

**A FRESH START
TO CHANGE
EVERYTHING**



**NEPAL'S
REVOLUTION**



NEPAL'S REVOLUTION IS TODAY

Revolution is not an abstraction, and neither is it a phenomenon lost to the pages of history, even as many radicals in the United States have suffered from lowered sights and given up on the prospects of revolution. No one disputes there is a lot to learn from the the revolutions that unfolded in Russia, China, and across Latin America and Africa decades ago, even though by now most of us realize that making revolution here in the homeland of imperialism isn't as simple as following a recipe from one of those revolutions. And yet, things are happening in the world that we ignore at our own peril..

Over the last sixteen years millions in Nepal have risen up to change their fate. They waged ten years of people's war, battling against kings, castes, landlord classes, and foreign domination. They combined creative methods with revolutionary communism to chart out a new course. Many around the world hoped for a revolutionary seizure of power and a new society for Nepal; alas after tremendous setbacks and betrayals many thought it was defeated.. But today the revolutionary dreamers are regrouped, aiming to start a communist revolution anew.

This pamphlet documents some of the progress of Nepal's revolution with the creation of the new Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. It includes reporting from a Winter Has Its End reporting team who travelled to Nepal at the beginning of this year as both revolutionary journalist observers and revolutionary militants, supporters of the Kasama Project. This pamphlet provides context and background for understanding many of the key issues in the struggle there. We also hope this pamphlet provides some excitement and motivation for revolutionaries in North America to build an ongoing movement in solidarity with one of the world's living, real revolutions, unfolding on the other side of the world as we speak.

To read more about Nepal from Winter Has Its End reporting teams, please visit our website. Winter Has Its End reporters are available for speaking engagements about the unfolding revolution in Nepal. And we hope you'll also consider making a donation to sustain future Winter Has Its End reporting efforts:

kasamaproject.org/projects/winter-has-its-end

Lal salam!

—*ISH Daniels*

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KASAMA

**is a communist project that seeks to reconceive and
regroup for a profound revolutionary transformation of society.**

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MAOISTS REGROUP IN NEPAL: RUPTURES AND OBSTACLES

BY LIAM WRIGHT POSTED ON THE KASAMA PROJECT 02 FEBRUARY 2013

The Nepali Maoists always talk of peace and revolution. To us, arriving as a reporting team from the U.S., this seems like a peculiar contradiction. Revolution would seem, to us, to be sharply opposed to peace. And a social peace seems like an absence of revolution.

But here in Nepal, the revolutionary process is deeply embedded among much of the population, and it is therefore just as idiosyncratic and contradictory as its people. The country went through a difficult and brutal decade of civil war to overthrow a hated king – and the costs of igniting a new war are understood by everyone. And yet, even after all the changes and events of the last years, the great majority of people in Nepal truly need a

much deeper, more thorough-going revolution – they need deep changes in the social system, they need profoundly different, and new, forms of power at all levels, they need to break with the dominating treaties with India. Nepal's people want peace, but many of them also want radical change.

We got to attend the founding congress of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) to see how the revolutionaries were going to work through that peculiar contradiction: how they would bridge the Nepali people's desire for peace and that aspiration for revolution.

For six days, our reporting team watched over 2,000 communist delegates debate the future. Just walking into a conference of that size and hear those debates in real-



Participants in the founding congress of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, January 2013. Photo courtesy of Kali Shakti.

time, we got a gut sense that, that for Nepal, revolutionary change is not just a dream. Here it is a living movement and confronts a set of very intense and urgent problems.

THE COLOR RED IN A ROOM OF COMRADES

We were in a towering, multilayered auditorium. At the front, bright light shone down on the stage, illuminating podium, central committee, and those of us attending from other parts of the world. As people rose to speak their words were followed intensely by a sea of faces – fully engaged. Sometimes the seriousness was broken for a moment.

Laughing children would run across the stage and try to grab a microphone or a performer’s drumstick. We would laugh and chuckle, but to the multitude of delegates this seemed expected, even common place. This was a meeting of serious revolutionaries considering how to organize a new armed uprising – and yet it was obviously also a room of regular people with a love for each other and for the world.

The color of this meeting was bright, primary-red.

High above the room, and on the podium, and lining the walls, was the famous hammer and sickle – the symbol of an alliance between peasant farmers and urban workers. Here in Nepal, of course, the vast majority of the population is poor farmers either in the fertile Terai lowland belt, or scattered in isolated villages, without roads or schools, across the giant mountains. For the Nepalese, many of those who can find work as laborers have to go to Indian mega-cities across Nepal’s southern border – doing the worst and least-paid jobs far from home.

But, in any case, here in Nepal, here in this room, the hammer and sickle is not just some icon from the past – it represents a plan to unite those at the bottom of society, those who suffer and labor, and whose dreams require radical change.

There were people from all over Nepal in attendance. From village and city, from student organizations, peasant organizations, women’s associations, indigenous people’s organizations, popular fronts, state committees, regional committees, former people’s military...

And then there were portraits of the martyrs, those who died in the ten years of peoples war between 1996 and 2006. Young faces, a few older ones. Faces of those shot down, or tortured, and sometimes raped. Those who



Some of the CPN-M leadership, beneath portraits of revolutionary martyrs, January 2013. Photo courtesy of Kali Shakti.

died for liberation. Many of delegates here are family members or close friends of those who died. And that memory of the martyrs is one of sadness and pride. It is also an indictment: The memory of the martyrs are invoked against those who have betrayed this revolution, who have called for it to stop halfway. “Remember what the martyrs died for,” it is common to hear Nepalese revolutionaries say.

“Surely they did not die for what we now have. For them, for ourselves, we must find a way forward.”

SOMETIMES, THE BALLOT HARMS MORE THAN THE BULLET

After years of preparation, the revolution in Nepal was launched in 1996.

The Maoists organized an armed countrywide uprising and rapidly took over a few districts to start a rural guerrilla war. The corrupt, very decadent and very isolated monarchy crumbled before the fury of armed peasants and urban disturbances. But that monarchy left behind its Royal Army. While it is now renamed the “Nepal Army,” it is still the defender of old ways and still far from defeated.

But the main problem for the revolution was that the core leadership of the leading party [the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), UCPN(M)] succeeded in winning government posts in elections after a ceasefire – and they chose to call off the revolution. They dissolved the local institutions of popular power and people’s courts – and disarmed the people by trying to break up their own Peoples Liberation Army.

So this new congress of the split-off CPN-M represents a long-awaited first step, a regroupment of the most determined partisans – it was where they gathered to affirm their dedication to a liberated Nepal, and settled on their method of doing so. And it was where they came to express their outrage with the conservatism of their own former leaders Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai.

For the last six years, large sections of the leaders of the Maoist guerrilla war entered the elected government as a part of what was called the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). For the revolutionaries among the Maoists, joining this process was an opportunity to enter the main city, Kathmandu, and make deep contact with urban sections of the people (including the urban laborers, students, and intellectuals needed for the future). They

saw the CPA as a way to broaden their base for seizing power – for creating what Maoists call New Democracy (a form of peoples rule that is the first stage of socialist revolution).

But for their leaders, Bhattarai and Prachanda, entering the city and entering the government were the end of the revolution. Their goals apparently stopped at some rather familiar reforms:

- a stalemated parliamentary democracy (where old oppressors set the pace),
- integration into the world capitalist market (where global powers set the terms), and
- continuing the subordination of Nepal (where the Indian military, government, culture and capital bully their way in everywhere).

“We entered Kathmandu to take power,” we were told by Biplab, a dynamic young Maoist leader “First Prachanda says that the Peace Agreement is just ‘talk.’ Then he says that this is a ‘peace process.’ Then he says that this was the ‘revolution!’”

Biplab captures the sense of betrayal – which was such a major theme of the congress.

