hydropower potential of the country through small hydro-electricity projects for the supply of necessary industrial energy and to ensure self-reliant, pollution-free and sustainable development. From the beginning, adequate attention would be paid to the primary and medium level technical education for the production of skilled labour and technical manpower, which would be increasingly needed along with the process of industrialisation. As per the market for raw materials and finished products, a policy of primarily relying on the internal market would be pursued. At one end, supply of raw materials would be ensured by enhancing production of medicinal herbs, animal husbandry, horticulture, cash crop production, processing of minerals, etc., taking full advantage of the geographical diversity and, at the other end, necessary market would be created for the industrial products by eliminating existing socio-economic inequalities and increasing the purchasing power of the general masses. Thus the creation of a big market for the means of subsistence and means of production for the general masses instead of the current narrow market for the luxurious goods meant for only the limited upper class of people would accelerate the process of industrialisation. Similarly, special measures, e.g. cancellation of unequal treaties, control of the open border, adoption of correct tariff-financial-monetary policies, would be taken by the state to protect the national industries from the interference and domination of world imperialism and particularly of Indian expansionism.

It is obvious that the state would have to play a special role in the industrialisation process of Nepal because of the country's semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions and due to the immensely backward state of the productive forces. Nevertheless the industrialization in the New Democratic stage would be of a capitalist nature rather than of a socialist nature. The state would provide leadership and guidance to the overall industrialisation by means of the ownership of basic industries and financial institutions and through central planning and fiscal/monetary policies. On the other hand, there would be private ownership and initiative on other modern industries,

small and domestic industries and small and medium trade. Thus, only by getting liberated from the imperialist and expansionist oppression under the leadership and guidance of a progressive state that the development of industrial capitalism would be possible in Nepal and the base can be prepared for the construction of a higher level of society.

### **C. Regional Balance and Integrated Development**

The other important development policy and programme of the New Democratic revolution would be to coordinate economic development with regional development from the very beginning and to ensure balanced and integrated development throughout the country. Principal strategy for this would be: (1) to accelerate the pace of social development by making maximum use of the productive potentials of different geographical regions; (2) to make the economy self-reliant and to protect it from the danger of external interference and oppression through decentralization in economic and geographical terms; (3) to orient the society towards more advanced and democratic stage by checking social and geographical polarisation; (4) to ensure sustainable development through interdependence among different social sectors and geographical regions; etc. For regional balanced and interdependent development, such programmes would be implemented as: controlling the polarisation between city and countryside; developing settlement system based on interdependence of big, medium and small towns and villages; developing interactive relations between Hill and Terai regions by ascertaining the division of labour between them; establishing production zones based upon integrated development of big and small industry and agriculture; enforcing national autonomy in oppressed nationality-dominated areas; implementing regional autonomy and local self-government in the oppressed and remote areas; etc. In the old social systems, particularly because of the centralization of the basic economic, social and physical services and infrastructures only in the few urban centres, an uncontrolled population, concentration in the big cities takes places leading to the 'ruralization of the cities'. Against this, in the New Democratic system, economic, social and physical services and infrastructures (e.g. industries, banks, colleges, hospitals, electricity, motorable roads, etc.) would be provided in the rural areas and a policy of 'urbanisation of the countryside' would be followed. These policies and

programmes would be carried out through integrated development planning and necessary economic and other policy measures.

### **4.3 The Process of Revolutionary Transformation**

Transformation of one social system into the other, or negation of the old by the new does always take place by force and in a revolutionary leap: People's War is such a means of negating the old by the new force and of taking a new leap into a new and higher (social) system. There would be two important specificities of the process of New Democratic transformation through the protracted People's War in Nepal:

#### **A. Dialectical Process of Destruction and Creation**

Because the present Nepalese society is in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial stage and there prevails unequal development and a very low level of material and cultural development, it is necessary to destroy the old mode of production bit by bit starting from its weakest spots and to create the new mode of production systematically from the same place (i.e. a strategy of protracted People's War). To put it in concrete terms, as the contradiction is the sharpest in the rural areas the process of destroying the old structure and creating a new one should commence from there. Hence along with the development of the People's War in Nepal the process of destruction of old relations of production and the creation of the new relations would go on concurrently from below. Accordingly, existing semi-feudal relations in the rural areas would be destroyed and in its place the policy of revolutionary agrarian reform, industrialisation and balanced development would be implemented-on a New Democratic basis. However, without consolidating the new state power it would not be possible to implement economic construction, or even if implemented, it would be impossible to preserve it. That is why the policy of organizing New Democratic system of production would start from below in keeping with the stage of development of the new state power, and only after capturing the state power throughout the country the New Democratic system would be implemented throughout.

#### **B. Transitional Capitalism and Continuous Revolution**

New Democratic system is basically a capitalist system. However, in the present era of imperialism and in a situation of intensely backward state of productive forces as in Nepal, it is impossible to develop the capitalist system in the old form and to make it stable. Specially, it is not possible for the owners of small parcels of land and small capital to increase productivity by labouring individually and to protect themselves from the monopolistic assaults of the big capital. Hence it is only through gradual co-operativisation of agriculture and through state protection for industry, or by systematically moving ahead in the path of socialisation that the large number of small producers can preserve their existence and increase their productivity. In that sense the New Democratic system is only a transitional capitalist system and its contradictions would have to be solved through the higher form of a socialist system. Thus it is only through the process of a continuous revolution that it would be possible to solve the newly emerging problems and contradictions in the society at a higher plane. The process of People's War in Nepal is a link in a chain of such a continuous revolution to solve the problems of the society. The principle objective and rationale of the People's War in Nepal is, thus, to develop the social productive forces and create a higher form of society through a continuous revolution in the base and the superstructure or by putting "politics in command".

**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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**Down with Parliamentarism ! Long Live New  
Democracy !!**

**Com. Prachanda**

**1. Introduction**

Nepal has become the poorest country in the world today. The rule that laid stress on heavy slogans of democracy, peace and development is also approaching 50 years in Nepal. Nepalese society in this course has entertained many elections and the governments of different names and forms under the slogan of democracy and development. Before completing five years the third parliamentary election is going to take place, under the constitutional monarchy and multiparty system that was brought about after 1990. Several impoverished countries of the world have succeeded to establish new records of development in the last 50 years. But, compared to other countries, Nepal has slid further down from the position of 50 years before. History is a witness that each of the new government that was formed with attractive slogans has pulled back the country to more worsening situation than before. Holding of yearly elections by spending tens of millions of property collected from the blood and sweat of the people has only lead to a government that renders additional expenditure, insecurity and national betrayal.

Like a Nepali saying "All the hermits are alike with pierced ears" all the Panchas, Congress and UML contributed to escalating economic dependency, political anarchy and cultural perversion in the country. They competed to serve feudalism and its main representative the monarchy, which is in compliance with the interest of Indian expansionist ruling classes and western imperialism, and conspired to suppress the struggling and forward-looking people by providing sugar-coated words of petty reforms and pushed the Nepalese society to the darkness of crisis from all directions. Today, the UML, overtaking the Panchas and Congress in such tasks, is becoming successful to confuse the people and gain trust of the king and foreign exploiters. To declare mid-term poll by the king upon UML's demand and to bid in serving the domestic and foreign enemies of



the people by killing their struggling spirit through sugar-coated bullets are the evidences of this fact.

What the people have understood from the history of all over the world and also from Nepal is that resolution of the problem is not possible by casting vote in the parliamentary election. The fact that casting of vote in the parliamentary election in real sense is to provide national betrayer and anti-people elements the right to perpetrate unjust, atrocity, exploitation and repression upon people has been established at the lowest level of the masses too. There is no other way for the Nepalese people than to jump into the struggle that makes them the sole master of their destiny. In this orientation, consciousness of Nepalese people who have gone through different forms of struggles has advanced ahead. But, in order to fulfill their reactionary and opportunist interest the People's enemies and the opportunist political groups that don't have confidence in the people have been conspiring to entrap the people.

In this context, Nepalese petty bourgeois class, and that too, mainly a big section of intellectuals that have embraced an attitude of selling their principle and morality for their personal petty interest is helping to a great extent sustain the reactionary system that is on the verge of death. What contemptible task can there be other than to help sustain this system despite knowing theoretically that parliamentary system is the curtain of big money-bags, which is full of fallacy, pretension, hypocrisy and immorality? Exhibiting that vileness today, a big section of so-called well-educated personalities is helping reactionary and opportunist groups, the defenders of feudalism and imperialism, to confuse and deceive the masses. But, with everlasting confidence upon the people, deep faith and conviction towards principle and being cautious to the past history, today, our Party the CPN (Maoist), expressing its determination to devote for the real emancipation of the people with intense hatred towards reactionaries and opportunists, has established a front against all sorts of retrogressive trends. In order to march ahead along the great perspective of People's liberation, our Party has now decided to boycott the mid-term poll, full of hypocrisy and conspiracy, under the slogan of 'New Democratic republic, the only alternative of monarchical parliamentary system'.

Today, the entire reactionary and opportunist elements opposing our boycott policy are using their might to pull back people into the dirty sewerage of parliamentary election and to defend this worthless parliamentary system. In this situation, it has been urgent to understand and make others understand the retrogressive character of parliamentary system, election and parties and the boycott of election and revolutionary struggle as the only correct way for People's liberation.

## **2. General Concept on State Power and Parliamentary System**

What the conscious representatives of the reactionary class have been trying to create confusion among the masses is that the state power and the parliamentary system are the same. The representatives of bourgeois class don't lag behind to put forward a logic that the parliamentary system exists so long as the state power does. Furthermore, they have been making efforts to show the parliamentary system as the one that goes to infinity as a perpetual system. There has been considerable effect in the petty bourgeois class from this type of propaganda of the bourgeoisie.

Ignorance and lack of scientific conception has created here a very complex situation on the dialectical, dynamic and ever changing characteristics of the state power and governing system in the course of development of the society.

What is the reality? Nature, society and the human conscience are in a dynamic motion of constant change. Nothing is endless and perpetual. According to that, the state power emerged in a certain state of development of history and its death is inevitable in the another stage of its development. Because, anything that takes birth also ceases definitely to exist. The retrogressive elements of the society have always been disagreeing with this scientific truth. To fulfill one's vested interest by imposing superstition in place of scientific conscience has been the stress of retrogressive section of the society since quite long. Whereas, the reality is exactly opposite to it. Is the state power a thing that existed forever and goes to infinity? No. On it, it will be appropriate here to pay attention to the following statement of Engels, "State power did not exist forever. There was such a society, which used to run its work without it, in which there was no concept of the state and the state power. In a certain situation of economic development, which

was necessarily associated with the class division of the society necessitated a state. Now we are heading towards such a situation of rapid development of production, where the existence of these classes is not necessary, rather has become direct obstruction to the production. Along with the classes the state will inevitably fall. Society, which will reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquity, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe." (Quote not original)

Today, the reactionaries and revisionists are pursuing in evil efforts of distorting this great and scientific conclusion of Marxism the world over. In the initial period of the society there existed no class division, therefore, there was no state power too. When the state power emerged, since then the institutions like police, army, bureaucracy, jail, court etc. started developing. According to Marx, "The state power is the existence of class hegemony, is a weapon of oppressing one class by another, is the creation of such a 'system', which by weakening the class conflict, legalizes oppression and strengthens it". (Quote not original) But, the reactionaries and opportunists, emphasizing always in class collaboration, trying to weaken class conflict, are working to strengthen the oppressive system in the society. Whereas, the social scientists assert that the primary duty of Marxists is to constantly strive for rooting out the oppression by intensifying class conflict.

Another thing that needs to pay attention and understand is that the state power and the ruling system is not the same and has never been so in the history. Since the emergence of state power, different forms of ruling system have been taking birth and vanishing with the development of society. No ruling system under the state power has been eternal nor can be so. The world knows that, under the state power, the form of ruling system in the slave society was slave mastership, absolute monarchy remained as the form of ruling system in the feudal society and parliamentary system came forward as the form of ruling system in the bourgeois society. In today's semi-feudal and semi-colonial society a kind of hotchpotch of absolute monarchy and parliamentary system has been the form of ruling system. Likewise, the proletarian democracy takes the form of ruling system in the socialist society. In this way, what is clear is that the state power and the ruling system are not the same thing. The state power exists

so long as the class division exists in the society but the form of ruling system goes on changing according to the situation of development of class struggle. Again, at the new stage of development of class struggle, where class division no longer exists, the state power too vanishes automatically.

Not only the old and declared reactionary elements in Nepal, the revisionist renegades, who claim to be Marxists, have been intensifying their task of distorting these basic understandings of the social science. To talk of class collaboration by sacrificing class struggle, to strangle the throat of revolution in tune with the music of reform and to worship constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system according to the interest of feudal monarchy and monopoly capitalists, are the models of extreme distortion of revisionist renegades.

It is clear that the parliamentary ruling system is linked with inevitable necessity of the capitalist society. The parliamentary system had definitely played a progressive role in the course of historical battle of capitalism against feudalism. But, with the development of monopolistic character inherent in capitalism, a huge army of modern proletarian class came into being in the international arena. Today, the history's last class, the proletariat, in the course of world-shaking class struggles against the bourgeois class, has equipped itself with a scientific and revolutionary weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the pinnacle of human knowledge. Owing to the inherent contradiction in capitalism and the development of proletariat, the bourgeois class transformed into an extreme regressive one. When, the bourgeois class took to this condition, then their parliamentary system also transformed automatically into a regressive and hypocrite one. Parliament turned into a gossiping theatre for bourgeoisie. It remained only a screen for maintaining reign of loot by throwing dust into People's eyes. The election that takes place in the interval of certain years became a tool to decide which member of the ruling class from the parliament to deceive people and divide crumbs of loot. Not only that, the parliament left doing work of the state power. Rather, the huge permanent army and the bureaucracy that capitalism developed started doing that task. "Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth -- in these countries the real business of "state" is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments,

chancelleries and General Staffs. Parliament itself is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the "common people." This saying of Lenin has brilliantly exposed the essence of the parliamentary system. The fact that the task of parliament is only to fool people has been clear through five years' activities in Nepal, too. What has Lenin clarified further in it is that "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament -- such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics". Such is the Marxist concept on parliamentarism. But the revisionists in Nepal and the world over have been doing evil-deeds of worshipping the parliamentary system to lick up the remains of the reactionary power's trash by kicking off these great and scientific propositions of Marxism.

### **3. Parliamentary System in the New Phase of Worldwide Crisis**

Today, the parliamentary system is passing through a new type of serious worldwide crisis. The imperialist economy that was seen stable for a brief period after the Second World War entered into a course of new overall crisis since the 70s and while arriving at the 90s it has been trapped into an extreme crises. As a means for the imperialist countries to survive from this economic crisis it has become obligatory for them to mercilessly plunder the people of the third world further. In addition to this, competition among the imperialist groups is intensifying to re-divide the world. On the one hand, imperialist robber groups have agreed upon the 'GATT' agreement to maintain more monopoly over industry, commerce, agriculture and intellectual property, and on the other, are pursuing in the task of increasing armed strength to expand their influence, intensifying regional and national wars and preparing world war. For that, the imperialists are pursuing in conspiracy to openly subjugate third world countries by forcing them to implement the policies of economic liberalization and privatization, and on the other, are using their utmost force to repress the national liberation, democratic and socialist movements rising up all over the world. Even then, the principal contradiction of the world is further sharpening. Imperialism has been confronting with strong movements of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of it's own monopolistic character and continuously accelerating People's struggle, the imperialist world order has

been entrapped in an inescapable crisis. A new wave of the world revolution is emerging in the horizon. New sparks of People's fury have started to rise up in the imperialist countries, too. The expression of aforesaid type of economic crisis has now been nakedly witnessed in the parliamentary system, the political mask of imperialism. People's mistrust towards parliamentary system and election is increasing; the result of all the parliamentary elections in the world including America, Japan, France, Germany and India is clarifying this fact. Sleep of the imperialist and reactionary ruling classes that used to enjoy in the heaven of loot by confusing people, talking about stability from the parliament is being disturbed. The wave of People's discontent, fury and rebellion is spreading in all the countries. What has been the peculiarity is that the old declared reactionary parties are failing to confuse people even with a little of parliamentary illusion; the revisionist renegades, who take the name of Marx, are shouldering to buttress the enfeebled parliamentary system about to fall.

What constant effort has to be made to clarify people today about the revisionist groups that have taken responsibility of defending parliament in the name of communism is that they are the new servants purchased by the feudal and capitalists. Their 'victory' in the parliamentary election is the victory of feudal and capitalists protecting the system, which is about to fall. There can be no bigger stupidity than to see them a little progressive. What is necessary here to understand is that, as Lenin said, in order to fulfill 'the demand of the era of revolutionary activity' one should transform into a revolutionary organization; 'but this transformation can only be accomplished by depreciating and eliminating the old Party and leaders who strangle the throat of revolutionary energy'.

#### **4. The Struggle Between Revolutionary Marxism and Revisionism on Parliamentarism**

In relation to the parliamentary system and parliamentarism, there have been life and death struggles in the international communist movement since the birth of Marxism. After the theoretical victory of Marxism, the revisionism with the cover of Marxism itself is pushing forward the same old revisionist essence. The revisionism in innumerable forms has been

advocating parliamentarism and deceiving people. In its essence, the main difference between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism lies in the rejection and acceptance of parliamentarism. In this way, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism has in reality become the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution. This fact today has been manifested in the degeneration of the revisionist UML group into counterrevolutionary and the struggle of Maoists against it. What the UML group is talking about parliamentarism today is nothing new but it is the developed form of those renegades of the history against whom the contemporary Marxists had to wage life and death struggle. The UML in Nepal is nakedly and shamefully following the counter-revolutionary tradition of Bernstein, Kautsky, Khrushchev, Gorvachov, Liu Shaochi and Teng, whereas our Party, in relation to this, is determined to pushing forward the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Let us look at now in short the historical process of the struggle Bernstein said, "Capitalism transforms peacefully into socialism". Saying that the parliamentary system of the bourgeois class should not be destroyed rather should be developed further, he propagated, "now, through the methods of voting, demonstration and pressure we can bring about reforms for which a violent revolution was necessary hundred years ago". At that time he had said, "That day will come when the (working class) will numerically be so strong and so important for the entire society that, no need to mention, then the palaces will be incapable to face its pressure and will spontaneously collapse." Great Lenin had ridiculed the reactionary essence of this type of nonsense of Bernstein. The history has brilliantly justified this fact. But, dear readers! Is there any doubt in the fact that the revisionist renegades, including the UML are putting forward the same ideas of Bernstein by decorating it with a veneer of creativity? Does the UML have the least right to pronounce the name of Marxism-Leninism? No. They are misusing that great name to repress people and the revolution.

Let us see further ahead, the renegade Kautsky of the Second International presented himself nakedly with the same counter-revolutionary tradition of Bernstein by saying, "Our goal of political struggle is to win the state power by changing parliament to the master of government through a majority in it". Advocating openly the parliamentary system of English type Kautsky betrayed the interest of the proletariat. He proved himself a mean servant of

the bourgeois class. Lenin enriched the reserve of Marxist-Leninist literature in the course of refuting this type of counter-revolutionary character of Kautsky. Lenin, against this parliamentarism of Kautsky, said, "Only the swindlers and stupid can think that the proletariat should acquire majority in the election, which is conducted under the dictatorship of the bourgeois or under the yoke of wage slavery, then only should attain power. It is to replace class struggle and the revolution by the election that is conducted under the old system and under the old power." (Lenin, Collected Works, Russian Edition, 1950, Vol. 30, p. 40). (Quote not original) In this context, Stalin has said, "To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the rule of the bourgeoisie, means that one has either gone out of one's mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the proletarian revolution".

Why should not one call them "mad" or betrayers of proletarian revolution to those revisionists including the UML that are raising slogan of forming a government through majority vote in the parliament under the feudal monarchy in Nepal today? What can there be other than to deceive oneself and the people to think even the least, of these immoral and cheaters, who conduct in the tradition of Bernstein and Kautsky taking names of Marx and Lenin, are genuine?

Khrushchev, the leader of modern revisionism, pushed forward exactly the same tradition of Bernstein and Kautsky. He also talked of "transforming parliament into People's power by acquiring majority in it". 40 years ago he talked of peaceful struggle. All of Khrushchev, Breznev and Gorbachev opposed violent revolution. It is still fresh in the world opinion that the result of this has been transformed into the fascism of Yeltsin in Russia, today. Mao Tsetung initiated another historical struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism that advocated building up of socialism through majority in the parliament and shattered it completely. Mao, propelling ahead the Marxist tradition of struggle against revisionism, put forward openly and sharply the scientific truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and said -- "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and



landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

What to say to those, who pretend to have observed creative Marxism in the revisionists including UML that babbles of "favoring" people by acquiring majority in the parliament, while one witness the experience of aforesaid kinds of enough struggles between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism on parliamentarism? Right at this time, what we can suggest to the "left" intellectuals of the petty bourgeois class is do not hurry up to blemish oneself by bowing to the enemies of the people and revolution. Be protected from being blind though with eyes, deaf though with ears and silly though with brain. Keep away oneself from the stupid prattle of the agents of imperialism and feudalism. Do not take up the abominable task of selling morality blindly for the momentary interest. Otherwise, the powerful hands of history will not keep out anyone.

## **5. On the Parliamentary Election and Communist Tactics**

After Marxism-Leninism-Maoism exposed the aforementioned types of parliamentarism another kind of neo-revisionism has also emerged in the pretext of tactics to expose parliamentarism. It is also equally necessary to identify, understand and expose. This Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has stated that the question of revolutionary utilization of the election or the boycott of it is a matter of tactics to expose parliamentarism because both can be applied in the given situation. In this context, two opinions prevail in the international communist movement in which the rightist revisionism advocates to participate forever in election in the name of tactics and the other trend argues that in no circumstances can the election be utilized and so should be strategically boycotted. Of these two trends, the right extremism that participates continuously in the election has been more harmful in today's communist movement.

The main thing that needs to understand here is that mainly two kinds of countries exist in today's world. They are industrially developed capitalist countries, on one hand, and the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries dominated by peasants, on the other. It has historically been proved that the strategies of seizing power by the proletariat are different in these two types of countries. In the developed countries, the proletariat adopts the line of

seizing big cities first under the strategy of insurrection and extensive countryside followed by it. Paris Commune in France and mainly the Great October Russian Socialist Revolution under the leadership of Lenin was accomplished according to this strategy. In the countries, which are underdeveloped semi-feudal and semi-colonial, it is necessary to adopt the path of seizing countryside first and the cities later according to the line of protracted People's War. Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao and those of several other countries have achieved victory by adopting this line.

Tactics cannot be identical under two different strategies that are adopted to accomplish revolution in two different types of aforesaid countries. Trying to adopt the tactics of election, to which the proletariat adopted under the strategy of armed insurrection, as a prototype under the strategy of protracted People's War is not Marxism, but it becomes only the blind mechanical imitation of it. This kind of mechanical thinking helps in no circumstance advance revolution. In addition to this, taking into account of the parliamentary system and the process of heightening fascistization of parties in the stage of imperialism after the Second World War and also the experience of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, and, paying attention to the situation in which the possibility of revolutionary utilization of election in the capitalist countries, too, has practically ended, the tactical value of utilizing election seems to have terminated. It has become a serious question and its theorization has become urgent.

In this situation, the seriousness of the mistake that tries to take up those tactics under the strategy of protracted People's War subjecting to the strategy of armed insurrection is further augmenting. A right opportunist trend that urges to apply tactics related to parliamentary election by ignoring the nature of revolution and strategy of war has been dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. There is no worth of such elements that talk of New Democracy, Mao Thought and armed struggle and even sometimes protracted People's War too. To talk of New Democracy by adopting the tactics of armed insurrection, resembles to as the proverb goes, "To follow the route of Kuti (i.e. China) to go to Kashi (i.e. India)." Those who, keeping their eyes closed, adopt the tactics of utilization of elections are in fact exhibiting mechanical thinking by making election the question

of strategy. There is nothing other than a rightist essence behind their charge of dogmatism, mechanical thinking and revolutionary phrasemongering to the revolutionary parties that adopt the line of election boycott according to the line of protracted People's War to accomplish the New Democratic revolution. What is our saying is that to talk of utilization of election by ignoring the nature of war, in the name of tactics, is identical to putting on shoes on the head in the name that it is a wearing thing. In this way, the main representatives of putting on shoes on the head, in Nepal, are the elements of MB-Lama trends. In other word, to confuse people by taking a route to Kuti to go to Kashi is the essence of their tactics.

Liquidation of those elements that have dreamt of succeeding to power by holding the tail of UML group, which has attained the reactionary power by holding the tail of the King and Congress as the model, is inevitable. In these days, they are displaying their naked form of neo-revisionism by standing in queue of the reactionary and revisionists against the struggling masses and the revolutionary Party. Existence of such groups has become like that of "neither at home nor at crematorium", for their centrist thinking that tries to play between revolution and counterrevolution. What is necessary here to pay attention is that the experience from all over the world and our country too have clarified that the end result of such groups trapped in electoral fascination is the reaction. "Naked opportunism, which engenders immediate hatred among the working masses is not that horrible and harmful compared to the theory of middle class that makes use of Marxist formulae to justify their opportunist practice and tries to prove with force of different logic that the revolutionary activity is untimely" and so on. (Quote not original). These sayings of Lenin agree completely with the people of MB-Lama trend in Nepal.

What we can say in conclusion is that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism takes up the question of election as a tactics of the proletariat in which it has more strength to influence strategy than the generally does. It is necessary, in such types of countries, to handle the entire activities of struggles and organizations centering on war from the very beginning, for it is inevitable to follow the path of protracted People's War to accomplish the New Democratic revolution . Looking at from this viewpoint, the tactics of election boycott, not that of utilization does have dominant significance.

The tactics of utilization can be applied only as an exception of particular situation in such countries. The trend of Mohan Bikram and Lama that tries to explain and apply the tactics of election utilization as a preparation for armed insurrection is neo-revisionism orienting towards reaction, of which no relation exists with Maoists and the New Democratic revolution .

## **6. Historical Background of Nepal and today's Parliamentary System**

The constitutional monarchy and the multiparty system set up recently in Nepal is not the outcome of historic necessity of the development of Nepalese society but it is the result of alliance and conspiracy of domestic and foreign reactionaries to confuse the masses and defend their rule. Historical necessity of the development of the Nepalese society is the new type of bourgeois democratic revolution, which is called New Democratic revolution . There is a great importance of understanding this fact correctly. Here the entire reactionaries and revisionists have always propagated by distorting the history of Nepal and necessity, sentiment and struggle of the Nepalese people according to their interests. Whereas, it does not at all accord with the reality.

In this question our attention should pinpoint around two kinds of contradictions prevailing in the Nepalese society. First, the contradiction of Nepalese people with feudalism and imperialism and second, the inner contradiction among the different groups of reactionaries that exists as the contradiction among feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism. As a result of the first contradiction, Nepalese people have been struggling in different forms against feudalism and imperialism since long. This trend of real struggle of the people is advancing but the repression, conspiracy and deception of domestic and foreign enemies have very often hampering it. Crossing over a curved line of quantitative development it is now approaching ahead to a qualitative leap. The second contradiction creates a situation that necessitates time and again to dividing power among the reactionaries and it is taking place, too. Different sections of the reactionary power have always been utilizing People's struggle to arrive at compromise and to confuse people in order to mitigate this conflict of power division. It is known to all that the Nepalese state power today represents the interest of feudal, comprador and bureaucrat capitalist class. It does not mean that

there exists single, identical and equal interest of all these three sections forever and in each question. Emphasis of feudal elements goes towards absolute monarchy for a bigger share of power for it; emphasis of bureaucrat capitalists, according to the development of the situation goes towards maintaining collaboration between feudal and imperialist elements and in trying to find a bigger share as an exchange for it; whereas that of comprador bourgeoisie is to ensure bigger share in the power by representing directly the imperialist interests, showing the mask of parliamentary democracy and running fascist rule. But, according to the specificity of imperialism and proletarian revolution, there always exists uniformity in the basic interest among them.

We should understand the course of development of Nepalese society and today's situation by centering on the aforesaid contradictions. Politically, when the king yells about nationalism in fact he demands feudal autocracy; when the Congress talks of democracy in reality it represents imperialist agents; when the question comes of coordinating nationalism and democracy it in fact represents bureaucrat capitalism. If one looks at deeply the course of events since 1949 here the role of bureaucratic capitalist has been principal and decisive. This type of role of bureaucratic capitalism that has emerged through coupling of feudalism and imperialism is in general found in all the oppressed countries of the world. The key of the leadership rests with in understanding the regressive character of bureaucratic capitalism and finding correctly its course of development and crisis in order for leading, developing and driving the Nepalese revolution to victory. Unfortunately, the right opportunism that is dominant in the Nepalese communist movement has been trailing behind the king when the question of nationalism comes up, the Congress when the question of democracy arises and helping the bureaucratic capitalism when the question of coordination between both appears. Consequently, the repeated current of People's struggles, being deprived of the correct leadership, has been forced to terminate in conspiracy and deception. As the climax of that right opportunism the UML coterie is now representing the interest of bureaucratic capitalism. Today, the extreme crisis and uncertainty that are being discussed in the national politics, is in fact the manifestation of the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism. Plainly, it means that both the feudalism and imperialism are in extreme crisis in Nepal. It is clear from this the

Nepalese society is standing at the threshold of a radical change. There exist no other way to save the Nepalese society from being liquidated than to make revolution. In this context what is our claim is that this conclusion which comes out when looked at the development process of Nepalese society on the basis of historical materialism of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is of great revolutionary significance. It is also our claim that this conclusion has opened up door to fulfill the proletarian responsibility of leading revolution by decisively attacking upon right opportunism of the Nepalese communist movement that relishes in petty reforms and conspiracies carried out to hold off crisis of the reactionary power.

Let us now try to inspect history in brief on the basis of aforesaid viewpoint.

The establishment of centralized feudal state power by unifying the tiny Baise, Chaubise states that had been obstructive to the necessities of People's business, increasing economic activities and security needs, and its augmenting expansionist activities as well had obviously become intolerable for the British imperialism, which was going forward to establish unopposed colony by swallowing hundreds of feudal kings in India. Apart from this, it was further necessary for the British to bring Nepal in their track, also for the reason that the feudal state established in Nepal was automatically and obviously anti-British in the initial period of its founding.

The feudal kings in Nepal since the formation of feudal state started enjoying luxurious life, merry making and accumulating property for their future generations, whereas the dreadful incidents of conspiracies and murders went on intensifying among the palatial officials for post, prestige and possession. In this background war situation developed between Nepal and the British.

Unprecedented heroism, devotion, sacrifice and valor that the Nepalese people demonstrated in the war against the several times more powerful Britishers has established glory of Nepalese people in the world. But, it was not possible for the feudal power to fight a war of protracted nature against the powerful British colonialism. Consequently, in the situation of the then power balance, it was obvious for the Nepalese to be defeated in the

positional war. Finally, despite opposition of patriotic Nepalese and several of erstwhile officials the feudal king and officials agreed to the shameful Sugauli Treaty even by abandoning a big part of land.

Natural pace of development of Nepal has been obstructed since the Sugauli Treaty. Since this time, Nepal came to be a near direct colony. Since this time, the process of open intervention started in each of the internal affairs of Nepal. Since this time, Nepalese feudal rulers started working as slaves of imperialism. In other words, since this time, dual exploitation of feudalism and imperialism has been victimizing the Nepalese people. Despite there having been a lot of political changes and ups and downs from Sugauli Treaty onwards till the foundation of social-economic structures that the treaty had established at that time is still prevalent. today's Nepal, which is victim of economic dependency, political uncertainty and cultural distortion, has its root in the same economic and political structures established at that time. Whatever name and form of the system and government come into being no development of independent economy, politics and culture can take place within this structure. It has been proved by history that one party, multi party, party-less, Congress, Pancha or UML whoever ascends to power the future of the country and people will go on being darkened. To destroy this structure means to destroy feudalism and imperialism. In today's reality, to destroy this structure means to accomplish New Democratic revolution.

When the erstwhile patriots including Bhimsen Thanpa, who were feeling humiliated from this Treaty, were trying to build up a united front with Afghanistan, Punjab and also China against the British robbers to fight another war, the capitulationist feudal king of Nepal and other elements, hatching various conspiracies, murdered Bhimsen Thapa and others. After this, an unopposed rule of totally British agents started running in the palace. In this course, the emergence of Janga Bahadur fulfilled the necessity of a powerful representative that pushed the alliance of feudalism and imperialism in Nepal forward. Since then, the feudal rulers have been suppressing totally the patriotic sentiment of the Nepalese people.

Following the role of rising proletariat in the international political arena, worldwide message of the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution in Russia,

successfully advancing New Democratic revolutions in China and other countries and defeat of the fascists in World War II originated an unprecedented wave of mass-awakening among the oppressed masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Flame of mass struggle against the British flared up in India. Finally such a situation developed in India in which British could not stay in an old fashion. The British were compelled to depart from India by arranging to maintain its semi colony in place of a direct colony. But the class character of the new government that was established in India remained that of feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism. Indian faces, running reactionary rule with the British blessing succeeded to stop the flame of mass struggle by giving illusion of independence.

Nepal also could not remain untouched from the influence of aforesaid international political environment. Consequently, People's fury started being expressed in Nepal against the atrocity conducted under the coalition of feudal Kings and Ranas. The new rulers in India wanted their own direct agents in Nepal not those of the British. The Indian rulers, who were misguiding peoples in the name of democracy, succeeded step by step to develop Nepali Congress as an honest servant to fulfill that necessity.

Meanwhile, struggles of the Nepalese people were advancing in different forms against feudal brutality. In order to suppress it the King and Rana unitedly started killing cruelly the heroic sons and daughters of the Nepalese people. In this context, one must not forget that the erstwhile King Tribhuvan himself had agreed to and approved of the assassination of Gangalal. What can there be a bigger hypocrisy and joke on the people other than to propagate the King, who approved of killing the promising youths fighting against Rana's despotism as the father of democracy? This kind of totalitarian repression and murder further intensified fury of the people. The reactionary forces in and outside of the country were becoming active to utilize People's anger in favor of their interest. The Communist Party, which was a mere baby organized a short while ago, was unable practically to lead People's anger. Consequently, the Nepali Congress that used to plead democracy and operate under the gesture of Indian expansionist ruling classes succeeded in the then situation to impart illusion of being democratic among the peoples to a great extent.



The King, who was watching at the events closely, tried at that occasion acquiring a part of the power, which was transferred into Rana's hands. This task was impossible without the help of Indian new rulers and the slogan of democracy was required to obtain assistance from them. Also it was necessary to be prepared for showing sympathy towards people and shedding crocodile tears.

All of these dramas were over, and in order to decide the destiny of Nepalese People's struggle and aspiration of being liberated from the feudal tyranny, a infamous tripartite Delhi Agreement took place at Delhi palace among the King, the Ranas and the Nepali Congress under the guardianship of India. This Agreement accomplished the task of confusing people by using the political tool of "democracy" and concluded a new division of power among feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes in accordance with the changed world situation. Nepalese People's necessity and aspiration were trampled upon.

In order to confuse the masses and cool down People's fury, the feudal king, becoming a messiah of democracy declared to elect the "constituent assembly" and rule in accordance with the constitution adopted by it. But he never initiated to execute it. Why? For, the king wanted to impose autocracy upon the people. Ultimately, the King imposed his totalitarian rule upon the people by staging different kinds of dramas from 1950 to 1960. From 1960 to 1990, the King enforced his absolute power of loot by raising attractive slogans like, "revolutionary land reform", "new civil code", "back to village", and "zone of peace" and "Asian standard". During this period, the Nepalese people went on struggling one after another against such deception and conspiracy of the King. Thousands of brave sons and daughters of Nepalese people attained martyrdom during this period. Finally, the Nepalese people in 1990 encircled the palace with the slogan of end to monarchy. Another conspiracy was hatched in the palace against the aspiration, slogan and feeling expressed in the mass struggle. Alliance took place among the King, the Congress and the so-called left front. The reactionaries succeeded to disorient People's struggle by declaring multiparty under monarchy and by introducing some reforms in the reactionary state power. Again, taking into account of the changed world situation, heightening consciousness of the Nepalese people and the situation of struggle, a new division of power took place among feudal,

comprador and bureaucratic capitalism. A little of autocracy of feudal elements was snatched, a little of power was stretched out to comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic capitalism, by playing a decisive role of coordinating between these two according to the situation, strengthened its position in the power further. The constitutional monarchy and multiparty system, in a country like ours, is nothing other than the system of compromise between feudalism and imperialism. The multiparty system is assumed to be one step forward only for the reason that more opportunity is available to intensify class struggle within this compared to the Panchayati period. It is not for the reason that it does not resolve even the least of basic problems of the country and people, what it can do is to make those problems further dreadful and horrible. The activities of the past six years have practically clarified this fact before us.

Exactly at this point, what confusion the reactionaries and revisionists are trying to impart upon people is that the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism is national capitalism and the constitutional monarchy and multiparty system is identical to anti-feudal bourgeois republican system of the period of European bourgeois revolution developing national capital. The fact they exercise to hide is that, firstly, the parliamentary system has been completely regressive and fascist system in today's world. This system has already become a hypocritical one that puts seals to legalize genocide and loot of the imperialists. Secondly, in a backward country like Nepal, the parliamentary system today is a hybrid and artificial system that operates in the service of imperialism and maintains coalition with feudalism. They completely hide the historical fact that the capitalism has developed to the state of monopoly capitalism, i.e. imperialism, and that the bourgeois democratic revolution cannot take place in an old fashion in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In a country like ours, meaning of supporting the constitutional monarchy and multiparty system in any form means only to deceive the people and serve feudalism and imperialism. The entire reactionaries, revisionists and opportunists are forcefully emphasizing to cover up this reality.

What is our conclusion in this context is that, first, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial political structure, which was established since Sugauli Treaty, is still prevalent. This structure has been completely rotten.

Problems of nationalism, democracy and People's livelihood have become aggravated because of this rotten structure. Second, the bureaucratic capitalism of which the seed was sown from Sugauli Treaty and had been developing intensively since 1950 is passing through a state of serious crisis today. It is maturing objective condition for the revolution. Third, the Nepalese parliamentary system is coming up as the imperialist conspiracy of confusing and frustrating the People's rising consciousness and struggle not as an obvious necessity of development of Nepalese society. Fourth, the reactionary, revisionist and opportunist political groups are helping directly or indirectly to imperialist conspiracy and are working as their pawn of it. Fifth, a deep repulsion is developing among the Nepalese people towards the monarchial parliamentary system and its electoral drama. And the necessity, desire and consciousness for the radical change is intensively increasing. Sixth, in the course of long ideological and class struggle our Party C. P. N. (Maoist) that represents the necessity, desire and consciousness of Nepalese people has been developed.

## **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL** *[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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### **UML Government: A New Shield of Feudalism and Imperialism Under Crisis**

**-Com. Prachanda**

Following the mid-term parliamentary election, the situation in which His Majesty's UML Government has been formed, has given rise to some new questions and debates in the politics of Nepal in general and in the Nepalese communist movement in particular. The domestic and foreign reactionary media and the political representatives, on one hand, are propagating that the UML government, which has been formed with their assistance and support is the rise of a 'communist red star' in Nepal, and on the other, are busy in thanking and congratulating it for the task of defending their 'democratic mainstream' by being involved in it. What an irony! A 'communist red star' in Nepal and the enemies of the communism world over in queue for garlanding it with thanks and congratulations! The UML ministers, by distributing colorful 'sweets' of reforms and assurance in their happiness of outstanding 'success', have dumbfounded particularly the 'intellectual' section of the Nepalese petty bourgeoisie. Forgetting ideological commitments, ideal and ABC of Marxist as regards the state power and shutting off eyes towards the inherent historical particularity of the leaders of feudalism and imperialism that adopt conspiratorial and rotational tactics to defend their power, this section of petty bourgeois intellectuals at this time have, as Lenin said, become 'ignorant persons', who are delighted by 'taking bath in the glorious radiance of ministership of their leaders'.

Some of the political groups, which even utter the name of Mao, salivate at this 'success' of UML but lack strength to achieve that 'glory' of ministership in themselves, are at this time busy in opposing those who refuse to believe that the government of UML is a left government of patriotic and democratic forces. On the other, it is obvious for King Birendra to be proud of the UML leaders who have joined the task of washing his face stained with the blood of innumerable Nepalese sons and

daughters. In this situation, it has been necessary to find a theoretical and practical answer to the question: finally what is UML government?