During the congress a kind, veteran female communist shared her experiences with me. Pleasant lines etched her face, as we sat and talked on the lawn surrounded by a group of women. She spoke thoughtfully, in sometimes broken English:

“During the people’s war we had a communist culture. All of the feudal traditions were gone for us. Men and women would eat together, women could leave their home.” She went on, “Now our base areas are gone, our courts and schools are gone, our People’s Liberation Army is gone.”

Bhattarai and Prachanda claim they are recognizing the limits of the possible. But for the most poor and the most radical, it feels like a sellout.

OPPRESSION CONTINUES, SO DOES THE DREAM OF LIBERATION

To understand what it would mean to call off this revolution, we have to think about what is actually needed by the 30 million people who live here.

Nepal is a small, deeply impoverished and land-locked country sprawled over the southern foothills of the vast, towering Himalayan mountain range. The country contains many diverse peoples who were often



Participants in the founding congress of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, January 2013. Photo courtesy of Kali Shakti.

marginalized by the old feudal-monarchist system. There is a caste structure which says some people are “untouchable.” There is traditional feudal domination of women – including lack of school for girls, early arranged marriage, and international sale of girls into sex slavery. There are inequalities of culture – so that many nationalities, including the Madhesi people on the border with India, feel neglected and oppressed.

And yet oppressed people had come so far during that people’s war.

Many radical changes had started to take hold while the Maoists, mobilizing the impoverished farmers, controlled much of the country. Then the Maoists took a gamble and entered the CPA. They granted some concessions in the peace agreement -as they grabbed for an opening beyond their rural liberated territory. They took major leaps in building their strength, especially in the urban areas.

To the surprise of everyone, the Maoists won a plurality in Nepal’s April 2008 elections for a Constituent Assembly (a body designed to dissolve one political system and form another). This stunning victory for a very radical party gave them the proven legitimacy to actually

take power. But just as they were on the verge of a major breakthrough, in 2010, as they mobilized millions to shut down every city in the country for six days through general strikes and blockades, the revolution was betrayed by Prachanda and Bhattarai. These leaders blinked, and backed down, and called off the strikes.

Everyone now sees that when those leaders said, “Not yet!” they actually meant, “Never!”

At the congress we attended, the revolutionary wing of that movement is now regrouping large parts of the previous Maoist party, its grassroots organizations and the core of its People’s Liberation Army. But they are all still reeling from this setback, and grappling hard with how to regain their former poise with a now-splintered movement.

In one sense, their split and the building of a new party has been a long time coming. It was a common thing to hear among the rank-and-file, “Why didn’t we split sooner? What took them so long?” And “them” in this phrase refers to the leaders of the Maoist left, the leaders of this new party. And it suggested to us that the delegates have learned a skepticism toward leaders and a sense of the need for alertness from below.

PUTTING IT ALL ON THE LINE

During the congress there was also a lot of down time. Every chance we had we would go outside, where we were often swarmed by Maoist cadre. They were dying to know about the state of the revolution in the USA. There was an insatiable curiosity about our conditions and our movement. Most have never seen an American up close. Most know foreigners mainly from the trekkers who visit Nepal.

“Do you have a revolutionary party?”

“How are your leaders different than ours?”

“How much do people support us there?”

“How many people are in your movement?”

What struck me was: They are asking if they will be alone. If they make that leap to revolution and people’s democracy – if they wage their fight for real emancipation – will there be others alongside them around the world?

Will people speak out if India tries to crush them? Will other revolutionary societies emerge as allies? It is tied to the core question of this revolution for the radical egalitarians of Nepal. If they rise up, can they win? And if they win, can they keep power in the hands of the people?

For hours each day we sat on plastic chairs in the sun asking and answering questions surrounded by a changing cloud of delegates. I was struck by the loftiness of their vision and their remarkable optimism. Some had complaints about their new party program, but most seemed to feel a renewed excitement.

“They are all enthusiastic. But also they are sentimental,” one of our translators told me. “They have a new party, but they find themselves facing against the same people who fought alongside them in the people’s war.”

On one of the first evenings of the Congress we sat down under a large, decorative canopy to share a meal with a couple of young men.

“I was a commander in the People’s Liberation Army. He was a vice-commander. But I am Brahmin and he is Dalit,” one of them explained around mouthfuls of food. Brahmin are the upper caste in South Asian society and constitute a significant part of Nepal’s people. Dalit are the so-called “untouchables” – at the very bottom of the social structure and historically despised.

“Before the revolution we could not touch.” There were many such stories while we sat outdoors, communally consumed our heaps of rice, lentils, and curry.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF NEW BEGINNINGS

This regrouped party of militants faces vexing obstacles. In many cases Nepalis observing from the outside the revolutionary organizations don’t seem to see the difference between the old UCPN(M) and this new party. They feel deeply betrayed—and rightly so.

Ten years of war, incalculable enthusiasm, thousands dead, painful sacrifice... both the people and the core cadre ask, “For what?”

During the people’s war, when revolutionaries had their own state power in the countryside. There were deep and rapid changes. But those changes rested (in a direct way) upon that revolutionary power. Take away the liberated zones, demobilize the people’s liberation army — and many of the old traditions and relations between women and men have reasserted themselves. Much of the liberated land has now been given back to the old landlords. (Many of whom are then selling that land to developers). India is intervening intensely in Nepali affairs — and in an even more direct and sinister way than before.

Liberation has not yet been realized. The overthrow of the king, while an inspiring change, is being institutionalized into a familiar parliamentary system which the next revolution must now overturn.

Some in Nepal claim that this Maoist split is just over seats in the government. From everything I see here this is not the case. The revolutionaries of the new Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist share in the sense of betrayal with the people of Nepal and are earnestly working to continue the revolution. Many who we encounter, especially in the rural areas still have a deep partisanship. The new party seems to have much work to do to make clear their aims to the society they seek to change, to win over the people, and to understand, themselves, where they erred.

HURDLES AND POTENTIAL

During the congress different members of the central committee spoke on different topics, explaining and debating the proposed program from different angles.

“Our basic strategy is ‘people’s revolt on the basis of the people’s war,’” said Gaurav, vice-chairman of the party, his voice echoing through the hall. “Why is this possible?” He asked this key question, emphasized with a

wave of his arm. “Our base areas are gone but the people are still there. Our courts are gone but the people are still there. Our schools are gone but the people are still there... Our revolution will not be like Russia’s revolution. And it will not be like China’s revolution. It will be like Nepal’s revolution... On the basis of the gains of the people’s war we will make a people’s revolt. It will not be that difficult to re-establish the base areas, I think.”

If you have spent much time in a conservative place, like today’s U.S., where the revolutionary forces are small and not yet truly contending, it’s hard to think that any meeting can be decisive for changing everything, for uniting millions. Revolutionary politics in many places seem removed from real politics – meaning from the

actual questions of power. But it felt very different here in Nepal. This revolution is taking new steps in recovering, working to regain its footing. While they have suffered serious setbacks, this congress represented a moment of rupture and regroupment, of new assessment and, hopefully, of new clarity .

While Biplab spoke to the congress he called out, standing at the podium in his bright blue jacket, “Are you ready? I ask you: Are you ready?” The participants listened pensively, as though they were asking themselves the same question. “Prachanda and Bhattarai had a choice: to sacrifice or to capitulate. They capitulated. This party must be ready. We are ready to make any sacrifice.”

KASAMA TO CPN-M: NEW BEGINNINGS ON THE COMMUNIST ROAD

BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE KASAMA PROJECT POSTED ON KASAMA 21 JANUARY 2013 06:28

The following letter was shared by some participants in Kasama with the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist at the start of their recent national congress. This meeting represented a regroupment of revolutionary forces who were previously part of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) — and who are straining to retake the revolutionary road.

We would like offer our sincere thanks to the people of Nepal and to the Communists of Nepal for their great contributions to the world, to the cause of collective emancipation.

The revolution in Nepal has, from the onset of the people’s war, had a massive impact. It gave cause for the hopes and dreams of millions of the oppressed to take flight. It touched on the deeply felt need of millions of Nepalese people for liberation and an end to the old, well known poverty and isolation. The revolution here has brought hope to millions the world over who feared it may have become impossible to imagine revolution in today’s world. It has profoundly stirred the whole of the South Asian continent — which is vital for our hopes of

world revolution.