Marxism, on the basis of historical materialist scientific outlook that severely attacks upon the entire mysterious and idealist explanations in relation to state power, declared with undeniable material of experience of class struggle that it is nothing but a weapon of one class suppressing the other. A state power that simultaneously represents classes of two opposing interests has neither been possible in the history nor will be in the future. Marxism hates and rejects the entire prattles of reform and class collaboration as the bourgeois hypocrisy. State power is either the dictatorship of the proletariat in different forms or that of the exploiting class. There can be no other stupidity than to imagine a power acting in between these two. This fact is equally true for freedom and democracy also. To talk of freedom and democracy that agrees for both the capitalist and worker, feudal and peasant, oppressed nation and imperialism can have no other meaning except serving finally the exploiting class by betraying Marxism and the experiences of class struggle. All of this is in fact the ABC of Marxism. Let us see. Lenin says, 'The State is a special organization of force; it is an organization of violence for the suppression of some class.' Will now the state power stop becoming an organization of violence right after the UML has become a part of the government? What is the relation between the main organ of the modern centralized state power and the government? It is necessary to pay special attention to this question. Clarifying on this Lenin further says, 'Two institutions are most characteristic of this state machine: the bureaucracy and the standing army.' It is evident that any government, which is compelled to function under the direction of the bureaucracy and standing army, the main two components of the state power, is impossible to become pro-people to the least.

Further emphasizing it he said, 'Imperialism -- the era of bank capital, the era of gigantic capitalist monopolies, the era of the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism -- has demonstrated with particular force an extraordinary strengthening of the "state machine" and an unprecedented growth of its military apparatus in connection with the intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries.' (Lenin, The State and

Revolution). From this, what is not difficult to understand for a person with a minimum sense in connection with the modern state is that the government is a component of the state but not the principal one. The principal one is the standing army and the bureaucracy, with the blessing of which the government runs. To go against the main organ of the state does not mean anything other than to go for violent confrontation. In this situation, is there any theoretical possibility for His Majesty's UML government other than to serve the centralized modern state? Marxism says it is impossible in straightforward and clear words and ridicules the stupidity of those who think so.

Provided one does not deceive oneself, does not betray the working masses for one's petty interest, it is sufficient to understand the reactionary character of the UML government if one pays attention to the famous proposition of Marxism: 'To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament -- such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.' (Lenin, Ibid). Dear readers! Can the Marxist intellectuals, who consider the UML leaders or UML government pro-people, repudiate these scientific propositions of Marxism? Is there any such particularity in Nepal because of which the class character of the reactionary state power has changed? No, the change has neither occurred in the state power and the scientific proposition of Marxism in relation to class struggle and parliamentarism, nor in the Nepalese reactionary class and its power, but it has occurred in the degeneration of UML group into reaction to serve feudalism and imperialism. The change has been witnessed in the fawning character of a section of petty bourgeois intellectuals before the reactionary power. The change has been observed at the treachery upon Marxism and betrayal to the interest of the masses.

What is clear to any political cadre honest to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is that the UML group since many years has been degenerating to revisionism betraying Marxist ideology. It had been singing songs of parliamentarism. It had been colluding and compromising with the political representatives of declared reactionary class against the real interest of the people and struggle. It was quantitatively advancing towards reaction. We

have already seen in innumerable examples the world over that revisionism is compelled to reach finally to the form of naked reaction. We have already witnessed these in the character of the First International renegades, development of renegade Kautskis of the Second International, who worshiped parliamentarism, to Khrushchev, Gorvachev and Yeltsin, treason of Teng, and in the counterrevolutionary character of revisionism in our neighboring India. Not only this, we have already observed how the opportunists, who used to claim honest towards people's interest, have resorted to massacre of people when they were trapped in the parliamentary web. But, different from this, the Nepalese revisionism has degenerated rapidly and nakedly to reaction. If one thinks a little deeply, there is no doubt that such a corrupted and opportunist government in terms of norms and values has rarely been constituted in the Nepalese history.

Why did such a 'hypocrisy' crop up in Nepal, and at this time? The Nepalese economy has since long years been ruined by the imperial and feudal exploitation and suppression and is approaching its collapse. Nepalese society and its culture have been pushed to perversion, anarchism and dissolution. Scarcity and insecurity has disarrayed the Nepalese life. Several imperialist and expansionist pressure and interference have shattered the national dignity of Nepalese people. Nepalese people have been constantly struggling since long against such situation. Nepalese people followed the path of forceful struggle against this too when problems of the country and people became more horrible even after the establishment of multiparty system. As a result of this, the declared political institutions of the reactionary class were so much hated among the people that it was impossible for them to face. The government became fickle. The legitimacy to running power of the reactionary class fell into danger. In that situation it was necessary for them to adopt a new tactics. In this context, as the result of conspiracy of domestic and foreign reactionaries, the web of midterm poll was thrown.

On the other, the UML clique, since long, betraying Marxism and mass struggles, confusing people through reformist slogans and colluding and compromising with the known reactionaries for the chair, had been preparing itself as a new and capable servant of feudalism and imperialism. Though the revolutionaries had been exposing this process; the situation

was not such that it could be adequate and effective at that time. In the situation when their whole system was in danger, the representatives of feudalism and imperialism found the UML clique as a new element that could defend it by confusing the people. As a meeting point of UML's treason and compulsion of the declared reactionaries, His Majesty's UML government has been constituted today. What the events now have been clarifying is that the western imperialists and the King have the special role in creating such an equation. On the other, this equation did not become that problematic for India in the context of rising US imperialist's hegemony over Indian expansionism. In order to justify this analysis of the course of events theoretically, I would like, in the context of lessons of revolution, to present comrade Lenin's saying before the readers: 'The capitalists, better organized and more experienced than anybody else in matters of class struggle and politics, learnt their lesson quicker than the others. Realizing that the government's position was hopeless, they resorted to a method which for many decades, ever since 1848, has been practiced by the capitalists of other countries in order to fool, divide and weaken the workers. This method is known as a "coalition" government, i.e., a joint cabinet formed of members of the bourgeoisie and turncoats from socialism.' (Lenin, From the Lesson of Revolution). Lenin had said it in the context in which Mensheviks also were a part of the government after the end of Czarism. In spite of different situation and background, this statement fully complies in the context of the 'government of the national consensus' of the King, Congress and the UML in Nepal today.

In Nepal there is no doubt that the Congress government, having fallen in crisis, has been disarrayed, the UML clique has fled into bourgeois camp deserting socialist principles and has reached to worshipping imperialism and feudalism with a reactionary slogan of 'the government of national consensus'. Only that section of the petty bourgeois intellectuals, who cannot understand the Marxist theory in its real revolutionary sense, run away from struggle due to the complexities of class struggle in today's era of imperialism, and follow appearance by ignoring the essence of subject matter, can foolishly propagate UML government as people's government. In the view of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, a revolutionary dedicated to real emancipation of Nepalese people, fighters firmly dedicated to advancing along the footprints of thousands of martyrs who sacrificed for building a



new Nepal by completely destroying feudalism and imperialism, the UML government is from top to bottom a reactionary one defending feudalism and imperialism. It is a corrupt government that functions with the consent of killers and looters of the people and deceives them by paying lip service to communism and Marxism-Leninism. In a situation when UML has gone so nakedly away from all the aspects of theory, politics and practice, none of those, who consider the UML government as a leftist, patriotic and democratic, can be a Marxist. The exercise of defending UML by some of the leaders, who claim to be a mature Marxist, will be exposed with time and will be thrown away into the same garbage of the history.

In this context, Lenin's statement against the bourgeois coalition government that was formed after the February revolution of 1917 in Russia, i.e. the end of Czarism, is worthwhile to note: 'He who says that the workers must support the new government in the interests of the struggle against tsarist reaction (and apparently this is being said by the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs, Chkhenkelis and also, all evasiveness notwithstanding, by Chkheidze) is a traitor to the workers, a traitor to the cause of the proletariat, to the cause of peace and freedom. For actually, precisely this new government is already bound hand and foot by imperialist capital, by the imperialist policy'. (Lenin: Letters From Afar). Dear readers! I have placed this quotation of Lenin knowingly that it does not fit in with our context. Lenin had termed renegade to those who argued that one should support the government, which was formed from revolution and by smashing Czarist monarchy. Here the government of UML has been formed under the servitude of monarchy. Therefore it is very clear that this government is several times inferior to the government formed after the fall of Czarism in Russia. Even in such a naked situation, whether we can call the leaders like Mohan Bikram Singh and Nirmal Lama, who are arguing that it is wrong to term this a reactionary government and must support it against the King and Congress, the renegades of the worker's movement in Nepal? I request readers to ponder on this question seriously. This theoretical and political condition of 'our mature leaders', who mutter Leninism, is really pathetic. Those mature leaders have charged that the leadership of Unity Center is childish or infantile, for the CPN (UC), on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has, in a straightforward way, clear language and without hesitation said that the UML government is the

reactionary one. In this context, it will be a matter of pride for the leadership of Unity Center that, as Comrade Mohan Chandra Adhikari said, they have acquired the lucky status of the child who first of all cried 'the king is naked' in the story, 'The Emperor's New Cloth'. Rather, the question returns back to them, what is the mystery of the maturity of those who don't dare to open up their mouth even after seeing it naked?

Finally, what has been tried to put forward in this short article is that, according to the Marxist outlook, the UML government in the present situation of development of class struggle in Nepal is functioning as a new shield of feudalism and imperialism under crisis. It is a strategic offensive of feudalism and imperialism against the Nepalese struggling masses and the communist revolutionaries. Ultimately, it will not be possible for the UML clique to protect the feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism under this state and structure. The effort of entire reactionaries, the King, Congress including the UML that try to stop dynamism of the Nepalese society getting restless over the radical change will never succeed. The revolutionary storm of the people will smash the whole exploitative system of feudalism and imperialism together with the King, Congress, the reactionary cliques and sub-cliques including the UML, and New Democratic Republic of Nepal will surely be built up.

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Significance of Struggle Against Reformism and Liquidationism**

**- Com. Prachanda**

There are plenty of examples in the world communist movement, in which reformist and liquidationist trends have occurred in the hours of defeat of revolution, extensive reactionary offense and crisis and the setback. Today's worldwide counterrevolution has once again provided fertile land for reformism and liquidationism in the communist movement the world over. In this context, several revolutionaries of the past years have, in the foundation of petty bourgeois thinking in Nepal, become today the worshippers of reformism. The establishment of so-called bourgeois parliamentary system, which is intermingled with imperialism and feudalism in thousands of ways, has provided additional help to expand reformism and liquidationism. It is necessary on the part of each communist, who wishes to adopt revolutionary Marxism heartily and accordingly propel forward Nepalese revolution as an inseparable part of world proletarian revolution, to widen, intensify and deepen the ideological struggle against reformism and liquidationism as an urgent, important and unavoidable task today.

There is a danger of the Nepalese revolution being pushed away for more years if the revolutionaries fail to defeat reformism. Realizing this danger, our Party has been emphatically raising the importance that the communist revolutionaries must come forward to push ahead the struggle against reformism.

The overall practical expression of right revisionism is reformism. Liquidationism is a form of reformism, which shows up in a particular situation of ups and downs of the movement. It is evident here that reformism and liquidationism do not represent dialectical materialist proletarian outlook. Reformists and liquidationists do not dare to disagree with this reality due to the theoretical victory of Marxism over capitalism. They cannot place their clear concept opposing Marxism as Bernstein could. Now the situation has been pushed ahead up to such a level that they

have been compelled to pursue reformism and liquidationism in new forms by opposing the entire opportunists including Kautsky and Trotsky. Right revisionism has a particularity to fulfill their bourgeois class interest according the space, time and situation by presenting the old tendencies in new and different forms. Therefore the revolutionaries should continue unmasking on the basis of Marxist theory, different forms of reformism and liquidationism that appear in the particular situation of development of class struggle. Opportunism, when defeated in one form, mandatorily appears in another form.

The reformists pretend to have opposed reformism theoretically within the communist movement today. They show off to have agreed with Marxism. It is not this much only. They fulfill their vested interests by emphasizing to have developed Marxism creatively and to have correctly analyzed the concrete situation. In this situation, how to identify reformist, liquidationists from Marxists? For this, we should look at them from theory to practice and should comeback from practice to theory. Even though the reformists support this or that part of revolutionary theory they cannot apply that in practice. Therefore, their theory is most correctly expressed from the practical life and daily conduct to which the every individual and the party adopt. Until we fail to read it correctly we cannot understand opportunism and defeat it. Reformism does not accept the necessity and significance of qualitative change in the development of every matter, event and the process. It has already been said before that reformists within the movement do not accept it theoretically in the case of social development. They refuse it in practice. How does it take place? The reformists do so by removing or keeping away the ultimate goal every time from the movement, opposing always to raise revolutionary demand and slogan in it and opposing revolutionary forms of struggles. What Lenin has taught us is that if anybody shows to have opposed reformism but keeps revolutionary goal, demand and slogans away from the movement, it is itself a reformism. Those who sacrifice future in the name of immediate advantage are reformists.

The reformists, opposing organized propaganda on the necessity of armed revolution, pushing always the revolutionary preparation back emphasize always in practice to peaceful, legal and parliamentary struggles. They

apprehend the question of armed revolution only as a 'pipe dream' and 'revolutionary phrase-mongering'.

The reformists want to bring in more voters by making a loose and anarchist mass party, not a disciplined and militant one, because they always emphasize on to the reformist and parliamentary struggles. They regard the proletarian discipline as the bureaucratic one. They are so individualist that they challenge the whole party, threaten and remain passive if it does not agree with them. Honest and disciplined cadres, who work actively for revolution, seem to be submissive and blind supporter in the eyes of the reformists. Those, who are shrewd, loquacious and want to come in publicity, are capable in their view. By doing so, they continue to follow the same bourgeois outlook and style of work that thinks of the people as a crowd to which a few clever and artful persons handle.

In the history of 44 years, reformist disease has been dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. Instead of raising revolutionary tactics of the proletariat class, to be confined within reformist demand in 1990 Movement of establishment of multiparty system that works for the interest of reactionary class, to be progressive by forming a reactionary constitution, to aspire to join the reactionary cabinet and shoot the people, to say Marxism applies in this way in Nepal and to move on saying that the parliamentary system is progressive; all these are manifestations of naked type of reformism.

After 1990, the reformists in Nepal have appeared extensively in the form of liquidationism. Different symptoms of this are explicitly being observed. One of the main particularities of liquidationism is the process of registering Party legally under the reactionary system by ending the clandestine system of Party. The question of ultra-right revisionists is far away, those who claim oneself revolutionary have generally given open and a legal form to the party even though they have not registered or not been able to do so. When party has been opened under the reactionary rule and in a situation encircled by imperialism at that time all the things of armed revolution, illegal struggle and radical change become a lie. By opening and legalizing the Party and conducting the entire activities according to this or

by trying to do so, the reformists today are following the path of liquidationists.

Today, being terrified of imperialist onslaught and setback of the proletarian revolution several revolutionaries of yesteryears have lost their general sense. They have now lost faith towards Party, revolution and the people. The peoples of such trends, who are making efforts of finding reason of counterrevolution by going deep into the unknown ocean of study and investigation and by rising above the Party and revolution, are in reality representing reformism and liquidationism.

Party, discipline, class struggle and work among the people have now become useless for several of those intellectuals, who regard themselves as Marxist priests. Today's necessity for them is to form a study group, dissolve party mechanism, run a paper and to maintain relation with right revisionists in thousands of ways. Some of the red preachers hold opinions like: this too is not correct, that too is not correct; I am also not correct and nobody knows which is correct. They are entertaining and assisting the reactionaries. This is too extreme and naked type of liquidationism witnessed in the Nepalese communist movement. It is clear that philosophically this is directly related with agnosticism. The one who, separating the questions of culture and morality from the relativity of the development of class struggle and, raising it to the level of religious preaching maintains the life of a political tutor like that of the monastery head, also falls almost under this category.

In order to fight against the aforesaid types of reformist and liquidationist trends the revolutionaries should proceed ahead from all the fronts of principle, politics and practice. For that it is inevitable to go on developing revolutionary struggle in practice by carrying out extensive study and discussion upon theoretical specificities of reformism, historical process of struggle against reformism in the international communist movement and its particularities in the context of today's world and our country.

**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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**New Democratic Revolution and the Theory of  
People's War**

**-Com. Prachanda**

Real advance of any revolutionary movement is impossible in the lack of ideological clarity. From the history to present, the question of ideology is found as the main reason of determining success and failure in the entire movements.

Mao's emphasis on the question that correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything indicates this fact. Finally, how does the development of that clear scientific and revolutionary ideology take place? In short, it takes place in course of fighting against the wrong ideology. In thousands of years of history, whatever development mankind has achieved is the consequence of struggle. Today, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism represents a clear, scientific and revolutionary ideology as the reflection of entire struggle the mankind has carried out in the field of ideology. In this context, it is urgent to understand the science of Mao's emphasis on the fact that the human knowledge and consequently the social life develops in leap in the form of struggle for production, class struggle and the scientific experiment itself. Today the most severe attack is being done exactly upon this revolutionary and scientific ideology from the part of reactionaries and revisionists. In the present context, when a forceful attempt is being made from the camp of reactionaries and revisionists to make dominant the trends of anarchism, skepticism, liquidationism and capitulationism wide, it is necessary to raise struggle against these regressive ideas and trends further resolutely and courageously by those who think revolutionary movement is inevitable. This banner of struggle is the banner of progress and emancipation of mankind.

To be clear on aforesaid ideas and context is of special significance while discussing on New Democratic revolution and the theory of People's War. Because all over the world today the most vitriolic attack from the side of reaction and reformism is being launched upon New Democratic revolution,

theory of People's War and mainly, upon Maoism. It is happening so due to the reason that Maoism represents Marxism in the development of class struggle in the world today. To devaluate Maoism is in fact to devaluate Marxism-Leninism itself and in that way is ultimately to devaluate the line of People's War necessary for that. Clarity upon New Democratic revolution and People's War is impossible without the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The concept of New Democratic revolution was developed with the concrete historical necessity of revolution. Historically, prior to the development of capitalism into monopoly capitalism or imperialism and prior to the forcefully increasing role of the proletariat in the international political arena, particularly before world historic importance of the great Russian October Socialist Revolution under Lenin's leadership in 1917, the bourgeoisie played a progressive role in the fight against medieval feudal oppression. But because of the development of aforesaid historical situation the bourgeois class came to lose its progressive anti-feudal, and anti-foreign-encroachment and intervention character. The development of proletarian revolution went on proving it to be regressive in a fast pace. The bourgeois class reached at monopoly capitalism. Colluding with feudalism it started taking front against the most revolutionary class, the proletariat. In order to erect an empire in the backward countries, it widely broadened the process of exploitation, oppression, intervention and sabotage. By this, a specific situation of fighting simultaneously against feudalism and imperialism developed before a huge majority of nations and people of the earth who were floundering for emancipation from the medieval feudal oppression. Development of the backward nations of this sort took place into semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition in the form of distorted capitalism.

Nonetheless, the emerging bourgeois class that was developing in such countries had contradiction simultaneously with feudalism and imperialism. But, by completely loosing its ability to provide leadership in the decisive struggles it was proved to be very much vacillating and impotent.

In this circumstance, a right tailist conception, which agues that leadership of struggle in the aforesaid types of countries should be left to the bourgeois class that has already become regressive, vacillating and incapable, in one



hand, and a mechanical, sectarian and dogmatic concept that argued to make socialist revolution at once by crossing over the historical process of social development, on the other, were prevalent in the international communist movement. Lenin, raising forcefully the significance of struggle against both of these deviations, put forward historical facts that the leadership of the proletariat had become unavoidable in the revolutions of bourgeois character, too. As per this, in the fighting against the Czars, which were in feudal imperialist condition, and there was considerable industrial development in cities, comrade Lenin, by developing independent strategy and tactics of the proletariat, led revolutionary movement to victory. But Lenin himself had clearly stated that it is the historical duty of communist revolutionaries to develop real strategy and tactics of revolution in those countries where the industrial development is lagging behind, dominance of peasants based on medieval feudal production system exists and imperialist oppression prevails.

In the mean time, most of the Communist Parties existing in the world failed to creatively develop revolutionary movement by studying this reality seriously in their respective countries on the basis of universal principals of Marxism-Leninism. They were victims of tailism or mechanical materialism. But the Communist Party of China accomplished this historic responsibility under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. Clarifying the fact that it is inevitable to advance towards the goal of socialist revolution by accomplishing a new type of bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, as part of the world revolution, in such oppressed countries, Mao, led it to success by developing first of all the strategy and tactics of New Democratic revolution. Mao stated it is really a mere imagination to make effort of building a socialist society over the rubble of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition without a bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type under the leadership of the Communist Party. In this way, the entire conceptions Mao has developed regarding New Democratic revolution, have become universal guideline of emancipation to all those nations that have been victims simultaneously of dual exploitation and oppression of feudalism and imperialism. Marx and Engles had clarified the fact that the violent revolution has a universal character in the class society. Lenin further explained systematically and developed theoretical concepts regarding necessity of armed struggle in the

course of implementing it in Russian revolution. Being based on the theoretical assertions of Marxism-Leninism on violent revolution and the experience acquired from their practical application, Mao developed the comprehensive theory of People's War in the course of intense protracted war of accomplishing New Democratic revolution in China. The theory of People's War developed by Mao represents the apex of Marxist-Leninist military science and will be applied universally in all kinds of countries according to the situation. In this sense, it is impossible for any of them to become a genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary who opposes the theory of People's War. Today the development of a revolutionary movement is possible only by being united in the process of waging People's War in both types of developed and underdeveloped countries according to their respective situation. To make revolution in the present era of imperialism means in reality to smash the reaction through People's War.

The fact that Mao developed the theory of People's War in the process of accomplishing New Democratic revolution clarifies close relation between them. For the success of a revolution in the country like ours that lies in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition it is essential to pass through the three stages of the strategic defense, equilibrium and strategic offence with the strategy of seizing towns from the rural areas. These assumptions are applicable at large and only in these application will the specificity of each country revealed. To talk of New Democratic revolution by those elements that deny these basic concepts of People's War does not prove to be anything in reality other than to an opportunist move of confusing the people. Since long, it was not thought seriously upon the strategy and tactics indispensable for protracted People's War, which a Communist Party needs to implement for the success of New Democratic revolution from the very beginning, for right opportunism remained dominant in it. Today the situation is so serious that the persons who advocated armed insurrection by developing mass movement have now earned the fame of being called a senior communist leader but merely talk of New Democratic revolution and Mao Thought without hesitation. The communist revolutionaries will be able to expose these opportunists, who talk of revolution by dissociating the inevitable relation between political and military strategy only through the development of People's War. Because of wrong interpretation on the part of opportunists since long regarding New

Democratic revolution, many cadres, supporters and sympathizers are confused about the aforesaid type of opportunism. Leadership of some of the groups that talk of New Democratic revolution and Mao Thought has been confusing the masses for decades saying that People's War should be waged tomorrow not today. For the opportunists of all shades, the Party, leader and activists that emphasize on Maoism, New Democratic revolution and principally the preparation of protracted People's War have become the main hurdles to their deviation. Therefore, a united front has been built up among them for different kinds of propaganda and intrigues against such a party.

(September 1999)

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Two Momentous Years of Revolutionary Transformation**

**-Com. Prachanda**

### **1. Introduction**

The process of revolutionary transformation of the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepalese society through the People's War has completed two years. Within this period the Party has successfully implemented two strategic plans of initiation and continuation of People's War and is at present carrying out the Third strategic plan. Today the People's War has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in Nepal by breaking through innumerable cycles of repression by the reactionaries and opposition of the revisionists. In the process of destruction of the old state power and construction of a new one, the People's War has today reached the stage of exercising local democratic state power. Creating challenging influence and debate in every aspect of national life, from the military point of view the People's War has reached the stage of development of guerrilla zone. By practically opening the doors of a new state structure in the form of a revolutionary United Front of masses of different classes, nationalities and regions oppressed for centuries, the People's War is showing in the course of development the path of its own preservation, development and victory. In place of the corrupt, immoral, fraudulent and extremely individualistic anarchist culture of the old state, the People's War has developed a new collective and lofty culture based on sacrifice, ideological commitment, self-sacrifice. In totality, amidst the process of intense repression and resistance within the past two years the People's War has performed a memorable role in revolutionary, transformation.

Uptil now ninety best sons and daughters of the Nepalese people have sacrificed their lives for accomplishing this historic success. Thousands of revolutionary fighters are braving jail, persecution and horrendous torture

perpetrated by the reactionary regime. Hundreds of thousands of people are nurturing this historic process through innumerable instances of sacrifice, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The path of development and victory of revolution has never been straight, easy and normal anywhere. The dialectical law of development is such that everywhere and always the revolution forges ahead by giving birth to intense opposition and counter-revolution and through ascent and descent, ups and downs, and losses and gains. The experience of the last two years of People's War in Nepal is also no exception to that rule. Today, on the occasion of the completion of the two glorious years and of entering into the third challenging year of the People's War it would be relevant to briefly review the past experiences.

## **2. Two Years of People's War and the Condition of the Reactionary State**

In the initial phase of the historic People's War, the Nepalese reactionary ruling class, just as the reactionary classes of the world, also tried to play down the great role of the people. Because of their own class outlook the reactionaries everywhere and always tend to "belittle" and "bully" the forces of the people. On the basis of this outlook the Nepalese reactionary ruling classes "declared" that they would wipe-out the people's forces within one and half to two months and resorted to state terrorism with mass arrest, torture, pillage and genocide. The masses, the Party and the-revolutionary fighters continued to resist this by setting historic examples of devotion and sacrifice.

What was the result? The result was consistent with what happens in genuine revolutionary movements all over the world. The result was as per the prognosis of the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The reactionary rulers had thought that they could easily extinguish the fire of People's War by resorting to genocide, repression, and terror. But, as has been proved by the law of science and the experience of history, the killing of the masses did not extinguish the fire of revolution, but added fuel to the fire. The negative act of the state terrorism was transformed into the positive result of development of the people's revolution. Instead, the state terrorism tore off the the mask of the so-called democracy, constitution, and

human rights donned by the reactionary state and helped the masses to recognise the fascist nature of the state. The fascist repressive drive of the whole year did not only reveal the crisis within the ruling state but deepened the crisis even more. After one year of repression they realised that there was even bigger wave of people's sympathy and co-operation for the People's War. That thousands are replacing the hundreds and hundreds of thousands are replacing the thousands! They realised that People's War cannot be easily wished away, that it was a fundamentally a new type of war.

Along with aggravating crisis within the rotten state of the reactionary class this great process of People's War intensified contradiction within its different political factions. Among the various parliamentary cliques, which serve as stooges for different imperialist and expansionist plunderers, the process of manoeuvring for power was intensified. Under the background of the above crisis: and immediately after the celebration of the first glorious anniversary and commencement of the second year of People's War a new coalition within the reactionary state was installed demonstrating naked perversion, immorality, hypocrisy and flunkeyism. The new government with the participation of the renegade UML clique under the leadership of the Panchayati butchers, was a mockery of even the limited achievements of the 1990 historic people's movement. It adopted a new strategy of repression combined with diplomatic intrigue against the People's War. Under this strategy in the beginning, it was pronounced that the People's War was a "political problem" and that it could be solved through "dialogue". However, in practice preparations were made for even more intense suppression by constituting different commissions, particularly an intelligence commission. The people grasped the overall conspiracy of the new government when it decided to introduce an anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise military against the people even when there was no change in the objective condition.

By reflecting upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the universal principle of development of revolutionary war and the specificities of development of People's War in Nepal the Party had already visualised the possibility of the enemy mobilising its army against the People's War. To resist this, the Party had prepared its entire rank and file,

the combatants and the masses to a certain extent, with a series of political and military strategy and tactics. Postulating the mobilisation of army against the People's War as a sign of victory of People's War from the military point of view, the Party had already prepared itself for the great prospects and grave challenges.

The great Nepalese masses launched countrywide protest campaign against the reactionary government's decision to introduce the so-called anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise the army against the People's War, thus rendering it dormant for the time being. Within the short period of one and a half months, the fascist nature of the new government got exposed. More importantly, for the first time the broader masses of people got the opportunity of identifying and understanding the reactionary nature of the revisionist renegade UML clique. Against the wrath of the people the government was forced to retreat. To a certain extent, the Nepalese people rightly experienced it as a form of victory for their initiative.

Alarmed by this kind of development, the feudalists and the imperialists started looking for another equation for maintaining their state. In this context started the much-hated process of buying and selling, confining and kidnapping of parliamentary mainly under the intervention and for the interests of the Indian expansionists! The hypocrisy of parliamentary democracy got even more exposed. It became once more clear to everyone that the parliament and the parliamentary are nothing but the sheepfold and sheep of imperialism and feudalism.

Ultimately a coalition government was formed consisting of the past fascist Panchas and the Congress, infamous as traitors, mass-murderers and stooges of Indian expansionist. This new government, most hated and shunned by the people, in its first public declaration made known its policy of containing the People's War. They declared that they would "wipe-out" the People's War within the period of three months. The new government is proceeding ahead with the strategic policy of using government sponsored goons under the name of People's Defense Committee, killing of revolutionary cadres with surprise attacks, making false and vicious propaganda against the leadership of the People's War, mobilising huge commando police and military forces through unannounced, countrywide

campaign of repression, arrest and torture, and making for a armed interventions against, peaceful programmes of different mass organisations. In this way nine revolutionary combatants including Com. Dhanraj Pun, Suk Bahadur Rokka, Prem Bahadur Rokka, Bhim Prasad Gharti of Rolpa district, a woman Comrade, Kamala Bhatt, of Gorkha district, Com. Padam Bahadur Rokaya of Jajarkot district have been murdered by this government of Indian stooges (till January 1998).

However, the more important aspect is the new and unprecedented wave of people's support in favour of the People's War that has been increasing together with such declarations and activities of the government. The peasants, women, students and intellectuals in thousands are forging ahead in greater speed in the process of militant struggle. The military actions of People's guerrillas have not only expanded widely but also attained newer heights. This has been confirmed by the recent success of higher forms of guerrilla actions accomplished in Rukum and Dhading, among other parts of the country.

Amidst this people's hatred, wrath and-resistance, another drama of formation of a new coalition within the reactionary state has begun. In the form of a meaningless debate of whether a mid-term election or a special session of parliament, power struggle between the Royal palace, the USA and India are taking place. For their own exclusive domination and plunder, the Indian expansionists and the American imperialists are today openly penetrating into the reactionary groups including the Royal palace, Nepali Congress, UML and RPP. It is now as clear as the day-light that various contradictions and conflicts within the different reactionary cliques of the country are in essence the reflection of power struggle between different imperialist and expansionist camps.

From the above scenario of the People's War and the reactionary state it becomes clear that the reactionary state is sliding towards its doom and the great process of the People's War is heading towards its victory. The present reactionary state is the root cause of downfall of the country and the people and the People's War represents the banner of safeguard and liberation of the country and the people.



Today, the feudalists, the expansionists and the imperialists are conspiring through their Nepalese stooges, the Nepali Congress, UML, the Royal palace, RPP etc. to let loose more intense repression against the Nepalese people and the People's War. It is not possible to attain easy victory in People's War. For this, wider participation and more unified efforts of the masses are warranted. There are great possibilities and at the same time serious challenges, too, ahead of the People's War.

Uptil now the reactionary class has been adopting the strategy of disinformation campaigns politically and that of encirclement and suppression militarily against the People's War. To counter this the People's War is adopting the strategy of "demystifying rumour" politically and "breaking encirclement and mounting resistance" militarily.

We should not assume the failure of different reactionary political groups as the failure of overall reactionary state. If need be, the reactionary state can do away with the present political groups as the failure of to exercising extreme despotism against the people. It is only by preparing themselves to face the worse to worst state that the revolutionaries can fulfill their historic role. The main point is to dare to win over the fear of death, through adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism and commitment for the sake of the people. Howsoever arduous the path may be, the destruction of the reactionary state and the victory of the people is for sure.

### **3. Role of People's War in the Development of the Three Instruments of Revolution**

#### **A. The Party**

Comrade Mao has synthesized that the three magic instruments of the New Democratic revolution are the Party, the revolutionary United-Front and the People's Army. Even though the theory may remain same, the specific development of these instruments depends upon the specificities of historical development of different countries. Here there is no question of accomodating mechanist thinking. It is well known that amongst the three instruments, the Party is the main instrument which will give leadership to the other two.

The People's War which has been forging ahead since the past two years has played a historic role in developing and transforming the Party itself. In a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like ours and in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the process of protracted nature of the People's War is also a process of revolutionary transformation of the Party. We are realising with our own experience that in comparison to tens of years of ideal talking and surmising, the two year's experience of the People's War has played an amazing role in the revolutionary transformation of the Party.

The People's War has played important role in the transformation and development of the Party, such as: by strengthening the ideological unity of the Party through emotional unity; by raising the ideological, political awareness and level of the Party to a newer height through unfolding specific characteristics of the Nepalese revolution; by leading the whole Party towards the development of a proletarian revolutionary culture of renouncement, devotion and sacrifice essential for giving leadership to the people's revolution; by raising consciousness about dialectical relationship and correct handling of class struggle and inner struggle; by qualitatively consolidating and expanding the relationship between the mass, class, Party and the leaders; by increasing the role, responsibility and recognition of the Party in the national and international field, etc.

It was in the process of resisting against the reactionary state's fascist repression and in facing the venomous attacks of the old and the new revisionists that sped-up the revolutionary transformation process of the Party. The fact that the development of the Party as the revolutionary representative of the proletarian class takes place through intense process of class struggle and ideological struggle has been proved correct in Nepal, too.

Based on the synthesis of the experiences, achievements and limits of People's War, the Party is today stressing to make lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) as its point of departure so as to prevent the Party from changing its colour and to be more revolutionary and matured in the face of repressive, conspiratorial and splittist activities of the reactionaries and the opportunists. For a continuous transformation of the

Party as the leader of the revolution, for defending it physically and ideologically and for expanding and strengthening its relationship with the masses there is no other scientific method in the present-day world than the teachings of the GPCR. The Party is the unity of opposites; as long as the Party exists the phenomena of unity and struggle between the opposites will also remain. The more developed and the more complex the class-struggle becomes the more the Party also necessarily becomes developed and complex. In that context a maximum and continuous practice of democracy both within and outside the Party becomes necessary so as to preserve the revolutionary quality of the Party and to defeat different manifestations of revisionism and opportunism. To ensure the maximum participation of the general cadres and the labouring masses in the internal affairs of the Party is the only guarantee to save it against revisionism. Hence, the Party is able to visualise clearly through the experiences of the two years of People's War that unless one adopts a system of generating innumerable revolutionary successors from the rank and file cadres and the masses, it will be impossible to defeat feudalism, imperialism and revisionism. The important achievement of today is the realisation of the necessity of developing consciousness and initiatives among the cadres and the masses to "bombard the headquarter" of opportunism so as to fulfill the role of giving leadership to the great revolution of the people against the exploitation and oppression of feudalism and imperialism and the betrayal and treachery of revisionism.

## **B. Revolutionary United Front**

Theoretically it is obvious that the success of democratic revolution is impossible without the broad Revolutionary United Front between different anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes, sections, and levels of people under the leadership of the proletariat. Similarly it is clear that the basis of such a form of united front will be and should be the unity between workers and peasants.

However, the process of initiation and development of the Revolutionary United Front will be different, depending upon the situation of different countries. In Nepal, the greatest manifestation of opportunism has been on the question of the United Front.

Although theoretically our Party had been forwarding revolutionary line in this question for a long time, however it was not able to put it into practice and it was also not possible without initiating the People's War. Today the experiences of the People's War, have given clear picture of tactics and strategic aspects of the Revolutionary United Front. Looking at the historical specificities of Nepal and the experiences of the two years of People's War, the broad united front of oppressed classes and masses, oppressed nationalities and the people of oppressed regions will be the concrete manifestation of our Revolutionary United Front. This conclusion has an immense historical importance.

This will smash the present "unity" imposed by the Hindu feudal state power based on the class, national and regional inequality and oppression and open the door for building a new unity based on democratic values. Today the People's War has had maximum impact on the oppressed classes and masses of workers, peasants, women, etc., on different oppressed nationalities and untouchable dalit castes and on the people of the oppressed regions of the far West and the Terai.

The Party regards it as a historical necessity of Nepal to give maximum importance to the question of struggle against national and regional oppression as an integral part of class-struggle and democratic revolution. Until political, economic, linguistic, religious, and cultural rights of different nationalities usurped in the course of formation of the centralised feudal state of Nepal are reinstated democratically and they are guaranteed full participation in the new democratic state and until a great force of national unity based on democracy is created, it will be impossible to smash feudalism and imperialism.

In order to achieve that great national unity there is no other proletarian outlook other than to recognise the right of self-determination including the right to secede politically to the oppressed nationalities. Hence our Party has firmly accepted the right of self-determination of different oppressed nationalities in order to ensure their participation as a necessary part of the Revolutionary United Front. Accordingly the Party has been undertaking initiatives to put into practice national autonomy as the concrete programme for the present.

In the present stage of development of the People's War wherever there is an exercise of local democratic state the Party has been trying to practically apply the concept of United Front in it, and at the central level to build United Front as an instrument of struggle against class, national and regional oppression. In order to ensure the victory of the Nepalese revolution, the relevance of the Party's concept of United Front should be propagated amongst the workers, peasants, different nationalities, oppressed castes and the people of the oppressed regions and give it an organisational form in a manner as fast as possible and as best as possible.

At the ideological level, it is necessary to launch a more vigorous struggle against the rightist revisionists who hanker after opportunistic alliances, in the name of United Front.

### **C. People's Army**

The People's War, which is forging ahead with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist slogans such as: "The people without army have nothing of their own", "The main instrument of the state is the army", "In New Democratic revolution the main form of organisation is the army and the main form of struggle is the war", etc., is playing important role in the formation of the people's army. Today unarmed masses are systematically transforming themselves into armed masses relying on the revolutionary theory that war teaches war. Using the strategy and tactics of total war in the face of extreme unbalanced condition of military forces of the enemy and the people, the People's War has been moving forward the process of building the army with the Nepalese specificities.

By unfolding many concrete laws of dialectical relations between open and secret work, rural and urban activities, legal and illegal struggle, political and military activities, mass actions and mass mobilisation, the People's War has been developing military consciousness and power of the people.

### **4. Role of People's War in the Development of Revolutionary Mass Organisation and Mass Movement**

The historic initiation of People's War and its successive development has opened a new door of development of revolutionary mass organisation and revolutionary mass movement. First of all it has created new waves of

revolutionary mass organisation, and revolutionary mass movement by making mockery of revisionist cowards who refuse to see the possibilities of developing mass movements and mass organisations beyond the limits of reformism and parliamentarism and who were indulging in self-gratification of their monopoly over that area after the initiation of the People's War.

Today the workers, peasants, women, students, teachers, intellectuals, dalits, oppressed nationalities and cultural activists are fueling the fire of organization and struggle as allies of the People's War with new zest and zeal. The waves of revolutionary mass movements and revolutionary mass organizations have been created throughout the country, chiefly in the principal areas of struggle, by challenging severe state terrorism perpetrated by the reactionary state and the cowardly twaddle of the revisionist renegades.

Has modern history of Nepal ever seen such amazing initiative of thousands of labouring women of rural areas of the country who have raised the flag of revolt defying all kinds of difficulties? Can the revisionist cowards ever imagine the great surge of women's participation in the form of guerrilla fighters and commanders by defying death consciously and willingly? Amidst terror unleashed by government-sponsored goons, the police and the army, today thousands of labouring women from each and every remote districts are participating in women's meetings and conferences shaking heaven and earth and fighting for their due rights. These have proved the new relationship between the People's War and the mass movement. The fact that women are the most inspired group in the last two years of People's War itself is indicating definite victory for the Nepalese revolution.

Today a new horizon of peasant's meetings, conferences and struggles has opened up throughout the country. The way the poor peasants are taking great initiative in capturing thousands of quintals of grains, crops, and lands and in destroying forged bond papers of different feudal landlords of the country, behind all these People's War has definitely played a great role. Hundreds of thousands of peasants from the main areas of struggle are attempting to exercise New Democratic power by systematically resisting the enemy's mass killing, looting and terrorising. Have such scenes ever

before been observed by the Nepalese Communist movement? It is definite that by taking the path of revolutionary land reforms, consciously and in a planned manner in different parts of the country, the flames of revolutionary peasant struggles will in future reduce to ashes the whole feudal relations of production. Similarly the revolutionary youths and students are marching forward spreading organisation and struggles throughout the country defying killing, repression, arrest, and torture by the enemy. The People's War has given new energy for sacrifice and initiative to the students by qualitatively developing among them a sense of responsibility towards their country and the people.