Your recent difficult period – with your fight against the capitalist road and its representatives in your own party – is a welcome and much needed step.

For Maoists, it is no surprise to discover that there is two line struggle in great communist parties, or that the niceties of (what Mao called) “sugar-coated bullets” can corrupt some people, or that powerful forces can emerge who want to dismantle peoples power and the peoples armed forces. This is the nature of a revolutionary process. But what cannot be assumed is that people will take it up on themselves to oppose that, with the determination to form a new communist core.

Your fight against the capitalist road is extremely



International guests including Kasama participants at the founding congress of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, January 2013. Photo courtesy of Kali Shakti.

important for Nepal’s people – but also for all of us watching around the world.

Mao famously said “Only socialism can save China.”

And yet there were those who after defeating feudalism and making revolution against imperialist occupiers wanted to take that capitalist road – dreaming only of modernization, development and integration into the world imperialist market – and denying that integration on capitalist terms would lead the people to vicious new exploitation, plunder of resources, foreign domination, the horrors of the sex trade, and the deep betrayal of the martyrs who fought for liberation.

STARTING OVER

We in the Kasama Project and communists in the United States have also had to start over. In the US the previous communist movement is exhausted, with little if any life left — politically or theoretically. That well is dry.

We are regrouping ourselves, and hoping to do so on a new, and more creative level — understanding our own

history and the very different conditions which face us.

In this we are looking to learning from many forces around the world who are starting over, creatively—who are also making assessments and new analysis.

It is our view in Kasama that revolution in the United States is both possible and necessary. Even in the heart of empire. And we have argued this fiercely.

In our situation the communist project must be re-discovered and creatively transformed by a new generation of revolutionaries. The radical essence of Maoism, of liberatory communism, must be developed, transformed, and fused with the people.

The communist theory of previous generations must be studied critically, and tested independently. Communist understandings from the past must be defended and popularized, but also developed in new ways. And our resulting communist synthesis will involve the transformation that must come with fusing with the most radical sections of the people. We can’t take our communist intellectual legacy as a fixed doctrine or closed orthodoxy – the Maoist movement over the last three decades since Mao, has not been particularly creative and innovative in its thinking. And we need to understand

that there is an ongoing need for ongoing creative rupture, not just for continuity in our theory.

In this regard we have taken some beginning, but important steps.

We have utilized the new digital means to create a 21st century communist press — what we call an Iskra project — for debate and training among communists. We are developing early organizing collectives and projects in cities across the United States. We are working, carefully and deliberately to regroup and develop toward new disciplined organization, analysis, and strategy.

And we are reached out to work with young new revolutionary circles that are forming, to develop connections, common work, and perhaps deepening unity.

Kasama also leapt into the recent Occupy Wall Street movement which involved hundreds of thousands in the most radical and sustained mass disturbances in the US in recent times.

We contributed to that movement by helping to found and edit the Occupied Wall Street Journal, a leading newspaper within the Occupy movement which reached hundreds of thousands.

Many Kasama supporters went into the Occupy movement as activists and organizers, leading through line at the general assemblies, helping to radicalize the movement and help it flourish, to go as far as it could...

Now some of our Kasama supporters, and some of our allies have been hit with legal charges which could put people in jail for months or years. Political police have been unleashed across the country, in large numbers to gather evidence on radicals, anarchists and revolutionary communists, and to try to blackmail people into becoming informants for the police.

In Kasama we have also made a serious priority out of our international solidarity through spreading the word about, politically defending, and learning from revolutions in South Asia and popular uprisings around the globe. We particularly oppose the intrigues of U.S. imperialism — its murderous agents, its wars and threats of wars, its awful bribes intended corrupt leaders into betraying the people.

REVOLUTIONARY POSSIBILITIES IN THE U.S.

In the U.S., revolution is possible because of deep contradictions woven through the very fabric of US society. Even with the relative wealth of US society millions

live in poverty, in prison, or under the gun of the police. The US is a deeply stratified society, with many oppressed nations under one state, with one multi-national working class and one imperialist bourgeoisie.

There are unresolved faultlines of potential struggle with revolutionary potential.

The historic oppression of African American people. In 1968 Mao Zedong made a crucial, historic analysis of the nature of revolutionary struggle in the U.S.:

“The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers’ movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.”

The Black nation in the United States remains in a deeply oppressed condition, and African American liberation is a central reason and focus for any liberatory revolution in the US.

Immigrants are driven into the U.S. from all over the world because of the desperate poverty caused by imperialism. This abuse has given rise to an explosive faultline because tens of millions are kept in a illegal status – as an invisible, state-terrorized lower level of the working class.

It is our view that a united front for revolution in the U.S. will likely have at its core a strategic alliance of the movement for socialism arising from the multiracial working class, with the national liberation of oppressed peoples within the U.S..

The U.S. may have granted legal equality and developed an acceptance of love relations – but large sections of women in the U.S. experience rape in their lives. Advanced development and bourgeois democracy to not produce liberation. As a result: there is a powerful opposition to traditional sex roles and continuing inequality.. There is great anger over fascist legal attempts to suppress women’s rights to birth control and abortion. Gay, lesbian and transgendered people face continued oppression – including the murderous violence of bashing, and the ugly bigotry of the rightwing religious conservatives.

We communists, in Kasama, embrace the view that final revolutionary victory in our epoch is a world victory: We either all get to communism or none of us do. We are internationalists.

Kasama has worked hard to popularize the great revolutionary struggles in Nepal and India – in all their complexity.

And revolutionaries in the U.S. have a particular

responsibility to oppose U.S. imperialism and to support those, around the world, who rise up against it. The growth of revolutionary movements in the U.S.] have always been linked to struggles of the oppressed in other parts of the world, whether they were the inspiring anti-colonial struggles of Africa, the Vietnam war,] the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution or the more recent Arab Spring.

Again: The United States appears to be at the heart of modernization and development. Yet there are oppressed classes of tens of million who suffer bitterly here— and their suffering has worsened.

That means the system dominating the United States is outdated and can be overthrown.

CREATIVE RECONCEPTION AND REGROUPMENT

The challenging thing, we believe, is how to start over. We have the task of going forward creatively

— reconceiving revolutionary strategy based on deep experiences, and regrouping communist forces based on the awakening of new generations and the departure of the old.

We wish you well in the vital process of finding your footing and your road under these new conditions. We look forward to learning from what you decide and what you do.

We are confident that the people of Nepal, South Asia, and the world as a whole don't want a future defined by sweatshops, imperialist killer drones, deathsquads, caste systems, and the continuing exploitation of the billions of people who labor and create.

The first steps toward a communist world of liberation is becoming possible, and our challenge is fusing communist ideas and organization with the vast numbers of our sisters and brothers who will make that possible.

NEWSFLASHES FROM THE FRONT LINES OF NEPAL'S REVOLUTION

FIRST IMPRESSIONS: NEW TREMORS IN NEPAL

WRITTEN BY LIAM WRIGHT AND NATALIO PEREZ POSTED ON KASAMA 21 JANUARY 2013

The sky stretches on forever here on the rooftop of the world.

Old and new, the foreign and indigenous are contradiction that wrack Kathmandu. The ease with which this place could welcome Western money and culture is apparent. And you already see the toll of that — the inevitable price of “aid” or commerce from India and the West.

But just as apparent here is the terrific desire for New Nepal with dignity. There is a political movement for a different road of development without the poisonous domination of expansionist capital. And that, after all, is what drew us here.

Streets in this city can wind on forever. People, bicycles, motorcycles, and cars are packed into the same

centuries-old, dusty lanes. Walls splattered with old dirt, energetic hawkers, and storefronts with wares. All that sits right next to the red flags, banners, and posters of communist parties. The very appearance of this place speaks to both its ancient history and the dynamism of its insurgent radicalism.

Walking through Kathmandu reminded us of the cramped avenues of old Mexican cities; streets designed for pedestrians somehow manage to accommodate every imaginable type of vehicle, resulting in some of the most harrowing near-misses and the most phenomenal driving I have ever seen. The car horns seem to speak a language of their own, but it doesn't take long to realize that here a honk means “Excuse me,” not, “F*** you!”

It is difficult to convey the strange feeling of being

constantly surrounded by the presence of hammers and sickles while knowing that the slightest nuances in aesthetic and language signify the difference between capitalist democracy and radical egalitarianism. Then again, Nepal is an enigma: this is a country where “communists” are conservatives, “Unified Maoists” are liberal-Western modernizers, and the “dash Maoists” are revolutionaries. It is easy to understand how so many, looking from the outside, are initially confused.

We have been in the city for a little over two weeks now — learning and watching. Our focus has been on the newly regrouped Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, which is coming from decades of struggle and over a decade of incredibly successful and popular revolutionary People’s War that began in 1996, liberating 80% of the countryside of Nepal at its peak.

We observed their first congress in twenty years and are learning of their new program and direction. They have seen both profound victory and crushing setbacks. The Maoists once held base areas in the countryside where land was re-distributed, where communes were erected, where the people had their own courts and popularly elected government. All of this, in the third-poorest country on the planet where before, only tyranny by corrupt police and a now-overthrown god-King ruled. That overthrow was unquestionably the product of Nepal’s People’s War and the diverse alliance rallied by it. The struggle escalated when Nepal’s Maoists organized general strikes which shut down every major city in Nepal

for 6 days. Inherent to these complex experiences are lessons for changing the world in our own conditions.

In recent years, these revolutionaries have suffered both error and betrayal; their base areas are gone, though so is much of the more obvious feudalism. They no longer have an army, and their organization has split: some taking the easy path of reform, of investment, and foreign domination. Others, the revolutionaries of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, have just regrouped, forming a new party as their first step back onto the stage of history. As one of their leaders at their congress said, “We will make a revolution which will shake both heaven and the Earth.”

In new situations come new challenges, new struggles, new possibilities: determined revolutionaries now find themselves struggling not against a monarchy which justifies its rule by divine right, but a regime which legitimizes itself by the gains of the revolution it now seeks to terminate.

While in Nepal, we want to give the world a look into the important events unfolding here, the feelings of the people, and especially to give a sense of who are the partisans, the revolutionary dreamers of Nepal. It is a narrative and a story which is far too seldom heard anywhere. The Maoist movement here is commonly spoken of by decadent and oppressive powers as though it was a mass of violent terrorists. But this is far from the truth. These selfless people are militant abolitionists of the worst forms of oppression.

IT’S ON: REVOLUTIONARY OPENINGS IN NEPAL

WRITTEN BY ERIC RIBELLARSI POSTED ON KASAMA 6 APRIL 2013

A profound legitimacy crisis has emerged for the anti-revolutionary forces of Nepal. As we go to press, 33 political parties, led by the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, are launching a national general strike (known as a bandh, a tactic where workers and militants surround and force the closure of all businesses) throughout the entire country beginning tomorrow, April 7. Let’s rewind a bit and understand the root of these strikes and the crisis surrounding them.

Nepal is one of the poorest countries on the entire planet. It is one of the few places in the world that has

never been formally colonized. Its monarchies more or less prevented a direct British conquest of the country (losing two-thirds of its territory in the process). The ruling army of Nepal is unlike the state of other oppressed countries where the state is usually directly integrated into global imperialism. In Nepal, the state has historically been of a feudal-nationalist type (one that bitterly oppressed the people while resisting integration into the imperialist world system).

Through a ten year long protracted people’s war (liberating 80% of the country’s territory!) and torrents of



CPN-Maoist militants seize prime minister's land

revolt in the capitol city of Kathmandu, the old monarchy of Nepal was toppled in 2006. The leading revolutionary party, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), emerged as the largest political party in the Constituent Assembly elections (a post-revolutionary electoral body) following that rebellion. While this was viewed as a victory inside of the party, there were very different lines inside of the party about how to approach this victory.

Some viewed the Constituent Assembly as a place to expose the limits of this form, and to prepare the minds and organization of millions of people for a new national armed insurrection. They based themselves on the millions of poor peasants and Nepal's small urban proletariat, organized in dozens of mass organizations and the All Nepal Trade Union Federation (Revolutionary). Others, notably Bhattarai and Prachanda (two counter-revolutionary leaders of the party), viewed the Constituent Assembly as an end in itself, and aligned themselves with powerful international imperialist forces, NGOs, and urban middle classes.

The movement split in 2011 after a deal that brought Baburam Bhattarai to the position of prime minister in Nepal. Bhattarai had gone to the state of India (and the United States), and promised India increasing ownership of Nepal's natural resources and industries in an agreement known as BIPPA. He had promised the Indian state to integrate 10,000 fighters from the south of Nepal (Terai) where many are pro-India secessionists. This was meant to curtail the feudal-nationalism of the Nepal Army and place it more directly under imperialist control. He ordered the handover of the arms of the People's Liberation Army, and the dissolution of that

revolutionary army. And yet, in the face of all of this, the revolutionaries of Nepal have regrouped.

They have regrouped into the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. They have been in preparations for a new "People's Revolt" – a national armed insurrection aimed at bringing about a new revolutionary road in Nepal. This strategic orientation has been the plan of their party when it entered the cities from the countryside, and they are creatively innovating and investigating how to make it a reality.

The BIPPA agreement did not go well for the Bhattarai regime. This agreement was even more reactionary than anything ever proposed by the old bourgeois political parties of Nepal, who were not fully on-board with it. The Bhattarai regime's central promise to Nepal was to write a new constitution and stabilize the country. Two years later, it has failed, providing only a new corrupt bureaucracy. The CPN-Maoist describes the new form of oppression as neo-colonialism, meaning a colonized society ruled by local oppressors (like South Africa). There is no new constitution, the country is in chaos, and Bhattarai has been exposed as a counter-revolutionary who has betrayed the people on a profound level.

In this context, Bhattarai's ruling party, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), handed over the government to Nepal's chief judge, Khilraj Regmi, who is now the completely unelected prime minister of the country. Regmi along with the political parties that handed power to him claim that this is a preparation for "fair and democratic elections." But millions of people say it is a part of a larger coup, meant to impose a new, even more reactionary form of oppression on the people. They point out that these elections do not even claim to guarantee the replacement of Regmi as Prime Minister of Nepal.

CPN-Maoist militants have seized the land of the prime minister, and re-distributed it. They have, together with 33 other political parties, brought the country to a halt. They say this is a preparation for "People's Movement III." People's Movement I was a national rebellion that forced Nepal's monarchy to hold elections in 1991, and People's Movement II was the country-wide revolt that toppled King Gyanendra in 2006. More militant actions and confrontations are coming.

Meanwhile, the government has demanded that the CPN-Maoist's security officers hand over the remaining arms that are used to protect the party's leadership.

Responding, CPN-Maoist General Secretary Thapa said, “We don’t need the old rusted weapons, we will submit it and take new ones to the houses of people... New arms are being made in the factory... They will come to the

homes of the cadres.”

Let’s be alert, and prepared to stand in solidarity with Nepal’s revolution if future revolutionary openings (or extreme repression of revolutionaries) emerge.