Along with the development of the People's War a new consciousness for fighting for their own rights and liberation is spreading amongst many oppressed nationalities of the country such as Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Tharus, Rais, Limbus and Madhises. People's War has speeded up the process of formation of various national liberation fronts and expansion of nationality organisations. Similarly, today along with the development of People's War, a wave of organisation and struggle has been created among dalit castes at a greater speed and a wider scale. The dalits are today rebelling against inhuman tyranny perpetrated upon them by the feudal state of high caste Hindus.

Similarly the People's War has made teachers, professors and intellectuals more conscious and active with regards to their responsibilities towards the country and the people. It is a significant change that thousands of intellectuals are coming forward to give moral support to the great historic process of People's War and are organising against the social evils and degeneration and the tyranny of the reactionary state.

In the field of cultural front, the People's War is helping the revolutionary cultural activists in their initiative and alignment against the present capitalist, revisionist and neo-revisionist hypocrisy. In the field of literature, art and culture, the People's War is directly helping in the formation of a countrywide new cultural army. The role played by the cultural front in making hundreds of thousands of people participate in the People's War has been unprecedented. It is not only within the country but also outside the country, particularly in India, that the People's War has created new spirit

and confidence among the expatriate Nepalese to get themselves organised and participate in the People's War in Nepal. The Party's influence and work among hundreds of thousands of expatriate Nepalese have increased. Similarly today the People's War is playing important role in attracting agriculture technicians, doctors, engineers, lawyers, human right activists, etc. towards the New Democratic revolution.

From these facts it becomes clear that the People's War does not weaken mass movement and mass organisation but instead it strengthens them and opens the door for their qualitative expansion and development. From the experience of past two years it has become clear that it is the revisionists who have been hampering the revolutionary development of mass organisation and mass movement by parroting mass movementism but worshipping reformism and parliamentarism.

## **5. Role of People's War in Exposing the Revisionists**

Nowhere in the world proletarian movement success of the revolution has been achieved without waging intense ideological struggle against revisionism. One of the essential conditions for the development and victory of the Nepalese revolution is also to liberate the people of Nepal from the fatal poison of revisionism. Com. Lenin has poignantly expressed that it is foolish to try to fight against modern revisionism only with theoretical debate. Together with ideological debate it is mainly through the development of class struggle that the revisionism can be defeated. It is not so simple and trivial to fight against Nepalese revisionism which has deeply penetrated within the Nepalese Communist movement in the past five decades and poisoned the minds of hundreds of genuine people.

As has been said by Lenin, it is mainly the development of class struggle in the form of People's War, along with the ideological debate, that has started burning the Nepalese revisionism (In Engel's words: "colossal heap of garbage"). That today the new and the old revisionists have become more terrorised by the ghost of the People's War than even the old reactionaries and are madly assailing at it, proves that the revisionist heap of garbage is on fire. Immediately after the initiation of the People's War, the new and the old revisionist pundits violated the common morality of class solidarity and showed their true character by putting their faith in the feudalist and



imperialist propaganda and by doubting and dishonouring the great sacrifice and initiative of the masses. They exposed their true self by lending their voice to the reactionary state and by trumpeting the charge of terrorism and extremism against the People's War. It is not only the leadership of UML that has degenerated into reaction, but also the new revisionist ringleaders who claim themselves as the upholders of "New Democracy" and "Mao Thought", that have been serving the reactionary state against the People's War and thus revealing their true character. In this context it is worth recollecting Mohan Bikram, who is getting degenerated and marginalised due to his own immoral, hypocritical and revisionist character, who outwitted all others by announcing that the People's War would be wiped out within ten months. However, when the old and the new revisionists saw that the People's War was spreading more and more against their wishes, they started parroting that there was a reactionary hand in promoting the People's War, just as the Congress and the Royal palace have been accusing each other for the same. They lamented that the reactionaries were not able to repress the People's War, which in fact has been resisting the reactionary massacre and state terror. When the People's War entered the second year after completing one year, it was transformed into the life process of hundreds of thousands of people, it started challenging the ruling reactionary state all the more, and it also triggered the process of genuine cadres from the revisionist camp joining and supporting the People's War overtly or covertly. Seeing this the old revisionists openly went to give leadership to the reactionary state in order to suppress the People's War. The new revisionist ring leaders, in order to fight for their survival, went nakedly to play into the reactionary's hands. They instigated the reactionaries against the People's War by making mountain out of mole hills of insignificant events at local level.

The People's War has now entered the third year after completing two years. It has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in the country. For the reactionary state today the People's War has become the greatest obstacle. It sounds ironic that along with the imperialists, expansionists, Nepali Congress, Rastriya Prajatantra Party and United Marxist-Leninist group, even the leaders of Mashal and Unity Centre should be branding the People's War as terrorism. But this is a fact. Nowhere and never have the elements degenerated into reformism and

parliamentarism ideologically and politically, ever helped the revolutionary movement. Even after the success of people's revolution in future, such kinds of people will continue to oppose it. It is well known that the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Maoists in China were attacked even after the revolution by the revisionists who called themselves as communists.

Today the People's War is scaling ever greater heights while exposing all rubbish of the new and the old revisionists. So long as the revolutionaries are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and so long as they remain loyal to the Nepalese people and march forward to liberate the country and the people, the venomous attacks of the revisionists will not be able to stop the development of the People's War. Rather, with the passage of time the revisionists will get thoroughly exposed. The revolution will triumph. The development of two years of People's War has sufficiently proved this.

## **6. People's War and the Expansion and Consolidation of International Relations**

Before the historic initiation of People's War the Party had pledged that "Nepalese revolution is an integral part of world proletarian revolution and this will serve the world revolution". Today with two years of experience this pledge has been proved absolutely correct. This is already known to all that our Party is a participating member of RIM which is striving for building a "New International". Within this period our relationship with the RIM Committee and all other participating fraternal Parties of RIM has become qualitatively alive and strengthened. The initiation of the People's War and its successive development has, at one end, given new inspiration to the participating parties of the RIM, and at the other end, the Nepalese People's War has received moral support from all the Parties. In the course of development, today, the international responsibility of our Party and the revolutionary Nepalese people have increased qualitatively.

Today our relation is not only spreading among the participating members of the RIM but also among those revolutionary Marxist Parties and organisations who are outside the RIM. Similarly relations with revolutionary organisations waging national liberation struggle against imperialism and expansionism are also expanding along with the development of the People's War in Nepal. The way the Nepalese People's

War which is of protracted nature, has expanded its international relations and its influence, this itself has become a specific manifestation of the Nepalese revolution. It is a matter of pride that the Nepalese People's War is getting warm support, love and inspiration from millions of revolutionary masses all over the world within such a short period.

Also, the way the Nepalese People's War is speeding up its relations with international revolutionaries, in the same speed the imperialists, expansionists and various reactionaries are hatching conspiracies and intrigues against it. In this regard the comments of particularly the ruling classes of India and the American imperialists, the world gendarmes, are worth noting. Many conspiratorial and repressive moves by these powers against the Nepalese People's War and the Party leading it have come to surface. These elements are mainly instigating their stooges, the ruling class and various reactionary groups of Nepal, to suppress the People's War. This way the Nepalese People's War has proved to be a big slap to the world imperialist system which is undergoing new economic and political crises. It is now becoming clear that the Nepalese People's War will have a historic role in developing new wave of world revolution in the near future.

The continuous development of the Nepalese People's War has not only started exposing Nepalese revisionism but also world revisionism. The People's War has been a major blow to the old and the new revisionists who have been swimming in the dirty pools of reformism and parliamentarism and have betrayed the people's revolutionary movement all over the world. In this regard the attacks of the CPI-M and the CPI of India and other revisionist renegades against the Maoist People's War in Nepal is particularly noteworthy.

Today in many other countries of the world final preparations for launching a Maoist People's War are taking place. It is a matter of pleasure for all the Nepalese revolutionaries to know that the experiences of the initiation and continuation of the People's War in Nepal are directly helping in these preparations. Today requests have been received from revolutionary workers of different parts of the world to come to Nepal and to participate in the warfront in order to safeguard and develop the Nepalese People's War and to learn practical lessons from it. These are the highest manifestations

of the international impact of the two years of development of the People's War.

This way, at one end, the Nepalese People's War has become a new challenge to international imperialism and revisionism, and at the other end, a new source of inspiration for the Communist revolutionaries and the masses of the people. This situation has definitely placed more international responsibility on the shoulders of the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist), the revolutionary fighters and the general masses of Nepal. The leading districts, the great martyrs and all the revolutionary fighters of the People's War in Nepal have now been transformed into common assets of communist revolutionaries all over the world. It is this sense of seriousness and responsibility that has inspired the Nepalese revolutionaries to develop the People's War to greater heights and to set new examples of devotion and sacrifice.

## **7. Conclusion**

The great process of the People's War is marching forward by giving birth to powerful forces of revolutionary transformation in all areas of the Nepalese society. The enemies and the opportunists within and outside the country are conniving with each other to repress and thwart this great process of revolutionary transformation. The revolutionary communists and the masses of the people within and outside the country are getting all the more organised at bigger scale to safeguard and develop this great process. Thus, at one end, the two years of People's War have opened the doors of historic possibilities, while at the other end, a situation of bigger challenges from the enemies and the opportunists has also been created.

The revolution is not following subjective wishes of anyone, but the dialectical path of its own development. The two years of People's War have inspired the Party to fulfill its historic responsibility of liberating the people with greater firmness, devotion and responsibility while remaining committed to the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us unite in the service and for the liberation of the great Nepalese people! Howsoever difficult and challenging the path may be the people's victory is certain!

(May 1998)

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Third Turbulent Year of People's War: A General Review**

**Com. Prachanda**

### **1. Background**

With a new Plan for the new stage of 'Advancing in the direction of creating base areas' the historic process of Nepalese People's War has entered into the challenging fourth year passing a turbulent third year. The third year of People's War has remained qualitative in character compared to previous two years from the point of view of its intensity, vigorousness and profusion in experience. The Nepalese People's War has completed three years 'begetting a fierce and forceful counter-revolution and immense opposition and providing strong resistance to it' in the great process of 'maturing the rebellious party' as Karl Marx stated. This historic advancement of People's War is developing in line with as Lenin said 'creating abnormal and complex situation by own self in the process of one's own development'. It is advancing incessantly as Mao said 'with it's own dialectical rules of dynamism of People's War and with ups and down, losses and achievements and ebbs and flows'.

Setting aside the suppression and conspiracy of reactionaries and revisionists, one after another, the People's War in Nepal has entered into fourth year with grand success which is in essence the symbol of success of five hundred martyrs of revolution, entire people's militia and the general Nepalese masses, communist revolutionaries and working classes of the world including the RIM and above all Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the great Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) guided by it. On this historic occasion an attempt is made to present a general review based on experiences in the third year.

### **2. Wave of People's Support and Emergence of Local People's Power**

People's War entered into third year with the initiation of Third Plan's second campaign along with grand success achieved in various activities like capturing thousands of quintals of grains from feudal and landlords to distribute among poor peasants, incidents of seizing land, mass mobilisation and events of organisational expansion. Millions of people observed the Second anniversary of the People's War with great enthusiasm as their great celebration of real people's democracy with various military and non-military programs on the historic occasion of People's War entering into the third year. In this enthusiastic background the second campaign of the Third Plan which gave priority to military actions advanced ahead. Actions of different scales advanced nation-wide particularly concentrating intensified attack on armed forces of the enemy by means of raids and ambushes in the principal areas of struggle.

Along with success of military actions and mass mobilisation, preliminary features of new people's power appeared openly in proposed guerrilla zones specially in hills of Western Nepal. Practice of people's power started openly after overpowering principally the enemy's local agents and police force by people's guerrillas in the areas where political vacuum was created because of mass boycotting of reactionary local election. People's co-operatives, collective labour and farming, construction of rural tracks, bridges, memorials for martyrs, registration, purchase and sale of land, people's security, people's culture, people's court and running of schools etc. became preliminary daily exercises of new people's power. People in those areas felt themselves for the first time the master of their own destiny. For the first four months of Third year the main areas of Western Nepal experienced a de-facto liberated area. With some differences in degree, many areas in Eastern and Central hills also exercised preliminary people's power.

During this time an extraordinary wave of people's support and organizational expansion developed in favour of People's War from the capital city to all over the country. The reactionaries and revisionists who were clamoring about People's War as 'terrorism and devoid of people's support' were dumbfounded to see the open endorsement of the people to the call for 'Nepal Bandh' made by underground Front Committee for the first time. It was made clear from the nationwide support of the people

during "Nepal Band" that People's War is the only revolutionary alternative in the Nepalese society and it has the support of the masses.

Valor and skill of war shown by people's guerrillas in numerous actions during this period showed explicitly the development taking place in the military strength of the people. From the events of secondary districts in Western Nepal where the masses by themselves confronted the enemy police force seizing arms, to guerrilla activities of Tanahu Kalikatar that symbolised the pinnacle of Third Plan, have proved this fact.

Thus the first four months of the third year become memorable symbolizing enormous mass support in favour of People's War and the period of exercising the new people's power in different parts of the country specially hills of Western Nepal. No hypocritical propaganda by the enemies and opportunists can erase this historic truth from the heart of the Nepalese people.

### **3. Barbaric Feature of Enemy's Strategy**

It is well known truth that anti-people and anti-national ruler of the old regime have tried to 'nip-in-the bud' the People's War by resorting to genocide and state terrorism since the day of the historic initiation. Revisionist cliques, who were engaged in the tug of war for power and were for sale, completely submerging themselves in corruption, were in competition in the conspiracy against great People's War. After the experience of one and a half years they saw that People's War has flourished among the mass of the people and got strengthened day by day.

In this context the imperialists and mainly the Hindu fanatic ruling clique of Indian expansionism speeded up pressure on their lackey Nepali parliamentarist clique to 'suppress' People's War by all means. It is worth noting the vicious and conspiratorial series of propaganda made against People's War through public statement by the American Embassy in Kathmandu and the thinking of the Nepalese People's War with Pakistan by the Indian media. The fact that a single spark of Maoist People's War can terrify imperialists and expansionists proves how hollow, weak and corrupt the world system they claim to be mammoth is. It is in fact the result of the defeat of the imperialist world system in the brink of political and cultural



degeneration and entangled in severe economic crisis. This further corroborates the analysis of revolutionary communists that the world revolution is at the near horizon.

It is also a well-known fact that against this background the Nepali ruling class hatched a conspiracy for mobilizing the army and introducing a so-called anti-terrorist bill in the parliament against the Nepali people and the People's War. But the Nepali people immediately branded the bill as terrorist and resorted to nationwide struggle against it. In the capital itself people's pressure mounted against the so-called terrorist bill and mobilization of army. The reactionary ruling class was forced to suspend the idea for the time being in the face of people's wrath.

People took the episode of enacting the law as their victory and defeat for the national traitors and the mass murderers. The wave of mass support for People's War and the emergence of the embryo of new people's power that ensued has been described earlier.

Experience from class struggle and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism have taught us that when reactionary ruling classes foresee imminent danger to their rule, they present themselves against the masses quite differently. This different method of reactionaries is nothing but to scrap and throw into dustbin the constitution rules, laws, democracy, human rights and values and institutions so far spoken aloud by themselves and to swim in the pool of blood of the people. Under the Third Plan our great Party had already alerted the entire Party the fighters and the people against such lunacy of the reactionary classes.

At last the same thing happened that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism had taught us and the Party had cautioned. To trample the people and People's War, Girija Prasad Koirala of the fascist Nepali Congress Party discredited for mass murder and treason was seated on the Prime Minister's chair under the direct instruction of Indian expansionists. In the post of Inspector General of Police, Achyut Krishna Kharel, a criminal and notorious mass murderer of people's popular movement of 1990 was appointed. A so-called special security committee representing army, police and the government has been constituted in an underground conspiratorial way. For them neither a Bill nor any formal decision nor parliamentary values nor human right

was to be honoured. This started the barbaric rule of reactionary class from the second week of fourth month of the third year.

Under the so-called 'Kilo Sera Two' operation, a fascist campaign to massacre all, burn down everything and plunder everything" was launched. Rampage of murderers called 'commandos' equipped with most modern means of communications arms and helicopters was unleashed. Specially in the districts influenced by the People's War, disappearing the bodies of the best sons and daughters of people after mass murder, killing en masse dozens in one place by shooting indiscriminately at unarmed teachers, students and guardians while observing guardian's day, mass murder of the group taking part in a marriage procession, slaughtering popular leaders of the people after arrest from home, plundering villages after their encirclements, commit barbarous crime of mass rape and murder, interfering nakedly at the peaceful and lawful activities of Maoist supporter students, women workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities nationwide as well as in the capital by imposing undeclared war on class organisations, attack on Maoist supporter newspapers, killing in false encounter, those sleeping at home, eating meal and walking on streets compelling the supporters of People's War to sign the paper for surrender forcibly at gun point, making false propaganda and blacking out the whole activities of People's War from the media and torching peasants hutments, have become the daily routine of the reactionary rule of the fascists from the last week of May (1998).

Within last eight months of the third year, the fascist Girija Koirala clique of reactionary regime has murdered 500 party members fighters and supporters, hundreds of women have been victim of rape, thousands of poor peasants households have been plundered, and thousands have been jailed and subjected to inhuman tortures.

Along with this vicious suppression, the reactionary ruling clique intensified such activities as hatching conspiracy for internal sabotage and misleading people about the great Party and the central leadership spearheading the People's War. In this immoral and heinous act, the Nepali ruling clique has not only availed the services of US imperialists and Indian expansionists to train its murderer gangs but also assistance of Fujimori, the

murderer of Peruvian people, has been received. Months long training programs have been conducted on genocide, suppression and conspiracy against people and People's War at Lima of Peru and at Kathmandu of Nepal.

Thus it is clear that the present parliamentary fascist cliques of Nepal like the reactionary ruling cliques of the world has adopted the strategy of sowing illusion and creating division, and encirclement and annihilation under the common policy of 'burn everything and kill everyone'. Since the last eight months they have been adopting the same strategy against the Nepali people. The rhetoric of 'democracy', 'parliamentary norms', and 'human rights' have entirely been proved to be farce in the eyes of the people.

#### **4. Revisionism: The Other Side of Reactionary Coin**

Since the historic initiation of People's War, the old revisionist UML clique has been helping the reactionary regime, directly and the new revisionists, have been doing indirectly. The essence of the revisionists has been to instigate the traitor and genocidal ruling clique for greater suppression and barbarity by labeling the great revolutionary initiative of people as 'extremists', 'terrorist', 'People's War without people', 'romance of petty bourgeois', 'armed struggle was a mistake' etc. The scientific truth of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution no revolutionary movement against reaction can occur without relating it with the struggle against revisionism has been experienced first hand by the Nepali people from practice of the last three years.

In this context the UML clique pursuing the reactionary strategy of the 'multi-party democracy' and flouting the lofty words of Marxism-Leninism openly as a trade mark for parliamentary elections, has emerged as the most reactionary. This is same revisionist traitor UML clique which betrayed the nation in the Mahakali Treaty acting as a naked lackey of Indian expansionism for the crumbs of reactionary power and the same was the clique which prepared the bill against so-called terrorism and extended full support in mobilizing the army in its capacity of copartner of the government last year, thanks to the great Nepali people. Whose resistance

not only sabotaged the conspiracy of the UML clique but also millions of people got the opportunity to understand for ever its fascist character. Ultimately the traitor UML clique split into two amidst the whirlpool of people's wrath. In essence, this is the victory of Nepalese people against revisionism.

It is the same traitor UML clique which under the direct instruction of Indian expansionism extended support on to the parliamentary fascist Girija clique (which was in minority in the parliament) enabling it to form the government and commit crime against the people. The UML clique is the one that saved the tottering government of the fascist Girija clique and participated in the government to get directly involved in national betrayal and genocide.

People are witness to the fact that the revisionists ML clique which split on the issue of UML's national betrayal by chanting nationalist slogans, is no different from it in essence, both ideologically and practically. People expect that those raising slogans against national betrayal and state terrorism do not plunge into the dirty pool of parliamentarism. But as the ML clique is going ahead pursuing the same reactionary strategy of 'multi-party democracy' and chanting the dirty songs of parliamentarism, its slogan of nationalism has become a phony slogan only.

Besides the above revisionists degenerated into the ranks of reactionaries the activities of right revisionists who claim themselves as the protagonist of 'Mao Thought' and 'New Democratic revolution' but spit venom against People's War and revolve around parliamentarism have ultimately rendered service to the genocidal ruling class. In this context, the most mysterious mean, and stooge of reactionaries is Mohan Bikram Singh of the leading clique of Masal. His entire efforts are concentrated on to discredit and abuse the People's War from the level of the reactionaries. The Masal leading clique (which in itself is on the verge of extinction) has gone down so low that its cadres have been degraded to the level of an agent of a reactionary police against the Maoist guerrillas. Many stupid activities against the people have been done by Masal in hiding and has gone to the extremity of immorality by implicating the Maoists in them. By entering into electoral pact with renegade UML clique to share couple of seats, Masal is reduced

into the total service of reactionaries. Ultimately Mohan Bikram has turned himself into a pawn of reactionaries by accepting pittance from reactionary regime and by hurling choicest invectives against the People's War.

Thus, the new and old revisionists of Nepal, like the one all over the world have proved themselves as the other side of the reactionary coin by posing themselves against the people's great revolutionary initiative. Today Nepali people have been witnessing in their daily lives what was taught by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by undeniable facts and logic that revisionism is the part of the reactionary school. Besides this Nepalese revolution is moving ahead and will continue to do so treading on the heads of revisionists as taught by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The light of great People's War has started to burn the dump heap of revisionism in Nepal and will succeed in turning it into ashes.

## **5. Fourth Extended Meeting of the Party Amidst Repression and Resistance**

Our Party had visualised seriously about the fascist move of the enemy and betrayal of revisionist group specially under the Third Plan and generally from the beginning of the historic People's War. No nervousness and deviations emerged amongst militants and the mass of people from the fascist move of the enemy and revisionists because the Party, militants and to certain extent mass of people were alerted to prepare against it. It was because these were expected in the class war.

As per the plan the Party militants and the mass of people continued with the act of countering disinformation, breaking encirclement and mounting resistance. The Party maintained lively contact with masses in face of severe difficulties. New landmarks of sacrifice, devotion, bravery and self-sacrifice were created by responsible Party members and important guerrilla fighters against the reactionary brutality, while staying amidst the people. Party members and fighters successfully set hundreds of examples of historic ideal of self sacrifice for the Party and revolution. In the main areas of struggle when massacres in dozens were carried out in one village after another, the poor peasants inspired the Party continuously asserting 'let the Party continue People's War for which they were ready to sacrifice everything'. Hundreds of women victims of barbaric rape by the reactionary

joined the People's War with hatred and helped to raise the revolutionary initiative of hundreds of thousands of working women to new heights. The Party got the opportunity to understand more deeply the level of patience, sacrifice, devotion and bravery that the mass of people possess for creating their own history under the leadership of the Party. Relation between the people and the party further strengthened.

Under the circumstances of repression and resistance the Party convened the Fourth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee in the middle of the third year. Understanding fully the sentiments, seriousness and feeling of responsibility brought about by the class war the meeting after intense discussion passed unanimously the resolution "New Plan for New stage" in the form of leap in the direction of creating base areas. Many concrete and important decisions have been made by the Extended Meeting linking the three instruments of democratic revolution i.e. the Party, army and united front, with the glorious aim of creating base areas.

On the basis of the synthesis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a historic specialty of Nepali society and the experiences of two years of the People's War, the Party has enumerated principal conditions for creating base areas in Nepal. With extensive theoretical analysis about guerrilla zone and base area, the Extended Meeting has laid special emphasis against the dangers of guerrillaism and reformism in the military field. This analysis and decision is clear to act as the revolutionary line for the Party for a long time to come.

The Extended Meeting took most seriously the question of the process of transforming continuously the Party, the main among the three weapons of revolution, along a proletarian line as per the need of safeguarding against the conspiracy and pollution of enemies and opportunism, at a time when Right revisionism poses the greatest danger. It was decided to reinforce further the unified leadership of the Party emphasizing on the need to link the concept of two-line struggle with the synthesis of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and Com. Mao.

In order to strengthen on the Party unity against the danger of bourgeois pluralism and wage struggle unitedly against enemies and revisionists at the present situation of war a decision was made to centralise further different

levels of leadership and to establish consciously among the masses the role of different tiers of leadership, in particular the role of the General Secretary at the centre. The decision to establish the Party leadership amongst the masses in a more unified and centralised way is a decision of far reaching importance indissolubly linked with the decision of advancing ahead in the direction of creating base areas.

Grasping with greater firmness the scientific inference that "People with no army has nothing of its own", the Extended Meeting decided to develop local military organisation as the Secondary force under the direct leadership of local Party and, to create platoons with the aim of developing them into companies under the direct command of regional commanders as the Main military force of the people, to develop people's militia under each area command as the Base force. Besides this, important decisions are made regarding centralisation, decentralisation and placing to develop the war skills of military formations.

The Extended Meeting has laid stress on making the revolutionary United Front still more broader and as practical as a means for new people's power at local level and for propaganda and revolutionary mass's struggle at the central level. For that purpose concrete decision has been made to initiate to develop the local people's power in accordance with the principle of Three-in-one committees, while at the central level a united front consisting of different fronts, nationalities and the left, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces would be developed.

Besides the above major decisions, the Extended Meeting undertook evaluation of contemporary political situation of the country, synthesised a number of questions related to the Party history, decided to rectify the Party and prepared a new detailed framework of the new Plan. The Extended Meeting further decided to implement the plan to advance in the direction of creating base areas from a particular date with a special bang.

The successful completion of the Extended Meeting convened under adverse conditions and attended by cent percent of expected representatives was itself a telling blow against the reactionaries while a symbol of victory for the Party, the fighters and the masses of people.

## **6. Declaration of New Decisions And Reactions to Them**

The convening of the Extended Meeting and declaration of its decisions became a telling blow to the reactionaries and revisionists who were exercising mass slaughter and state terrorism since four months. Reactionaries who clamoured that Maoist movement was under control and the revisionists who parroted the same were dumbfounded by this declaration. After some period of guarded silence the media of reactionaries and revisionists centred their attack on the decisions of the Extended Meeting particularly the centralisation of leadership and its establishment. New and old revisionists appeared very active in such attacks. For months they tried to spread false propaganda regarding the decision on the role and establishment of leadership labeling it as 'personality cult', 'dictatorship', 'evolution of kingship', 'creation of god' etc., and tried to mislead the masses. They resorted to the notorious Goebble's style of propaganda by labeling 'good' to a particular leader and 'bad' to the other, under the reactionary strategy to create division among the Party leadership and make one stand against the other.

After all what is the mystery behind attacking on the issue of centralization of leadership and establishment by the reactionaries and revisionists? Are they really serious enough for not letting to develop 'personality cult', 'dictatorship', 'kingship' within the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? That is not the case for sure! Because they have been worshiping such personality cult, dictatorship and kingship. They should have been elated to see the same being repeated in the revolutionary party, but why are they creating a storm against the revolutionary party of the proletariat and its leadership? This is a crucial question for entire revolutionaries and the mass of people. Many of the honest people also are found to be confused on this question.

Simple fact is that reactionaries resort to mass killing and state terrorism for not being able to bear the truth when the proletariat and working masses try to create their own state machinery against the reactionary state machinery. Similarly, when the proletariat and working masses try to establish their own leadership against the leadership of the feudal and bourgeoisie that becomes intolerable to them. So they attack with their full



might to discredit and not let the proletarian leadership get established among the masses.

Even here, when the Party proposed the Plan for creating base areas as the new political power and tried to centralise the leadership, and establish it in the form of new leadership, it became a matter of beyond toleration to the old regime, old leadership and its revisionist lackeys. Leadership is the key, but the question is leadership of which class? Entire history of revolution and class struggle in fact is the history of struggle for leadership. Again the important point is leadership of which class is struggling against whom? It is obvious that proletarian democracy is dictatorship for the reactionaries and likewise 'democracy' of feudal and bourgeoisie is dictatorship for the proletariat and the working masses.

Similarly, the earth-shaking two-line struggles in the International Communist Movement are nothing but ultimately the history of the struggle for leadership. From the First International unto the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the struggles waged by Marxist-Leninist-Maoists against anarchism, sectarianism and mainly right-wing revisionism are all for the leadership of the proletarian class. Bakunin dared to call great Karl Marx as a 'dictator', Kautsky labeled Com. Lenin as 'conspirator and dictator' and what Trotsky and Khrushchev said to Com. Stalin? The whole world knows. Have not the modern revisionists labeled Com. Mao as 'worshiper of the personality cult', 'dictator' and 'war monger'? So, no room is there to be confused from the propaganda of the revisionists. When a rightist capitulator running away from class struggle goes to the lap of feudal monarchy just to save his skin, leaving the Party, revolution and the people, then he exposes his hypocritical culture by labeling the great Party leading the People's War as 'monarchy' from the lap of reactionaries and rightist revisionists. We also saw how a common surrendering fellow is carried on the shoulder with great fanfare by the reactionaries and revisionists as soon as they find him. It should, therefore, be understood that when somebody has no faith in the revolution, the Party and the people, and the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in order to conceal his rightist, surrendering character, he at first attacks the Party leadership. Objectively that forms the part of the strategy of the reactionary class.

Among the conspiracies designed by the reactionaries and revisionists of the world over against proletarian revolutionary parties, the prominent ones are to try to alienate leadership from ideology, policy and program, alienate cadres from the leadership and mass of people from the Party. The attack on our Party and its leadership is the result of reactionary conspiracy to break such indissoluble relations which cannot be objectively separated out.

How a communist revolutionary perceives the attack by reactionaries and revisionists? He understands the way Mao has stated: 'It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.'

## **7. Process of Qualitative Development in People's Military Capacity**

The Third year of People's War was of qualitative nature from the angle of enhancing people's military capacity. The success of a series of high level military actions by the people's guerrillas during the so-called Operation Kilo-sera-two by the enemy and specially after the Extended Meeting, prove it. In the process of learning war through war itself the guerrilla fighters have been enhancing the skill of war qualitatively albeit confronting numerous difficulties. Incurring huge losses overcoming the natural limitations and drawbacks of apprenticeship and learning from every events. The bravery shown by people's guerrillas, their courage and instances of self-sacrifice have been inscribed in history as glorious episodes of Nepalese revolution.

When the fascist Girija Parsad koirala seated on the Prime Minster's chair after sucking the blood of hundreds of revolutionary warriors and mass of people had arrogantly announced the Maoist movement to be under control through a press conference, right the very next day the reactionaries and revisionists met with a deadly blow from hundreds of successful actions in the form of ambushes, raids, sabotages and propaganda actions planned nationwide, as special bang. This successful blow responded to the state terror with red terror and played a far reaching role in entering into the great plan of creating base areas. That successful bang clearly showed that the

massacres by the reactionary regime cannot extinguish the flame of revolution but plays important role to inflame further.

In the context people's guerrillas successfully raided the Laliya police post in Dhanusha and captured rifles and bullets kept there. Similarly in the process of the great bang the guerrillas, as part of high level and successful military actions, raided Phalate police post seizing all arms and ammunitions there in. The same day guerrillas raided the police post at Nirmal Basti in Parsa seizing all arms and ammunitions. Immediately after that the guerrilla platoon in Rolpa, fought bravely with hundreds of enemy armed police force and succeeded in eliminating some, driving away others and later on breaking the encirclement of further hundreds of police force supported by helicopters, to safety.

Presenting a model of intelligence and art of armed guerrilla warfare the guerrillas attacked dozens of police force stationed at the Jhimpe tower at Saunepani in Salyan district and seized large number of rifles, bullets and other items. In this context guerrillas granted amnesty to 10 police personnel who had surrendered after educating them. This incident has again clearly showed that guerrillas of the People's War are not butchers like the reactionary gangsters but they are the 'great revolutionaries who treat the prisoners of war well and grant honorable amnesty to those surrendering before them.

Immediately after this, guerrillas raided the police post at Bhattedanda in Lalitpur as part of continuation of valor of historic Bethan action and seized all rifles and ammunitions available there. After a few days, demonstrating another model of skill of guerrilla warfare, guerrillas ambushed a contingent of police force which was out to terrorize the people at Jhelmeta in Dang, forced to surrender and seized all rifles and bullets but granted amnesty to the police force after educating them. In Dolpa of Karnali zone also guerrillas attacked successfully on a contingent of police force by ambushing them and captured their arms, and ammunitions.

These are test examples of guerrilla actions taken place during the later months of the third years. In between, hundreds of actions like seizing of banks and arms in the banks, capture arms from feudal and annihilation of

informers and criminals involved in genocide, sabotaging Minister's quarter in the capital in the police posts in different parts of the country and the factories of bureaucratic capitalists, seizing grains from landlords and distributing among poor peasants were successfully accomplished. Apart from these if propaganda actions of different kinds are to be counted the number would be in thousands. The actions after the Extended Meeting or those undertaken specially after the historic bang of October 17th, 1998, prove the failure of the enemy's so-called Kilo-sera-two operations, on the one hand, and the process of qualitative enhancement of the military capability of People's War, on the other.

## **8. Parliamentary Election; Another Ploy of Reactionary Conspiracy**

The coalition government of Nepali Congress and the United-Marxist-Leninist (UML), notorious for national corruption and mass murder, has put forward the so-called general election of the parliament as a 'Magic rod' to solve problems of the country and its people. They are clamouring day and night that from the 'election' when either of the two parties gain majority (not that they get majority but they show it), political stability, law and order, development works and everything would prevail in the country. These rascals who take people for a ride are shamelessly uttering all this nonsense.

In the last eight years of the parliament four years were under the 'majority' government of this very Girija Parsad Koirala. What did the 'majority' government actually do? Kneeling down before the Indian expansionists it concluded the traitorous Tanakpur treaty, openly cheating the whole Nepali people. Life of the people was shattered by the same majority government letting price rise and corruption go unbridled. Dozens were massacred in the heart of the capital in indiscriminate firing by the government when people were on peaceful demonstration. Is not the same so-called majority government of Girija which planted false cases, resorted to indiscriminate arrest and administered inhuman torture against political workers and mass of the people differing ideologically? Is not the same majority government which under the banner of privatisation handed over whatever industries were there in the country to the Indian bureaucratic capitalists and pauperised the country?

Even the later four years, too, the Nepalese government has been in fact under the Nepali congress and the UML clique. Who prevented them to deliver other things for the people and the country except for the loot, corruption, national betrayal, genocide and extreme degeneration and distortion? Who force them to quarrel for power like dogs fighting for a piece of bone and reduce themselves to commodities for sale?

Today the same national traitors and mass murderers are presenting the parliamentary elections as a panacea for every ills. This is a more evidence of how the reactionaries look down upon the people's consciousness and their memory power.

What is the reality? Reality is that the great historic process of People's War has aggravated the crisis of the reactionary state. Reality is that the drama of the election is being staged ahead of its due time under the guidance of the imperialists and the expansionists as a conspiracy against the People's War when it flourished further despite genocide, plunder and state terrorism. It is quite clear that only as a conspiracy against the People's War a coalition government of the two is formed defying the general parliamentary norm of treasury bench and the opposition (in fact both are declared lackeys of Indian expansionism). The UML clique has surrendered not only before Indian expansionism but also before Girija clique of Nepali Congress. Today, Girija, by declaring election a war against the People's War, has verified this.

The reality is that the so-called parliamentary election will offer the people and the country more of national betrayal and genocide, more of inflation and corruption, more of poverty and unemployment, and more of degeneration and distortions. What would be a bigger illusion than to expect other things from the same class, same system thinking, same character, same clique and same persons?

The reality is that because of the exercise of new people's power through the medium of People's War, the feudal and imperialist forces are terrorized and want to divert the attention of people elsewhere so that they can isolate People's War and eliminate it and hence they have been following this strategy. When the old tricks of reactionaries were foiled new move like this is forwarded. The way they are branding the parliamentary elections as

'liberation war', 'battle', 'litmus paper'. 'campaign against violence and terrorism', 'new revolution' etc., makes clear that the essence of the election is the conspiracy against the People's War.

But the People's War will not go in for confrontation to suit them according to their provocation. People's War will incessantly move ahead to fulfill the historic role as per its own plan by exposing the reactionary parliamentary hypocrisy and boycotting the mockery of election. The People's War will continue to advance in its own speed before and after the election guided by the scientific principle of 'you fight your way and we fight our way' until the reactionary power is destroyed and people's power is established.

The way the reactionary murderous cliques are posing so-called general election of the parliament as the litmus test against People's War, has exposed their terrorised, defeated mentality and impotency. Furthermore their lamentations demonstrates the qualitative level of success achieved by great People's War in three years.

The old reactionary elements have openly and straightforwardly expressing the fact that the People's War has become a serious threat to their entire system and hence the so-called general election is going to be held against it. But the problem is with the revisionist traitors who try to hoodwink the masses in support of the election by putting forward very cunning, immoral and hypocritical logic to safeguard the moribund and barren parliamentary system and to serve the interests of national traitors and mass murderers. People's War will continue to advance as per its own plan by exposing the revisionists who are betraying the people and the country by shouldering the rotten system.

## **9. Conclusion**

From the above analysis it is clear that the advancing historical stream of People's War is getting further strengthened with its entering into the fourth year after completing the third year. It has resisted successfully the conspiracy, suppression and terror of the enemy till today. Today, the imperialist, expansionist puppets and revisionist elements, in the pretext of the so-called election, are preparing for more dangerous conspiracy and

heavy repression against the historic stream of the People's War advancing as inseparable part of world proletarian revolution.

The great Party, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which has been leading the People's War based on the all-powerful principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has been attempting to forge broader and stronger unity with all left, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces inside Nepal and communist revolutionaries along with justice-loving people outside Nepal in order to resist that conspiracy. It is a matter of pleasure for the entire revolutionary Nepalese masses of people that the RIM Committee which has been advancing steadfastly to establish a new International to advance the world revolution based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and all Parties and organisations under it have been extending strong support and sincere help to the People's War in Nepal in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. Along with the process of that assistance today, international responsibility and solidarity of the Party and the people has been rising into new heights. Similarly various initiatives have been coming up in support of the Nepalese People's War from the revolutionary Parties and masses of the people in India.

Thus, the counter-revolutionary force and revolutionary forces are colliding at further new heights. Path may be difficult but the victory of the masses is inevitable. The Nepalese People's War will continuously advance ahead in the service of world revolution whatever price it may have to pay. Ultimately the great ideal of communism, free from all exploitations and atrocities committed on man by man, will be established on earth.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism !  
Long Live the Great People's War !  
Glory to World Revolution !  
(February 1999)

**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Mao Tse-tung's Contribution in the Development of Universal Theory of People's War**

**-Com. Prachanda**

### **1. Introduction**

Following extensive investigation of the history, Marx and Engels put forward a scientific proposition based on the dialectical and historical materialist world outlook regarding the revolutionary role and necessity of violence in class society. Grasping the proposition on the necessity of armed struggle as the essence of entire teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin further developed the Marxist concept on revolutionary violence in the course of applying it systematically in class struggle that led successfully to the Great Russian October Revolution. In the context of preparation, development and consolidation of the outcome of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Stalin, providing imperialism as the source of war along with explanation of its particularities elucidated that revolutionary war is inevitable against it. In the course of applying these Marxist-Leninist principles in the concrete practice of class struggle in the Chinese society, Mao Tse-tung developed the proposition on revolutionary violence to a comprehensive theory of People's War, and proved it to have a universal character. In this way, Mao Tse-tung not only developed the Marxist-Leninist military science to a qualitatively new height but also clarified that waging of People's War in the imperialist era has become the focal point of philosophical and political understanding to change the world.

### **2. Historical Background of the Development of Maoist Conception on People's War**

While talking about Mao's contribution in the development of theory of People's War it is necessary to keep in mind the historical background of it. In November 1919, Lenin in the course of delivering "Speech in the Second Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Eastern Nations" had



said that the question of revolution in the oppressed countries dominated by peasants was 'difficult', 'unique' but 'specially honorable'. In relation to the problems of these revolutions, Lenin, stated that these are such problems 'of which you will find no solution in any communist books', and clarified that 'it is such a task to which no communists of the world had met with before'. Lenin had suggested that the communists in such countries of the east should accomplish this task by applying the 'general theory of communism' in compliance with the specific situation of their own. Mao Tse-tung enriched qualitatively the theoretical treasure of Marxism-Leninism by successfully fulfilling the necessity of class struggle in the imperialist era. In relation to People's War, Mao's contributions should be understood in the context of the necessity of developing class struggle in the history.