“LIFE AND DEATH” FOR NEPAL’S COUP REGIME

WRITTEN BY ERIC RIBELLARSI POSTED ON KASAMA 21 APRIL 2013

For 7 years, post-monarchy Nepal has been without a unifying constitution. Its Constituent Assembly has collapsed as of 2011, and its reactionary forces have been unable to cohere a new legitimate form of rule in Nepal. It is in this context that reactionary leaders of Nepal declare that staging a coup and holding elections under this coup is a matter of “life and death.” (1)

And it is in the face of all of this political corruption on the back of the people that Nepal’s Maoists are continuing to boycott the elections which are being organized by a coup d’etat regime led by unelected Prime Minister Regmi. The Nepali Maoists have gathered a growing political coalition of 57 political parties (grown from the 33 that participated in this month’s general strike) against these coup elections. (2)

The CPN-Maoist “People’s Volunteers” have begun organizing people to refuse to take part in the elections, have fought and chased away state election officials, and have worked to defeat a new “Nepal citizenship” scheme aimed at warping the election results. The citizenship scheme is suspected of granting citizenship to Indian businessmen residing in Nepal, and making it impossible to register for indigenous people in the remote regions of Nepal. (2)

One after another, reactionary leaders of Nepal have pompously declared that they will bring the CPN-Maoist into these elections, or that CPN-Maoist will be crushed (Prachanda’s language). Baburam Bhattarai, a leading counter-revolutionary, has assured everyone that “The CPN-Maoist led by Mohan Baidya will be incorporated in the four-party political mechanism,” (1) but once again, the Maoist revolutionaries and their coalition have rejected all offers under the coup regime. Instead, they refused to even attend talks with the government: “It is meaningless to hold dialogue regarding the elections to be conducted by the unconstitutional government. We want to inform about our inability to sit for such talks,” said Mohan Baidya (Kiran). (2)



Former US President Jimmy Carter, who is part of organizing the elections, called for state repression of the Maoists: “My hope is that if he [Baidya] persists in trying to keep people from registering as voters or holding successful elections, the people who interfere should be arrested and prevented from illegal activities,” said Carter. The CPN-Maoist cannot resort to violence and intimidation, which are illegal, while raising concerns over the legitimacy of the current government, he said. (3)

Mass demonstrations and assemblies are planned for the early month of May, beginning with a mass demonstration in Kathmandu on May 1st, followed by local assemblies throughout the country.

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A YEAR AND A HALF LATER, RETURNING TO NEPAL'S MARXIST SCHOOL

WRITTEN BY LIAM WRIGHT POSTED ON KASAMA 20 FEBRUARY 2013

In 2011, the last time I was in Nepal, I had the chance to visit the then fledgling Marxist Learning Center. At that time, they only had a smattering of books, a discussion group, maybe a dozen participants, and it was ran out of the home of a more seasoned Maoist. We decided to take a second look at the school and see how it had changed and hopefully grown.

Our steps were brisk down dusty Kathmandu lanes as we passed bustling laborers and busy shopkeepers. The peak of the day had already passed us; shadows were growing longer, the air cooler. I had been through this district once before but it had been dark, so the area seemed only distantly familiar... So much so that our team almost missed the entrance to the apartment building where the incognito learning center was located.

We walked inside and proceeded to climb several flights of stairs where we arrived at a well lit room. Our team and five Nepali revolutionaries together sat down cross-legged on flat pillows wrapped in plastic around a wooden table all on a green rug which stretched much of the room. I assumed the plastic was to keep the pillows from getting dirty.

We started to ask questions and listen, while they told us about their project. "There used to be study groups and learning centers led by the party," the coordinator of the school explained. He wore a gray hoodie and didn't speak any English. Thankfully another one of the leaders of the school spoke it quite well and translated for us. He sat across from me, wearing a bright red jacket and a fresh hair cut. The translation went on, elaborating on what the coordinator said, "But when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was set in motion, the party stopped all of its internal theoretical training programs. We saw a great need to educate people in Marxism."

The Marxist Learning Center isn't run by the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) by any high level program, or any party for that matter. But by a few members of the CPN-M, together with other leftists, who simply took initiative. Our translator explained to

us, "On the first day we had 60 books. We just called up people we knew and asked them to donate whatever they could. Now we have 4000, Marxist and books that aren't too, all donated."

Having made some headway and garnered regular participation from party members and others, "serious about studying the world, philosophy, and history," they are able to run the school entirely through donations. The school now has its own space with several rooms (a big deal in Nepal). They have a space for people to sleep if they decide to stay to study all night and a projector to host weekly movie showings, sometimes educational, sometimes just cinema. One was *Wind That Shakes the Barley*, a film which presents a picture of the national liberation movement in Ireland with significant parallel to the situation in Nepal, showing in this experience in history, how struggles and different roads emerge within the liberation movement, and how a revolution can be stopped in its tracks by factions that only wish to go "so far."

"We showed that movie three times because there was such a demand. We had former People's Liberation Army watching the movie and crying. It was like, the exact same as what happened here."

The centerpiece of the school is that it holds regular classes and even 10-15 day courses on topics ranging from Marxist economic analysis, people's war, to electricity and science. "The classes don't have to be from a Marxist point of view. It is more up to what the teachers want to teach," our translator told us.

Our discussion went on for over an hour as the sun set behind the large windows at one end of the room. "We serve several dozen people regularly... Some theoretical training has been started again now that our party has split. But it isn't systematic. Hopefully it will be soon," the coordinator lamented. In the meantime, they were continuing to take initiative, "We are having discussions about starting learning centers in every district of Nepal. Our goal is to make sure that every cadre is educated."

MAY 1 IN NEPAL: “IF THEY USE ARMS, WE’LL DO THE SAME”

WRITTEN BY ERIC RIBELLARSI POSTED ON KASAMA MAY 2 2013

Thousands of workers marched through Kathmandu in rallies organized by the All Nepal Revolutionary Trade Union Federation, chanting demands for 8 hours for work, 8 hours for recreation, and 8 hours for rest. The workers delivered a 25 point demand list, chanting “implement it without change.”

The crowd was led by Biplab, a leading member of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, who then gave a speech stating that the unconstitutional coup government of Kil Raj Regmi has been attempting to brutally suppress their party, and that the sham elections are a part of that plan. Biplab said that the Maoists have heard the state is planning to deploy the police and the army if they disrupt the sham elections. “Our decision is, if they try to conduct the election without arms, we’ll defy it without arms. If they use arms or armed forces, we’ll do the same.”



APPENDIX I: NEPALI MAOISTS DEBATE THE NEXT LEAP IN REVOLUTION: CAN WE GO AHEAD?

BY NETRA BIKRAM CHANDA (BIPLAB) POSTED ON KASAMA 29 JUNE 2010

Kasama will be posting a series of new articles appearing in Nepal, that lay out in some fresh detail the perspective and debates among the Maoists in Nepal. These pieces have appeared in the Nepali English language journal The Red Star Vol 3 issue 16.

“If we pay our attention towards the history, there was a hot debate on it in course of justifying the bases of revolution before initiation of People’s War (PW). The debate was about national and international situation at that time. In course of debate, the aspect to consider international situation more decisive than the national was defeated and PW was initiated. The success of PW justifies the factual reality that the internal aspect that is people, politics, struggle, ideology and leadership can have more important and decisive role than external aspect. The same debate has come into existence due to the prolonging peace process.”

The debate in Nepal is on whether revolution is possible or not. The debate is not only ideological and general assumption; rather, it is centered on the question whether there is possibility to increase intervention in the central power state or not. The two sharp analyses have emerged on the issue. They are on for and against.

The analytical perspective that sees revolution impossible:

One of the analytical perspectives is that the revolt is impossible. Yes, it seems so from that side of perspective. This analysis has been emerged mainly from the side of some leftist intellectual politicians and analysts. They have given the following reasons to justify this logic.

Unfavorable international situation

Favorable international situation is needed for the completion of revolution. For that, there should be a crisis in the centre of capitalism and unfavorable situation should have created against them. Moreover, there should be crisis in India, America and China for the completion of revolution like small and poor country Nepal. Otherwise, these power centres interfere over Nepal and revolution can not be succeeded.

No support of India

Indian ruling class is in favor of bourgeois class of

Nepal. The role of Indian ruling class is important for the revolution of Nepal; however, the favor of India ruling has always been on the side of Nepali Congress and UML. Therefore, the revolution is inconvenient due to oppose of Indian ruling class.