The success of Russian revolution in 1917 disseminated Marxism-Leninism the world over. The process of extensive study of politics and military strategy and tactics of armed insurrection of that revolution also intensified. It also provided a general orientation of class struggle against reaction along with high morale from great strength prevailing within the world proletarian class and oppressed and working masses themselves. The historic significance of this revolution accomplished under the leadership of Lenin is self-evident the world over.

But, even though the experience of Russian revolution was very much significant in the task of advancing revolution in countries, under twofold oppression of imperialism and feudalism, it would be a serious mistake to pursue it mechanically. The tendency of mechanically following Russian revolution in the history of international communist movement including China has caused no less damage. Large number of modern industrial workers were centralized in the big cities in Russia, as her level of industrial development was high. General strike of workers in cities did have the strength that could challenge directly the whole state machinery and participation and assistance of peasants in it would create a situation that could enable to seize cities and the center first. On the other, Russia was not an oppressed country but was itself in an imperialist position of subjugating weak nations. In that situation, to follow the strategy and tactics adopted in the course of Russian revolution in the countries that were industrially backward and weak, peasant dominated and oppressed by

imperialism and feudalism, would be against what Lenin stated, and is against Leninism itself. On the other, the tendency that would try to trail behind the bourgeois class in the pretext that there existed discrepancy of social development between Russia and other oppressed countries would be right opportunism and serious treason towards revolution and Marxism-Leninism. This type of tendency was prevalent in the international communist movement and also in the Chinese communist movement itself. This tendency was further damaging the communist movement.

In the course of carrying out forceful struggle against both kinds of aforesaid deviations, Mao, as the preparation of socialist revolution, developed a comprehensive strategy and tactics of New Democratic revolution, an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution. In the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, he, along with the historical materialist analysis of alliance between imperialism and feudalism and power balance on the side of the people, developed a general theory of People's War in the form of a comprehensive chain of military strategy and tactics. Today, the theory of People's War Mao developed has become a universal theory that could and must be applied according to the respective situation of all types of countries.

### **3. Maoist Principle of People's War**

The entire theories of Mao on People's War are based upon the great and scientific proposition that 'masses are the creators of the history'. In general, those armies that have gone against the objective necessity and sentiment of the masses have been defeated in history. In whatever way they are equipped with weapons, trained and powerful in the beginning their fall is inevitable when they stand against the interest of the masses. Final victory is theirs that fight for defending the interest of broad masses however weak they seem militarily in the beginning. Extermination of the old and development of the new is an imperative law of objective world beyond any human wish. In fact, the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism exactly lies in finding objective laws and conducting accordingly. What has Mao through practice of Chinese revolution proved perfectly is that however powerful they seem to be the reactionary imperialists are paper tigers and the real heroes are the working masses. In this context Mao says,

'All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.'

To believe in the masses and to serve them, for that, to adapt with the masses, make every policy, decision and activity based upon well-being of them is the basis of Mao's theory of People's War. Mao says, 'Our point of departure is to serve the masses whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from the interests of individuals or groups, and to understand the identity of our responsibility to the people and our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.' Mao used to firmly oppose irresponsible things opposed to People's interest and he had a firm belief that correcting such mistakes immediately is to become responsible to the people. He says, 'Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected -- that is what being responsible to the people means.' The key factor for the success of People's War is, of course, to believe in the people and be devoted to them. This task is impossible to fulfill by reactionaries, revisionists and opportunists of the world because their point of departure is inspired by the individual interest.

'The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.' Mao on this basis proceeds 'what is a revolutionary war?' Mao says: 'The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them'. Mao says people are 'real iron bastions' and says that no force in the world can strike out the masses. In this context Mao says, 'What is a true bastion of iron' It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which no force can smash, no force whatsoever. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it.' This Marxist-Leninist determination and belief enabled Mao to crush to dust the imperialist and reactionary armies in millions that were equipped with sophisticated weapons and trained well. Mao says, 'Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not

things, that are decisive.' This belief enabled to stamp out Japan including the American imperialists through the hurricane of People's War. The belief based on this scientific insight enabled Mao to develop the entire theories of People's War. Therefore, those who want to lead People's War must firmly grasp this Maoist understanding towards people. It, along with giving rise to never failing self-confidence for the revolutionaries fighting for People's favor, did ascertain a scientific methodology to demolish reactionaries. He says, 'Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law.' Mao further says in it, 'Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law.' In this way, Mao has put forward a correct and the Marxist proposition on the nature of reaction and the people. The army is the principal instrument of the state power. One, who wants to seize the state power must have army with him. Revolutionary war is inevitable in the class society. Such type of war brings forth a qualitative advance in the social development. Based upon the scientific essence of the historical experience that revolutionary war is necessary to do away with the reactionary war, Mao, plainly and clearly proclaimed, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'. Accepting that the revolutionary war is all-powerful, Mao takes up it as a Marxist ideology. He says, 'Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.' In this way, it is clear that Mao's conceptions on war have been built upon the basis of dialectical historical materialism.

Mao does not take up the revolutionary war only as a means of defeating enemy but emphasizes that it has an inherent role of cleansing several evils that have rooted into the revolutionaries themselves and the masses. He says, 'Revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just,

revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power, which can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation.' In course of the First World War, Lenin has not only emphasized on the negative aspect of the war but also the positive role it plays in the history like, 'War has activated the broad masses. War has provided motion to the history and now the history is propelling forward in the rapid motion of a rail engine.' (Quote not original). Mao also clarifies this fact further through his aforesaid statement.

As a guarantee that nobody could protect imperialism and domestic reaction from being defeated, Mao says, 'The reason is that our strategy and tactics are based on the people's war; no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics'. This is the main foundation of Maoist theory.

#### **4. Maoist Strategy and Tactics of People's War**

Mao developed a series of strategies and tactics of People's War on the basis of intense wars of many years. Under the leadership of Mao, the Communist Party of China presented to the world a brilliant example of how a militarily small and a weak force can defeat the powerful enemy by adopting those strategies and tactics. Today they have become invaluable property for the revolutionary masses fighting imperialism and reaction the world over. Mao has developed the whole strategies and tactics on the basis of understanding that the basic principle of the entire military actions is to 'defend oneself and defeat the enemy'. To despise enemy strategically and take it seriously tactically is an undeniable condition for the success of People's War. On the basis of study of the past class struggles, of course from the military viewpoint, Mao teaches to neglect and mistrust enemy from the initial stage of People's War to its success basing on the historical materialist understanding that enemy's downfall is indispensable and People's victory is inevitable, and through this creates self-confidence towards victory. But, in the context of immediate tactics, he emphasizes to the necessity of taking the enemy seriously, collecting information of each of their activities and centralizing more strength compared to them in each confrontation. Mao has put forward the theory of dividing enemy into pieces, fighting their small and weakest part by only consolidating comparatively own strength to guarantee a victory in it and, in this way,

achieving strategic victory through the process of tactical ones.

Accordingly, Mao says: 'Although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.' In order to ensure victory of own side in the campaign, Mao instructs, 'In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net.' Mao always emphasizes on the fact that dispersion of a big section of the enemy is not of that importance whereas complete annihilation of even a small part of them deserves special significance.

In order to fight powerful army built up in alliance of feudalism and imperialism in the stage of New Democratic revolution, and to achieve victory in it, Mao has presented as inevitable factors a whole theoretical and practical solution that suggests to centralize in rural areas, conduct guerrilla warfare with a strategic plan under the leadership of the Party so as to transform peasants into an imperishable source of revolution and invincible army. Mao has developed strategy and tactics of protracted People's War as a solution on how to transform guerrilla war into the mobile and positional wars and capture cities through encirclement by establishing base areas in the countryside. The theory of protracted People's War that concludes in three stages of strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive has become today a theoretical guideline to the entire oppressed nations of the world.

In relation to guerrilla war, the world famous tactics of developing People's strength step by step and annihilating enemy by dividing into pieces that Mao developed are:

"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."

'In order to arouse the masses we decentralize our armed force among them and centralize the same to confront with the enemy.' (Quote not original)

"To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around."

"Through a best method, arouse maximum number of people in the least

time'. (Quote not original)

The scientific nature of aforesaid tactics is self-evident.

While talking about guerilla war, Mao has brought up seriously the question of base area on the basis of experience of several past failures regarding war. On the crux of base area under guerrilla war, Mao says, 'They are the strategic bases on which the guerrilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy.' Mao has emphasized very seriously on the fact that guerrilla war cannot go for long without a base area and cannot develop either. Mao regards it as wrong to think of a war without base area in today's situation of development of science and technology by mentioning that the main reason behind failures of past peasant wars conducted by the roving rebels was the absence of it. What makes clear from this is that those who talk of protracted People's War but negate or ignore the necessity and significance of the base area do not either understand about protracted People's War or their outlook resembles that of the 'roving rebels'. It is clear that there can be no People's War in both the circumstances.

In order to build up such type of base area, Mao has emphasized a good mass base, a militant Party organization, adequate and powerful red army, appropriate geography for actions and adequate financial capacity for food grains as the necessary conditions.

It has been clear that in essence, 'you fight your way and we will fight ours'; 'you depend upon modern weapons, we depend upon conscious people'; 'we will not fight if we cannot win; we will not miss chance, if we can'; 'we will not give you any chance to fight if you want us to do; we will not let you survive when we fight you; we are prepared for any mobility if the war needs'; 'we will not at any rate let loose our initiative'; etc are the key points of strategy and tactics of Maoist People's War.

## **5. Maoist Concept on the Relation Among Party, Army and the People.**

Mao has said that a new type of militant Communist Party, a powerful People's army under its leadership and a united front of broad masses are the three important weapons of revolution. On Party Mao says, 'If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary Party. Without a revolutionary

Party, without a Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.' As a very important principle on the relation between Party and army Mao says, 'Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.' Therefore, Mao has always taught army to work under Party instruction and to be proud of it -- 'All our officers and fighters must always bear in mind that we are the great People's Liberation Army, we are the troops led by the great Communist Party of China. Provided we constantly observe the directives of the Party, we are sure to win.'

Mao established three basic guiding theories on the style of work of the People's army. These theories brought forward the People's army in the form of a new army as opposed to the entire reactionary mercenary soldiers. They are, 'First, the principle of unity between officers and men, which means eradicating feudal practices in the army, prohibiting beating and abuse, building up a conscious discipline, and sharing weal and woe--as a result of which the entire army is closely united. Second, the principle of unity between the army and the people, which means maintaining a discipline that forbids the slightest violation of the people's interests, conducting propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them, lightening their financial burdens and suppressing the traitors and collaborators who do harm to the army and the people--as a result of which the army is closely united with the people and welcomed everywhere. Third, the principle of disintegrating the enemy troops and giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. Our victory depends not only upon our military operations but also upon the disintegration of the enemy troops.' In this way, Mao has explained the basis of working style of the People's army in an organized manner. Mao has emphasized on the facts that officers must maintain close relation with soldiers, one should learn from another and soldiers must not be punished physically. He has provided sufficient lessons to the army that along with treating the masses closely and always defending their interests and 'without claiming to be independent', never and at any cost, they should constantly respect the Party. In this context Mao time and again emphasizes on the facts, 'The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among



the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.' It is evident that the success of People's War depends upon the aforesaid type of close relation among Party, army and the masses. Therefore, every Party that needs to lead People's War must build up a clear outlook on the relation between three important weapons and the working style.

## **6. Conclusion**

In the course of leading Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung, studying and analyzing the experiences of wars of human being on the basis of the historical materialist viewpoint since thousands of years, developed the military science qualitatively to a new height. On the basis of Marxist-Leninist world outlook, clarifying the fact that there exists no other way to resolve the contradictions of today's imperialist era than to fight with arm, Mao invented a theory of People's War by which even a very tiny force can defeat the 'terrifying' enemy. The theory of People's War that has been developed by Mao is in fact the military expression of Marxist-Leninist principle and politics.

Mao investigated the whole series of principle, strategy and tactics necessary for the success of People's War. Today, these theories, strategies and tactics have been invincible ideological weapons for the communist parties and the masses the world over in the fight against imperialism and all sorts of reactions. Mao emphasized, 'We must stamp out all the powerless ideologies from our ranks. All such ideologies that exaggerate enemy's strength and minimize that of the people are quite wrong.' (Quote is not original). In this way, on the basis of intense internal and external wars for decades, Mao put forward a clarion call, 'people of the world, be enthusiastic, fight courageously, face hardships boldly and advance like waves. Then the whole of the world will be of yours. All kinds of devils and monsters will be annihilated selectively.' (Quote is not original). Foreseeing that the coming 50 to 100 years in the world will be the years of intense turmoil, Mao has taught us to remain prepared for that.

Finally, what can be said is that, the theory of People's War developed by Mao is universal. In order to proceed forward in the struggles against imperialism and all sorts of reactions, it is quite necessary to study and to be active in applying this theory in their own particular situation. Anyone, that negates to understand its significance, tries to devalue it, is impossible to be a communist revolutionary. Whether to grasp or not the line of People's War has today become a demarcating line between Marxism and revisionism.

(December 1993)

**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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**War Policy of Nepalese New Democratic  
Revolution in the Context of Historical  
Development**

**-Com. Prachanda**

*"There is a process in human understanding of the objective world, in a leap from the state of necessity to the state of freedom." (Not original) -- Mao*

It is necessary on the part of the people to use force to accomplish New Democratic revolution by destroying the existing semi-feudal and semi-colonial state system to liberate from acute problems of economic subjection, cultural perversion and political stagnation the Nepalese society is facing. In the present situation, our Party has firm belief that a new system can be established only by applying the method of protracted People's War according to the objective situation of Nepal and that under the leadership Communist Party based on the strategy of encircling cities from the countryside. The purpose of this article is to show in brief how and what relation does this type of war have with the historical context of Nepal. Here, the political aspect of the history and evaluation of the role of individual are not emphasized, as efforts have been made to be centered particularly on the wars the Nepalese people have witnessed, faced and participated in the history.

**1. Situation before Establishing the Centralized Feudal State**

Inhabitation of simple tribal types of indigenous people, who were struggling against nature with very simple and primitive production methods in afar steep-hills, remote sloping lands and were maintaining livelihood with their own customs and tradition, seems to have taken place since quite long in Nepal. There is no dispute on the fact that the process of coming of the masses of different castes, religions and traditions from north

and south, for different reasons and in different times, to this hilly region has taken place since thousands of years. In this context, a great number of Hindus of Arya lineage, who have been defeated in wars with Muslims in South, intruded in this hilly region for security and livelihood. Dominance of the in-migrants, who were in general developed in production technology, administration and knowledge and were equipped with art of war and advanced weapons in the given situation, had impact upon the ethnic groups here in the course of inner struggle and amalgamation. Different kinds of tiny states and dominions came into being in accordance with the backward condition of productive forces and division of labor. The Nepalese society has been undergoing through a long historical process of continuous violent struggles among those states, dominions, kings and chieftains. The objective necessity of life has compelled Nepalese society to be trained in constant violent struggles. Nepalese nation has developed as a valiant and militant one in the world in the process of conflict with severe natural hardships and those kinds of violent struggles. Not only in the last period of the Baise and Chaubise states this process is found to have advanced in the course of establishing the central feudal state and even later. The military situation of the initial and medieval Nepal can roughly be viewed as follows.

### **Military Situation**

No development of permanent and regular army had taken place under any of the states and dominions during this whole period. According to the necessity of wars fighting teams (armies) used to be built up from among the general masses. Having finished the war obviously they used to return back to their farming and work for livelihood. This type of process in which people were used upon necessity in war was called 'Jhara'. Not only up to Lichchhavi and Malla period but also this custom of 'Jhara' remained dominant up to the course of establishing central feudal state by the Gorkhalese.

Towards the first half of medieval period all the fighters used to be masses but a process, on behalf of the state, of deploying certain persons with the responsibility of contemplating about war and for defending certain regions, started. Those kinds of people were called Kotnayak (Fort chief). There was

no necessity and justification of standing army because of the state of development of the society and there was no reason for it too. During this time, there was wide practice of establishing forts that existed in general at the top of high hills in different regions to maintain defense. That was called a Gadhi. Such Gadhis still exist from east to west. During this entire period, one finds that there were more armed conflicts in the western hills than in the eastern. One person from each family within the entire state would have to participate compulsorily in each war. It is found that the age limit ranged from 12 to 80 years. From the organizational point of view, the king was automatically the chief. But, almost all of the then kings were not feudal looters addicted to luxury and merrymaking like the present ones. They used to fight in wars and were required to be stronger than others and expert in art war of . Otherwise, people would kick him off and other brave king used to be chosen. In this way, the then kings were almost like the tribal chiefs. Kings used to practice wrestling and playing with swords, scimitar and bows regularly. During this period all the warriors were infantries and they had no dresses. During the last stage, it is found that some horse-riding soldiers were developed.

### **Weapons and Training**

Since long before, bow and arrow used to be very much in practice in the Kirant region. Kirants had remarkably developed in art of war and use of bows and arrows. Later on, the weapons, which were generally used in wars of all regions, were swords, shields, knives, javelins, bows and arrows, axes, sticks etc. The weapons that were developed in the medieval period are Jurali, poniard, Nimcha, lash, Bunzar, Ilaman, Sarohi, Junabi, Jamelin and so on. Gunpowder, one-shot gun, and ordinary cannon are seen to have been used to a certain extent only after arriving at the later part of Malla period.

In the beginning, there was no arrangement of providing any kind of training to the fighters. Whatever one learnt in the course of his livelihood and that was everything. But, the necessity of training went on increasing due to continuity of war and its expanse. Accordingly, almost all the states started to arrange training. Provision of Tundikhel was brought about for

this purpose in all the regions. In fact, 'Tundi' means bow and arrow and 'Khel' means ground.

### **Art of War**

Even though there were no distinct theories of strategy and tactics of war, the war policies that were applied are found as follows:

To let enemy enter in their area and attack extensively and intensively when arrived at an appropriate place blaze up enemy area and attack simultaneously; demoralize enemy by capturing their external communication; apply the tactics of hit and run by using jungle as a bulwark (In this context, the event in which the people from Kathmandu valley forced the enemy to flee away being shattered by guerrilla style and taking shelter in the nearby jungle when the Khasa Army captured Kathmandu in 1288, is very much notable); establish bastion; make surprise attack and so on. In these kinds of tactics, one can easily see the embryos of tactical theories of People's War.

## **2. The Period of Establishment of Centralized Feudal State**

These types of states came to be a hindrance for people's commerce and economic activities, which were respectively developing under the tiny states and dominions including the Baise-Chaubise ones. Necessity to pay tax and land revenue to the kings in all regions, different kinds of laws, codes and restrictions and constant fights among them came to create contradiction with the daily economic activities of the people. On the other, increasing interference and hegemony of the The British in India also had in fact increased the necessity of a centralized ruling system in Nepal. In this historical background, the conflict and dispute with each other for their ambition of expanding their own states and becoming a dignified king intensified in different places. Exactly at this period, the required ambition, determination and dedication developed in the Gorkhalese and Prithvi Narayan Shah, the king of Gorkha, founded such a state system. Most of the specificity of the present Nepalese state system had developed during that period; so its significance is self-evident.

### **Military situation**

Gorkhali's process of army building seems to have been influenced mainly by Hindu religious understanding, deceptive art of war of Kautilya and the armed activities of The British-India. In the initial period, Gorkhalese too did have no standing army. Apart from certain commanders (Nayaks), all of the armies used to be collected from the people. Having been defeated in the war against Nuwakot, Gorkha's king seems to have firmly grasped the necessity and significance of the standing army from the British military organization when he visited Benaras to collect modern weapons. Only after this, Gorkhalese built up companies of regular army possibly for the first time in the history of Nepal. Thereafter, the process of building up standing army started in Kathmandu, too. But, the process of building up of the army from Jhara was principal in Gorkha, Kantipur and allover. The Gorkhalese divided army into three parts after they took up the process of building a regular army. They are, firstly, the groups with traditional weapons, like scimitars and knives; secondly, with bows and arrows; and the thirdly, with guns. The army with guns was organized in the form of a company of which the commander was the Subedar. The person, who worked as the Prime Minister and the Army Chief under the king's tutelage was called Mulkaji and those who used to render direct military leadership in the field were called Chautariya Kaji, Kaji and Sardar.

In the protracted process of war, the Gorkhalese initial army organization from Jhara had developed five companies of regular army till 1763. Total number of soldiers in those five companies was 540 and the rests used to be collected from among the people in the form of Jhara.

There was no separate army headquarter to conduct military activities in that period. The specificity of that time was that there prevailed no difference between state and military administration. Active members of army used to be the officials of politics and the state. To the extent that, even the kings used to go to the war field with weapons. Therefore, there was no situation of any type of contradiction between the political and military commanders.

### **Weapon, Training and Other Arrangements**

Gorkhalese in this course made wide use of Khukuris in war. It is evident that the main goal of using widely the weapons to which the people had

been using since long in their domestic purpose was to bring in the broad masses into war. Other weapons of general use were traditional swords, javelin, shield, scimitar, Gadka, knife, bows and arrows and so on. With the development of war the guns and general types of cannons also were brought into use. One-shot gun and cannons were started to be built in Gorkha also.

Gorkhalese started paying special attention to military training after being defeated in Nuwakot. Some of the technicians were brought in from India to provide training in art of war and in using guns. It is found that such training and general drilling was done almost on a regular basis. The task of performing varieties of rehearsals before going to war is found to have increased. The main training that used to be provided with to the fighters was with swords and bows and arrows.

Besides this, Gorkhalese executed firmly the arrangement of providing land and other special assistance to the family of those who were killed in the war in order to keep morale of the army and the masses up and supply army uninterruptedly. They conducted special arrangement of punishment and award. There was a system of collecting ration, logistics including water necessary for the army directly from the general masses. Army's ration generally used to consist of satu, rice and flour. A system of carrying out thorough study of geographical situation and of roads in the hills for the military activities had been initiated. Jhara soldiers, general people and animals were used as a means of transportation for a regular supply of weapons, edibles and other logistics to the battlefield. Regular communication used to be maintained through horseman and pedestrians. Gorkhalese, in order to know enemy situation, used to pay special attention to intelligence system. Special types of dresses were arranged for the combatants.

### **Strategy and Tactics of War**

The main political strategy of Gorkhalese rulers was their firm ambition of establishing a great feudal state. In order to achieve this strategy, they used excellently the tactics of Kautilya's policy of negotiation, gift, punishment and penetration. In spite of several shameful defeats and severe losses



Gorkhalese did not deviate from their strategy. Rather learning from defeats, they moved on more seriously in war.

Gorkhalese rulers used to inspire the entire people by developing a sentiment of 'Brave Gorkhali' among them to make them participate in war-work in either form. Because of feeling of determinedness to their duty towards war from the advanced to the most backward sections of the people, Gorkhalese did not accept defeats despite there had been several severe loses due to silly mistakes of Prithvi Narayan Shah himself. The mystery of victory of Gorkhalese seems in fact to have hidden in their resoluteness towards strategy and the sentiment developed among the people. From the tactical point of view, no well-planned and theorized sequence is found in the given situation and that was not fully possible in the then stage of development of the society. But, a kind of tactics seems to have developed from the experiences of different past wars, the then objective and subjective situation of Gorkhalese and the defeats and victories that had happened in initial wars. In general those tactics can be presented as follows:

### **Tactics of Surprise Attacks**

After their first defeat in Nuwakot, the Gorkhalese seem to have grasped firmly the method of surprise attack on the enemy at night or jungle or with no information to them, by cheating and without giving them chance to become alert.

Like for instance, to attack upon suddenly; in the course of triumphing over Nuwakot from all the three sides, in night when all were asleep after crossing Trishuli river through a boat without using the readymade bridge and disguising their army in the form of general working peasants that dig out a canal in the rainy season; to force army (which had come to rob off jewelry from Makwanpur and Kathmandu) flee away by destroying them, which was highly equipped with effective weapons under the leadership of Gurjikan from Betia of India by attacking surprisingly in the night with a tiny force; to capture arm and drive away the British army (which was several times powerful in quantity and quality than the Gorkhalese) that had come to assist the king of Kathmandu by attacking surprisingly at a notch in

between Sindhuligarhi and Pouwagarhi and so on. In general, Gorkhalese tried to apply this method everywhere to the extent it was possible.

### **To Attack Weak Enemy at First and Stronger the Later**

Gorkha itself was a small and economically and militarily also a weak state. Compared to this, several states including that of Kathmandu were from this point of view in a very strong position. But, the Gorkhalese, capturing first the weaker and smaller states and dominions and consolidating own strength, adopted the method of confronting at last with the stronger. In fact it is the expression of the tactics to capture its entire surrounding land at first before capturing Kathmandu (erstwhile Kantipur). This fact is true not only in the context of Kantipur it is equally true in case of other states also.

### **To Take Advantage of Contradictions Among the Enemies**

Gorkhalese have paid sufficient attention to extracting advantage out of contradictions among different states in order to attack upon other states and defend theirs. Whether it be in relation to Palpa, Makwanpur or Kantipur; whether it be in the context of Patan, Bhadgaon or Lamjung, be it in relation to Tanahun or others they have paid full attention to using contradictions. It is not only in relation to different states, it is found that they had a policy of utilizing to their capacity every dispute between King and the people under one state, dispute within the royal family, dispute among different officials and so on.

### **To Adopt a Policy of Intrigue, Conspiracy and Deception**

The entire policy and morality of Gorkhalese was to achieve victory in war. They did not hesitate in the then situation to use any method of war. Its examples are: Prithvi Narayan Shah's changed of his genealogical history, ousting of the tutor from kingdom after beating him, as he was invited to make compromise with the King of Tanahun, and imprisoning of the king himself, etc. Gorkhalese have adopted these kinds of innumerable methods of deception and conspiracy.

### **To Apply the Method of Embargo Against Enemy**

When no chance existed to defeat enemies by way of direct fight, then they used to harass them by adopting the method of encirclement and embargo. In fact, the reason behind the success of Gorkhalese to capture Kirtipur is the method of encirclement they adopted at last. They were successful to capture Kantipur by creating turmoil all over the state through the method of economic embargo from all the directions.

### **To Adopt the Technique of Protracted War**

They fought the war of protracted nature by using Gorkha as a base area for they were small and weak and the enemies to be triumphed were more in numbers and strong, too. To develop regular army from Jhara soldiers, to go up to modern weapons starting from general domestic ones, to go to big wars initiating from small ones, to attack upon strong by liquidating the weaker ones, to expand state one after another, to carry on war untiringly for decades etc; no doubt that all of these were the methods of protracted war.

From the military point of view, one can see that aforementioned types of strategies and tactics have played decisive role behind the success of Gorkhalese to develop a centralized feudal state in the then world situation and objective condition of the development of the Nepalese society. Today, when we comprehend the necessity of building a qualitatively new society by destroying feudalism and imperialism, then, how much important is the experience of war the Nepalese society acquired in the course of establishing a centralized feudal state by destroying tiny states is self-evident. It proves that embryos of modern proletarian military theories of protracted People's War for the New Democratic revolution existed in this whole process.

### **3. Situation Followed by Centralized State System**

Having set up a strong foundation of the great feudal state the process of its expansion went towards west from the east. In spite of some minor losses and defeats, the Nepalese border stretched out to Kangada in the west. In this way a great Nepal was been built up. To develop a centralized and strong, to a certain extent, anti-British feudal state in Nepal and to go on expanding could not have become a matter of pleasure for the British-

India. It could not have been advantageous for many reasons and did not become so for the British, which were directly colonizing India by swallowing hundreds of tiny feudal kings and chieftains one after another.

Development of that kind of state in Nepal would create obstruction to trade for the British up to Tibet. It would be easy for the British to take advantage from Nepal, or capture if necessary, when there were tiny states and dominions and there was dispute among them. Now a danger had emerged that did not let it happen so easily. Apart from that, it would in no way be tolerable for the English looters to see an anti-British inclination in the Nepalese people. Therefore, the British were determined to fight a war with Nepal in different pretexts. The remarkable war of this period was mainly the war of Nepalese people with the British India.

There had been much more reforms in the military organization in Nepal since the establishment of feudal state to anti-British war and particularly during the tenure of Bhimsen Thapa. Organizational structure of modern regular army had been set up almost completely. Number of soldiers and quality of weapons were increased extensively. Provision for regular training took place. Even then the Jahara system did not end. The strategy and tactics that were adopted in the period of establishing centralized state were found to have almost been maintained in the period of anti-British war too.

Nepalese people showed an example of unprecedented devotion, sacrifice and bravery in those wars against the British. In course of this war the foundation of patriotic sentiment took its shape in the Nepalese people. The example of ability and bravery, which the Nepalese people exhibited in the war with the British, established the Nepalese people as a brave nation of the world. Even though the Nepalese people were weak and small they succeeded to defeat the powerful the British army in many places and inflict considerable losses on them. The entire Nepalese people including the children, aged and women and youths that fought risking life before the British cannon barrels with a stone in hand had added a new dimension of heroism in the history of human being. Incomparable examples of patriotism established in this course. It is especially notable here that Karl Marx, the great leader of the world proletariat and theoretician, had shown

high regard to the devotion, sacrifice and valor the Nepalese people exhibited in the course of war against the British.

Because of a big gap in power balance, the then world situation and mainly due to the feudal character of the Nepalese ruling class the war could not have sustained for long and it did not too. Ultimately, Sugauli Treaty took place with the British, in which a large area of land controlled by Nepal was lost. Following this treaty Nepal came to be a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. After this the Nepalese society is passing through a process of joint exploitation, oppression and pressure and interference of feudal and foreign monopoly capitalism in all the political and cultural fields. It is found that the patriots including Bhimsen Thapa had tried to build up a strategy to drive away the British robbers from Asia after the Sugauli Treaty. But, the British, the King and the other palatial courtiers carried out act of dreadful repression and murder unitedly against the representatives of anti-British trends. At last, hegemony of British agents was established in the Nepalese ruling order. Emergence of Janga Bahadur as a potent representative of British agents is an outcome of that process.

Why did it happen so? As a matter of fact, conditions of the kings after the establishment of the Greater Nepal with centralized feudal system did not remain like those of previous tiny kings. Now the necessary material environment was prepared for the Kings to develop themselves in the form of feudal kings in the modern sense. To entertain luxurious and rapturous life over the blood and sweat of the people, amass a huge property for their future generations, impose Hindu religion from all the wings of the state so as to make others say him as an incarnation of Vishnu, create caste discrimination based on religion, etc. came to be the tasks and characteristics of the King. With the establishment of such a powerful state system, dreadful events among different groups and individuals of the feudal ruling class for appropriation of the property, prestige and luxury with the force of the power reached its peak in the palace. The palace itself was the focal point of murder, terror, exploitation, immorality, infidelity, hypocrisy, intrigue and conspiracy.

It is a reactionary repetition of the world history for these kind of feudal elements to kneel down before the foreign imperialist robbers in order to

protect their 'heaven'. Nepal could not have remained an exception and it did not.

Along with the development of this process, Nepalese armies were then trained as mercenary soldiers, a weapon of suppressing people's just struggles as a shield of feudalism and imperialism in and outside of the country. In this course, a process of recruiting Nepalese youths in foreign mercenary armies of bourgeoisie was started. From this onward, Nepal entered into a process of economic dependency and cultural degeneration.

#### **4. After 1949**

With the constant flow of motion and change, a new wave of worldwide mass awakening unfolded. The proletarian class, holding high the inevitable future golden flag of the mankind, and with the scientific knowledge and consciousness of the overall development of human being in the international political arena, emerged as a glowing sun of the east. Earth-shaking cyclones of class struggles started to rise up under the leadership of the proletariat. The modern working class made forays over the 'heaven' of the feudal and bourgeoisie. New blood circulation of hope of emancipation from their depressed condition started following among the working masses the world over. Proletarian revolution attained victory in Russia. Triumph of revolution including in China and other countries continued. People's anti-British fury unfurled in India. Finally, a situation developed in which the British could not sustain in the old fashion in India. In this world situation, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist awareness started developing in the Nepalese people also. Different political and social institutions started taking shape in favor of the people's interest. In this course, establishment of the Communist Party of Nepal took place and that became a historical event in favor of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Nepalese people's struggle. Different kinds of movements on the part of the Nepalese people started to advance.

Along with this, reactionaries the world over went on raising new records of deception, conspiracy and repression against the people to defend their heaven of loot. Nepalese society has arrived up to today through the course of increasing struggle of the Nepalese people and deception, conspiracy and repression of the reactionaries. Nepalese people have waged innumerable

sacrificing struggles of different kinds after 1949 also. The Nepalese society has passed through local and nationwide struggles including rural class conflict for nationalism, democracy and livelihood. In between this time, thousands of brave sons and daughters of the Nepalese people have lost their lives in these struggles.

Whatever ordinary reforms the people have acquired under the prevailing political structure; the people's violent struggle is in reality working from behind. People have not obtained even the least of gains without waging violent struggles. Today, the Nepalese society has arrived at such a point of crisis under the existing political system that there is no alternative on the part of the people other than to smash it. Those who talk of reform from peaceful and parliamentary method under this system have become enemy of the people. Only those opportunist elements, that have no confidence in the historical role of the masses and believe in reactionary rule, can act to deceive people by showing inclination towards peaceful struggles and parliamentary activities.

## **5. Conclusion**

It is clear from the aforesaid brief review of history that the Nepalese people have been waging armed and violent struggles since long historical period for their necessity of life. They have become brave warrior people of the world. Today the reactionaries propaganda that Nepalese people are peace-loving and non-violent is against the historical fact and is only a conspiracy to by disarm the people mentally and to protect their rule that sustains in their reactionary violence.

The Nepalese society has been developing its own kinds of tactics in guerrilla war traditionally, during the period of establishment of the centralized feudal system and up to anti-British war. In order to fight a strong and huge enemy, the Nepalese society has acquired experience of its own kind of protracted war and victory in such wars.

Nepalese people are advancing ahead through the course of innumerable violent struggles for nationalism, democracy and livelihood from around 1949 till today. In between, whatever reforms have been achieved, the force of violent struggles waged by people disobeying the existing law and order

is working from behind. But the reactionaries and the opportunists have sought arrest the consequence of that great devotion and sacrifice of the people in their favor till now by force of conspiracy and deception. People have been trapped in the vicious circle of crisis. People are also advancing ahead in the course of struggles one after another. The development of this process has now demanded a new qualitative leap in Nepal.

With the above historical background, today we have Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the invincible ideological weapon that the international proletarian class has developed as a highest synthesis of the knowledge of the human being. We have a universal proletarian military theory of People's War, which being developed amidst intense storms of class struggles has been proved the best. Our Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party is the one, which has developed amidst long and intense ideological struggle against different forms of opportunism and mainly the right revisionism seen in the Nepalese communist movement.

Apart from this, what can we say from the experience of the history is that the tactics of encircling the cities from the countryside goes well not only with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory of protracted People's War but also with the historical development process of Nepal. There can be no talk of a new type of Party and a new society in the countries like ours without the protracted process of People's War. The experience of the class struggle has elucidated the fact that the People's War does not have any alternative in today's world. Shattering the opportunist illusions that deceive people by saying that the mass movement and the parliamentary struggle is principal, now it has become a historical necessity to enter into the course of People's War. People are the creators of the history. To provide leadership to the Nepalese people that have a glorious history of heroism is the duty of the communists today.

(January 1996)



# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Some Ideological and Military Questions Raised by People's War**

-Com. Prachanda

*"Revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them" --Mao Tse-tung*

The People's War that took birth amidst the class contradiction of the Nepalese society and started growing up and diverging into the masses is approaching two years. According to the dialectical law of development class contradiction gave rise to People's War and People's War today is intensifying and sharpening the class contradiction. This is the historical reality of Nepalese society today. Despite who had what subjective wish, People's War by becoming an objective reality for both the supporters and opposition has reached at the center of our country's politics. This reality itself is manifesting originality and particularity of the Nepalese People's War.

People's War, since its birth, has been facing intense repression, conspiracy and opposition of the reactionaries and revisionists. In order to nip a two years old healthy baby, the People's War, to which the masses amidst blows and counter blows have brought up at the cost of their life, the enemy is preparing for further fierce repression and conspiracy. In fact, the People's War has become the central expression of strength of the people, who want progress and emancipation, whereas, the fascist repression has become the central expression of the regressive elements. In this circumstance of history, it is necessary on the part of pro-people force to seriously study ideological and military questions related to People's War and raise up the development of People's War to another new height in order to ensure victory of People's force against the regressive forces. Without a continuous process of synthesizing the experiences of knowledge it will be impossible to lead People's War to its victory.

## **People's War: A General Concept**

The horror of war that has emerged from a certain objective situation of human development will end in another particular situation of human development itself. Historical materialism has clarified that the process of violent conflict among men is inseparably linked with the situation of division of labor, emergence of private property and development of social class division. Capitalism and imperialism have made the contradiction between social labor and production, and private ownership extensive and intense, and created a conducive situation to make an end of private property and class division. Therefore, the communists, basing on the synthesis of historical materialism, carry on revolutionary wars of today's world in the form of 'last war'.

In its essence, real communists and masses never like war and don't make war in desire but we communists are clear on the scientific fact that it is necessary to raise the flag of just war in order to oppose the unjust war being conducted by the exploiting class and to end war forever amongst the human being. In the class society, it is impossible to make a forward leap without a revolutionary war. The exploiting class has been carrying out ill effort to stop social development by imposing unjust war against the masses whereas the oppressed masses have been stepping up towards social advance through revolutionary war. In the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that has been developed in course of synthesizing the experiences of earth shaking class struggles waged by the proletarian class has provided with an invincible weapon of comprehensive military theory of People's War for the revolutionary war of the masses.

The great People's War, which we are waging to build an economically, politically and culturally prosperous and democratic Nepal by abolishing feudalism and imperialism, is also a part of that last war. Therefore, here lies the worldwide historic significance of the revolutionaries in shedding blood and sweat to make it success.

## **Role of Guerrilla War in Comprehensive People's War**

On the basis of semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of Nepal and scientific and revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we have adopted the strategy of protracted People's War, the line of encircling cities from the countryside, as the military strategy of Nepalese New Democratic revolution. Although its implementation and expression come into sight differently according to the particularities of different country, time and situation, but this military strategy does have universal significance for the countries, which are victimized by dual exploitation and oppression of feudalism and imperialism. protracted People's War is a comprehensive military strategy to resolve antagonistic contradiction prevailing in a certain historical stage. In our situation, protracted People's War under the leadership of the proletariat is a military method of resolving the contradiction between feudal, bureaucrat and comprador bourgeois class, and another classes, level and section of the masses. The terminology of protracted People's War shows the fact that People's armed force in the beginning is very weak compared to the strength of the enemy force. Protracted People's War is the art of war in which a weak armed-force of the people defeats the powerful armed-force of the enemy.

Many people have already conceived that this type of total war becomes victorious by completing three main strategic stages. In these three main stages of defense, equilibrium and offense, guerrilla war has principal role in the first strategic stage, mobile warfare in the second stage of equilibrium and positional warfare in the third stage of offense. Positional or mobile warfare is impossible in the first stage because of unevenness of power balance and an attempt to do so becomes a stupidity. Politically that is a manifestation of adventurism. Likewise, if priority is given to guerrilla war even in the stages of equilibrium and offense that goes to be capitulationism or right opportunism. During the whole course of strategic defensive, it is indispensable to accept the strategic role of guerrilla warfare. Nepalese People's War being now in the stage of strategic defense guerrilla war should be the main agenda for all revolutionaries. We will reach at mobile and positional warfare by successfully enhancing the guerrilla warfare. In other words, we are not fighting guerrilla war for the sake of guerrilla war itself rather we are conducting it in the form of preparation for positional warfare. From this viewpoint, strategic role of guerrilla war is self-evident.

## **Guerrilla War Before and Now**

The history of guerrilla war, which is an art of fighting against strong enemy, is as old as that of other conventional wars. There are innumerable examples in history in which people have defeated militarily very strong army of the enemy through People's War. Also in the history of Nepal, not only in the legendary stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana, the art of guerrilla war had been used in the process of building modern Nepal since hundreds of years. Whether it be in the process of chasing away a very strong Tibetan army, 800 years back, which the people of Kathmandu valley defeated through guerrilla style, or be it in course of surprising resistance actions adopted by Nepalese people against the British or be it in the course of Prithvi Narayan Shah's state expansion campaign, we see effective application of guerrilla war tactics everywhere.

We can easily see the reality that such examples exist in China, Russia, Europe, America and elsewhere. Without exceptions, what can be seen in the world history is that guerrilla warfare has been effective when pro-people forces carry on war against anti-people army, which are relatively more equipped with training and arms that is, guerrilla war has always become effective weapon for militarily weak masses.

Despite this, guerrilla war has not been able to achieve expected final successes in history. Mainly the lack of established political leadership and lack of military strategy to develop guerrilla war to regular warfare seems to be the reason behind this. This is the main conclusion of the experiences of all guerrilla wars in the past.

Now, it is the era of emergence of Marxism in general, and the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in particular. Arriving at this period, Marxism defined scientifically the role of revolutionary war on the basis of all the experiences of history. It did not only ensure necessary ideological and political leadership for the People's guerrilla war but also prepared a whole series of tactics and military strategy of developing guerrilla war into regular war. Masses have waged several successful wars against feudalism and imperialism on the basis of general theories of war. Guerrilla war has played a historical role in course of the First and Second World War and mainly in the Russian revolution and in the war against Hitler's fascism.

From the general theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of class struggle, Mao Tse-tung, in the context of experiences of the Great Chinese Revolution, accomplished the task of establishing guerrilla war qualitatively at a new height of development as an inseparable part of comprehensive People's War. In the context of defining strategic role of guerilla war in the protracted People's War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by developing comprehensive military line of encircling cities from the countryside and base area, developed Marxist-Leninist theory on war to a new stage.

In this way, today's guerrilla war can not remain like that of the past, it has been established as a systematic science of revolutionary war. Without grasping this science or the military science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism it is impossible to successfully develop guerrilla war in the form of People's military strategy in today's world.

### **Some Principal Conditions for the Success in Guerrilla War**

(a) Leadership with a correct ideological and political line is the principal condition to propel forward the guerrilla war successfully in the form of People's military affair in the present era. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, however good the military strategy may be, if it fails to acquire constant leadership of scientific ideology and politics revolution can not succeed. Only by grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism ideologically and strategy of People's War as the guiding theory militarily, can the guerrilla war, achieve victory one after another and develop into regular war, and reach to its final victory.

(b) Guerrilla war can be developed only if it is conducted for the masses and by the masses. When there is no determination of serving the people whole-heartedly guerrilla war cannot be an important part of comprehensive People's War rather that goes to become a terrorist activity of a handful of people. This is the main inherent reason behind the guerrilla war, which when waged world over only under the leadership of genuine communists could develop to regular war and succeed in building People's power. Only when guerrilla war, is fought selflessly for the people and fighters act as the sons and daughters of the masses, it becomes an important part of comprehensive revolutionary war. The reactionary class, in order to crush revolutionary guerrilla war, has also provided guerrilla training to their

mercenary soldiers, but whatever training they provide, it is impossible for those mercenary asses to win over confidence of the people. Owing to their class character, their interest is to loot the people. In this situation, it is not possible for those looters of the people to use strategies of guerrilla warfare.

(c) As Comrade Mao said guerrilla war does not develop without a continuous process of awakening and organizing more and more people through faster and better methods. What needs here to deeply understand is that guerrilla war does not mean only to fight the enemy; but it is to propagate among the masses and to organize them; and without making them advance as producers for themselves and the people, guerrilla war cannot be a part of comprehensive revolutionary war. It is clear, that without becoming a part of revolutionary war it cannot succeed.

(d) It is impossible to continue and develop guerrilla war if the negligence on the question of following certain basic tactics. Among them it is mainly the tactics of hit and run as Mao said, "when enemy advances, we retreat". And other points are: centralizing our forces to fight the enemy, decentralizing it to arouse the masses, finding out the weakest point of the enemy with adequate preparation and to attack by ensuring victory, carrying out dependable geographical and other surveys, always trying to keep enemy in surprise, maintaining regular alertness, mobility and secrecy etc.

(e) Without the concrete goal of building base areas and without developing them, it is not possible to develop guerrilla, mobile and regular war. It is impossible to continue guerrilla war for long without developing it to mobile and regular war. In protracted People's War the concept of base area, which Mao has developed, is a strategic concept of historic significance. To devaluate the necessity and significance of base areas with any argument or pretext is in fact to oppose the protracted People's War. Therefore, another necessary condition for the anticipated success in guerrilla war is to develop base areas.

### **Some Preliminary Experiences of Nepalese People's War**

(a) As it is said, in spite of the basic principles remaining same guerrilla war has its own fundamental expression according to different country, time and situation. Several new experiences have come into light in the short course of initiation and continuation of Nepalese guerrilla war. Firstly, the process of initiation of Nepalese People's War had been different than any other

experiences of the world. The originality -- a forceful shock under centralized planning, a unified campaign of military and non-military action, work in both rural and urban areas, mass mobilization and mass action -- that appeared in the initiation of People's War is in fact a result of convergence of correctness of ideological leadership of the Party and objective situation of the Nepalese society. When looked at minutely, the glimpse of particularities of initiation of Nepalese People's War can be noticed nicely. The questions like, mass characteristic of guerrilla war, significance of convergence of different actions, relation between countryside and cities, importance of clandestine working system, use of surprise in actions, position of arms in guerrilla war etc contain an embryo of particularities of Nepalese revolutionary war.

(b) In this period, a series of efforts that the revolutionaries have made to transform their political supremacy into military supremacy and that the enemy has made to transform their military supremacy into political one, have been particularly expressing the dialectical relation between political and military offenses in Nepal. The enemy is carrying out political offensive by making military supremacy dominant and creating horror of massacre, loot, rape, arrest and torture, and just opposite of it the revolutionaries are making political supremacy dominant and carrying out political exposition and are executing military offensive. Enemy's policy is, "confuse, encircle and annihilate". The experience, which has been acquired in the process of emphasizing political and military offensive according to the ebb and flow of the situation and in handling the dialectical relation between them, has been very much lively and important.

(c) The Nepalese People's War has mostly and intensively influenced the masses of oppressed class, caste, nationality and the region. Increasing participation of the masses of oppressed nationalities from East to West, initiative of peasants and workers, extensive participation of women, and the attraction that has appeared in the masses of Terai including Karnali region and remote areas oppressed by the old state, elucidates the great revolutionary character of Nepalese People's War. This process has been intensifying further despite innumerable cases of repression and conspiracy carried out by the enemy and the opportunists. There is no doubt that the success of Nepalese revolution depends in this fact.

(d) The process of development of Nepalese People's War is very fast. The severe crisis of the reactionary state, which is rotten to its core, the intensity

of class struggle and the revolutionary ideological and political line of our Party are responsible for this. As a consequence of intense development of the war the situation of political power vacuum and guerrilla zones came into being in the different parts of the country within one and half a year. The People's War transformed into a lifestyle of hundreds of thousands of people. Unmasking the charges, like "People's war without people", leveled by the reactionaries and revisionists, the situation of power vacuum extended to new regions of the country. Party has taken this as a very positive but challenging experience of Nepalese People's War.

(e) Party's understanding that the role of urban region is important for the development of People's War despite of countryside remaining principal has been brilliantly justified during this period. Although the urban region plays a secondary role in the initial period of People's War, the possibility and significance of it is very important in the historic specificity of Nepal and should be advanced constantly as a preparation of future insurrection. This fact has been well established. This is also a specific experience of Nepalese People's War.

(f) In a very short period, the Nepalese People's War has succeeded to acquire wide sympathy from young students, teachers, professors, lawyers, human rightists, independent intellectuals and doctors to petty businessman and industrialists. People's War is also gaining sympathy of national bourgeois class one after another. Except the sectarian and prejudiced persons, which are totally polluted by poison of diehard reactionaries and revisionists, members of other different political parties who are till now most honest to people and revolution have extended support towards People's War. All these facts elucidate the ideological level of the Nepalese people and the historical necessity of radical change in the country.

(g) The Nepalese People's War in a short span of time has provided qualitative speed to the process of rectification, consolidation, expansion, transformation and maturity of the political Party of the proletariat. It is another experience of People's War to have made this process further extensive and intense. People's War has created attraction among the Nepalese people staying in America, Canada, Europe and mainly the millions workers in India. The increasing role of migrant Nepalese people to assist the People's War in different ways is another pleasant experience.

(h) People's War has widely extended and consolidated the fraternal relations among genuine communist revolutionaries of the world including



the RIM on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Nepalese People's War in this short span of time has acquired sympathy of millions of struggling masses around the world. It has qualitatively increased the Party's international responsibility and role.

(i) Certainly, in order to develop People's War to this situation, the martyrdom of best sons and daughters of Nepalese people, resistance thousands of prisoners against jail, and torture of the reactionary state and devotion, dedication and sacrifice of millions of the masses has contributed a lot. People's War, within two years, has acquired so many experiences of ebb and flow, loss and achievement, and shortcoming and weakness. Even now the main problem before the People's War is to maintain proper balance between military development and political advancement. But what can be assured is that, as is said the morning shows the day, all these problems can be successfully faced.

### **Present Situation: Possibility and Challenge**

Because of the aforesaid situation of development of Nepalese People's War and its historical necessity the domestic and foreign reactionary classes, which are experiencing earthquake shocks in their state of plunder and exploitation, are making exercises for further repression and conspiracies. All the facts like, employing army before completing one and half a year, exercise of introducing draconian laws and game of changing state equation one after another express intentions of the reactionary classes to carry out bigger fascist repression. Now the formation of Panchayati (i.e. monarchist) fascist government in the pretext of their more capabilities in governing is the latest move of the reactionary conspiracy. Formation of such a government, on the one hand, is the result of betrayal and slavishness of stupid groups like Nepali Congress and UML and on the other, it is a political farce and military challenge posed by the reactionary class against the entire Nepalese masses. Soon after this fascist state equation had been built up, their act of blind firing on the masses that had gathered to condole the death of a young revolutionary woman Kamala Bhatta, in Gorkha, has made its strategy clear. Reactionary class lifts a stone always to drop over its feet. Kamala Bhatta brutal killing is a blow to the millions of women fighting for independence and equality. It will not be tolerated by

the Nepalese women and revolutionary masses. Nepalese people, who have risen up to the level of People's War, will hit back at each level.

We communists before that the conspiracy and repression, which is carried out keeping People's War at the center, is the result of the development of People's War. It is a historically proven law of revolution to advance giving rise to powerful counterrevolutions. It will be nothing other than their stupidity to try to frighten genuine revolutionary masses. It is necessary to take each activity seriously by grasping this truth ideologically. It will also be a mistake not to take enemy seriously from tactical view. Defending from both 'left' and right mistakes, it is necessary for the revolutionaries to further centralize and expand their strength in order to make the People's War attain victory one after another. In this great campaign of initiating a new era by shattering feudal exploitation and imperialist oppression, it is necessary for the revolutionaries to increase diligence and resoluteness further, organize entire masses and study more deeply the theories of People's War and synthesize the experiences. No fascist power will survive before the masses, the creators of the history. Whatever challenging the situation may be, the People's victory is certain.

Long Live People's War !  
Down With Regressive Element !  
(1997)

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **People's War in the 21st Century and Prachanda Path**

**-Com. Ananta**

*"To advance ahead in the direction of continuous revolution by synthesizing scientifically the world proletarian revolution, which is rich in experiences of revolution and counterrevolution, is the fundamental essence of the lesson of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." -- Chairman Com. Prachanda*

### **Introduction**

Twentieth century has passed amidst gigantic ebbs and flows of revolution and counter-revolution and the twenty-first century, with indefinite possibilities of development of human civilization, is with us. Mankind of the world, faced the twenty-first century two destructive great wars and innumerable big or small regional wars. Likewise, standing upon the foundation of investigation of Marxism, the ideology of working class and offending the heaven of exploiters and oppressors the working class attained success in this very century through Russian October Revolution. Along with this, Chinese Revolution attained victory in the long campaign of 22 years? civil war and national liberation movement. Unprecedented great revolutions succeeded, great geniuses took birth, unprecedented events took place and diehard autocratic rulers and bloodthirsty villains also came into being in this very century. High tides of socialist, democratic and national liberation movements also stood up and entire models of revolutions including those of Russia and China, the great heritage of faith of the working masses at one time, also crumbled in this century. How was it possible? Innumerable researches and studies have been carried out on it, they are continuing and will do so. Capitalists and imperialists analyzed it as the failure of communism whereas as revisionists, pessimists and escapists understood it from the angle of liquidationism. But revolutionaries have understood it as a temporary setback and a serious lesson. Where did the proletariat commit mistake? World proletariat class is concentrating on ideological and practical field to transform the working class into an

invincible force through its correct evaluation. Along with the communist revolutionaries including in India, Peru, Philippines, Turkey and Iran, in this great campaign, our Party CPN (Maoist), People's Liberation Army and the Nepalese people are in the field of People's War since last eight years. In today's era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and in the midst of People's War our Party has contributed to and enriched in MLM by drawing essence of the lessons of world revolution and counter-revolution. This has already been synthesized in the form of Prachand Path and through the application of this scientific theory in revolutionary practice, it has further developed in the form of "Development of democracy in the twenty first century". Deep investigations and explanations on its philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and other aspects have already been done and this process is continuing. In this article, a short discussion will be carried out on the fundamental contribution and characteristic of Prachanda Path acquired in the field of military science, a part of scientific socialism, which is a part of the overall knowledge acquired during the great People's War of eight years.

### **Today's Imperialism and Military Specificity**

On economic and political characteristics of imperialism, great Lenin has said, "Imperialism is an era of finance capital and monopoly; in each field, it gives birth to the effort of establishing hegemony not to the effort of freedom." And "Politically, imperialism in general is an attempt forward in the direction of violence and reaction." At the same time, Lenin also has said that imperialism is the final and moribund stage of capitalism and "pre-stage of the socialist revolution". He presented an analysis that expansion of colony and semi-colony, exportation of industrial and finance capital, division of world and application of force are the military, economic and political characteristics of imperialism. Apart from this, Mao's analysis on the development of bureaucratic and comprador capitalism and its explanation are basically correct. Also, Mao's analysis that imperialism, by using reactionary ruling class of the oppressed nations as their stooges, exploits and oppresses people, uses economy of these countries as its own, grabs unlimited profit by looting raw materials and cheap labor, carries out political, economic, military and cultural oppression and suppression against the people in those countries, and as a result of this, Asia, Latin

America and Africa have become the storm center of national democratic revolution, is very much valid even now. Likewise, Lenin's explanation on the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and Comrade Mao's proposition that revolution is the main trend in the world, which he concluded from the correct identification of contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations, is also equally scientific.

In the world today, there is domination and over-centralization of finance capital, on one hand, and on the other, because of unequal distribution of income, unequal development, unemployment a big gap between rich and poor has been created. Imperialist's data say, "Rich countries that have 15% of the world population own 80% of the world's resources, whereas, 85% of the population own only 20 % of them. Consequently, "Two and a half a billion people have been victims of abject poverty. One billion people are under absolute poverty line. It has given rise to unemployment, poverty, anger and anarchy and rebellion simultaneously.

After the 80s, the development of science and technology, mainly the unprecedented development that has taken place in electronic and information technology has converted the world into a very narrow village. Amidst contention between world super powers, the fall of Russian social imperialism and the slogans of so-called unipolar New World Order dominated by US imperialism in the garb of globalization and liberalization, the monopoly capitalist fascism has manifested in the form of worldwide military intervention, expansion of military camps, exploitation of economic resources and the massive suppressions against the small resistance and revolts against it. American ill-intentions over entire resources of the world, bloody attacks upon Balkan region by the erstwhile Soviet union, bloody attack upon erstwhile Yugoslavia for oil reserves, attack upon Afghanistan and Iraq are its examples. In fact, today's imperialism, particularly the US imperialism is sustaining upon the exportation of finance capital, worldwide usury, sale of weapons of mass destruction, naked plundering of natural resources and labor of the third world countries through big financial institutions like World Bank, International Monetary Fund etc. Therefore, the US imperialism has become today a number one enemy of workers, peasants and oppressed nations of the whole world.

Today, the conflict over the share of spoils of plunder is sharpening among the imperialists. The open contention of Germany, France and Russia with the US in Iraq War is its example. According to the inevitable characteristic of imperialism, it indicates towards world war and regional wars. In the same way, opposition of the third world countries and people and fury of the masses in the imperialist heartland against open loot and naked aggression of the US imperialism has clearly indicated towards world revolution. Marxism has already explained the fact that politics stands on economic base and the war is another form of politics. On the imperialist politics of plunder and war the formulation of Karl Marie Von Clause-Witz, a Prussian military strategist, made in 1833 in his book 'On War', that, 'War is the continuation of politics by other means' has been excellently justified. America has deployed its military force to plunder the world resources economically, to encircle its imperialist rivals militarily and to control politically and nip People's anti-imperialist fury, opposition, rebellion and revolution all over the world. According to a report, the US imperialism has stockpiled "more than half a million of armies" (apart from Iraq), "more than 8 thousands of atomic weapons", "at least 22 thousands of other atomic weapons" in "395 military bases" of the third world countries. A country, which has only 5% of the world population, spends 63.36% of the total military budget of the world including its allies. Whether it be a marine raft in Pacific Ocean or the navy base in Arabian Sea, whether it be a capture of high strategic land in Afghanistan or military aggression in Balkan Region, Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia or its moves in South Asia, all of these are inspired from superpower ambition for repressing revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, milking out natural resources from there, encircling imperialist rivals and expanding new areas of influence. From this, the new strategy of imperialism has become "liberalization", "globalization" and "world militarization". It has made World War and World Revolution to come face to face.

Our Party, based upon the analysis of economic, political and military strategy of imperialism, the - US imperialism in particular, has identified that the following four basic contradictions existing in the world today.

- Contradiction between bourgeois and proletarian class as the contradiction between labor and capital.
- Inter-imperialist contradiction.

- Contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people.
- Contradiction between capitalist and socialist system.

Among them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people is the principal contradiction in the world. In today's world, even a small event, rebellion or revolution in the third world has necessarily to confront directly with the imperialism. Owing to this fact, on one hand, a problem of capitulating to imperialism, or cowardice or right revisionism has become the main subjective problem, and on the other, a dogmato-revisionist trend that tries to go ahead without analyzing positive and negative aspects of the worldwide strategy of imperialism, surprising development of productive forces and intensification in the social form of production, is also equally dangerous. For this reason, it has become necessary for the proletariat to enrich the heritage of the great Russian and Chinese revolutions in twentieth century, take serious lessons from the negative events of counter-revolutions and develop and enrich its own strategy and tactics. Explaining this, Prachanda Path has said, "It also shows that there has been a significant change in the prevailing concept of model of revolution after 1980. Today the fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection and protracted People's War into one another has been essential. Without doing so, a genuine revolution seems impossible in any country."

In this way, globalized intervention in military, economy and politics has become the characteristics of imperialism, and a unified and co-ordinated offensive has been urgent on the part of the proletarian class, too.

### **Prachanda Path and the Specificities of Nepalese Revolution**

The flag of Nepalese Revolution was raised in such a period when Mao had died, there was a wave of counterrevolution all over the world including China, setback in Peruvian revolution, recession in national liberation movements and the domination of so-called "new world order", and uni-polar economic and military hegemony of US imperialism. Today, with the intensification of inter-imperialist contradiction an indication of a unipolar world order going step by step towards a multi-polar one, rise in anti-imperialist opinion all over the world, brutality of imperialist oppression, hegemony and exploitation, and in opposition to it, the

emerging sparks of rebellion on the part of the world proletariat and oppressed masses, have created a comparatively favorable situation. In the midst of this objective and subjective situation, the Nepalese revolution and raising of flag of revolt by the Nepalese people is about to complete eight years. The Nepalese revolution with its specificity, originality, grandeur and worldwide influence is face to face with imperialism, particularly the US imperialism. Definitely, some originality and science is working from behind the Nepalese revolution that has enabled it to arrive politically and militarily at the stage of equilibrium amidst low ebb in world proletarian revolution and unilateral hegemony and domination of imperialism.

Ideologically, Nepalese revolution has waged a long struggle against right revisionism, reformism and parliamentarism. It has succeeded to grasp revolutionary dialectics, which understands the universal theory of Marxism not as a dead object but as a dynamic and developmental living guideline. In addition to this, our Party has gone through a long struggle against dogmato-revisionism, which is widely spread nationally and internationally. It has been able to develop a view on the particularities of today's world imperialism, forms of revolution and new strategies and tactics. These are the main factors for the development and success of Nepalese People's War.

Comrade Mao says, "Correctness and incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything. If the line is correct everything will come in its way if it is wrong everything will be lost which one had before." This quote of Comrade Mao has become very true for the Nepalese People's War. Analysis of the Nepalese society, building up of the line of revolution, historical initiation of the People's War, correct handling of contradiction in the class struggle and two line struggle, centralization of works in the basic masses and rural areas based on the specificity of the protracted People's War, the main form of organization as army, the main form of struggle of war, small guerilla actions and centralized attacks, countrywide guerilla struggle and the centralization of work in certain strategic areas, countrywide struggle, centralized shock attacks and work among urban workers, students, and intellectuals, propaganda work and countrywide general strikes on the basis of the strategy of insurrection, rehearsal of insurrection through shutdowns, etc. were carried out simultaneously. These along a new revolutionary practice, has led to synthesis of Prachanda Path,



which has enriched the MLM. Prachanda Path has enriched and developed all the three components of MLM, the philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Developing in the field of military science and in the strategy and tactics of proletarian and democratic revolution in overall, the theory of fusion of insurrection and protracted People's War with one another, has been a new contribution to MLM and is advancing ahead in the direction of acquiring universal character. Ten tactical principles of fusion have excellently expressed this theory of Prachanda Path.

- Give priority to the work in villages, but don't leave work in cities too.
- Give priority to the illegal struggle, but don't leave the legal struggle too.
- Give priority to certain strategic areas, but don't leave other areas too.
- Give priority to the work of war, but don't leave works of the mass movement too.
- Give priority to clandestine work, but don't leave open works too.
- Give priority to the rural class struggle, but don't leave countryside struggle too.
- Give priority to the guerilla actions, but don't leave political exposition and propaganda works too.
- Give priority to the work inside the country, but don't leave worldwide propaganda works too.
- Give priority to the work of military organization, but don't leave work of building front organizations too.
- Give priority to depending upon own organizations and strength, but don't leave tactical unity and the question of taking help and support from international opinion too.

In brief, the specificity of Nepalese People's War can be discussed in following points: First, emphasis in building correct line on the basis of the concept of "Correctness of the political line decides everything" and through that to educate, organize and make millions of the masses agitate. Second, accepting MLM as a guiding ideology and, being firm in the starting point of "masses are the creators of history" to be prepared for back and forth and right and left. Third, to launch the historical initiation of People's war with its own originality and countryside shock and in a rebellion-like way. Fourth, to centralize rebellion on the question of political power from the very beginning. Fifth, to centralize main attacks

upon feudal, comprador and bureaucratic bourgeois class as the enemy class and its guardian, the imperialism. Sixth, to centralize and handle all the things with the understanding that main form of organization is army and main form of struggle is war. Seventh, considering local power and the question of base area as the fundamental question, to continue in regular practice of mass agitation and central political intervention; examples of which are two times cease-fire and negotiation. Eighth, to place ideology and man in principal position and weapons in secondary position and handle them correctly in a dialectical way. Ninth, acceptance of the inevitable role of use of force in history and use of mass line for the capture of state power through revolutionary violence, under which emphasis upon building a armed sea of masses by developing People's militia from millions of people. Tenth, to achieve technical superiority of low tech over high tech through quantity to quality, human bravery and People's initiative. Eleventh, to apply offense and defense and centralization and decentralization scientifically. Twelfth, correct application of total war through ideology, courage and war of the masses during the People's War of eight years has acquired relative superiority and victory over the imperialist war of weapon and technology. This is the basic specificity of the Nepalese People's War.

### **On the People's Army of 21st Century**

Learning from the mistakes the proletarian class and its leaderships committed in history, Prachanda Path has visualized making the 21st century a century of world revolution. Today, the Great Russian and Chinese Revolutions, huge People's army and proletarian powers have become a question of history. Does it mean that those concepts were wrong? The proletarian class and its Party cannot give a negative answer, as do the imperialist reactionaries and revisionists that have deviated from the great campaign of making history. However, the question in which we are serious is that proletarian class, proletarian power, proletarian Party and proletarian People's army may be defeated repeatedly. But, accepting ones own mistakes and inadequacy of experience one should make constant efforts to move ahead. History has made the world proletarian class stand right at that very point of self-assessment. To fight against the self is inevitable to learn from the history, to achieve more victories and to build

up a new history, but not to deviate from revolution and not to explain history in one's interest.

Today we know, Lenin's red army, the detachment of the Great October Revolution, Stalin's Soviet Army that led the heroic sacrifice of 23.7 millions of Soviet people and that shattered Nazism and Fascism of Hitler in the hearth of the Second World War, Mao's People's liberation army that defeated 5.5 millions of Chiang-Kai-Sheik's army, millions of Japanese US & British imperialists during 22 years? of civil and national liberation war, and in the same way, the earth-shaking armies whether they be of Vietnam revolution or Korean revolution have become today the means of counterrevolution and they have not been able to prevent it. Prachanda Path has guided us on how to build a new type of Party, new type of power and organize People's army from a new height and says, "The People's Army in the 21st Century should not be in the process of being modernized by way of special training and weapons staying in the barracks after the capture of power, rather it should be guarantee to make them revolutionary fighters to militarize the whole masses and serve them." This development of Prachanda Path is linked with the concept of Karl Marx to arm the masses and provide general education with weapons to build armed sea of masses.

In this way, the question of building a new People's army that is able to prevent counterrevolution by developing the basic theory of MLM, continuation of Proletarian Cultural Revolution and organizational principle of revolutionary ideology, is the principal one. More than that, today's necessity is to build a People's army that stands on ideological, organizational and methodological foundation and is capable not only to make revolution but also to prevent counter-revolution. Comrade Mao adhered to mass-line in the field of ideology, politics, organization and struggle to defeat the revisionist and counter-revolutionary gangs that had penetrated into higher posts of Party, State and army, which, is famous in history as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this revolution, a campaign was launched to expose, carry out mass action and expel the representatives of the bourgeois class, counter-revolutionaries and revisionists who had occupied higher posts in People's army, by building People's militia in millions (which were called Red Guards). Together with this, Red Guards pulled out the bourgeois People's army, which was

confined into barracks with the modern weapons and huge bureaucratic structure, to mass revolt and the great campaign of political and economical constructions. From this, a great and unprecedented unity among Party, army and revolutionary People's power and vast masses of the people was achieved. Through the course of continuous revolution, Maoism, the scientific ideology that enables the human society to reach communism was born. Communism is a goal of the proletariat; the means to achieve it are the Party, army and state power. Utilizing the achievement and means of New Democracy and socialism, a process of continuous revolutionization of the three weapons of revolution is the urgent need of today in order to achieve the highest goal of the world revolution.

History showed that, "After the seizure of power, when entire leaders and cadres of the Party are involved in running it, a danger of the Party being transformed step by step into a bureaucratic, careerist and privileged class becomes intense and dominant from the objective environment." In the same way, "What has also been proved in the context of People's army is that for the army, which was proved to be invincible in the war front against enemy before revolution by being united with the masses with devotion, dedication, heroism, sacrifice and ideological conviction, an objective environment of staying in barracks with special arrangement and becoming a modern bourgeois army develops gradually after the seizure of power?. For that, People's army should not be confined within barracks and armed with heavy modern technology. Rather as Marx and Engels proposed, synthesizing the experiences of Paris Commune, the establishment of the organized state of the masses of the people and the overthrow of today's imperialism is possible only by involving millions of masses in revolution; and also not from the high tech and regular army but from the vast sea of the armed masses and from the strength of its sacrifice, courage and with low against high tech. For this, it is necessary for the People's army to be organized for accomplishing the task of fulfilling "an interim necessity of a small regular army in the form of a school of militias commanders" as Marx said. On this, the concept of Prachanda Path is, "The main task of the People's Army in the 21st Century should be to accomplish the historical responsibility of developing conscious armed masses capable to use their right to rebel."

In today's era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it will be possible, only by this way, to destroy the world order, which is sustaining on the strength of a huge regular army and genocidal arms and ammunitions, and to construct the new one. Only in this way, will it be possible to make a leap into the world of freedom from the world of necessity. Not that, the proletarian class will be enmeshed in idealist world or abstract use of force. Undoubtedly, it is possible to accomplish this necessity of history by building People's army in the 21st century that stands upon the foundation of proletarian ideology and politics and "remains in supervision, control and service of the masses", as practitioner of continuous revolution.

### **Contribution of Prachanda Path in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Military Science**

A discussion on Prachanda Path, specificity of Nepalese People's War and its originality has already been made. It has been proved that eight year's of the great People's War has contributed to and enriched in the field of military science of MLM. Those particularities and originalities of Prachanda Path have become a contribution to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist military science. Particularly, the theory of fusion that has been developed by integrating Russian model of armed insurrection and Chinese model of protracted People's War is equally applicable to both the developed and underdeveloped countries and revolution in any country is almost impossible in today's world without this theory. In today's era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the method of total People's War that fights reaction and imperialism and ten tactical principles too are no less important contributions. In the present era, to defeat imperialism and prevent counterrevolution, to apply right to rebel and conduct continuous revolution by building a state of conscious and armed masses as a guaranteed organizational methodology of reaching to communism through People's democracy and socialism, the theory of doing away with regular army by completely arming the masses, Prachanda Path through the concept of People's army in 21st century, has contributed to the theory of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist military science, organization and methods. These facts prove that Prachanda Path is gradually attaining universality.

### **Conclusion**

Standing upon the subjective condition that is being created again and is advancing the revolution amidst the objective condition of worldwide hegemony, and interventionist violent character of world imperialism, particularly the US imperialism, Nepalese revolution and Nepalese proletarian class has initiated a great campaign of learning lessons of history. It has initiated a new polemic for the development of democracy in the 21st century; it is not to run away from revolution, but to accomplish revolution and to continue it as well as. Engels, in one context, had mentioned that the development of railways, post offices, banks and heavy industries would be a prerequisite for communism. Thousand times more development has taken place now in science, technology and human society. Huge production branches, transportation and communication and particularly the electronic technology has changed the world into a small village: this is the prerequisite for achieving communism. It is only a question of transferring them from imperialism and their handful of billionaire agents to the hands of numerous masses. Definitely the proletarian class in the aforesaid explosive situation of contradiction needs a scientific ideology, revolutionary organization and correct leadership. Nepalese revolution and Prachanda Path, even though small, has put its step forward towards that.

Amidst the drought of proletarian revolution, Nepalese People's War has provided few drops of water. The world community is looking at Nepalese revolution as a ray of hope and Nepalese revolution is colliding directly with imperialism. It is an inevitable process in today's world. Nonetheless, this direct confrontation at the stage of strategic equilibrium and at the point of preparation of strategic offense and armed insurrection is definitely a challenging one. For that, if Nepalese People's Liberation Army could wage real People's War based on the military strategy of being trained from the idea of democracy in 21st century, uniting with masses and as Comrade Prachanda says, "exploding where enemy steps on", against US imperialism, victory is inevitable and ascertained. In the 21st century, Nepalese People's Liberation Army that is armed with the new idea of Prachanda Path will not only become an instrument of revolution in the new century but also a strong guard for preventing counter-revolution.

(November 2003)

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*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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**Some Theoretical Aspects of Organizational Problems**

**-Com. Prachanda**

"Correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything". This well-known dictum is scientific, so it is true. But if this dictum is understood mechanically and metaphysically, neither a correct ideology can develop there, nor can it be implemented in real practice. If the correct organizational principle, structure and style of functioning to implement correct ideology into practice does not develop then the result anticipated by ideology is not possible to achieve. The ideology itself and the methodology to use it and assertions are necessary to be developmental and dynamic in the comprehensive endless course of constant motion. But in real practice, the human awareness generally lags behind compared to the development of an object. Different kinds of subjective deviations emerge from this contradiction between the matter and consciousness. A great revolution brought about by the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is in essence to provide a methodology of resolving the contradiction between matter and consciousness. The thinking and practitioner itself who makes use of this science synthesized in the form of dialectical and historical materialism should necessarily be dynamic, creative and scientist.

The process of implementing this universal theory of MLM in the particularity of Nepal gave rise to these achievements of six years of People's War. This great course of transforming the Nepalese society has cast extensive and far-reaching influence in all the fundamental domains of social life. According to the dialectical law of development, this advance of revolution is obviously and necessarily developing a powerful counter-revolutionary thinking and force. The real key to the victory of revolution for the revolutionaries is hidden in correctly grasping this dialectical motion of development and preparing oneself ideologically, organizationally and culturally to resolve new contradictions.



In this context, the most important question is to resolve the ideological problem developed by People's War. What is necessary to grasp deeply is that the People's War that has developed by creating unique records of dedication and sacrifice, and participation and devotion of hundreds of thousands of masses went on proving our yesterday's thinking, style of functioning and conduct inadequate and narrow. The great ideas and practices developed from the storm of class struggle (which are in rudimentary form) left behind the yesterday's ideas and conducts of the leaders themselves. A new situation, in which the movement could no longer advance in obvious pace, developed if the leadership rank did not provide qualitative merit to the process of changing oneself by synthesizing the new ideas developing through war. Following a long and serious effort of ideological debate-interaction to resolve this objective contradiction the historic 'second Conference' of the Party resolved, in the present relativity, the problem of ideology after ideological synthesis. It conferred to a new self-confidence and new energy in the entire Party ranks, fighters and the masses. The power of ideology transformed into material strength and it destroyed several pillars of the old state power. It also raised the process of building a new Nepal up qualitatively to a new height.

Along with great achievements acquired from the preliminary application of new ideology, some serious organizational and cultural problems also have come up in between this time. If the organizational and cultural problems could not be resolved in time, then these problems developing into non-proletarian serious ideological ones will ultimately help the counterrevolutionary force. Theoretically, our concrete problem at this time lies in not grasping the significance of new ideas synthesized by the 'second National Conference' and not changing one's organizational and cultural conducts according to the essence of new ideas. In other word it can be understood as a problem of contradiction between new ideology and old organization and culture. New idea always demands a new organization. If the revolutionaries fail to meet that demand in time, the old organization eats up the new ideas. And finally, the old idea holds sway. Therefore, if the serious theoretical significance of the organizational problem is minimized how much negative result it brings about becomes clear from this.

Now two tendencies are confronting consciously or unconsciously in the Party and the movement. Positive or revolutionary tendency is trying to change oneself according to the demands of new idea, whereas the negative or the opportunist tendency is trying to forge ideas according to one's interest. The question: organization and culture according to ideology or ideology according to organization and culture, has become an important question in the movement at the present time. Definitely, revolutionaries' effort should be to struggle for transformation of organization and culture according to the new idea. If the ideological rectification is not linked up with the organizational and cultural rectification then the emergence of contradiction is inevitable. Now, revolutionaries should centralize their attention to the organizational and cultural rectification.

To advance from simple process to the complex one, is a general law of development of the matter and consciousness. Organizational structure and activity in the period of historic initiation of People's War was tiny, simple and limited. Now it has become big, bulky, complex and extensive. Organizations, which were not in existence before, are now in active and effective existence. Today, an organization of People's Liberation Army has developed in the form of a main, complex and sensitive structure. People's committees are developing as the structure of power in different levels including at the center. Different oppressed national, regional and dalit fronts have developed as an inevitable structure of struggle for nationalism and democracy. Development of different mass organizations from both the viewpoints of quantity and quality is broadening. The place of a few dozens of full-timer cadres of the past has now taken up by the development of thousands of cadres. The account of a few thousands rupees of the past has now gone to tens of millions. This situation of development itself expresses the complexity. From this positive state of the development different challenges that were unseen or could not appear in the past have come up now. Of those challenges, revolutionaries should specially centralize attention to the following.

The challenge of developing a scientific methodology to define and handle the mutual relation between Party, army and the state is a serious one. This challenge is not serious only in the sense of positive challenge developed by the People's War in Nepal rather it has become serious also in the sense of

getting rid of the negative experiences of counterrevolution that were acquired in the struggle for power in the international communist movement. The question, which we are talking about, is the development of Party, army and the power in the 21st century, it means it is a problem of creative development of Marxism itself by synthesizing positive and negative experiences of the past revolutions. Identifying the experiences from Paris Commune in France to 'Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution' in China and the specificity of contemporary world situation it is necessary on our part to develop relation of Party, army and the state, their structures and new methodology to handle them. This problem, due to the necessity of fundamental development of the national and the regional autonomy, has become more acute in the particularity of Nepal. However, a vital task of facing historical challenges, to establish under the leadership of the proletariat a strong contingent of new international army with Nepalese specificity in 21st century and a new people's power as a new base area of world revolution, is before us. In order to face successfully this great and complex task it is necessary for the whole Party to emphasize on the question of raising oneself to that height.

The challenge of developing and integrating the organizational structure of Party, army and the state and relation with broad masses is another important challenge prevailing before the revolutionary movement. There can be no other purpose of a political Party of the proletariat and of any organizational structures under it than to equipping the broad masses with the right of exercising power and serving them. Despite being clear in the general theoretical sense, what the experience has proved is that only the theoretical clarity and purity in intention is not sufficient to make working masses the master of social and political life. For this, along with continuous revolution and ideological struggle it should be emphasized on creating such an objective circumstance of organizational structure that can retain all the organs of political power under the supervision and control of broad masses so that the selfish and the opportunist elements cannot raise their heads up. There is an imminent necessity of putting emphasis on to make organizational structures dynamic by centralizing on the question of ensuring constant leadership of the proletarian revolutionaries. In the history, along with the process of victory in struggle for power there are bitter experiences of non-proletarian tendencies that weaken the relation of

officials of different level of Party, army and the state with the broad masses, develop new bureaucratic bourgeois class from within the new power, develop bourgeois, individualist ego and arrogance of thinking oneself a master and above the masses and impose bureaucratic order and excess over them. With the development of our six-years of People's War embryos of such kinds of problems have been observed hither and thither. That is why, the revolutionaries along with constant struggle for ideological and cultural transformation should necessarily emphasize on to build up objective circumstance of organizational structure that keeps oneself under the control of the masses.

With the development of revolution, a challenge that the question of material proletarianization, which is going to be an idealist proposition only as a general catchword and in real practice the life and daily routine of Party leaders and cadres is becoming several times more stylish and well-off above the material situation of the masses, is a dreadful challenge prevailing before us. It becomes deadly if the means, resource and media and upper class presentation, which are used in certain situations because of the compulsion created by the necessity of life and death war against the enemy, are generalized. It has been urgent to drive ahead mercilessly the proletarian rectification campaign of the Party in order that the preliminary financial anarchism, which has started to appear, must not take a gigantic shape in the form of corruption tomorrow. All the revolutionaries must focus attention to the development of specific ideological debate and organizational structure to ensure proletarian conduct in all the aspects, including clothing & fooding, transportation, family maintenance and education. It is not only to prevent the material way of life of the leaders and cadres to go beyond that of the general masses, it must be to emphasize totally to proletarianize personally. Not with the purpose of serving people through devotion, dedication and sacrifice, but, if competitive process of becoming full-timer in Party or acquiring leadership takes place to make use of material means and source, then our great and glorious Party will become a revisionist crowd of individual selfish people like UML. The rise in standard of life of cadres including those, who were devoted to serving people with severe hardship and frugality, does not indicate good situation. In addition to ideological and organizational rectification, to resolve this the system of money collection and expenditure management must be made

strict. In order to develop the proletarian norm of dedicating completely to the service of working masses against the bourgeois norm of material incentive it has already become essential to develop a minimum necessary system.