Nepali Army supports bourgeois class

The role of army is important for the success of revolution. In the situation of incomplete revolution and existence of strong old army that side gets victory towards which army pays support. Therefore, if army supports revolution, it gets its completion and if it does not, revolution becomes failure. In Nepal, army is in the side of Nepali Congress and UML. In this situation, we will have to fight with army if we want to complete revolution.

Maoist lacks the proper military efficiency

For the completion of revolution either the army should be brought in favor of revolution or should make them split or win them over. At present, neither we can bring Nepal Army in favor of revolution nor can we split them nor get victorious over them. There is not a favourable situation where we can be victorious. Therefore, there is no possibility.

The politics of consensus needs

The political of consensus came on the foundation of People’s War. This can not be broken at once and

should not be broken too. It is impossible because it makes revolution impossible. As the going on politics of consensus is broken that brings destruction and the achievements till now lose.

The Analytic Perspective that Sees Revolution Possible

The second perspective is that the revolution is possible in Nepal. This analysis is run and made by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary intellectuals and some of the political analysts. The analysts have given the reasons to justify the possibility of revolution. Those reasons are as follows:

a) Internal aspect is decisive in revolution: Revolution has both internal and external aspects. Both are necessary in the success of revolution; however, the two aspects do not have equal importance at a time. One has more or less importance than the other. International or external aspect, sometimes, is very important and it can have decisive role in some certain extent too. But, internal or national aspect remains always important and decisive in the completion of any revolution.

If we pay our attention towards the history, there was a hot debate on it in course of justifying the bases of revolution before initiation of People's War (PW). The debate was about national and international situation at that time. In course of debate, the aspect to consider international situation more decisive than the national was defeated and PW was initiated.

The success of PW justifies the factual reality that the internal aspect that is people, politics, struggle, ideology and leadership can have more important and decisive role than external aspect. The same debate has come into existence due to the prolonging peace process. But, it is a ground reality that the Nepalese revolution has reached to more successive and favorable height in comparison to the past.

Even today, the role of India, America, Europe and China is important. However, it is not decisive factor for the success and un-success of Nepalese revolution and we should not make wrong idea about it. The ideology, leadership and the struggle of Nepal are decisive in itself. Revolution is possible if Nepalese people want revolution. The situation is in favour of people, it is in favour of revolution. There is efficient leadership with correct ideology and the workers and the militant and conscious people are gathered around it. Nepal has all these things with favorable situation. Therefore, revolution is possible.

b) Nepalese People have Consolidated International Relationship: Nepalese people have been able to make

a good and harmonious relationship with revolutionary parties, organizations, institutions and individuals along with the most of oppressed people of the world. This consolidated international relationship denies the logic which says that the revolution in Nepal is impossible.

Some people have wrong ideas due to the relationship of Indian ruling class with Nepalese bourgeois and the coalition of the puppet government on its base. The Nepalese political movement and struggle is far more above than the reach and intervention of foreign powers.

Likewise, the situation of the nation is not so favourable for the foreign powers, which can not neglect the aspiration and the opinion of the people in a direct way. Rather, majority of the Indian people, liberalists along with the revolutionaries have a good relationship with Maoist of Nepal because they have true understanding about the opinion of the Nepalese people.

Therefore, we can come to the conclusion that the revolution of Nepal can not be affected by the external intervention; rather, it may be accomplish with its own specialties.

c) UCPN-Maoist has its political leadership in the country: The success or the failure of any revolution depends on the correlation between political policy and its leadership. Nepal is only nation, in the contemporary world, where there is political leadership of the revolutionaries and the entire nation is in the hands of the proletarian class. The leadership of the revolutionaries is not only from the point of view of number; rather, it is because of political, ideological agendas. Constituent Assembly (CA), people's new constitution, federalism, land-reform, special rights, national independence and new national army are the agendas and the conceptions put developed and forewarded by UCPN Maoist. Nepalese people have their active participation and a strong support on them. The intellectuals, traders and businessmen and even the security forces have their support on it.

Lobbies of UML and NC along with the small parties in the nation have their support to the agendas of Maoist party. This shows the possibility of people's revolt.

d) Front between Maoist and Nepal Army is Possible for National Independence: In general interpretation, it is said that Nepal army is in favor of NC and UML, the parliamentary parties. However, this assumption is not true even in the complexity of the contemporary politics and it should not be. Nepal is in the multifaceted situation.

The complex situation created in Nepal is due to

the oppressive, hegemonic and interference tendency of the Delhi and the capitalist and puppet tendency of the parliamentary parties like UML and NC. Nepalese people are very sensitive, conscious and cautious about the problem of national capitulationism and national independence.

Nepalese Army and other nationalist force belong to that category. The sense of patriotism and love for the nation is in the heart of Nepal army since its history. The concept of CCPN Maoist about nationality is crystal clear up to the level of principle. But the parliamentary parties have no sense of patriotism and nationality.

The parliamentary parties are in a particular mission to be owner of the Nepalese people by making agreement with Delhi by handing over all the natural resources of the nation to it. This has been clearly understood by the Nepal army. If we analyze it objectively, the nation sense of the support of Nepal army towards NC and UML is wrong. In the period under the direct reign of king, army was with king.

But after the election of Constituent Assembly (CA) and declaration on of republic of Nepal, army has supported the parties. The condition for Nepal army not to support the king, when it was declared to be abolished through the meeting of CA, was peace and change. However, the condition or objectives for peace and change have not been achieved yet even after the abandonment of the king. NC and UML are hatching conspiracy to push the country into conflict. Nepal army and all the other patriotic forces clearly know about it. This shows possibility to form a united front between the Army and Maoist.

e) Assistance and Participation of big population: Assistance and participation of the people is one of the important conditions for the completion of revolution of any country. In Nepal the majority of the population is with UCPN-Maoist and not with parliamentary parties. Maoist has its 4 million voters. The quantity of vote keeps influence over one and a half crore people out of 2 and a half crore of total population. It is the majority of the population. If we involve patriots, progressive and true republican forces together, the revolution is possible.

f) Efficient & Capable Revolutionary Party: The first and foremost condition for the fulfillment of the revolution is consolidated and capable revolutionary party. And, UCPN-Maoist is its representative. The party has hundred thousands of trained cadres who have faced many problems and suffering. The chain of leadership is form the local level to the decision making central level.

The number will be increased along with the creation of favourable environment of revolution.

g). People's Liberation Army and Youth: Military force is other important factor for People's Revolution. Any of the people's revolution is not success without the army of the people. Nepalese people have this efficiency available with them at this time. People have 19,000 registered PLA in the cantonments and hundred thousands trained YCL with them. This force can be used for the liberation of people, prosperity of the nation and national independency.

Conclusion:

If we study the debate 'is revolution possible or not in Nepal' seriously, we come to the conclusion that these debate are not un-objective, false and untruth. Rather, they are true, objective and natural in some extent. The analysis that accepts the impossibility of revolution is also true from that perspective. Along with it, the logics and the analytical expression from the side that accepts the possibility of the revolution is truer from that point of view. However, we should and must be aware that which one is more objective and truthful. We should find out the truth which one is more possible and correct.

The logic and the perspective that sees revolution impossible is obviously weaker, confined and shortsighted. This type of analysis has become unable to include the entire area of Nepalese politics and its objective, subjective, ideological and the practical aspects along with its possibility. This type of analysis only can see the middle class, foreign ruling class, some handful anti people intellectuals and the diplomats. It can not submit the contradictions, the subjective forces of the revolutionary people. Therefore, it has a possibility to leave the strong aspects of the revolution by putting the weaker aspects ahead.

The other aspect that sees the possibility of the revolution is leading the stronger aspects of the revolution though there are some weaknesses. This point of view sees the revolution from its basic foundation. In totality, the revolution is being possible if we adapt the same way of thinking from decision making place to the local party and the people and even in the international area. This type of analysis has involved the issues of revolutionary ideology, a revolutionary party, revolutionary leadership, revolutionary people, people's army and the united front that are the internal aspects of the revolution. It can unify the progressive class, caste, gender and the oppressed people. It is objective and important. This perspective is very important from the point of view of revolution.