Tendencies of factional narrowness and splittist anarchism have emerged in this or that form in the Party even after the relentless dissection by the historical 'second National Conference'. These types of tendencies, instead of emphasizing to healthily conduct the inner-Party struggle according to the organizational principle of democratic centralism by grasping the historical spirit of ideological synthesis, make effort to continue the revisionist legacy of maintaining 'group discipline' in the Nepalese communist movement. Specificity of such tendencies has been to violate Party discipline and secrecy over one's disagreement. This type of factionalism cannot grasp the sensitivity that brings about a serious result by the violation of a little of secrecy and discipline in a Party like ours which is engaged in life and death war against the enemy. In the present situation when the enemy is spreading network of spies everywhere we specially need a proletarian iron discipline. As a basic condition to give rise to such an iron discipline, the ideological synthesis of the Party has emphasized to exercise full democracy in a systematic manner. But the factional and splittist tendency, instead of exercising full democracy putting forward open and clear ideas according to the scientific understanding of democratic centralism and following up faithfully to implement it after certain decision is taken, behaves exactly opposite to it. Instead of making correct ideas the criteria of closeness and distance with anybody, this tendency makes criteria of familiarity to persons or certain individual interest. The Party must emphasize to fully discourage such tendencies through organizational rectification campaign. Each Party member must struggle against oneself to make the principle of 'three dos and three don'ts' developed by Mao as a philosophy of life.

The task of leading a great social revolution is very responsible one. Development of both the abilities of 'red and expert' is inevitable. Red and expert are not an obstruction to each other, but just the opposite, and they must be complementary to one another. A scientific truth that ignorance has never served the people in history, must be grasped deeply. There has been

a lag in classical theoretical study in Party since some years. Without being acquainted with the experience of history and the height of knowledge acquired by the human being no one can lead a great social revolution and stop the force of counter-revolution. 'Red' does never mean a reckless and 'expert' never means a bourgeois intellect. In real sense, a 'red' that cannot understand the laws of class struggle and handle them is not the 'red', and an 'expert' who does not integrate his knowledge and capacity with practice is not the 'expert'. Therefore the dialectical relation between 'red' and 'expert' cannot be separated from each other. In order to develop a huge chain of red and expert leaders and cadres in real sense the Party must take constant initiative with a distinct organizational structure.

It is not possible to make reach the movement attain success without making vision of the leaders and cadres extensive and wide, in our Party, which is leading revolution in the present challenging situation of the 21st century. But, because of the fragmented production relation of very backward semi- feudal and semi-colonial condition of the Nepalese society the petty- bourgeois narrowness has become its longstanding cultural particularity. The class root of narrowness and anarchism in the Party is linked up with this backward production relation of the Nepalese society. The petty-bourgeois cannot grasp the scientific significance of proletarian collectivity. Petty-bourgeois does not have any particular concern with other outside world than to own small piece of land, own small shop, own small service and own small family. As the reflection of it, a wrong thinking that conceives one's own small group, own small region, area or department, own small paper and own personal post and prestige as everything. We must carry on arduous struggles against such types of petty-bourgeois tendencies with appropriate organizational structures.

The Party is concretely implementing the decisions of conducting extensive organizational rectification in order to resolve the aforesaid theoretical and methodological problems related with organization. In the context of implementing this decision, big structural changes are required according to the necessity of development of class struggle. For this, in order to build up a new Party, it is necessary on the part of entire revolutionaries to contribute actively according to the necessity of revolution by being ruthless to oneself not only from ideological viewpoint

but also from the viewpoint of organization. Only the continuously proletarianized Party will be able to successfully face challenges of all kinds.

(February 2002 )

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **The Question of Building a New Type of Party**

**- Com. Baburam Bhattarai**

*"People must adapt their thinking to the changed conditions. Of course, no one should disregard reality and indulge in flights of fancy, or make plans of action unwarranted by the objective situation, or reach out for the impossible. However, the problem today is that Right conservative thinking is still causing trouble in many spheres and prevents our work from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The problem today is that what can be done by a measure of exertion is considered by many to be impossible. It is therefore entirely necessary to continue the criticism of Right conservative ideas, which do in fact exist." - Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol.V, Peking, 1977, p.240*

### **1. Introduction**

The pioneers of the international communist movement, including Com. Mao, have called the Communist Party, organized as the vanguard of the proletariat, and the People's Army and the Revolutionary United Front under its (i.e. the Party's) leadership, as the 'three magic weapons' of revolution. As the goal of the proletarian revolution is to reach a classless and stateless communism through different stages of revolutions, viz New Democratic Revolution, Socialist Revolution and Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in keeping with the different stages of social development, these three weapons can be and should be viewed as 'instruments of power' together with the 'instruments of revolution'. In other words, in the overall sense of proletarian revolution, 'revolution' means destruction of the old (i.e. feudal and bourgeois) state in the first stage, construction of a new state in the sense of a transitional state and in the form of dictatorship of the proletariat (or People's democratic dictatorship) in the second stage, and the gradual withering away of the entire state in the form of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and realization of communism in the third stage. Hence, in the said three stages these three instruments function, and must function, as the weapons of 'destruction',



'construction' and 're-destruction' (or revolution, state power and continuous revolution). The experiences of the three great historical milestones of world proletarian revolution so far, i.e. the Paris Commune (1871), the Great Russian October Revolution (1917) and the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76) have proved that whether the characters of the Party, the Army and the United Front, and principally that of the Party, remain revolutionary or not determines the success or otherwise of the revolution in a particular country and the sustainability or otherwise of the revolution. It is, therefore, imperative to analyze the question of building a new type of the Party, the Army and the (United) Front in a new perspective in the light of the positive and negative experiences, or the experiences of revolution and counter-revolution, in the international communist movement of the past one hundred and fifty years. It is particularly noteworthy that the historic Second National Conference of our Party, the CPN (Maoist), held in February 2001, has placed this question of building a new type of Party, the Army and the (United) Front at the center-stage while making an ideological synthesis of the hitherto implementation of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in the concrete conditions of Nepal as 'Prachanda Path'.

After all, what do we mean by building a new type of the Party, the Army and the (United) Front? First of all it was Lenin who talked of a 'new type of Party' in the context of transforming the then Communist Parties of the world (particularly Europe) caught in the quagmire of reformism and parliamentarism into militant Parties capable of leading armed revolutions in the beginning of the twentieth century. Later on, Mao again brought forth the question of a new type of Party while building new revolutionary Parties after making a decisive break with Parties under the stranglehold of Khrushovite modern revisionism in the nineteen-sixties. At this moment in the beginning of twenty-first century, when after a spell of worldwide counter-revolution including in China on the death of Mao in 1976 the tide of proletarian revolution is rising again under a new horizon, it is both natural and imperative for the genuine communist revolutionaries to raise from a new height the question of building a new type of Party (including the Army & the Front) based on MLM. Particularly in the context of the widespread incidences of counter-revolution by the new bourgeois class grown from within the Communist Party (and the Army and the Front or the

state), the 'new type' of the Party, the Army and the Front would now mean not only the ones capable of leading a revolution but also the ones capable of preventing counter-revolution in future or leading along the path of continuous revolution. In this new context while talking of the 'three main weapons', we must consider them not only as the weapons of New Democratic or Socialist Revolutions but also as the weapons of Proletarian Cultural Revolution from the very beginning. Because, the experiences of the international communist movement of the past one hundred and fifty years and the science of MLM have proved that in the current imperialist world the New Democratic (or bourgeois democratic), the Socialist and the Proletarian Cultural Revolutions are interlinked and inseparable, and only if one can institutionalize the Proletarian Cultural Revolution (or continuous revolution) from the stages of the New Democratic and Socialist Revolutions that it is possible to make a proletarian revolution, to defend and consolidate the same and ultimately to prevent counter-revolution.

Another aspect which needs to be clarified at the very outset of building a new type of the Party, the Army and the Front is that these three instruments are to be developed not separately or independent of each other but in a unified and inter-related manner. To put it more explicitly, the Party should be placed at the core, the Army should be built under the leadership and guidance of the Party and the United Front should be developed with the backing or on the strength of the Army. This may also be compared to the brain, vertebrae and muscles, respectively, of a human body and concentric construction of a healthy body, in which it is axiomatic that the Party and the brain would play the supreme and decisive role. Furthermore, it is imperative to grasp the Party, the Army and the Front as the three different but interrelated forms of authority or power, namely ideological authority, physical (armed) authority and administrative (managerial) authority, and to acknowledge that only the unified whole of the three (authorities) would constitute a full-fledged authority. For, it is only thus that they can effectively discharge their role of destruction, construction and re-destruction (withering away) in the said three principal stages of proletarian revolution, and they will themselves wither away.

While talking of a new type of Party and state it is important to be clear on some of the theoretical questions raised in the international and our own

communist movement on the issue. As in other issues, on the most significant question of the Party and the state, too, the main deviationist tendencies are anarchism and revisionism (reformism, or opportunism). Among these two tendencies, which represent the lower and upper sections of the petit bourgeois class and manifest in 'left' and right forms respectively, anarchism or revisionism appear as the main problem depending upon the stage of development of the movement and the strategy of the enemy towards the movement. The principal characteristic of anarchism is to deny the necessity of the Party and the state overlooking the relativity of the stage of development of class society and the historical necessity, and to aspire subjectively to reach the stage of statelessness and the realm of freedom at one stroke. On the other hand, revisionism, unable to decipher the ever developing new essence of the society and clinging to the old forms, exaggerates the realm of necessity and in the case of the Party and the state, too, does not dare to go beyond the limits of the old class divided society. Accordingly, revisionism cannot grasp that the nature of the proletarian Party and the state is qualitatively different from that of the old bourgeois party and state (in the words of Marx, 'not a state in its real sense'), that their character in itself is temporary and transitional and that they tend to wither away, and reduces the proletarian Party and state into a fossilized entity. As a result, it paves the way for transformation of the proletarian Party and state into a bourgeois party and state and for ultimate counter-revolution. It is amply evident that in the global context of degeneration of the existing proletarian parties and states into new bourgeois parties and states and in the new situation of the rise of revolutionary communist movement in a new form, the problem of revisionism is the principal one even though there may be isolated cases of problem of anarchism within the communist movement. Moreover, despite the common class basis and nature of revisionism it may appear in different forms in keeping with different stages of history and concrete situations of a particular country. Accordingly, in the present day world and in Nepal there is, on the one side, Khrushovite naked revisionism that discards both the content and form of proletarian party and state, and on the other, Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism that discards the content but cling on to the mere form. If we consider the revolutionary camp, dogmato-revisionism that glorifies the erroneous monolithic concept of the party and state developed during the Comintern period under the leadership of Com. Stalin, has

become a big problem as rightist conservatism. Hence today's prime need is to build a new type of Party, army and state by accepting the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist concept of Party & state developed during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) under the leadership of Com. Mao as the starting point against all types of deviations. Particularly it is all the more imperative to defend and develop the new People's power and base areas sprouting in the lap of the Himalayas in the 21st century as a result of the great People's War (PW) of the last seven years and to continue them up to communism.

## **2.0 Question of Building a New Type of Party**

Before we come to the basic questions of building a new type of Party it would be worthwhile to make a brief review of the experiences of building a Party in the international and the Nepalese communist movement.

### **2.1. Historical Review**

#### **A. Experiences of International Communist Movement**

In the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' published in 1848, Marx & Engels had defined communists as 'the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties' but there is no concrete outline on building a Party in it. In that initial phase of the communist movement, particularly in Western Europe and America, the spontaneously set up Communist Parties were confined to small sects. The historic Paris Commune in 1871 came into being more as a result of the spontaneous rebellion of the workers swayed by the anarchist Blanquists rather than through the conscious leadership of the Communist Parties. For, till then the anarchists like Blanqui, Bakunin and others, who stressed more on spontaneous initiative and conspiratorial actions rather than on conscious and organized activities, had more influence in the worker's movement. Among other reasons for the failure of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels identified the lack of conscious and organized Party leadership as the major one and hammered on the significance of Party organization. This is clear from the Article-7 added to the Rules of the International as proposed by Marx and Engels and adopted by majority in the Congress of the First International held on September 2-7, 1872 in the Hague, as follows: 'In its struggle against the collective power of the possessing classes the proletariat can act as a class

only by constituting itself a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes.

'This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes.' (Marx-Engels, *Anarchism & Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Moscow, p.85).

Thus, the concept of the need of the proletariat to organize itself as a Party for realizing the 'ultimate goal' to 'abolish classes' as well as for the immediate 'triumph of the revolution' was developed by the founders of the Marxist science. However, till the end of the 19th century the revolutionary prospects remained in a low ebb; and as a result, on the one hand, proletarian Parties were confined to mere smaller sects and, on the other, relatively bigger Parties like in Germany were reduced to loose and disorganized formations suited to a parliamentary style of work.

With the beginning of the 20th century the crisis of imperialism was intensified and a new prospect of revolution was in the horizon. As Russia increasingly became the center of the revolution, Lenin conducted a fierce inner struggle within the communist movement against the then prevailing trends like anarchism, economism (trade unionism), bourgeois liberalism, right liquidationism, etc. and developed the concept of a new type of militant Party capable of leading an armed revolution. Such a new type of Party, unlike a trade unionist worker's organization, would be a conscious and organized political vanguard of professional revolutionaries, and in keeping with the necessity of large-scale socialist economic construction it would be of a fully centralized nature. These are synthesized in his celebrated works 'What is to be Done?' and 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back'. While the Mensheviks and the opportunists of the Second International mounted a vicious attack on such a concept of building a centralized and militant Party, the likes of Rosa Luxemburg cautioned from a 'left' perspective the ultimate possibility of the over-centralized structure of the Party giving rise to bureaucratic distortions (see, Rosa Luxemburg, 'Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy', 1904). Nevertheless, with the success of the October Revolution the said organizational structure of the Bolshevik Party became the common

organizational structure of all revolutionary Communist Parties the world over. A glimpse of this organizational principle may be had from the 'Conditions for Entry into the Comintern' proposed by Lenin and adopted by the Second Congress (1920) of the Third Communist International (Comintern) established in 1919 under Lenin's leadership, where there is stress on 'centralized', 'military discipline', 'iron discipline' and 'authoritative party center'. (See, Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.31, Moscow).

On Lenin's death, Stalin presented the Leninist principles on the Party in a systematic manner in his famous work 'Problems of Leninism' and defined the Party as the 'general staff of the proletariat'. As an objective necessity to lead the war and construct socialism (which is by its very nature planned and centralized) in the period of worldwide fierce revolutionary upheavals prior to and just after the Second World War, this over centralized and militarized structure of the Party became a need and an inevitability, and it was indisputably established throughout the world through the Comintern. However, as Mao was to evaluate later, due to some metaphysical weaknesses inherent in Stalin the Party was seen as a monolithic and uniform object rather than as a unity of opposites and a basket of contradictions, and in the absence of a mechanism and process to continuously proletarianize the Party with the participation and supervision of the class and the masses a new bureaucratic capitalist class was born and raised within the Party. As a result, on Stalin's death most of the Parties affiliated to the Comintern or built upon its model got degenerated into massive bureaucratic apparatus and counter-revolutionary Khuschovs were born out of them. Thus, the limitations of the structure of the Party built on the one-sided stress on the necessities of the immediate revolution and socialist construction but overlooking the 'ultimate goal' were evident from the experiences of Stalin and the Comintern.

In this context it was but natural that the debate on building the Party was once again initiated from a new height in the international communist movement. On the one hand, Khrushchov, from a nakedly Right revisionist angle and with outright rejection of the Marxist conception of Party based on class, put forward the concept of 'party of the entire people' and objectively contributed to the degeneration of the Communist Party into a bourgeois Party. This was later continued with some modifications by the

'Euro-Communists'. On the other hand, under Hoxa's leadership there remained another dogmatic-revisionist or conservative trend in the international communist movement, which not only refused to learn lessons from the past mistakes and weaknesses but tended to glorify the weaknesses by clinging on to the mere external form of the object and continued with the wrong concept of a monolithic Party. Mao fought against both these deviations since 1956, in general, and during the GPCR (1966-76), in particular, and developed the concept of a new type of Party as a weapon of not only New Democratic/Socialist revolution and socialist construction but that of 'continuous revolution' to attain the 'ultimate goal' of communism.

First of all, with a resolve to firmly grasp the advanced experiences of the Soviet Party and Stalin and to discard the backward experiences, Mao made an objective evaluation of Stalin, thus: 'The slogan we have advocated all along is to draw on the advanced Soviet experience. Who told you to pick up its backward experience? Some people are so indiscriminating that they say Russian fart is fragrant. That too is subjectivism. The Russians themselves say it stinks. Therefore, we should be analytical. As we have indicated elsewhere, the assessment of Stalin should be seventy percent for achievements and thirty percent for mistakes.' [Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol.V, p.317 (1956)]

Then he corrected the metaphysical conception of the Party prevalent during the period of Comintern and Stalin, and put forward the formulation that a Communist Party is not 'monolithic and uniform' but full of contradictions. (See, Mao Tse-tung, 'Dialectical Concept of Inner Party Unity', 1957, Selected Works, Vol.V, p.514-16). Moreover, he laid great emphasis on the dialectical relationship between centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, and unity of purpose and personal ease of mind within the Party. The famous clause first penned by Mao in 1957 and included in the Party during the GPCR reads as follows: 'We must bring about a political climate which has both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of purpose and ease of mind for the individual, and which is lively and vigorous.' [Stuart Schram (ed.), Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed, p. 163 (1962)]

During the GPCR, or continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, launched under Mao's leadership, much of the conservative thinking on the Party was completely shattered and theories and practices of historical import as regards to building a new type of revolutionary Party were propounded. It is obvious that such slogans as 'It's right to rebel', 'Bombard the bourgeois headquarter', 'Dare to arouse the masses' etc. raised during the GPCR do not conform to the established views, particularly conservative views on operation of 'democratic centralism'. Similarly, the instances of replacing Party committees at different levels that were on a revisionist path by 'red guard committees' or 'revolutionary committees' dominated by non-Party youths and masses in a wide campaign gives a severe blow to the conservative thinking on the Party. The then Russian revisionists and the 'Chinese Khrushchovs' like Liu Shao-chi had dared to dismiss this great campaign as 'left' anarchist. But we should acknowledge that this was not a violation of Leninist principles on the Party but a historical process to make a creative advancement on the same and give birth to 'Maoist' principles. To put it in brief, the GPCR was a 'mass action against revisionism', or a great practice of mass line under the leadership of the proletariat, and it was an historical initiative of the masses to transform the bourgeois world outlook. At a glance it may appear as undermining of the traditional notion of 'centralism', but the reality was just the opposite. In the context of the revisionists having captured the higher echelons of the Party, to arouse the Party cadres and the masses by utilizing the revolutionary authority of Mao and to make them rise in rebellion against revisionism, was a new milestone in the development of the theory of 'democratic centralism'. It was the affirmation of the law of revolutionary dialectics that as in other things in the case of democratic centralism, too, the content should score over the form, and it was a negation of the mechanical materialistic or metaphysical thinking on democratic centralism from a new height. The revolutionaries of the new generation should firmly grasp that during the GPCR a great emphasis was placed on building a unified and centralized Party, on establishing Mao's revolutionary authority and on preparing a series of revolutionary successors. This means that as long as there is a rationale for the existence of a Party or any organization, the aspect of 'centralism' is automatically principal and decisive, but the construction and application of the proletarian centralism is qualitatively different from the feudal or bourgeois centralism. In sum, it should be



grasped with particular significance that the GPCR under Mao's leadership has institutionalized the spirit of rebellion against revisionism and reaction among the Party cadres and the masses, and paved the way for reaching to the 'ultimate goal' through continuous revolution after the proletarian revolution. On Mao's death, even in China the chain of continuous revolution was broken and it was stricken with counter-revolution. Hence the revolutionaries of the new generation should go beyond the GPCR and build a new type of Party.

## **B. Experiences of the Nepalese Communist Movement**

When the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) was founded in 1949 the revolutionary authority of Stalin in the international communist movement was at its peak, but Mao's authority was not that much established as the Chinese revolution was just approaching towards victory. It was thus quite natural for the CPN to bear marks of Stalin and the dissolved Comintern from its very inception. Hence the CPN was constructed in the model provided by the Comintern.

According to the synthesis made by the Second National Conference of the CPN (Maoist), the course of development and experiences of the CPN can be divided into three stages. First, the stage of Party foundation and primary development, which may be taken as the period from 1949 to 1953-55. Second, the stage of struggle with various opportunist currents and fragmentation of the Party, or the period from 1955-62 to 1990. Third, the stage of revolutionary polarization and initiation and development of the PW, or the period from 1990 onwards. The Second National Conference has termed these three stages as the stages of thesis-antithesis-synthesis, or unity-struggle-transformation (See, *The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History*). To view the experiences of building the Party, the first period had more of positive achievements in the field of organization and struggle along with some infantile weaknesses, in keeping with the relatively more revolutionary environment existing both in the national and international arena. Even though the Party is not seen to have made any indigenous contribution on the realm of thought and organization going beyond the boundaries of the then Communist Party of India, which itself was bred in the tradition of the Comintern.

In the second stage, the Party got split into different groups and sub-groups as a result of the impact of the split in the international communist movement, and more importantly, because of the Right revisionist political line and feudal and petty-bourgeois sectarianism. Among them the most dominant ones were the Fourth Congress group, the M-L group and the Puspa Lal group. Though all three of them sided with the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Mao in the dispute in the international communist movement, because of their own internal ideological and political weaknesses they could not grasp the new concept on building the Party as developed by Mao after correcting the mistakes of the Comintern and Stalin. On the contrary, whereas the M-L group and the Puspa Lal group gradually degenerated into the camp of Khrushovite modern revisionism, the unified 'Mashal' group (the renamed Fourth Congress group) that declared 'Counter-Revolution in China' in 1982 and later became the founding member of the RIM, opposed Mao's objective evaluation of Stalin in its Fifth Congress in 1985 and openly pursued the Hoxaite dogmato-revisionist line and the monolithic view on the Party [See, 'Resolution on the International Communist Movement' adopted by the Fifth Congress of CPN (Mashal)]. In this situation the young revolutionaries under the leadership of Com. Prachanda made a decisive break with both Khrushovite Right revisionism and Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism and pushed forward the process of revolutionary polarization on the basis of dialectical principle of building the Party advanced by Mao.

Thus, the third period starting with the reorganization of CPN (Unity Centre) in 1990, renamed as CPN (Maoist) in 1995, through the initiation of the great PW on February 13, 1996, till the present time, is most important and dynamic period in the organization of a new type of revolutionary Party in Nepal. In this process it has been possible to build a unified and centralized Party capable of leading the PW in the 21st century and enjoying the support of millions of masses after shattering all the remnants of sectarianism and splittism on the basis of ideological guidelines of MLM and the political line of protracted PW. After the decision of the Second National Conference in 2001 to synthesize the set of ideas, including in the sphere of building the Party, as developed during the course of the PW in Nepal as 'Prachanda Path' and to assume it as a centralized expression of collectivity, the Nepalese experience of building a new type of Party has

become a common property of the proletarian class. However, there still prevails serious contradictions between the newly developed set of ideas, on the one side, and, subjectively, the acquired dogmato-revisionist thinking and sectarian and splittist tendencies, and objectively, feudal and petty-bourgeois class basis, on the other. If the old conservative and sectarian and splittist organizational structure is not transformed in accordance with the newly developed ideology, there still remains the danger of the old organization negating the new ideas. Nevertheless, the vast presence of hundreds of thousands of new leaders and cadres that have entered the movement and Party along with the development of the PW has brightened the prospects of building a new organization on the basis of new ideas. Hence it is imperative to solve the problems through continuous struggle on the basis of new principles developed by the GPCR and build a new type of Party.

## **2.2 Principal Characteristics of a New Type of Party**

On the basis of the international and national experiences of the communist movement it would be worthwhile to formulate the principal characteristic of the new type of Party in the present context.

### **A. Proletarian Vanguard Equipped with Scientific Ideology**

In a class divided society, a Party is the centralized expression of class consciousness. Hence, as defined by Lenin & Stalin, as long as the class society exists the Communist Party should play the role of the most conscious and organized vanguard of the proletariat, which is the most advanced class of the society and the last class of human history. The Khrushovite revisionists' talk of 'the Party of the entire people' or a common Party of different classes is a mere hogwash. Because, a Party can only carry the consciousness of a particular class at a time, and once the condition is created for a 'Party of the entire people' there will be no need of any Party.

A Party ultimately means an ideology. Hence the vanguard Party of the Proletariat should be equipped with the most advanced and scientific ideology. In the present era of imperialism, MLM constitutes such an ideology, and it has taken the form of MLM and Prachanda Path in the concrete condition of Nepal. Moreover, as every science or ideology is in

constant motion and ever changing, to fulfill its tasks satisfactorily a new type of Communist Party should be capable of creatively applying and developing the universal science to the concrete condition of time and place. This is the essence of Lenin's exhortation that only a Party guided by the most advanced theory can fulfill the role of a vanguard (See, 'What is to be Done?'). In the light of the past experiences of counter-revolutions that once deviated from the revolutionary ideology and politics even the great Parties of some earlier times get transformed into bourgeois Parties and collapse like a house of cards, the new type of Party should always put the question of ideology and politics at the center.

### **C. Party Capable of Leading the War**

The present era of imperialism is also called the era of 'war capitalism'. Hence, to change the present world that is more militarized than ever before in history it is inevitable for the proletariat, too, to accept war as the principal form of struggle. The organizational structure of the proletarian vanguard capable of leading such a war has, therefore, to be essentially militarized. In that sense to talk of building a new type of Party in the present context means principally to militarize the Party.

It is axiomatic that the structure of a militarized Party has to be highly unified and centralized, and its level of discipline be very high. Also its underground structure and style of work has to be of a top order. However, it should not be construed to mean that the structure and style of Party would be sectarian, conspiratorial and bureaucratized. Rather it would be just the opposite. Because, the war in the present era means the PW, which can be conducted only through the assistance and active participation of the masses. Hence, another connotation of the militarization of the Party is to minimize the traditional difference between the Party, army and the masses; or militarization of the whole masses and politicization of the entire army. As a Chinese wall that arose in between the Party, the standing army and the masses in the past socialist states ultimately lead to counter-revolution, the long-term significance of this notion of militarization of the masses and politicization of the army should not be undermined.

Generally in the present day world and particularly in the concrete condition of Nepal, there has to be a fusion between the two principal

strategies of revolutionary war, viz. the protracted PW and the general insurrection. For this, the Party leading the war should make itself proficient in all the aspects of military and non-military strategies and tactics. Similarly, the Party should equip itself with expertise in underground and open work, activities in rural and urban areas, propaganda war and armed warfare, etc.

In sum, it should be firmly grasped that the real meaning of building a new type of Party capable of leading the war or militarization of the Party is to build a Party advancing in the direction of continuous revolution to reach the 'ultimate goal' of communism.

#### **D. Continuity of Two-Line Struggle in the Party**

The principal aspect of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception on the Party is to view it as a unity of opposites or an ensemble of contradiction rather than a monolithic or uniform object. Hence, drawing lessons from certain mistakes committed during the Comintern days the new type of Party of the present day should acknowledge that in a class divided society there would be reflections of class divisions within the Party, birth of new classes from within and differences in the consciousness of the individuals within the Party. Consequently there would be constant presence of Right, Centre and 'Left' tendencies within the Party and a relentless struggle against them would be inevitable. Also, as the ultimate goal of a proletarian Party is to end all classes from society and to ensure withering away of itself, we should make constant efforts to conduct a healthy two-line struggle between different tendencies within the Party and attain new unity on a new basis through unity-struggle-transformation. According to the dialectical law of development, once a particular unity is achieved immediately a new struggle would start and this chain of unity and struggle would continue ceaselessly. As Mao has said, 'If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.' (*On Contradiction*, Selected Works, Vol.I, p.317). Thus, a ceaseless two line struggle is the very life of the Party and operation of two-line struggle has a cardinal role in building a new type of Party marching up to communism.

During the GPCR maximum stress was given on the question of two-line struggle to fight against revisionism and build a new type of revolutionary Party. This method formulated as 'Three Dos and Three Don'ts' (i.e. 'Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.') guides us to conduct struggle in an open and sincere manner by keeping ideology and politics in command and with a view to maintain the unity of the Party. Because of the past legacy of Right revisionism and dogmato-revisionism and sectarian and splittism, and a petty-bourgeois material ground, our Party, too, has been plagued with either a tendency to remain lax in conducting two-line struggle, or with the Alok trend<sup>1</sup>, which rakes up factional, personal or ethnic-regional-gender sectarianism rather than focusing on lofty ideological and political questions and adopts a conspiratorial method against an open method of struggle. Hence it is imperative to conduct two-line struggle and give impetus to building a new type of Party by grasping the method of struggle developed during the GPCR and by placing the newly synthesized set of ideas of 'Prachanda Path' at the center stage.

The main weapon to be wielded against the danger of a new bourgeois class rising from within the Party and carrying out counter-revolution is the weapon of two-line struggle. History has proved that both liberalism and wrong method in conducting two-line struggle aid opportunism and ultimately leads to counter-revolution. Therefore, only by conducting fierce struggle against those elements who have serious ideological and political deviations that the Party can be rectified and the revolution continued. The present day revolutionaries should draw grave lessons from the irreparable losses incurred in China due to liberalism demonstrated in launching two-line struggle against opportunists like Teng Shiao-ping and also due to the lack of tactfulness in conducting the struggle within the revolutionary camp. Certainly, the scope of two-line struggle should be widened or constricted in relation to the stage of development of the movement. But the fact that in most of the cases in the past counter-revolutionaries were born within the Party, and that too from within the central leadership, goads us to make the leadership level as the center stage of two-line struggle and to be firm and efficient in it. In the context of building a new type of Party capable of preventing counter-revolution in the future, the revolutionaries must pay special attention to this aspect. It is important to draw lessons in time from

the experiences of mobilization of the lower-level cadres and non-Party masses during the Chinese GPCR to dethrone the revisionists occupying the highest leadership position and the state. In sum, the essence of the GPCR is the practice of mass line in conducting two-line struggle within the Party, and hence the principal characteristics of a new type of Party should be to institutionalize this from the very beginning.

### **E. Correct Handling of Democratic Centralism**

Another question to be taken better care of in the context of building a new type of Party is the question of correct handling of the system of democratic centralism. First of all, it is important to be clear on the misconceptions about the importance and interrelations of the two aspects of 'democracy' and 'centralism' propagated by different opportunist quarters. Lack of clarity on the scientific truth that these two aspects are the two opposites sides of the same coin and one cannot survive at the other's absence, has led to a lot of confusion and problem in the international communist movement. When we talk of any organization the question of authority and centralism naturally comes in, and ultimately, organization means centralism. Hence the proletariat that aspires to unify the whole society and humanity under one umbrella of communism cannot, or should not, ever undermine the significance of centralism. The only question in dispute is how to achieve that centralism and what ought to be its character and role in different stages of revolution (i.e. destruction, construction and withering away). Therefore, the theories propounded by Lenin with greater emphasis on centralism at a time when the Party was divided into local groups and was disorganized and when the movement had yet to take a countrywide political character were quite scientific and correct in the given context. And his definition of democratic centralism as 'freedom of discussion, and unity in action' was all the more emphatic. Nevertheless, given the bitter experience of degeneration of the then larger and more experienced Parties of more advanced capitalist countries like Germany into a massive bureaucratic apparatus under the leadership of the opportunist leaders of the Second International, on the one hand, and citing the condition of the more backward Russian proletariat not having passed through the lessons of collectivity in the production system of the large modern factories, on the other, Rosa Luxemburg had put forward strong logic from a revolutionary

Left perspective that the 'over-centralized' structure of the Party may lead to the birth of bureaucracy in future. On Lenin's death, in view of the 'necessity' of the war and socialist construction at a primary stage of constitution of socialism, Stalin laid more emphasis on centralism, which was not very unnatural. But the problem started to crop up when the immediate necessity became a universal principle, and metaphysics prevailed in the understanding of dialectical relations between democracy and centralism. Certain misconception and deviations did certainly arise of the weakness in the practice of democratic centralism or the increasing practice of bureaucratic centralism during the period of Comintern and the later phase of Stalin; which is still continuing in different forms.

In this context the analysis made by Mao in the later stages and the experimentation and advancement made during the GPCR should be correctly grasped by the present day revolutionaries and taken as the foundation for building a new type of Party. First of all, Mao's definition of democratic centralism as a system of 'from the masses to the masses' and the dialectical interrelation between the two aspects as 'centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under the direction of centralism' is fully correct. Furthermore, his exposition of democratic centralism in 1962 (See, *Talks on the Extended Central Work Conference*, 30 January) is a milestone in the development of organizational principles of the Party. Elucidating on the interrelations between democracy and centralism he says: 'Without democracy there cannot be any correct centralism because People's ideas defer, and if their understanding of things lacks unity then centralism cannot be established. What is centralism? First of all it is a centralization of correct ideas, on the basis of which unity of understanding, policy, planning, command and action are achieved. This is called centralized unification.' (Stuart Schram ed., *Mao Tse-tung Unrehearsed*, p. 163-64). Putting it in more concise form he says: 'Without a high degree of democracy, it is impossible to achieve a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism, it is impossible to establish a socialist economy.' (ibid, p.167).

Thus, acknowledging the primacy of centralism and upholding the cardinal role of democracy in its realization (which was minimized in the later phase of Stalin and was sought to create centralism more through administrative



means), Mao made fundamental contribution to create proper balance between centralism and democracy and build a new type of mass based Party, which ought to be correctly grasped and implemented by the present day revolutionaries. Particularly, due to lack of correct practice of democratic centralism grave errors were committed leading to isolation of the leadership from the cadres and isolation of the whole Party from the masses, which subjectively contributed towards ultimate counter-revolution. This should be rectified while building a new type of Party. Moreover, the new type of Party should institutionalize the efforts made during the GPCR to increase the initiative of the Party cadres and masses to rectify the past laxity of the lower level cadres to rebel against counter-revolution carried out by the central leadership as a result of the bureaucratization of the Party. As bureaucracy and anarchy are the two sides of the same petty-bourgeois coin a ceaseless struggle should be launched against both of them and a high level of centralism created on a broad democracy through correct practice of democratic centralism. The ultimate goal of proletarian revolutionaries should be to make both democracy and centralism wither away in communism by creating 'self-centralism' as envisioned by Rosa Luxemburg.

## **F. The Question of Leadership and Revolutionary Successors**

By nature of being a conscious vanguard of the proletariat the Communist Party is, as stated by Lenin, a Party of leaders. Moreover, as explained first by Lenin and then Mao, there would be a hierarchical difference between the mass, class, Party and leadership as long as class society exists. The communists should strive to attain the final goal of communism not by denying this fact idealistically but by acknowledging and changing it objectively. Hence it is imperative for the Communist Party, as for any other organization or Party, to have a leadership that is highly centralized, authoritative, equipped with scientific thought and intimately linked with the class and the masses. Such a leadership is developed and established in the course of long class struggle and ideological struggle. As Engels had said, historical necessity brings forth a leader but which person it falls upon is a pure chance. Thus the proletarian revolutionaries should neither undermine the necessity and importance of the leadership, nor should they commit the mistake of assuming history as the product of leaders rather

than the leaders as the product of history. For, ultimately leadership is the centralized expression of revolutionary thought and collectivity, and it is produced by the necessity of history. In the light of the many instances of serious setbacks faced by revolution in the absence of a revolutionary leadership in the world communist movement, the Party should pay constant attention to the development of leadership and its ideological and physical security.

However, particularly after Stalin's time there have been lot of disputes and misconceptions in the international communist movement on the question of nature, style, development process & establishment of and successors to the leadership, and it has been necessary to build a new type of Party after solving these problems objectively on the basis of the science of MLM. When renegade Khrushchov attempted to completely negate Stalin on the pretext of so-called personality cult, there was, on the one hand, a tendency to undermine the leadership from Right revisionist and anarchist angle, and on the other, a tendency to idealize the limitations of Stalin and to cling on to the old and wrong system of leadership from a dogmato-revisionist angle. Also, questions have been raised whether the leadership would be 'collective' or 'individual'. Whereas, one section has been pleading bourgeois pluralism and multi-leadership in the name of collectivity, the other section is seen to plead feudal idealist monism and worship the leadership like a 'king' or 'god' in the pretext of mono-centralism. The present day communist revolutionaries should defeat both these deviationist tendencies on the question of leadership and develop a unified and centralized leadership standing on the foundation of collectivity and based on materialist monism. We must also draw appropriate lessons from, among others, some wrong formulations on the question of leadership like 'the leadership must not die', 'the law of one-divides-into-two does not apply to the supreme leadership' etc advanced by the Peruvian revolutionaries, who have met with serious setbacks at the later stages.

In this context it would be worthwhile to recollect the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception on the question of leadership advanced by the CPC while talking of the 'Stalin Question' during the 'Great Debate'. Elucidating on the nature of revolutionary leadership, it is said: 'Such a Party must have a fairly stable nucleus of leadership, which should consist of a long-tested

leaders who are good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution.' (The Great Debate, Mass Line Publications, p.99-100).

The main points to be noted here are: 'a group of long-tested leaders' and 'good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution'. Because, no revolution has succeeded in history without a worthy 'group of leaders' and the major touchstone to test the worth of the leaders is whether they can integrate the 'universal truth' of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science to the 'concrete practice' of revolution in their own country, or not. On the basis of this scientific principle our Party has pursued a policy of developing a chain of 'red and expert' leaders in a pyramidal frame from top to bottom under the leadership of Chairman Com. Prachanda. Special attention should be paid to correctly grasp and implement this policy.

Another important question related to the leadership is the question of revolutionary successors. In view of the bitter lessons of immediate counter-revolutions in the absence of revolutionary successors to continue the revolution on the demise of established leadership in the past, the present day revolutionaries should give special importance to the question of preparing a chain of successors in time. In this context it is imperative to firmly grasp Mao's exhortations during the GPCR 'to train and groom millions of successors' after drawing lessons from the counter-revolution in Russia. For this, Mao's attempt to prepare a leadership team of old, adult and youth from top to bottom under the principle of 'three-in-one' should be properly grasped and implemented in due time. As leadership ultimately means correct ideology and political line, a continuous chain of revolutionary successors can be built up only by training the general masses in correct ideology and political line. Even though leadership constitutes the sum total of ideology, politics, organization and struggle, among these ideology and politics are decisive. Hence it is proved by the experiences of the international communist movement that the attempt to create a chain of successors only on organizational or immediate practical expediency by overlooking ideology and politics cannot be correct and successful. Moreover, it is imperative to develop further upon Mao's efforts in the later period to discard the practice of having the same person in the leadership of

the Party, army and government and to build a new model of exercising unified leadership of the proletariat and the Party in all fields without having the same person in leadership position everywhere. Similarly, the present day revolutionaries should dare to rethink upon the undeclared tradition of the same person occupying the leadership of the Party or the government throughout his life. Also, in keeping with the law of dialectics, the new age revolutionaries should pay attention to publicly expose the opportunist line and leaders in the Party and the movement among the general masses, along with the attempt to establish the correct line and leaders. This has become important after such instances as that of renegade Teng Shiao-ping, who came back in the Party only to lead counter-revolution. In this context it should be useful to constantly keep in mind Mao's warning: 'It is difficult for someone who has taken the lead in committing major errors of principle, errors of line or direction, to reform' (Stuart Schram, op.cit. p.294).

### **G. The Question of Mass Line & Style of Work**

One of the principal factors for the degeneration of the Communist Parties and the incidence of counter-revolutions in the past was the Party's loss of contact with the masses. Lenin, while defining the Party as the 'vanguard', had warned in the very beginning that a vanguard would be able to fulfill its role as a vanguard only if it succeeded to save itself from getting cut off from the masses it is supposed to lead. (See, Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.33, Moscow, p.227).

However, when the non-Party mass organizations supposed to act as transmission belts between the Party and the masses gradually got limited to mere formalism and when no other effective mechanisms to have direct links with the masses could be institutionalized, the process of the Parties getting divorced from the masses and getting converted into bureaucratic structures was accelerated. Also, it was natural to get the gap between the Party and the masses widened when the elections within the Party and for different levels of People's government were confined to just formality.

As an anti-dote to this, the new age revolutionaries should institutionalize from the very beginning the policy of mass line developed by Mao during the Chinese revolution and the concept of GPCR synthesized as its climax,

which was the finest example of mass democracy practiced among millions of the masses. The policy of this mass line, expressed in simple terms like, 'from the masses, to the masses', 'serve the masses', 'masses are the creators of history', 'masses are like soil, the communists are like seeds', 'masses are like water, guerillas are like fishes', goads the Party, the army and the People's government to be constantly linked with the masses and to remain under the supervision of the masses. Throwing to winds many of the hackneyed and traditional practices in the communist movement, Mao's China had institutionalized certain mechanisms like the freedom of the non-Party masses to criticize the Party leaders and cadres through newspapers, mass meetings, rallies or big character posters, which ought to be emulated and developed by the present day revolutionaries. This is also clear from Mao's emphatic statement: 'It should be announced that the masses not only have the right to criticize them (i.e. Party members) freely but also have the right to dismiss them from their posts when necessary or to propose their dismissal, or to propose their expulsion from the Party and even to hand the worst elements over to the People's courts for trial and punishment.' (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. IV, Peking, p.186). Similarly, hitting hard on those talking of the criticism only within or outside the Party, Mao had said: 'To use the excuse of distinguishing between 'inner' and 'outer' is to fear revolution' (Stuart Schram, op.cit., p.254).

Particularly one should not overlook the fact that the Party has been easily changing its colour in the past as it practically enjoys monopoly on power after the New Democratic or Socialist Resolution, and despite the formed existence of other parties it is not required to compete with them and there is no effective outside criticism or supervision and control over it. On the basis of these new experiences the new age revolutionaries should dare to explore methods like inter-party competitions or some other proper methods of periodic elections to ensure the masses of their rights to throw out of power a Party that loses its proletarian character. Even though after some bitter experiences during the civil war Lenin may have pronounced that 'dictatorship of the proletariat can be applied only through the Communist Party', we should not take it in a metaphysical way but rather should view it in a dialectical manner in relation to the given time and condition. We should also remember that in another context Lenin had stressed on the Communist Party to enter into competition with other parties. For example,

while dwelling upon the superiority of the Soviet power in 1918 he had said: 'if the working people are dissatisfied with their party they can elect other delegates, hand power to another party and change the government without any revolution at all...' (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.26, Moscow, p.498).

Along with this we should strive to create an objective condition not to let the Party change its colour and to make it march along the path of continuous revolution by promoting the proletarian style of work among the Party members and by continuously proletarianising the Party through rectification campaigns. One style of work of the proletariat is to be both 'red' and 'expert', but principally 'red', and the other working style is that of simple living and hard work. Particular attention should be paid to erase the class differences within the Party by promoting those coming from the lower classes to work in the Party & the state and by making those engaged in mental labour to perform physical labour. Similarly the new type of Party should continuously strive to proletarianize itself through strict implementation of the system of criticism and self-criticism and periodic launching of rectification campaigns against wrong ideas and style of work (which include ideological rectification, political rectification, organizational rectification and cultural rectification). Also, the communist revolutionaries should ceaselessly practice struggle against the self in accordance with the well-known slogan raised during the GPCR, namely 'Fight against the self, and repudiate revisionism'.

### **G. Instrument of Dictatorship and the Question of Withering Away**

As stated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* written by Marx & Engels, the goal of the communists is, firstly, to 'raise the proletariat to position of ruling class' (or to establish dictatorship of the proletariat), and lastly, to 'abolish its own supremacy as a class'. Thus the principal challenge while building a new type of Party is to coordinate the contradictory function of a strong state or the instrument of dictatorship of the proletariat in the beginning and that of getting oriented towards ending its own existence as a Party along with all classes and state in the end. We have with us the bitter historical reality that in the past the Party accomplished its role with comparative ease till the time of constructing a strong proletarian

state, but it miserably failed on the question of continuous revolution to lead it to the 'ultimate goal'. In this very context we have a daunting task to correctly grasp the lessons of 'continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat' carried out under Mao's leadership and charter our own path by taking it as the starting point.

Also, at this very point the question of 'necessity' and 'freedom' crops up quite significantly. There is no doubt that we are now in the realm of necessity and we are in no position to jump over it. Hence the aspect of necessity is principal at the moment. However, according to the law of dialectics the realm of necessity is also dynamic and ever changing, and it moves forward to the realm of freedom in its own way. Moreover, man's consciousness, too, has a role to play. That is why Mao had said, 'Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity. It won't do just to understand necessity, we must also transform things' (Stuart Schram, op. cit., p.228). At least the new type of Party should bear this consciousness. Only thus may we grasp the essence of the GPCR and charter the path forward by integrating the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and the 'continuous revolution' headed towards the realm of 'freedom'. This question of integration is probably the biggest theoretical and practical challenge for the revolutionaries in the 21st century.

What would be the additional characteristics of a new type of Party that would at the same time exist in the realm of necessity but be oriented towards the realm of freedom? Many of the issues related to the realm of necessity have been already dealt with in the preceding pages. And it may be ahead of time to talk more on the distant future. However, we must strive to institutionalize some of the principles and concepts developed by the GPCR under the leadership of Mao. The first and the most important among these is to institutionalize the spirit of rebellion against all sorts of opportunism, revisionism and reaction. For, this is the essence of Mao's exhortation: 'There are hundreds of truths in Marxism; but they can be boiled down to one sentence: it is right to rebel.' Particularly within the old Parties modeled after the Comintern, in practice it was only the central organs and a handful of leaders that were ideologically active, and most of the lower organs and cadres were not only ideologically inactive but were reduced to helpless souls that could only blindly obey the higher organs but

could not independently judge right from the wrong and could not rebel against opportunism and counter-revolution. Hence in the Party of a new type a condition must be created so that everybody is capable of assessing every object and instance dialectically and dares to rebel against the wrong. The second point is, to integrate this rebellion with the correct practice of mass line. For, only with the proper integration of the masses, as 'creators of history', and the 'rebellion', as the greatest truth of Marxist science, that such a Communist Party would be able to march towards the 'ultimate goal' of communism. Only a collectivity with an advanced consciousness can guide the rebellion towards a correct direction. Otherwise there would be a danger of getting sucked into the quagmire of liquidationism and anarchism. Hence it is important to make a correct fusion of 'mass line' and 'rebellion' in the new type of Party. And the third point is, to inculcate from the very beginning a consciousness that the Communist Party by itself is not an end but a means and that as any historical product it would be abolished some day. For, only this way that a condition would be created in which the conservative ideas of worshipping the Party as a 'holy cow' and reducing it to a dead object can be defeated and the Party can be transformed in a dynamic frame. In this context it would be useful to keep in mind what Mao has said: 'The Communist Party and the democratic parties are all products of history. What emerges in history disappears in history. Therefore, the Communist Party will disappear one day, and so will the democratic parties. Is this disappearance so unpleasant? In my opinion, it will be very pleasant. I think it is just fine that one day we will be able to do away with the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our task is to hasten their extinction.' (Mao Tse-tung, "On the Ten Major Relationships", Selected Works, Vol. V, Peking, p.297

### **2.3 Conclusion**

As Lenin has said, "Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, but a living guide to action." Furthermore, the core of Marxism is the 'revolutionary dialectics' and its 'critical spirit.' In sum, the system of dialectical and historical materialism is the essence of MLM. Hence as we see all the objects and processes in the world in their constant motion and changingness, so we must view and understand in historical motion the proletarian Party and its organizational structure and system in the light of the experiences of the



past one hundred and fifty years of the world communist movement, and numerous revolutions and counter-revolutions. Ultimately the most important question of revolution is whether the Communist Party, the conscious vanguard of history's most advanced proletarian class that 'has nothing to lose but its chains', can preserve its true proletarian character or not, and whether it can provide leadership or not for creating a condition for its own withering away in classless and stateless communism through a series of proletarian cultural revolutions after the New Democratic and Socialist revolutions. Thus we must dare to lay the foundation of a new type of Party after making a revolutionary dialectical and critical review of the problems of the Communist Party so far.

In this context we should beware of all forms of Right revisionist and conservative and anarchist deviations. Particularly we must focus our attention on the principles of Party organization developed by Lenin and some of the questions raised by Rosa Luxemburg from a Left revolutionary angle on them. Then we must firmly grasp the new advancements made by Mao on them particularly during the GPCR and dare to move ahead according to the new needs to build a new type of Party. This is the essence of the latest set of ideas of MLM and Prachanda Path synthesized by the historic Second National Conference of our Party and the new responsibility bestowed upon us by history.

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(November 2002)

*Footnotes*

1 A petty-bourgeois trend, represented by one Alok in the Central leadership of the Party, which was exposed and smashed in 2000.

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Problem of Women's Emancipation and the Need of Today**

**- Com. Prachanda**

In a semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepal, which is based upon the feudal Hindu patriarchal culture, fact that the women fall under the most disgraced and oppressed ones by the state power of feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class, is a reality. Virtually, Nepalese women have been reduced to a second-class citizen. Not to speak of their gaining of right by women in a so-called democracy of the reactionary class of this day, women are more disgraced due to further intensification of women trafficking, rape and murder. Present rulers, who talk of women's freedom away from practice, have been unable even to draft an equal law. In fact, they will not write the law and even if they do, in practice they will not provide that right to women. It is because the present state power stands on the concept and tradition of making women their slaves.

The primary condition of women's right in par with men in a society is their equal right in property. Without economic equality and freedom to talk of women's development and freedom including in social and political field is only a deceit and conspiracy. Development of other rights and freedom of women can be possible through the very economic right and freedom. Fight of women for economic rights is not a question that could be won by women alone. For that, it is essential to establish People's New Democratic state power by toppling the present one, which stands on the exploitation and oppression of the entire working people including women. Therefore, the issue of women emancipation is inseparably linked with the issue of emancipation of the whole society.

Behind the success and failure of any societal order and social revolution lies the extent and level of women's participation. In a definite country, time and circumstance, the victory in the fight of broad masses against economic, political and cultural exploitation and oppression, on one hand,

depends upon women's participation and that, and only that, becomes the path of women's emancipation, on the other.

To talk of women's right dissociating it from the process of New Democratic revolution in today's Nepal can be nothing other than a conspiracy of counter-revolutionary elements. In the meantime, reactionary and opportunist elements are excessively becoming active in that sort of conspiracy in Nepal. Their activity is increasing due to the fear that their state power erected on exploitation and oppression may be toppled down by the rise of women's participation in the process of democratic revolution, which is advancing forcefully in Nepal. The entire exploiters and oppressors within and outside the country are engaged in heavy exercises to divert women from revolutionary struggle for their genuine emancipation. The so-called world women's conferences, various types of seminars and conventions, government and non-government unions and institutions and the entire media of communication have been used for this purpose. Fanning vulgar and corrupt culture, they are conspiring to derail women from their duty. In Nepal, foreign imperialist capital is being flooded in the name of so-called women's skill development, literacy campaign, etc., so as to deprive women of the consciousness of historical necessity of the country. Purchasing a handful of so-called clever and educated women from the elite and petty bourgeoisie class, this campaign is being run by the class of adulterous, rapists and looters of the entire world.

Problem of Nepalese women is not the problem of so-called skill development and literacy. Even the skilled and literate people, who are deprived of right and are jobless, have been forced to live a life of disgrace and disrespect in India and in various parts of the world. Therefore, the question of skill development and literacy is only a reactionary ploy, replete with pretension and absurdity. The problem of this day is the problem of emancipation from the reactionary state power based upon Hindu patriarchy. It is necessary to understand deeply that all the antics that are used to divert attention of the people from the war of emancipation at this juncture are anti-people, absurd and conspiratorial.

In today's Nepal, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is working seriously to lead for the emancipation of entire toiling masses including women in a

New Democratic revolution. United People's Front, Nepal is in countrywide campaign in its support. This decrepit reactionary state power has totally fallen into crisis. The more it is trapped in crisis the more is it striking madly against the liberation movement of the people. It has driven the country into a condition of scarcity, anarchy and terror everywhere. Now, the use of force on the part of people has become inevitable against this state. That is why, CPN (Maoist) is appealing the entire people to prepare for marching ahead along the path of People's War.

In this situation, the question of fighting with guns in the field has become principal for the real emancipation of Nepalese women, and not that of going to atrocious rulers with demands in hand. Since fifty years, Nepalese women have been peacefully demanding their rights from the state. But they could never gain their right. Rather, their condition is further worsening. Exactly the same condition exists among all the other sections of the masses of society. Therefore, right is not a thing that can be obtained by demanding; there exists no other way except seizing it. People's right will be established only by crushing this state power, which is sustaining itself upon the guns. To be involved in the process of People's War to decide one's destiny by oneself together with that of the entire people, is the condition of emancipation of women. To deter conspiracy of all elements that tend to divert people from being involved in the process of People's War and to cooperate with and support it from one's place is the need of today.

History will prove only those women as conscious, heroic and epoch-makers who play an active role in this war of emancipation and break shackles of slavery since thousands of years. Now, history will evaluate women not on the basis of so-called skill and education of the feudal and the bourgeoisie but on the basis of the role they play in changing the society radically.

(June 1996)

# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **The Question of Women's Leadership in People's War in Nepal**

- Com. Parvati

### **Introduction**

People's War (PW) in Nepal, which was initiated in February 1996 under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist) has been developing in leaps and bounds. The fire of revolution, which initially sparked in a few districts in Western Nepal, has swept all over the country. According to the Government's own account, out of 75 districts in Nepal, PW has affected 73 districts. All these gains could not have been possible without the mobilization of the masses that are the backbone of PW in Nepal. The mobilization of women in particular is apparent in PW in Nepal. Consider their daring feats. They were the first to break the tense silence throughout Nepal caused by the first historic strike that marked the initiation of PW in Nepal on 13 February 1996. On the occasion of March 8th 1996 the All Nepalese Women's Association (Revolutionary) [ANWA(R)] dared to organize a seminar (amidst strong speculation that they all would be arrested) and to voice the need for overall revolution to solve women's oppression. It was after that bold step that other mass organizations started giving their own programmes. Dalit [lowest caste - ed.] women in Kalikot district in western Nepal were the first to snatch rifles from reactionary armed forces and hand them over to the local Party, thus accelerating PW in that district. The first daring historical jailbreak from the heavily fortified Gorkha district jail in March 2001 by six Maoist women is one of the rarest events, perhaps even in world history. Until the clamp down of emergency rule in November 2001, of all the mass organizations the women's organization was the most active and in the forefront of the movement. The successful antiliquor drive, which rocked the whole country in October 2001, in fact forced the government to negotiate with ANWA(R). Consider another feat; even before men in the Party started renouncing their parental properties to the Party, women of Rolpa started forsaking voluntarily their personal jewelry [the main form of women's property - ed.] to the local

Party. After the promulgation of the Emergency, more and more women have been raped, killed, incarcerated and disappeared. Despite all this there is a growing participation of women in PW in Nepal.

There are now objective grounds for developing women's leadership in all fronts. Realizing this, CPN (Maoist) has created a separate women's department under the Central Committee of the Party. The function of this department is to make policies to develop women's potentialities to higher levels so that more and more women are able to reach policy making bodies in all the three fronts: Party, Army and United Front.

### **The Question of Women's Leadership in CPN (Maoist)**

The question of women's leadership became more and more important in Nepal as revolutionary united fronts were replacing the reactionary state machinery at village and district levels. It was seen that women were joining the movement in unprecedented numbers, showing tremendous endurance, sacrifice and devotion; however they lacked expert knowledge to lead the movement. With the establishment of a central level United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) to co-ordinate the activities of all the united fronts at various levels, this question became all the more pertinent. Also with the creation of higher military formations within the People's Liberation Army, the question of women started being raised by the women themselves. This has become more important as military formations have now reached the level of Brigade, and there are separate women's platoon and sections with the brigade. It is seen that while men are continuing to develop in the military field even when they have reached beyond 40 years of age, women are hardly seen to continue in this field beyond 25 years. While from the field, objective conditions were demanding the need of developing women's leadership qualities from the women cadres, within the Party itself there was a theoretical debate on women's role in the communist movement. It was in the Second National Conference, in the process of analysis and synthesis of achievements of PW in Nepal which led to the adoption of Prachanda Path, that women's role in institutionalization of continuous revolution and their role in preventing counterrevolution were seriously discussed. In fact the creation of separate women's department is the product of Prachanda Path. Their role in the

three instruments of revolution -Party, Army and United Front -was discussed. The Party being the most decisive amongst the three instruments, the question of developing revolutionary women leaders in Communist Party was given prominence.

### **The Leadership Question and Women**

Leadership is basically actualization of political ideology, hence in the Communist Party it is the command in ideology that determines the leadership quality. This quality is developed through continuous class struggle, inner-party struggle and inner-struggle. Hence real tested leadership can only come in countries where there is class struggle, where the Party thrives on healthy inner-party struggle demanding a higher level of transformation of individuals through relentless inner-struggle. Indeed Rosa Luxemburg, Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, Chiang Ching were all products of intense class struggle and inner-party struggle that was being waged in Germany, Russia and China in their time. And being women in addition, they had to wage a more complex inner-struggle than the men of their time.

The question of leadership is also linked to objective necessity and the chance factor. In the dialectical relationship between the two, it is true that the objective condition necessitates birth of a leader but the question of who emerges as a leader is left to chance. It is here that the women's leadership question becomes slightly complicated. It is seen that revolutionary communist movements have always unleashed women's fury, but they are not able to channelize this energy into producing enduring women communist leaders. The question has been raised again and again as to why there are so few women leaders in communist parties when Marxism offers such a deep penetrating analysis and solution to women's oppression. Hence the question arises as to why the chance factor is constrained in producing women leaders in communist parties despite growing objective conditions for it? This needs deep analysis.

### **Women are Late Arrivals in the Political Arena**

Right from the period of the slavery system men from the privileged class developed their skill in running political state affairs. They developed their

leadership quality at the cost of women of both classes and the enslaved men. This continues to this day, in some form or other. Here it is worth remembering Engels, who said that the overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex and that men took command in the house also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. By virtue of their sole right over property men became the rulers, the women upon losing their historic mother-right became the ruled. The prevailing division of labor, according to which men undertook mental work, while women were relegated to physical work, led to cumulative experience of men in the field of analysis and synthesis of the world, while women were lost in the hidden world of household activities. Men thus monopolized the field of worldly knowledge; they have been actively involved in not only defining the world but changing it too. Consider this - women got voting rights long after it was achieved by men. Even in today's 21st century, women in Kuwait do not have the right to vote. With the imperialist countries backing religious medieval feudal rulers like the Taliban in Afghanistan (now replaced by a coalition of smaller feudal lords under Hamid Karzai) and sheiks in Gulf countries, women are restrained from entering public life. Also in Western countries, despite much noise being made by feminists, there are few women leaders in political parties. Take the case of Nepal where women are denied the right to rule right from the womb, because of the feudal monarchical system prevalent here. All these have a cumulative effect on the struggle for developing women's leadership in political parties, even in the communist parties whose history is comparatively recent and which are so antagonistic to the prevailing mainstream political parties.

### **Prevailing Mode of Production is not Favorable**

The base and superstructure of the present society is based on exploitation in general and in particular on exploitation of women's reproductive and domestic labor. In property relations women are looked upon as maintainers of men's property and producers of sons to pass on the property within a male lineage. The prevailing superstructure, such as the social, cultural, educational, and political system, are all geared to support this exploitation. Take the example of the marriage institution. It is an alliance of



convenience for men to perpetuate their hegemonism in property relations. For women the same alliance in fact marginalizes them to domestic slavery. Sadly this holds true amongst the communists too, although to a lesser degree.

Nepal with strong left movements has periodically produced many women activists, but they seem to vanish as soon as they are recognized. One of the most apparent reasons is the institution of marriage, which has robbed us of promising women leaders. People's War seems to be changing that pattern, however, even within PW the question of continuity of women's leadership keeps coming up, especially when they get married and decide to have children. This is because in countries like Nepal, where the feudal patriarchal system is yet more oppressive than the capitalist patriarchal system in advanced countries, the married life of women communists can be more complex. Although the element of the notion of private property is slowly disappearing in Nepal with the waging of PW, however the cultural root of feudalism eventually creeps in in many forms, such as the conventional division of labor in the name of necessity. Added to this is the unilateral burden a woman has to carry when she becomes a mother. With the birth of every child she sinks deeper into domestic slavery. In fact many women who have been active in People's War in Nepal are found to complain that having babies is like being under disciplinary action, because they are cut off from the Party activities for a long period. In this way many bright aspiring communist women are at risk of being lost in oblivion, even after getting married to the comrades of their choice. This is specially so in white dominated areas [areas still dominated by the local traditional elite-ed.] where women seldom get support system from the mass as well as from the Party to sustain themselves in their reproductive years. However, it is heartening to see that this problem is being solved in the base areas of Rolpa and Rukum, where the mass support and the consolidation of the Party has made it possible for the Party and masses to support such maternal burdens of women leaders. Another aspect of Nepalese feudal society is that there is a strong pressure on women to bear children, especially sons. With the launching of PW this aspect has been negated to some level, however, there is still pressure to have at least one child.

There is also the tendency to create pressure on women cadres to get married covertly or overtly as unmarried women draw lots of suspicion from men as well as women for their unmarried status. This results in marriages against their wishes or before they are ready to get married. Also there is a tendency to take sexual offenses more seriously than political offenses.

### **Women's Struggle is More Complex than Men's**

For communist women, it is not enough for them to participate in class struggle, inner-party struggle, and inner-struggle. Often they may remain in the minority even if they belong to the majority line within the party. And because they are the product of this patriarchal structure, hence their inner-struggle consists in not only struggle against themselves as individuals but also struggle against the effect of patriarchal values on them, such as fatalistic tendency, inferiority complex, guilt syndrome, victim syndrome, etc. They have to face an even more complex struggle if they happen to be single, divorced or married more than once. This is well documented in Alexandra Kollantai's collection of articles. In fact she represents the best example of revolt against such marriages. She left her first husband and child in order to concentrate more on revolutionary work, then later she left her second (communist) husband on the ground of his stereotyped expectation of the marriage alliance. And because of her rebellion against conventional marriages she not only faced difficulties with the bourgeois society but also from conservative communists as well. As a result Alexandra Kollontai is more known for the 'glass of water theory' (the theory that sex should be as easy and uncomplicated as drinking glass of water) among the conservative communists than her contributions to the communist movement and the proletarian women's movement. Take another example, that of Chiang Ching. She had to face slander from the bourgeois press and personalities because of her past marriages, and even within the Party she was not received kindly. Chiang Ching had to agree to political isolation for many years as a condition for her to marry Mao. This decision was taken when the rightist Liu Shao Chi was in the Party headquarters.

### **Manifestation of Patriarchal Values in Communist Party**

Since the feminist movement is the product of the bourgeois revolution, quite often communist parties tend to become hyper-sensitive to women's issues. As a result they fall prey to patriarchal values even while agreeing in theory to women's liberation. This is manifested in many ways. For example instead of taking women as reliable long-term equal partners in the communist movement it takes women's role as supportive. As a result the Party is often found overemphasizing the class struggle at the cost of gender exploitation, forgetting the dialectical relationship between the two. There have been cases of delaying the formation of separate women's organization or even temporarily dismissing existing women's organization within communist parties. In parties where separate women's organization exists, there are cases where the women's mass front is not given the required degree of freedom so as to make their own plans and programmes, thus robbing them of initiative and creative power. This ultimately breeds alienation and tailism in the Party. This can also take place by not coordinating the women's programme with the party programme and as a result the party programme gets priority over the women's programme. Conservatism in the party can also be seen through relegating women cadres to only women related work, thereby robbing them of the chance to develop in party policy matters and other fields.

In the practical front, this leads to spontaneity whereby women's issues are addressed but not implemented because one leaves it to circumstances, leading to gradualism. Often it is seen that the party does not actively intervene in the existing traditional division of labor between men and women whereby men take to mental work while women are left to do physical labor. This is also manifested in taking men and women as absolute equals by not being sensitive to women's special condition and their special needs. This becomes all the more apparent when women are menstruating or are in the reproductive period.

### **Lack of Subjective Effort on the Part of Women Cadres**

Women have to wage a longer struggle because of their double oppression. However due to lack of subjective efforts they lose half way. For example, where they have successfully rebelled against feudal values, they have not been able to sustain themselves in class struggle. And where they have been

able to wage class struggle, they have not been able to sustain in inner-party struggle. And by not participating or participating poorly in inner-party struggle they lose sharpness on ideology, thus robbing them of their chance to determine the course of the communist movement, which has so much relevance to their own liberation. Their lack of subjective effort is manifest in many ways. In the field of ideology, they fall prey to pragmatism, economism, sectarianism because they are not serious enough to study theoretical knowledge and be involved in inner-party struggle to overcome their objective conditions, which in turn breeds these tendencies because of their past objective conditions.

In the practical field they often fall into tailism whereby they follow the directives of the party blindly without questioning, just as traditional women have been following their fathers when unmarried, and their husbands when married, and their sons when widowed. They thus become the victims of circumstance. This manifests in unplanned motherhood, which affects them most if they are in the military field. It manifests in following the husband's political line blindly instead of developing one's own political line, thereby affecting their independent political life. By not being assertive of their rights they fall into the trap of traditional division of labor. As a result they covertly become the vehicle of traditional conservative ideas leading to counter-revolution. In many cases they take marriage and motherhood as a break in their political/military career as if it is temporary work. Similarly they become willing partners to their husband's field of work thereby losing hold of their own previous work. Hence frequent change of place and work affects them more than men. The effect of all these tendencies leads to developing an inferiority complex among women which is counter-productive to the revolution.

### **Men's Lack of Willingness to Give up Their Special Privileges**

While women cadres have the problem of asserting themselves, men cadres have the problem of relinquishing the privileged position bestowed on them by the patriarchal structure. This is manifested in many ways. This is mainly seen in the form of formal acceptance of women's leadership, while in essence not accepting their leadership. Thus there are delays made in establishing women's leadership in the Party, PLA and United Front. This

also results in their being impatient with women's mistakes and general lack of skill in fields from which women have been excluded. Often they relegate women's issues to women as if it does not concern them. This is manifested in not reading literature on women's issues, and not taking part in implementing programmes given by the women's mass front. Sometimes this covertly is seen in the form of being overprotective about safety of women cadres when it is not warranted and by undertaking women's mental work on their behalf. This is also seen in their sticking to old traditional division of labor, without relinquishing their monopoly on mental work and relegating women to everyday drudgery work. Not wanting to give up their privileged position they tend to discourage promising wives from taking up independent work, which would take them far off from their husbands.

### **Political Line and the Question of Women's Leadership**

It is the correct ideology and policy of the communist party that will determine the quality of women communist leaders produced and the path of women's liberation. It was the correct political line of the Bolshevik Party headed by Com. Lenin that produced fine women communist leaders like Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, Inessa Armand, Krupskaya, etc. It was the correct political line because of which communist women leaders like Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg were able to evolve the concept of celebrating 8th March as International Working Women's Day every year globally, the decision being taken by the first international socialist women's conference in Stockholm in the year 1910. And it is being followed by not only communists but also the bourgeoisie (in their own way) even till this day.

It was the correct political line of Com. Rosa Luxemburg of exposing and struggling against Bernstein in her book 'Reform or Revolution' and later her struggle against Kautsky that brought her to the notice of revolutionary communists of the world. She dared to warn Lenin that bureaucracy may breed in the structure of the Party if the question of centralism and democracy are not understood in their dialectical relationship and under the specific condition of the individual country where it is applied. With the occurrence of counter-revolution in previous socialist states and with the

tendencies of bureaucracy which seem to sap revolutionary parties engaged in PW time and again, her warning seems to have relevance even today.

Similarly it was the correct political line carried by Com. Mao which heralded Cultural Revolution that unleashed women's fury. It was a woman who put up the first poster denouncing Liu Shao Chi heralding the revolt against rightist headquarters. It was the Cultural Revolution that unleashed Com. Chiang Ching's suppressed leadership quality making her one of the resolute fighters against the capitalist roaders until her death (or murder?). One must also remember that in the period of occupation of headquarters by the rightist Liu Shao Chi, he was the one who ordered women to go back home in order to solve the unemployment problem that was looming large. It was the rightist policy, Perestroika, and the capitalist policy of Deng which slowly introduced commercialization of women thus bringing back prostitution, gambling, beauty contests etc. in Russia and China.

Having said all this, let us not forget that just as women themselves are divided into different classes, so are the communist women divided along rightist, centrist, and revolutionary lines. Due to anti-working women's liberation policy taken by the rightist and centrist line, those women who belong to these lines are eventually marginalized in their own parties and remain exposed outside the party because of their anti-women's stand. Whereas those women who stood by the revolutionary line even while failing to make revolution in their own country remain popular. Take the case of Rosa Luxemburg, who is the most popular woman communist leader so far. She was killed before she could realize her dream; this all the more enhanced respect for her as a devoted woman communist leader in the communist world. Similarly it was the tough stand taken by Chiang Ching who defended Mao's revolutionary line even in her captivity until her death in revisionist China that made her the defiant heroine.

It is interesting to observe that revolutionary communist women have always been on the offensive when they are fighting against the revisionists. The reason may be because they are painfully aware that revisionism breeds bureaucratization, which in turn strengthens patriarchal values, ultimately negating women in politics.

It should be noted that in third world country like Nepal, where class differentiation is not sharp enough, inner-party struggle may often appear in the form of gender, ethnic, regional struggle. Hence the gender issue becomes quite an important component of the class issue. In such a case dismissing the gender issue as an alien force will ultimately affect class struggle.

### **Private Property and the Question of Women's Leadership**

It is time and again seen that women masses do come in a tide to participate in revolutionary movements producing some potential women leaders. But this tide along with the prospective women leaders seems to recede once the revolution is completed or is defeated. The chief reason behind this phenomenon is the existence of the concept of private property. As long as private property remains women will always have to go back to tend individual household activities, maintaining private property for men, no matter how many social revolutions take place. Hence the concept of continuous revolution until one reaches communism has strategic relevance for women, because it is only then that private property gets abolished, unleashing the creativity of women. That is why it is important to make conscious efforts by revolutionary parties of the world to create a conducive environment for developing revolutionary women communist leaders so that they can play a role as catalyst agents in arriving at communism. Hence the question of developing women communist leaders cannot be left to chance, they need to be consciously nurtured, cultivated and safeguarded.

### **Some Experiences of Women's Leadership in Nepal**

Realizing the importance of revolutionary women and their role in the communist movement, CPN(Maoist) has come forward with some encouraging results. Today there are several women in the Central Committee of the Party. There are dozens of women at the regional level and hundreds in the district levels, and several thousands in the area and cell levels in the Party. In the People's Liberation Army there are many women commanders, vice commanders in different sections within the brigade, platoons, squads and militia. There are separate women's sections in the brigade: women platoons, women squad teams, women militia teams functioning in the field. In the United Revolutionary People's Council,

which is an embryonic central people's government organizing committee, there are four women out of 37 members. Women's participation in all levels of People's Councils has been made mandatory.

Just to give some idea about their participation in different fields, let us take the Western region of Nepal. This region alone has 1500 women's units. The total number of women membership in the women's mass organization is six hundred thousand. In the military field there are ten women section commanders in the main force, two women platoon commanders in the secondary force and several militia commanders in the basic force. The team commander of the health section of the battalion force is a woman. The women there have started a campaign called 'One village, one unit, one house, one friend.' This has helped in organizing and politicizing village after village. Similarly in the field of production, there is a campaign called 'Where there is contact, there is organization; where there is organization, there is production.' Hence women are also involved in production activities. They are actively involved in conducting people's courts where informers, drunkards, gamblers, womanizers, and cheaters are punished. In such trials usually local women militias are actively involved together with the villagers. Hence one can say the objective basis for producing women leaders in various fields are ripening in western region.

Today more and more women are encouraged to rebel against their oppressive marriages, and politically incorrect marriages. Take the case of Com. Shilpa, who was first a commander in a guerrilla squad and later a sub-regional committee member of the Party and vice-chairman of a district level people's committee. She had a heroic death while laying an ambush against the reactionary armed forces in May 2002. She dared to denounce and divorce her husband who had reneged against the revolution after being captured. There is an increasing trend of widow remarriages [condemned by orthodox Hindu tradition, ed.]. The definition of the family of martyrs has now been extended to those wives of martyred comrades who have remarried without forsaking the revolutionary cause. This has indirectly helped widows of martyred men to remarry without feeling guilt. Take the example of Com. Shilu, the commander of the historic women jail breakers in Gorkha in March, 2001. She has remarried another comrade after losing her husband Bhim Sen Pokharel who got martyred while giving protection



to Com. Basu, the first martyred politburo member of CPN(Maoist). There have been cases of husbands and wives being given challenging works. It is worth mentioning that Com. Phul Maya BK, who was a section commander of a battalion in the historic Dang Barrack attack on November 23, 2001, was martyred along with her husband Com. Bijok in the same battle. Also it is worth mentioning that the political commissar for the Satbaria barrack attack in Dang in April 2002 was a woman. In the course of promulgation of the Emergency and military mobilization many husbands, wives and sons and daughters have been martyred, this also indicates the level of politicalization of the family in Nepal.

## **Conclusion**

From the above it can be concluded that the importance of revolutionary women's leadership in the communist party has strategic importance as they are a reliable, long term and mass based force which will help push the communist movement from New Democratic Revolution to socialism, and from socialism to stateless and propertyless communism where complete women's emancipation is guaranteed. Taking on the relationship between communism and emancipation of women, Inessa Armand has rightly said that if the emancipation of women is unthinkable without communism, then communism is unthinkable without the full emancipation of women. The concepts of right to rebel, cultural revolution, continuous revolution, overall revolution, mass based politics etc., all have strong appeal and application for women because of their double oppressed status. Their double oppression and the continued false promise of equality given to them by the ruling class (including the revisionist left parties) keeps them alert and on their toes to check any counter-revolution or revisionism, because they have seen the gains of women's rights slowly eroding with every capitalist stand taken by the party in both Russia and China.

The Communists should be politically aware that if patriarchal values are not checked periodically through rectification campaigns then it may slowly breed bureaucracy in the party. The result of bureaucracy in the party is that it gets cut off from the masses. Once the party becomes an end in itself, serving the interest of its own existence, it will eventually strengthen revisionism. This will result in the party becoming the vanguard of the

exploiting class instead of the exploited class, thus losing both class and gender perspective.

For the communist movement to flourish it is not enough to produce individual outstanding women communist leaders such as Rosa Luxemburg or Clara Zetkin, but also equally important to produce women communist companions like Krupskaya and Chiang Ching, who were leaders in their own field, who stood by their husbands who were leaders of the communist movement. They were not only providing their husbands with comfort and companionship but were also actively engaged in two-line struggle in the party. We also need women like Jenny Marx who stood by her husband like a rock in the hours of political and personal turmoil, and helped him in whatever capacity she had. For in order to preserve the gains of revolution and its continuous advancement, we need to not only produce revolutionary women leaders but also equally it is important to sustain and preserve revolutionary communist men leaders. Let us not forget that it was also revolutionary men like Karl Marx, Engels, August Bebel, Lenin, Mao etc. who provided deep analysis of women's oppression and have shown the path of women's emancipation.

Also it is important to note that just as communist women know that for every gain in the proletarian people's power there is a relative gain in women's power, similarly communist men should know that the revolution and the gains of revolution can only be preserved and furthered when more and more women join and lead the revolution. Similarly just as the proletarian movement needs the input of all those who have rebelled against their class outlook, similarly the proletarian women's movement needs the input of all those who have not only rebelled against their class outlook but also against their stereotyped sexist outlook. Hence the alliance between revolutionary men and women is not only to be desired but is also historically necessary. This is all the more necessary in producing revolutionary women communist leaders.

Lastly it is important to note Mao's remark 'keep being dissatisfied, the world belongs to the dissatisfied.' This is all the more true for women revolutionary leaders who have to tread a longer and more complex path of class struggle, inner-party struggle and inner-struggle.

(January 2003)

**PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**  
*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **People's War and the Problem of the Development of United Front**

**- Com. Prachanda**

A broad united front of the people of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes, nationalities and regions is an inevitable precondition for the success of the People's War under the leadership of the Party and the completion of the New Democratic revolution. The basis of such a united front is the worker-peasant unity. However, despite a common basic theory of united front it has different manifestations according to the specific conditions of the different countries and the level of development of the revolution. The experiences of the united front in a particular country cannot be mechanically transplanted in another country. On the contrary, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has taught us that the Parties in different countries should find out their own forms of united front and practice accordingly in keeping with their own historical specificities of development and the level of development of the revolution and in the light of the basic principles of united front.

The experiences of one year of People's War led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) have necessitated to think in specific terms about the question of the united front. The People's War has made it an immediate need to grasp the question of united front and to find a solution for it from a new height as an instrument of struggle and an embryo of state power. A correct solution to the question of united front has a direct bearing on the continuation and development of the People's War and thus is intimately associated with the success of the whole New Democratic revolution. Prior to the initiation of the People's War the importance of the united front for us was as an instrument of general propaganda and struggle. Today the situation has changed. Now the importance of the united front is, on the one hand, as an instrument of struggle crucial for the whole future of the People's War and, on the other, to develop it practically from the local level as an instrument of the state power. Thus the question of the united front

has become urgent for the preservation and development of the People's War and the creation of a new state power.

Here we have to free ourselves completely from the narrow perception prevalent in the Nepalese revisionist market to understand the question of united front as an alliance between different opportunist groups. For the continuation and development of the People's War it is imperative for us to grasp and practice united front in two parts. In the first part, it is necessary to understand and practice united front as a continuous strategy to isolate the principal enemy and unite the largest possible section of the people in every open and secret, military and non-military daily activities under the leadership of the Party. Despite any degree of changes in national and international situation the importance of uniting a broad section of the people in different names and forms according to the said orientation on different activities at the local level, will remain valid. In the second part, it is important to understand the question of united front as the problem of uniting at the central level the people of all oppressed classes, nationalities and regions against feudalism and imperialism in the context of the overall historical development of Nepal. In essence, the relation between the first and the second parts is not that of between policies but of between the part and the whole. Ultimately the main problem for us is how to solve the problem of united front at the central level in the present juncture.

We are amidst life and death struggle for a New Democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. We know that, in general, the anti-imperialist struggle is related with nationalism and the anti-feudal struggle is related with democracy. However, because of the specificities of the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, imperialism and feudalism are closely tied with each other and imperialism is plundering the people of oppressed nations through feudalism. Hence, in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries doubly exploited and oppressed by feudalism and imperialism, one has to wage a national struggle for democracy and a democratic struggle for nationalism. That means, there is no nationalism, without democracy and no democracy with nationalism.

While talking of united front for the realisation of nationalism and democracy closely linked with each other, we have to take into

consideration the historical development process of Nepal. Along with the formation of the centralised feudal state in Nepal and the beginning of the process of surrendering to imperialism for its own survival, the path of independent economic, political and cultural development of the Nepalese people got thwarted. Now the Nepalese people were subjected to the simultaneous exploitation of external imperialism and internal feudalism. It means that two sets of enemies, one external and another internal, came into being to block the development of Nepalese nationalism. This is true in the case of democracy as well. Now the struggle of nationalism was not confined to the struggle against an external enemy, nor was it confined to the struggle against feudal ruling class based on Hindu high caste chauvinism propped up by the external enemy and which encroaches upon the economic, political, linguistic and cultural interests of the oppressed nationalities, but it became a struggle against imperialism as well.

But, the feudal ruling class in Nepal has since long conspired to cover Up its anti-national character of dividing and oppressing various nationalities within the country by creating the illusion that nationalism is concerned only with the external factor. Similarly, imperialism, too, has conspired to hide its genocidal character by spreading the fallacy that democracy means the fight against feudalism only. For long, the revisionists in Nepal have directly or indirectly played into this conspiracy of feudalism and imperialism.

Hence, in the question of nationalism, it is equally imperative for us not only to fight against the external enemy but to destroy the feudal ruling classes based on Hindu high caste chauvinism that have been pursuing the policy of divide and rule. Same is true in the case of democracy, too.

As an inevitable consequence of this collusion between feudalism and imperialism, regional inequality and oppression in the country has been aggravating for a long time. The step-motherly treatment meted out to the people of the Terai and the Kamali regions is a glaring example of this. For a balanced development of all regions, too, it is necessary to destroy feudalism and imperialism. Thus, in Nepal, the struggle against national and regional oppression, or a struggle for nationalism and democracy, is intimately related with the class struggle against feudalism and imperialism.

Therefore, so long as a mighty force of joint struggle of the people of all classes, castes, nationalities and regions against the feudal state acting as a puppet of imperialism and based on Hindu high caste chauvinism is not unleashed, the reactionaries would continue to preserve their heaven of plunder through the policy of 'divide and rule'. Today, the Party should resolve to march forward for forging a united front of all the oppressed people in the country under the policy of 'unite and struggle' in place of the enemy's policy of 'divide and rule'. The great process of the People's War has strongly inspired this historic necessity of united front in Nepal to be put into practice. What has been amply proved by the experiences of one year of the People's War is that its impact has been the most profound amongst the poorest of the workers and peasants, the masses of the most backward regions and the most oppressed nationalities in the Nepalese society. This is an auspicious indication for the formation of the great united front of the Nepalese people.

In the light of its mightiest ideology and taking into serious considerations of the concrete historic condition of Nepal that our Party has placed the maximum emphasis on the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities. We have been putting in clear terms that in the present day world situation and in the context of the specific social formation in Nepal, the right of self-determination can be best realised through the national autonomy.