APPENDIX II, ARTICLES FROM PEOPLE'S VOICE

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND OUR ROLE

C.P. GAJUREL "GAURAV," VICE CHAIRMAN, CPN-MAOIST REPRINTED FROM PEOPLE'S VOICE, MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CPN-MAOIST, MAY 2013

Communist Movement is an international movement in itself. Because of the common guiding principle, common ideology, common goal et al it is quite natural that it contains international character. Therefore, communist movement of a single country is also an international communist movement, side by side. All the communists of the world should realize the essence of communism that 'either we all will reach or none of us'.

Our glorious party, CPN (Maoist) being a vanguard of international proletariat, the revolution of Nepal being most advance revolution in the contemporary world, it is obvious that our party should play more important role. Based on the present situation of the international communist movement, the question of how we can make our role more effective and how we can seek cooperation or how to strengthen unity is a question of vital importance for all genuine communists. The course that the world revolution can be advanced is by making revolution in one or some countries, communist revolutionaries would be advancing the world revolution by accomplishing revolution in their own country. We are advancing the task of making revolution in Nepal, we are also advancing world revolution side by side. The neo-revisionist Prachanda-Baburam group has not only betrayed and deceived the Nepalese revolution, but also betrayed the world revolution as well. This is the reason why communists of many countries are criticizing and exposing them.

In the historic Seventh Congress of our Party which was successfully held on January 9-15, 2013, the delegates from various fraternal and friendly parties all the way from

Canada, USA, Turkey to India expressed their solidarity expressing that 'you advance the Nepalese revolution, we are always with you' and also congratulated for breaking with the renegade Prachanda-Baburam group. It was a contrast that the foreign delegates who attended the Hetauda congress of neo-revisionists "congratulated" them for giving up the revolutionary path and for being degenerated to revisionism. These events also confirm that the Nepalese revolution assumes international character.

An organization of international level is essential and unavoidable to lead and conduct this international movement. This is the reason why First International was established under the initiative and leadership of great Marx himself. As its continuation, Second and Third Internationals were successively established under the leadership of Engels and Lenin, by breaking relation with opportunists.

Imperialism is also an international phenomena and its character had been so right from the beginning. Imperialism has further broadened and internationalized itself while arriving at the end of 20th Century. It has formulated parliamentary multiparty system in politics, human rights in social sector; liberalization, globalization, World Bank, international monetary fund in economic sector, 'international court of justice' in judicial sector and NATO in military sector. It is all the more necessary for the communists to establish proletarian international centre and to strengthen it. The genuine communist revolutionaries of the world should realize this fact.

We have already stated about the international character of communist movement. Commonness in

ideology, philosophy and aim demand international organization to advance communist movement. Marx, Engels and Lenin not only realized it in principle but put into practice as well. “Communist League” was established in 1847 as an international organization of communists. Marx himself had taken initiative and leadership of this organization. It gave responsibility to Marx and Engels to prepare its manifesto. “Communist Manifesto” the first authentic document of communists came out in 1848. First international was dissolved on 1876 due to various reasons. After that, the Second international was reestablished on 1889 under the leadership of Engels. In course of time the leadership of second international was usurped by the right opportunists and third international was reestablished under the leadership of Lenin. Despite his poor health, he continued to lead it as a powerful instrument to advance the world revolution.

ABSENCE OF INTERNATIONAL: A BROKEN CHAIN

Stalin led the international communist movement after the demise of Lenin. United front against fascism was forged at the initiative of Stalin during the Second World War. The imperialist countries demanded the dissolution of the Communist International (Comintern) as a precondition to forge anti-fascist united front with them. Eventually it was formally dissolved on 1943. Stalin initiated ‘Cominform’ in place of Comintern after the end of the WW 2. But it was limited as simply centre of exchange of information. The debate is still going on in the international communist movement about whether it was correct to dissolve the communist international at the cost of defense of socialist state of Russia and for the sake of forging unity with the imperialist countries.

After that Com. Mao emerged as outstanding leader of international communist movement. He provided leadership to the ICM, however concrete initiative for establishing New International could not take place. Definitely there are various reasons behind it, nevertheless it is a matter of debate in the ICM till today. In this way there is a break of chain in the ICM. The negative experience that the Comintern was functioning as a “world party” and “imposing decisions to the parties from above”, might have caused problem in its initiation. Correct and important idea is to discard the negative experiences of the Comintern and create the basis for the formation of international organization of genuine

communist parties by applying the positive experiences. In this way, to link the broken chain of ICM is important task of the communists today.

ESTABLISHING ‘RIM’ AS AN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

As an effort to link the broken chain, Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was formed as it was called “the embryonic centre”, in 1984 at an International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations consisting of 19 parties and organisations including the then Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal), Communist Party of Peru, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, CRC, CPI(ML), TKP (ML) etc. The Conference also adopted ‘Declaration of RIM’ which laid ideological-political basis of unity at the international level. Committee of RIM was formed to provide the leadership to the Movement. The ‘RIM’ has played quite a significant role in a short span of time as follows: (a) Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought was considered as the ideological basis of unity right at the time of its inception. In a significant development the expanded meeting of the RIM in 1993 decided to develop its guiding ideology from Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought to Marxism–Leninism-Maoism. This decision proved to be so historical that the genuine communist parties which were not included in the RIM also adopted and implemented it later. (b) the task of carrying out propaganda and support campaign—the act of carrying out propaganda in favour of the People’s War led by the Communist Party of Peru and People’s War advanced in Nepal under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) deserves to be praised. (c) worldwide campaign was conducted to save the lives of those comrades who were captured by the reactionary states.(d) role played by the RIM in forging communist parties in different countries and efforts being made to bring the communist parties within the fold of RIM.(e) Important contribution in ideological-political area—RIM used to publish ‘A World to Win’ a theoretical Maoist journal in various languages and also brought out ‘News Service’ an online political bulletin, thus making important contribution in MLM ideology and politics.

(e) Organizing an international mass organization— In the later period, international mass organization, World People’s Resistance Movement (WPRM) was organized in various countries of the world under the direct or indirect leadership of the RIM. But, it is a matter of worry that now ‘RIM’ has not only become passive, but also heading

to a situation of zero. Therefore, reorganization of an international centre comprising of genuine communists has become an urgent task for us. Therefore, this task has become an agenda of priority for us.

DIFFERENCE RELATING TO THE INCEPTION OF RIM

During the time of inception of the RIM in 1984, the then Communist Party of India (ML)(PW), Moist Communist Centre of India and Communist Party of the Philippines were not included, which was biggest weakness. In the contemporary International Communist Movement, CPI(Maoist) and Communist Party of Philippines have significant position and role. Both the parties are constantly waging people's wars in their respective countries. The inception of RIM without incorporating the two Maoist parties was an incomplete task. The debate of international centre of this type should be started or not was going on during the time of its formation and the same debate is still continuing in different ways. In this context the opinion that there are some negative examples in the latest period when Stalin was leading, such as, the International was acting as a "world communist party", "the centre dictating the small parties" leads to the conclusion that such International should not be formed. Apart from that there was an argument regarding the question of forming anti-fascist united front and defending socialist Russia, which was the base area of the ICM, at the cost of dissolution of the Third International was correct or incorrect. It has been proved to be correct that the inception of 'RIM' with an understanding that the debates should be accepted as debates within the ICM and should be continued in a friendly way.

CPI (Maoist) and Communist Party of Philippines have already adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guiding ideology of the party. Both the parties are continuing armed struggle to advance the New Democratic Revolution. Both the parties opined that Moist International Centre is essential. In this context, keeping them out of the 'RIM' will certainly hinder the efforts of strengthening and raising it higher.

WHY WAS THE UNITY WITHIN THE RIM DECLINING?

Two parties, namely CRC, CPI(ML) of India and TKP (ML) of Turkey which were in the RIM Committee decided to stay in the RIM but withdraw from the Committee. Also the Communist Party of Peru had decided to send its representative in a status of observer not that of a delegate. These events definitely played a role of weakening the RIM.