However, in the light of the new possibilities and experiences arisen after the initiation of the People's War, this general policy announcement would not be sufficient. Today we need a concrete and practical programme for assimilating the struggle against national and regional oppression within the united front required for the New Democratic revolution. What is needed to be grasped firmly here is that within the historic dynamics of Nepal and the present-day specific geo-political situation, it would be impossible to lead the great process of the New Democratic revolution to success without unleashing the independent initiative and creativity of the entire masses of the people while guaranteeing the liberation of the people of all oppressed classes, nationalities, and regions. If the proletariat cannot fulfill this historical responsibility properly, then the feudal and imperialist forces would be successful in disrupting the Nepalese revolution by intensifying

their communal activities under the policy of 'divide and rule'. Hence, we have to realise the multifaceted and long-term importance of this question and concentrate our efforts more to expand the organisation among the people of the most oppressed classes, castes, nationalities and regions. Whatever may be the level of their political development we must initiate serious dialogue, both at the local and central level, about the interrelationships between national, regional and class liberation with the different organisations and personalities working honestly against the national and regional oppression and attempt to forge united front with them. We should make special efforts to do serious studies and researches on the nature of national and regional oppression of the people of different areas, their economic, political, cultural and geographical background and to prepare a concrete plan for national autonomy and to build united front accordingly. In the principal zones of development of class struggle, while beginning the practice of local state power we should try to implement the policy of autonomy according to the prevailing national and class situation there. In the light of the needs of the changed situation, it is necessary, on the one hand, to make due reorganisation of the central front to reflect its character as a front for struggle against class, national and regional oppression and to conduct a planned propaganda and agitation, and, on the other, to take concrete initiatives to forge a broad front. Only through such systematic efforts that we should be able to realise the lofty goals of a genuine national unity of all the Nepalese people and a true democracy. (April 1997)



# **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL**

*[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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## **Nationality Question in Nepal**

**- Com. Hisila Yami and  
Com. Baburam Bhattarai**

### **Introduction**

National question has been one of the most important components of the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal. Ever since the establishment of the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) in 1949 the solution of the national question has been plaguing the communist revolutionaries more than anything else and it has been at the center of political disputes within the Party. As the present social formation in Nepal has been officially characterized by the Party as semi-feudal and semi-colonial<sup>1</sup>, the 'class' and 'national' aspects would both form inevitable components of the democratic revolution. Moreover, as Nepal is a multi-nationality state with several dozens of different nationalities at different levels of historical development inhabiting within its territorial expanse, the national question would have both 'external' (i.e. in relation to domination of world imperialism and regional expansionism) and 'internal' (i.e. in relation to the dominant nationality within the country) dimensions. In this context, the discussion of the national question at an international scale and among the communist revolutionaries with diverse experiences assumes particular significance for the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in Nepal.

However, within the limited scope of this paper we would confine our discussions to the brief theoretical premises of the national question, historical setting of the national question in Nepal, 'external' and 'internal' dimensions of the question in the context of Nepal, policy and programmes of the Party and some concluding observation.

### **Theoretical Premises**

The national question has given rise to intense theoretical debate in the international communist movement. As elsewhere there have been two extreme positions on this issue. One is to assign absolute primacy to the

national question with a total neglect of the class perspective, and other is just the opposite of this, that is, the total denial of the national question as a bourgeois obsession. Both these erroneous positions arising from a metaphysical outlook have been long ago demolished by Lenin (1913, 1914) and we need not dwell on the issue any more. It would just be enough to reiterate Lenin's exhortation:

"The bourgeoisie always places its national demands in the forefront and does so in categorical fashion. With the proletariat, however, these demands are subordinated to the interests of the class struggle". (Lenin, 1914:410)

For a correct perspective on the national question it has to be viewed in historical materialist terms and in the concrete historical stage of development of society. This way it is seen in history that national movements have occurred only with the advent of modern capitalism and the capitalist economic logic of commodity production and a secure home market in the initial stage of development of capitalism seems to provide the material basis for the national movements. As Lenin succinctly puts it:

"Throughout the world, the period of final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with national movements. For the complete victory of commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose population speaks a single language, with all obstacles to the development of that language and to its consolidation in literature eliminated. Therein is the economic foundation of national movements." (Lenin, 1914:396)

Hence, the formation of a national state with a common territory, common language, common economic life and common psychological make-up (Stalin, 1912:13) is an inevitable outcome of development of capitalism, and in that sense the continued existence of a multi-national state is a sign of historical backwardness. However, capitalism has two historical tendencies in its process of development, which give rise to two different or opposite attitudes to the national question. Whereas in its initial stage of final triumph over feudalism the tendency of capitalism would be to shatter all fetters of precapitalist absolutism and bureaucratic centralization and thus create independent national states, in the later stage of development capitalism the tendency would be towards transcending national borders for commercial intercourse and bringing into the forefront the antagonism

between internationally united capital and the international working class movements and thus laying the foundation of proletarian internationalism. Therefore, the correct policy and programme of revolutionary Marxists on the national question would have to be based on three pillars as specified by Lenin, namely (i) complete equality of rights for all nations, (ii) the right of nations to self-determination including cessation, (iii) the unity of workers of all nations. (Lenin, 1914:454).

In the present era of imperialism a majority of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been subjected to intense imperialist oppression and exploitation of various kinds. As a result the development of backward nations or nationalities has been thwarted by the stronger national capitalism in these oppressed countries and there have occurred only some islands of bureaucratic capitalism in the vast ocean of pre-capitalist formations. True to the "bigger fish eats smaller fish" logic of capitalism the stronger among the bureaucratic capitalists, like the Indian monopoly capitalists, have developed into regional expansionism and exercised domination in the surrounding countries as an adjunct of world imperialism. Within the oppressed countries with multiple nations or nationalities the dominant or the more developed nations or nationalities have exercised oppression and domination over the weaker and less developed nations and nationalities. Thus the national question has two dimensions in the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; one, in relation to the domination of the whole country by the stronger imperialist or expansionist powers, and the other, in relation to the domination of weaker nations or nationalities by the more developed nation or nationality within the oppressed country. However, in the present era of imperialism as the weak national bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries cannot bring about democratic revolutions or lead national liberation movements on their own, the proletariat should lead both the democratic revolution and the national liberation movement in the oppressed countries. It is thus obvious that the national question is inseparably interlinked with the class question and would be simultaneously solved only through the New Democratic Revolution. This theoretical clarity is essential before we delve into the national question in Nepal or elsewhere.

## **Historical Setting**

The present state of Nepal was established in the second half of the 18th century through the forcible annexation of nearly sixty petty tribal and ancient states scattered along the mountainous tract in the south of the Himalayas under the leadership of one of the ancient state chieftains, Prithivi Narayan Shah of Gorkha. Prior to the formation of the unified state of Nepal this mountainous stretch of land of about 500 miles by 100 miles in size had been a melting pot of migrating hordes from the Indian plains and the Tibetan plateau since about three thousand years. Shielded from the north by the high Himalayas and a thick malarial forest to the south, this region was occasionally raided but never got absorbed into the several empires formed in the Indian plains. People of mostly Tibeto-Burman or Mongoloid stock inhabited the eastern and central parts, whereas people of mostly Indo-Aryan stock occupied the western part of the region. Till the first millennium A.D. the petty tribal societies in this hilly region seem to have followed their own gradual course of evolution, only exception being the highly fertile and strategically located Kathmandu Valley, which had become the citadel of early civilisation in line with the Greek city-states by the third century A.D. A new social epoch was ushered in the hilly region when after the 12th century A.D. there was a great influx of Hindu migrants of Indo-Aryan stock from the Indian plains in the wake of Moslem invasions there. The introduction of superior production technology with the attendant social division of labor long stereotyped into hierarchical caste and the establishment of petty feudal kingdoms through gradual assimilation of indigenous tribal communities in most of central and western hill regions by 14th century A.D., marked a qualitative change in the social and state structure of the region (Bhattarai, 1990). This also marked the start of the historical domination of the Indo-Aryan stock, particularly its upper caste strata of Brahmins and Chhetris, over the Tibeto-Burman and other stock in the region. The gradual expansion of British colonial empire in the Indian subcontinent touching onto the mountainous tract and the failure of the primitive economic formations of the hills to meet the increased needs of surplus extraction by the ruling classes, provided the historical premises for the unification of petty states under the leadership of one of the Hindu kings of the Indo-Aryan stock, Prithivi Narayan Shah, in mid-18th century. The processes of state expansion continued till the first quarter of the 19th century when the direct collusion with British colonial expansion limited the boundary of the state to the

present level. The semi-colonial position was thrust upon the state with the ignominious Sugauli Treaty of 1816 by the British colonialist and has been further buttressed by a set of unequal treaties with 'free' India in subsequent years.

As the tenth descendant of the founder of the state of Nepal presides over the state even today\* and there has been minimal change in the socio-economic condition of the predominantly hilly region inhabited by the petty peasantry, the basic class character of the Nepalese state founded over two hundred years ago remains almost unchanged even though cosmetic changes have been introduced into its outward form from time to time. Also, since the present Nepalese state was founded not on a national basis but on the basis of the pre-capitalist surplus extraction drive of the feudal ruling classes, internally, and collusion with the imperialists and expansionists, externally, it is obvious that the national question would remain unresolved within the present dispensation. Thus the historical process of development of Nepalese society and state has left behind two sets of national problems to be resolved by the New Democratic Revolution, namely, (i) semi-colonial domination of all the nationalities by imperialism and expansionism, externally, and ii) domination of Tibeto-Burman and other nationalities by the ruling Indo-Aryan or Khas nationality, internally.

### **National Question: The 'External' Dimension**

The 'external' dimension of the national question in Nepal can be discussed in terms of semi-colonial domination of Indian expansionism and neo-colonial domination of other imperialist powers.

### **Semi-Colonial Domination of Indian Expansionism**

Indian expansionism as an heir to British colonialism in South Asia has been the principal external enemy of the Nepalese people. Not only because of the geographically locked position from the three accessible sides (the northern side bordering China is virtually inaccessible due to high Himalayan mountains) but mainly through the historically thrust upon unequal treaties and developed unequal relations, Nepal has been subjected to the semi-colonial domination of Indian expansionism. This domination can be discerned in the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres.

## **Political Domination**

The 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of so-called peace and friendship, and the Letter exchanged with it is the basic document formalizing semi-colonial domination of Nepal by Indian expansionism. The most obnoxious contents of the Treaty and the Letter are the so-called security commitments towards each other, restrictions to purchase arms by Nepal, "national treatment" to be given to the nationals of the other in one's territory and the virtual scrapping of the political border between the two countries (Bhasin, 1970). The infamous 'Nehru doctrine' of the Himalayas acting as the northern border of India in the matters of security is too well-known to be recounted here. The constant political manipulations exercised by the Indian rulers to put their puppets in power, armed intervention to crush rebellion in Nepal (e.g. Indian army operation to put down peasant uprising led by Bhim Dutta Pant in far-western Nepal in 1953, etc.) are enough examples of the political domination of Indian expansionists in Nepal.

## **Economic Domination**

Economic imperatives are the most important aspect of semi-colonial domination of Nepal by the Indian expansionists, which are ensured through a number of unequal treaties including the 1950 Treaty and the periodic trade and transit treaties. The basic form of this economic domination has been to keep Nepal as a captive market for the Indian manufactured goods, though other forms like exploitation of water resources, cheap labor, etc. are also quite important.

Over the years Indian monopoly capitalists have been in near total control over the whole economy of Nepal including industry, trade and finance. According to one study made by an Indian scholar some decades ago, Indian capitalists control about eighty percent of the Nepalese industry and trade (Rawat, 1972). Currently it is said that out of dozen or so billionaires in Nepal most of them belong to the Marwari capitalists emigrated from India. The ever tightening of semi-colonial stranglehold of Indian expansionists over Nepal can be judged from the simple fact that whereas before the Sugauli Treaty of 1816 Nepal exported five times more than its imports to India, presently Nepal imports six times more than its exports from India<sup>2</sup>. Though the total share of foreign trade with India has declined

from a staggering more than 95 percent in the 1950s to about 30 percent at present, India is still the dominant trade partner of Nepal. The glaringly exploitative and unequal exchange relations with India is manifest from the fact that whereas more than 90 percent of the Nepalese exports constitute low value added primary products, over 70 percent of the imports from India are high value added manufactured goods. Similarly the unequal exchange relation applies in the case of export of cheap labor force from Nepal to India, including the poor Nepalese mercenary soldiers serving as cannon fodders in the Indian army.

Another area of economic domination by the Indian expansionists has been the exploitation of the vast water resources of Nepal, through a set of unequal treaties or agreements, including the Koshi River Agreement (1954), Gandak River Agreement (1960), Mahakali River Agreement (1996). How Nepal has been duped through these river projects can be imagined when one realizes that from the Tanakpur project at the border river Mahakali, Nepal is to receive a mere 7 mega-watts of electricity out of 125 mega-watts and 150 cusecs of water out of 20,000 cusecs. As the demand for commercial energy increases in future Indian bourgeoisie will devise further means to plunder the massive hydro-electric potential of Nepal.

### **Socio-Cultural Domination**

Socio-cultural domination is just a means to or a result of economic and political domination by the imperialists and expansionists. Accordingly, Indian expansionists have sought to exercise social and cultural domination of Nepal through fanning Hindu religious jingoism, or through corrupting the young minds with pornographic Hindi films and magazines, or through exercising control over the print media.

### **Neo-colonial Domination of Imperialists Powers**

As Nepal was incorporated into the British colonial empire as a semi-colony till 1947, British imperialism had devised two ways of domination and exploitation of Nepal. One was to use the Himalayan state of Nepal as a political dependency and buffer state cushion against the Chinese empire in the north; and the other was to exploit the cheap, militant and non-Hindu

labor force of Nepal in the British imperial army. After the departure of the British colonialists from South Asia in 1947 the semi-colonial legacy over Nepal was handed over to the Indian expansionists and only a part of the mercenary Gurkha soldiers were kept in the British army, which continues till today. Apart from this historical semi-colonial relation with British imperialism, Nepal is seen to have developed neo-colonial relation with other powers like Japan, Germany, U.S.A. and others only after the 1950s and 1960s.

Though the U.S. imperialism tried to use Nepal as a political springboard against socialist China in the 1960s and 70s, after the capitalist restoration in China the U.S. imperialist domination over Nepal has also taken more of an economic form than political. Other imperialist powers exercising domination over Nepal are mainly Japan and Germany and their form of domination is through trade and finance. Apart from the individual imperialist powers, the multilateral imperialist financial institutions like the World Bank, the IMF, the ADB etc, are also increasingly exercising neo-colonial domination over Nepal.

However, because of the historical and geo-political advantage enjoyed by Indian expansionism over other imperialist powers, the former is bound to exercise an exclusive domination over Nepal even in the future and in that sense the question of Indian expansionism is practically the most important aspect of national question in Nepal.

### **National Question: The 'Internal' Dimension**

For its relatively small size, Nepal encompasses an immense diversity in racial and ethnic groups and economic subsystems, mainly because of its ecological differentials and peculiar historical experience of providing a safe haven for all sorts of migrant hordes from the north and south. However as noted earlier, the Hindus of Indo-Aryan, stock that migrated into the area after the 12th century A.D. to escape the religious persecution in India and rapidly intermingled with the original Aryans, the Khas, of the western part of the region, have come to constitute the dominant racial groups that have forcibly subjugated the Mongoloids and Austric races, and after the forcible unification of petty tribal states, gradually developed into the dominant synthetic 'Nepali' nationality. The dominated Mongoloid (or



Tibeto-Burman) and Austric racial groups were suppressed under the unified state power and were left behind in the evolutionary process. Only after the penetration of foreign merchant and financial capital since the 1950s leading to spurious and uneven bureaucratic capitalist development and ushering in of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, have these dominated groups started asserting their rights and the nationality question started surfacing in the country. Hence, though the present state hegemonized by the rulers of Indo-Aryan nationality claims the contrary, Nepal is multi-nationalities, multi-lingual, multi-religions and multi-cultural country [CPN (Unity Center), 1994] and the national or nationality question assumes serious proportions within the country.

At present in Nepal there are several dozens of nationalities and ethnic groups of different levels of historical development but with their own distinct territorial base, language and other identities. Of these the ruling Khas nationality is naturally at the highest ladder of development whose language, Nepali, enjoys official patronage of the state. Next comes the Newari nationality in the Kathmandu Valley and the Maithili and Bhojpuri nationalities in the more developed parts of the southern Terai (plain) region. Then there are more than twenty non-Aryan indigenous nationalities mostly confined to particular regions of the country. For example Rai, Limbu, Lepcha, Sherpa, Sunwar in eastern hills; Tamang in central hills; Gurung, Magar, Thakali, Chhantel in western hills; Tharu in western Terai and inner Terai; Dhimal, Rajbanshi, Gangai, Meche in eastern Terai and Majhi, Darai, Kumal, Raute, Raji, Danuwar in Inner Terai. Apart from these, there are distinct communities like Bhotas in the Himalayan region and Bengalis in the Terai region, and religious groups like Sikhs, Jains and Moslems in the Terai.

Whereas none of these nationalities or ethnic groups constitutes a majority in the total population of the country, only the Khas nationality and its language exercise hegemony over and enjoy the patronage of the state and other nationalities and ethnic groups and their languages suffer domination and discrimination by the state. As a result many of the indigenous ethnic groups like Chepang, Raute, Raji etc. are at the verge of virtual extinction. In recent years different nationalities have started protesting against their domination and fighting for their equal rights in all spheres, which is quite

logical and justified. But, as elsewhere, the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters have sought to give the nationalities movement a communal and sectarian colour and divorce it from the overall New Democratic movement in the country. It is therefore, the bounden duty of the revolutionary communists to take up the nationalities questions seriously and make it a part and parcel of the New Democratic movement.

### **Policy and Programme of the Party**

CPN (Maoist)<sup>3</sup>, as the mainstream revolutionary Communist Party in Nepal, has given due consideration to the important national question and formulated clear policy and programme to solve this question.

### **On the 'External' Question**

Having characterized the present Nepalese society and state as semi-feudal and semi-colonial, the Party has formulated the strategy and tactics of New Democratic Revolution to solve the problem. Accordingly the 'national' aspect of the revolution has been given due emphasis in the 'Political Report' and 'Political Resolution on Minimum Programme' approved by the Unity Congress of the Party [CPN (Unity Center) 1991]. The Party has identified the contradiction of the Nepalese people with feudalism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism, imperialism and Indian expansionism as the basic contradiction, during the period of New Democratic Revolution. Similarly, in the all important question of determining principal contradiction or the main enemy, the Party says: "At present the target of attack or the principle contradiction is the contradiction of the Nepalese people with domestic reaction composed of feudal, bureaucratic and comprador capitalist classes backed by Indian expansionism". [CPN (Unity Center), 1991:60] This identification of imperialism in general, and Indian expansionism, in particular, as the basic enemy of the people helps to formulate correct national policy & programme for the New Democratic Revolution.

Accordingly in the 'Minimum Programme' on national question the Party has categorically declared that after the New Democratic Revolution all forms of imperialist and expansionist domination and exploitation shall be

ended, all unequal treaties shall be abrogated and relations shall be established with all countries on equal basis. (op.cit).

### **On the 'Internal' Question**

On the nationality question inside the country, too, the Party has clear-cut policy and programme. In the "Resolution on Nationality Question in Nepal" adopted by the First National Conference held in 1994, the Party has declared Nepal as a multinational and multi-lingual country and having accepted the principle of rights of nations to self-determination, proposed autonomy for different nationalities keeping in view the low level of development of the nationalities and other specificities of the country. Among the 14-Point Programme for the liberation of nationalities include establishment of a New Democratic state with joint participation of all nationalities, ending all forms of oppression and exploitation based on nationality, language, religion etc, formation of a council of nationalities with proportional representation from the autonomous regions of nationalities along with the central People's congress, provision of equal treatment and opportunity by the state to all the languages, and so on.

Similarly the Party has a clear policy to closely associate the nationalities movement with the New Democratic movement and guard against both the right and the 'left' deviations on the national question. A mass organization called All Nepal Nationalities Association\* has been organizing different nationalities on the above lines with some success.

### **Concluding Remarks**

In the present day world marked by superpower imperialism and in the case of South Asia dominated by Indian expansionism, the national question assumes great significance in the agenda of proletarian revolution. Hence, the Maoist communist revolutionaries in particular ought to do their best to divest the reactionary coatings off the bourgeois nationalism and make a judicious use of its progressive kernel to further the class struggle of the revolutionary masses. Nowhere is it more urgent and important than in the case of Nepal where the unity of all the progressive forces opposed to Indian expansionism and its puppets would be needed to thwart the

impending danger of external armed intervention against the people's war led by the Maoist revolutionaries.

(February 1996)

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5. Lenin v.I. (1913), "Critical Remarks on the National Question" in Collected Works Vol.20, Progress Publisher, Moscow, 1964.
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### **Foot Notes**

\* This was before King Birendra, along with his whole family, was massacred in June 2001 and succeeded to his throne by his brother Gyanendra.

\* After the CPN (Maoist) further developed its policy on the national question, particularly after the Politburo Meeting in January 1997, separate national liberation front organizations came into being, e.g., Magarat National Liberation Front, Tamuwani National Liberation Front, Tharuwan National Liberation Front, Kirat National Liberation Front, Tamang National Liberation Front, Newar National Liberation Front, Madhesi National Liberation Front, etc.

(Endnotes)

1 Though there are at least nine organizations and groups that use the nomenclature or claim the history of "CPN" at present, ranging from the revolutionary party CPN (Maoist) to the arch reactionary clique of CPN (UML), with several neorevisionist and revisionist groups in between including NCP (Mashal), CPN (Unity Center) and others, it is quite

surprising to know that all of them formally characterize the present Nepalese society and state as 'semi-colonial'. We would, however consider here CPN (Maoist), which has been leading people's war in the country and is a participating member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), as the only real and mainstream organization of communist revolutionaries in Nepal.

2 In the fiscal year 1994/95, total Nepalese exports to India was Rs.3369.2 million and imports from Indian was Rs.20791.2 million, with gross deficit of Rs.17422.1 million (Nepal Rastra Bank)

3 CPN (Maoist) was called 'CPN (Unity Center)' prior to the third plenum of the Party held in March 1995. Hence many of the published party documents still bear the old name of the Unity Center. This should not be confused with the rightist liquidationist group, which still uses the nomenclature of 'Unity Center'.

## **PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN NEPAL** *[A Collection of Articles by Com. Prachanda and Other Leaders of the CPN (Maoist)]*

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### **Nepalese revolution: How is it interlinked with world revolution?**

**-Com Gaurav**

A glorious and momentous People's Revolution is advancing in Nepal in leaps and bounds thereby influencing not only the politico-military-economic situation of Nepal but also that of the world politics to a considerable extent. US imperialism has vowed to collide with this revolutionary war along with its accomplice the British imperialism and its allied imperialist forces of Bush's "war on terror". Serious debates are going on also at the international forums of the reactionary states on how to combat this revolution at the Himalayan country. In the international meeting of the donor states in London, which was sponsored by Tony Blair's government on mid-July of this year, sharp differences came up regarding the nature and character of the aids to be provided to the Gyanendra-Paras-Deuba regime of Nepal. US and its accomplice UK, were virtually in minority when all the other representatives opposed to assist the tottering "Nepal government" through military aid. They put forward their opinion that Nepal should be provided assistance in humanitarian and development works, not at the military equipment. Tony Blair government was exposed in its own parliament when it conspired to provide 2 military planes, 2MI-17 support helicopters, explosive ordinance disposal gear and military training to the regime of Nepal through 'Global Conflict Prevention Pool' which is run by the ministry of defense, the foreign office and the international development department, without being discussed the issue properly at the house. There was furor in Belgian six-party coalition government led by Guy Verhofstadt, after the government decided to make an arm deal with tottering Gyanendra-Deuba regime of Nepal. Belgian Green Party leader and vice-prime minister of Belgian government Magda Aelvoit resigned from the cabinet at the beginning of the third week of August, in protest against the deal of selling modern weapons (particularly, machine guns), because Belgian law bans arms exports to countries engaged in civil war. The government was hardly survived in the no-

confidence motion in parliament at this issue. Germany had already refused a shipment of arms. Deuba, in his visit to Belgium to procure the arms faced big protest demonstrations. One progressive organization of Nepalese in Belgium gave letters of protest against this arm deal and against ongoing genocide by the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) and also demanding the lifting the emergency in Nepal. Thus it was not an easy matter for the Belgian government at this arms deal with such a fascist genocidal government against a people's revolution of Nepal. Because of all these developments the reactionary Verhoftadt government was compelled to postpone arm supply for few months.

So far the US senate is concerned, it demonstrated it self to be so diehard reactionary that there is no party in the senate to raise any voice against loot, plunder, oppression, brutal attacks and savage war against any country and the people carried out by the government. It is a matter of shame to claim US as one of the greatest democracies in the world, where there is no real opposition in the parliament, ruling party and "opposition" is alike! Just the shareholders!

Thus the Nepalese Revolution influences directly to the world political events at different levels. The Nepalese Revolution, which is considered as a beacon of revolution for the oppressed in the contemporary world situation, has been proving as a challenge for this rotten system of imperialism and reaction. Consequently, the Maoists and other revolutionary forces are waging various levels of struggle and solidarity action in support of the Nepalese Revolution, in various parts of the globe on the one hand and US imperialism and reactions are vowed to suppress it on the other. Thus the ongoing Nepalese Revolution both on the part of revolutionary forces and the masses and that of imperialism and reaction has become a subject of serious concern and all have to play their role according to their own outlook and class interest. Therefore, it will be a sheer ignorance to conceive the Nepalese Revolution as insignificant in world perspective and confining it to the territory of Nepal.

### **Nepalese Revolution: Part of the World Revolution**

In spite of many specificities of our society the Nepalese Revolution is based on the principle pro-pounded by com. Mao. This revolution in its

character is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie. It is a democratic revolution but not of the old type but that of a new type. In spite of its bourgeois democratic character, how this revolution is a part of the world proletarian revolution is required to be understood necessarily. Only then it is understandable to every body why this revolution deserves to get worldwide support from the proletariat and all other revolutionary forces and oppressed masses and how it serves the world revolution. Following quote from the writings of Com. Mao is quite relevant:

"Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old types led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be the number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy's side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.

'Such a revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favoured by socialism and supported by the land of socialist international proletariat. Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.'<sup>1</sup>

The quote presented above is self-evident which throws light enough to characterize the Nepalese Revolution at this particular stage and its links and ties with the world proletarian and socialist revolution. Proletariat never hides the reality and thus it has already declared that after the coup in China, following the death of Mao, proletariat lost state power and the socialist base resulting proletarian revolution in any particular country to deprive of getting support of the proletariat or the socialist state. Therefore, right at this juncture, proletarian revolution, whether it may be New Democratic or Socialist, is constrained to advance in very difficult situation.



The ongoing revolution of Nepal cannot be exception. But we Maoist, with this given situation never draw a conclusion that revolution cannot be initiated, sustained and developed. Just contrary to that our conclusion is that revolution not only can be initiated and sustained but also can be developed, succeed and conquered. Revolutions sustaining and developing in Nepal, Peru, India, Turkey, Philippines, and preparation going on in various other countries under the leadership of the Maoist parties are the living proof of how our conviction is based on scientific laws.

From what we discussed above, it is obvious that in absence of a socialist camp or socialist base, our class the proletariat and all the oppressed revolutionary masses require more international unity than ever before. Our glorious Party, CPN (Maoist) firmly upholds that in the given situation, unity of our class is increasingly necessary, without which revolution in a single country to succeed is almost unrealizable, in case it succeeds, it is equally difficult to sustain. It will be relevant to mention couple of sentences from the document adopted by the Second National Conference of our Party, which reads:

"Due to such specific economic, political, cultural, and geographical conditions and hegemony a of Indian monopoly capitalism, it is very difficult to fully accomplish the New National Democratic Revolution and if it succeeds in specific situation of contradiction, it will be almost impossible to be sustained. The revolutionaries have to focus their attention seriously at the point that due to the force of common and joint struggles, according to the condition of uneven development, particular country or particular area of a particular country can be liberated and which only enables to play the role of Base Area in the direction of the revolution of the whole region."<sup>2</sup>

Though the document talks about the situation of South Asian Region, but it seems to be relevant for the situation of the world today. The main thrust is at the importance of the solidarity and unity of revolutionary forces in fulfilling the revolutionary tasks. The relevance of the present situation, in which there is absence of proletarian state and socialist base, calls forth all the revolutionaries of the world to strengthen their unity and solidarity more than ever before, thereby engendering a tremendous strength of the

proletariat and revolutionary masses, which can combat imperialism and reaction by accomplishing revolutions in individual countries.

When we talk about international solidarity of revolutionary forces and carrying out world revolution, we must talk about international organization as a vehicle of such a unity and solidarity. It is well known that we have no any international today, but the proletariat is making untiring efforts to advance in that direction. Formation and strengthening of Revolutionary internationalist Movement (RIM) can be considered as important step forward in this march.

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), has played and is playing significant role in strengthening the unity of Maoist forces and other revolutionary forces at the world level. Though all the Maoist forces have not yet joined the RIM, but as an international center of Maoists, RIM has been widely acknowledged. The Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations (CCOMPOSA), which incorporates almost all the Maoist forces of South Asia within and outside the RIM, has adopted a unanimous Declaration in its recently held Second Conference, which acknowledges RIM as follows:

"The inherent characteristics of ever concentration and centralization of capital and the resultant uneven and unequal development in the world scale has aggravated the crisis of the world imperialist system and created an excellent objective condition for the world proletarian revolution in the beginning of the twenty first century. However, subjectively, the International Communist Movement suffered one of the greatest setbacks in its entire history in 1976, when the revisionists usurped state power as well as the leadership of the party by a reactionary coup d'etat " in China following the death of Mao Tse-tung. Restoration of capitalism resulted in depriving the proletarian class of the leadership at the international level and the socialist base as well. In that course it had to fight against not only Khrushchovite and Dengist modern revisionism but also Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism. Despite fierce attacks from imperialism and its lackeys and betrayal of opportunists from within the movement itself; the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoists throughout the globe refused to abandon the struggle for communism. Contingents of the world proletariat made their utmost efforts to reorganize our class at the international level giving birth

to various new initiatives, out of which the initiative of revolutionary internationalist Movement (RIM), is a prominent one"<sup>3</sup>.

It is obvious for every body that South Asia is now a storm center of world revolution. After the US crusade against Afghanistan in the pretext of September 11 and open declaration of "war on terror" (which really means war against the oppressed masses) by US led imperialist alliance headed by Bush & Co. and targeting direct military intervention over sovereign countries and the toiling masses, the world situation is undergoing profound changes, giving rise to more intense revolutionary waves at the world level. In this particular world situation every revolution should be more closely linked up and combined with world revolution and anti-imperialist struggle at the global level.

Ongoing revolutions in the world today under the leadership of the Maoist Parties -such as in Nepal, Peru, India, Turkey, Philippines etc. have achieved tremendous importance in the vigorous fight against imperialism and reaction. The strong People's War developing in Nepal under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a genuine and correct Maoist Party, which is at the forefront, is really a highly significant event of the world today. It is thus quite understandable why the People's War of Nepal deserves to be and is getting extensive support from the revolutionaries and oppressed masses of the world and has become the target of US led imperialist alliance in general and US-British imperialist in particular. Why the US super power is so much involved against the ongoing revolution in a small and poor country like Nepal, preventing the people of Nepal to decide their destiny by themselves? It is only because though in a small country Nepalese Revolution is hitting right at the heart of imperialists' interest and inspires revolutionary forces and millions of oppressed masses of the worldwide fight against imperialism and the reaction.

"Today we can see more sharply the direct links between opposing the US imperialist-led crusade and our ongoing task of supporting the People's War in Nepal. There is the very concrete and immediate task of staying the hand off the US and the world reaction, which is already intervening in Nepal to a significant degree and threatening and preparing to do so in a qualitatively greater way in the period ahead."<sup>4</sup>This opinion and determination expressed

by the CoRIM reflects the real assessment of the role of the People's War of Nepal and how the US imperialism is intervening and is going to do so in qualitatively higher level in the days to come. As envisaged by the CoRIM "the very concrete and immediate task of staying the hand of the US and world reaction" has become an urgent and inevitable task of the revolutionaries of the world to safeguard and promote the achievements which have already been made in Nepal.

Why the only super power of the world today is hunting so much to the revolution of Nepal? There are some specific reasons for that. The PW in Nepal has developed from strategic defense to strategic equilibrium and making efforts to develop to another qualitatively higher stage of strategic offence. Relatively stable base areas are sustaining and new people's power is constantly being exercised in the vast countryside and preparations are on to capture the countrywide power. The ruling class and the regime are in insurmountable crisis and have repeatedly corroborated its inability to fight the Maoist PW and are surviving on imperialist patronage. In spite of all efforts of US and its stooge the tottering regime of Nepal to isolate the PW projecting it as "terrorist", people are not ready to be deluded by this false propaganda and just contrary to that the PW is enjoying wide support of the masses of various parts of the globe. It is very hard to tolerate this development of PW for Bush, which provoked him consequently making the Nepalese Revolution its target.

### **Struggle Against US War of Aggression**

George Bush has already declared war against the people of the world in the guise of "war on terror". US-British army killed thousands of innocent people of the impoverished country of Afghanistan, maiming many more and torturing another thousands not only in Afghan prisons but in US especial torture cells in Cuba. This warmonger has made Iraq as its second target and has already flied its fighter Jets in Iraqi sky. But he has temporarily retreated from massive bombings due to tremendous international pressure. Massive attacks on Palestine people are continuing unabated by its Middle-East watchdog Israel. Though the Maoist Movements of Nepal and other countries are not under the US list of "terrorists", but it will not make any difference. They are not keeping these

names in the "list" only because of the apprehension of being further exposed among the masses. This can be correctly understood through the news we received from Revolutionary Worker, a leftist weekly coming out from USA, which says "The People's War in Nepal is a genuine war of liberation that has nothing in common with groups like al Qaida. But the Nepalese government and the Indian government have officially labeled the CPN (Maoist) terrorist. And the rulers of Nepal have packaged their plea for foreign help to fight the insurgency as part of the "global fight against terrorism ." Again, the US State Department has not put the CPN (Maoist) on their official list of 'terrorists" But the US government-along with Britain and other imperialist powers are all-supporting the Nepalese regime's campaign against the Maoists, in which hundreds of people in Nepal's countryside are being killed; many more, accused of being "Maoist sympathizers", are being rounded up and jailed; and all kinds of constitutional rights have been suspended. US secretary of state Colin Powell went to Nepal in January to meet with the King, Prime Minister and head of the Royal Nepalese Army. President Bush invited Nepal's Prime Minister Deuba to the White House to talk in May and then asked congress to approve \$20 million in military and economic aid for Nepal.

Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, testified to the House International Relations Committee that "The Maoists [in Nepal] have shown themselves to be a ruthless enemy by their tactics in the field and through terrorist attacks against both government targets and innocent civilians." And the US government has given special training on "resistance against Maoist terrorism" to Nepali officials."5

Forces ranging from Maoists to Islamic fundamentalists are at the target of US imperialism. Though the immediate targets of US imperialism are some Islamic forces, but these are not its ultimate targets. Ultimate targets are Maoists and other revolutionary forces and masses.

The Indian state, which is expansionist, has become more aggressive these days when Maoist PW is advancing towards nationwide conquer of power. The Indian fascist state shattering all its so called "one of the biggest democracy of the world" veil, is constantly assaulting the journalists, human right activists and social leaders of Nepalese people in India and extraditing to the fascist Gyanendra-Deuba regime of Nepal. Their sole

crime was that they supported the cause of the Nepalese masses and opposed the fascist repression unleashed by the regime of Nepal. This assault has been intensified by the Indian State especially since the last August and is going on unabated. One of the tasks of the Indian state has now become spying on the Maoists and their sympathizers, if there are any in India and submitting them to their accessory, the hated fascist Nepalese regime. Why the Indian police are so loyal to the Nepalese regime is really ignominious. This type of naked assault to Nepalese revolutionaries was hardly seen before in the history of India. It has been outspread after US came at the front to suppress the Nepalese revolution and India works as lackey of US imperialism. Main reason is that present Indian state is exercising all out fascism in its entire work. Guiding line of the present Indian state is Hindu fascism, which is being exercised in domestic as well as its foreign policy, which is being clearly manifested in the recent assault and extradition of Nepalese personalities.

Now the question before all of us is, who will lead this anti-US imperialist struggle and how can it be advanced?

We Maoists through scientific analysis have drawn conclusion that only proletariat has the capacity to lead such anti-imperialist struggle thoroughly and up to the end. Many people doubt about it and draw other conclusions. Some misguided people even go to the extent of looking forward to AlQuida. The root cause of this type of idea is frustration and disappointment. Real practice has repeatedly proved even recently that such fundamentalist forces have not that capacity to lead anti imperialist struggles. How the Taliban regime of Afghanistan fell so facilely in the face of US attack is the recent example. It is likely that Iraq may ( withstand against US attack through the strength of anti-US opinion of the world people and its own military capability. But it has no capacity of leading this struggle. It has not clear-cut anti-imperialist line, it has no such history and it has no such an aim. Everybody knows what treatment Saddam has met with Kurdistan Movement. It does not mean that we should not support Iraqi people in their fight against US aggression; we should strongly support them in this genuine battle. Only point is that we should not lose sight from the scientific principle of characterization of the political forces and that of the struggle.

Therefore, it is Maoist forces, which has the capacity of leading this anti-imperialist struggle. We are not talking here about the capacity of Maoist forces fight against US super power militarily. It is known to all that US is a super power and has piled huge stock of lethal arms. What we mean by anti-imperialist struggle is not the arm conflict with US. It is the question of building anti-US imperialist movement at the world level in a conscious and planned way, by incorporating broadest level of masses on the basis of a correct line.

This is 'era of imperialism and proletarian revolution' whose specific feature is the revolution, whether it may be new democratic or socialist, or national liberation movement in individual countries are closely linked up with anti-imperialist - struggle. Obviously, imperialism involves itself and stands against all revolutions taking place in any country, without exception. This fact has been repeatedly verified by practice in the past and also at present. When Maoist People's Liberation Army (PLA) strikes on the reactionary fascist state of Nepal and its armed forces US imperialism feels wounded and starts reacting against CPN (M) and the PLA at different levels. It has happened several times in the past . Recently, the reactionary state of Nepal and its army has been very badly demoralized after the two consecutive successful military actions carried out by the PLA at Bhiman of Sindhuli district on 8 September and at Sandikharka of Argakhanchi district at the next day, capturing all the arms and ammunitions and all the government offices including bank and killing about 125 government security forces. Right at this situation, at the occasion of observing the '11 September' (which has nothing to do with CPN (M) and its PLA), the US ambassador to Nepal persisted Maoists to surrender arms and come to the negotiation with the government. It is obvious how they interlink US interest with each gain of ongoing Nepalese revolution. It is also true for revolutions in other countries how the US imperialism expresses its concern to suppress the armed revolutionary struggles led by CPI(ML)(PW) and MCC in India, how it is acting against the revolutionary struggle of Philippines in the name of wiping out Abu Sayed outfit and how the US is involving to suppress the revolutionary movement in Peru and Turkey. So, these are the clear signals how the Maoist forces are ultimate targets of US "war on terror".

Thus the master plan of Bush to launch war of aggression against revolutionary forces, against the masses and against the various states, especially aftermath of 11 September has caused the world situation to undergo change in various aspects. Coming months and years are sure to be marked by revolutionary upsurges and reactionary suppressions giving rise to excellent opportunities and new level of dangers and challenges. So, revolutionary forces in general and Maoist revolutionaries in particular have to be prepared to meet this new challenge and turning it to excellent opportunity for revolutionary transformations. Our Party is ready to shoulder this responsibility working along the side with all Maoists and other revolutionary forces to intensify our struggle further to achieve our objective and goal. Maoists and revolutionaries of the world unite! Workers and oppressed people of the world unite!  
(January 2003)

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***Endnotes:***

1 Selected Works of Mao Tse -Tung, Vol. II, On New democracy, p.344

2 Documents of the Second National Conference of CPN (Maoist), translated from Nepali

3 Declaration of CCOMPOSA, adopted by its Second Annual Conference held in August 2002

4 CoRIM Circular3-10, 27 July 2002

5 Revolutionary Worker 1166, September 15, 2002

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