In course of time Communist Party of Peru (PCP) decided to add "Gonzalo Thought" in its guiding ideology. Many parties including our party opposed this decision. After a couple of years of arrest of its chairman Com Gonzalo in 1992, a proposal of "peace accord" was floated from inside the prison stating that it "was from the Party". The dispute of who was the author of this proposal entered in the RIM as well. One section of the PCP blamed "right opportunists" of the party who capitulated with the enemy for this act and called it a "hoax". Another section, especially who were languished in prison claimed that Gonzalo himself was the author of this proposal. Gonzalo's opinion could not come out officially because he was completely kept in isolation. RCP which represents in the Committee advocated that Gonzalo is behind the "peace accord". It further helped deteriorating the relation of PCP with the RIM.

When our party, CPN(Maoist) decided to add "Prachanda path" in the guiding ideology of the party, all other parties were against it. It caused some rift in the relation of CPN(Maoist) and the RIM. But it is wrong to say that it was the only reason for the RIM to be passive. The main reason of division and situation of RIM to go through a crisis is the liquidation of Prachanda-Baburam to right opportunist line. It was a good thing that we continued to establish relation with our fraternal and friendly communist parties when we were in the same party with the renegades Prachanda and Baburam and so we are now in a situation of forging international unity and working actively to carry out joint activities with all these parties.

Apart from all this, a new debate is going on the question of "New Synthesis" propounded by Com Bob Avakian, Chairman of RCP, USA. It seems that we should be firm in standing against the idea that "it was a new dimension in the development of MLM" and trying to impose it as a basis of unity in the ICM. What we have discussed above makes clear that the efforts to impose

different types of “synthesis” has merely bred split in the ICM. It is necessary to take lessons from the past mistakes and to be careful about such wrong trends.

ICML AS ANOTHER CENTRE

In spite of many rounds of talks between representatives of RIM and CPI (Maoist), CPP, incorporation of the two parties could not be materialized. In the later period, one side was not accepting the nomenclature of ‘RIM’ and its organization and other side was sticking to the nomenclature and organization, which also became main hurdle for the unity.

International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties (ICML) was organized in the initiative of CPI(Maoist) and CPP, which incepted a centre. Its influence became very limited. It also decided to organize an international mass organization called ‘International League for People’s Struggle’ (ILPS). It is amalgamation of so many loose organisations that to take collective decisions was not possible let alone implementing the decisions.

It is true that RIM is more influential than ICML, however division of the Maoist parties in two different centres is quite bad. We have to pay serious attention to this point.

TWO CENTRES AND QUESTION OF NEW INITIATIVE

The point of how Maoist Parties are divided into two different centres has already been mentioned above. At this point of time both the centres have become passive and very weak. None of them are functioning. It is reflection of the fact that the idea of two different centres of Maoists is not correct.

Some parties and organisations are also taking initiative to reorganize the RIM forces. Reality is that anyway if it succeeds, again all the Maoist parties and organisations will not come together and same problem will recur. Therefore, the need of the hour is to carry on the positive discussions and debates aiming to unite all genuine Maoist forces in a single centre and forge new unity in the new basis. It is necessary to change the negative situation of non-functional condition of two centres into a positive step of forging a new and single centre. We should utilize this opportunity to unify the Maoist forces in a single centre rather than to make effort

to revive the old centre or centres.

We should come out of the prejudice of who was in which international centre. We should utilize our efforts in organizing all genuine Maoist forces in a single centre and strengthen it for advancing the world revolution.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

There are many parties and organisations in various parts of the world including India, which were parts of the Marxist-Leninist Movement. Some parties are cadre based and have some mass bases and some organisations are confined in bringing out their organ through which they are identified. Though all of them are not Maoists, but most of them are anti-imperialists. They cannot make any significant contribution in the revolution of their own country and for the world revolution if they remain isolated. If they are united in a loose anti-imperialist movement a significant energy can be accumulated by their collective strength. We should consider them as friends and help them to be organized in support of revolutionary struggle and anti-imperialist, anti-expansionist struggle.

The people of the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are still fighting against the domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialism in their own way. It is not possible for them to fight and get victory individually against stronger reactionary forces. It is quite necessary to help them organize by forging front at international level. Only a genuine Maoist party can fulfill this task. Other forces cannot fulfill this task.

Presence of the representatives of various friendly parties and organisations all the way from Canada, USA, Turkey to India during the historic Seventh National Congress of our party which was successfully completed in the last January reflects such a possibility.

RELATION WITH STATES

Once, almost two third of the world population was under the banner of socialism. But due to the events of counter revolution staged by the leadership of communist parties and socialist states, the socialism went on squeezing and now it is confined at the stage of strategic defence. The anti-socialist “democratic movements” designated by the imperialist powers swept away the “socialist states” of East European pro-soviet block during the ‘90s. The

governments of communist parties and socialist states have been reduced to quite few. If we can have a good relation with those survived, it can be of great help to the revolutionaries and the people against the onslaught of domestic and foreign reactionaries. This relation can play significant role for the development of revolutionary movement, to protect the revolutionary parties and to bring the balance of power in favour of the revolutionaries. It is necessary to develop relation with countries like China, North Korea, Cuba, Latin American countries. In the context of Nepal, the relation with China attaches great importance.

The wave of Bolivarian revolution in Latin America can be considered as anti-US imperialist wave. The “socialism” that has been achieved in Latin American countries differs from the scientific socialism and communism envisaged by communist parties. However it is necessary to salute the revolutionary changes that the people have brought after heroic struggles. We should make serious efforts to develop friendly relation with them. We should understand the significance of balance of power in favour of revolutionary movement.

PROSPECT OF REVOLUTION IS BRIGHT

In the present situation, making revolution in any country is a very challenging task. In today’s world it is necessary to make international situation favourable in order to accomplish the revolution. The international situation is not readily favourable, it should be made favourable by formulating a correct line and implementing it with hard

work. Now what a favourable situation we have, was not with us during the period of People’s War. We should be able to utilize this situation perfectly.

It is not possible to complete the revolution by unleashing only our force. It is necessary to accumulate strength by making long term or short term united front with the forces which can stand in favour of the people and nation.

We have to pay attention in all the possibilities of forging such united fronts at national and international level. We are advancing in the direction of forging united fronts with all the forces with whom we can do and establish good relation with them at the national and international level, especially after we broke the relation with the Prachanda-Baburam group which has betrayed and gave in the revolution. Great possibility to achieve success in this task has been appeared.

The way Prachanda and Baburam presented themselves during their so called Seventh Congress that they have made a “strategic shift” to the reactionary camp, have made clear to those who had a bit of confusion that they still have some amount of revolutionary will. It was necessary for us to expose them clearly, thanks, they have exposed themselves. Ground is open for us. Many favourable factors have emerged in support of Nepalese revolution. We are moving forward cautiously. Because of our maturity some positive results have been achieved in practice. Practice has proved that our assumption and decisions are correct. Let us move forward with full confidence and firm determination, the future of Nepal and Nepalese people is bright. The future of Nepalese revolution is bright.

UNITED FRONT AND ITS ACTIVITIES

SURESH ALE, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, CPN-MAOIST REPRINTED FROM PEOPLE’S VOICE, MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CPN-MAOIST, MAY 2013

As per the Maoist policy which says that it needs three magic weapons, party, army and united front, to accomplish revolution, our Party, Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist, has been laying emphasis on forming a powerful united front and making efforts in this regard. In fact, even before it was formally formed and we had been waging inner or two –line

struggle in Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) as a revolutionary faction, we had formed a united front with other parties on some issues, particularly defending national independence and sovereignty of the country and building a people’s constitution. At first, we formed one consisting of our own various fraternal organisations – United National People’s Struggle Committee. It lasted

for a short period and later another united front was formed consisting of other parties and organizations also in March 2012. It was called United National People's Movement Committee, Nepal. Its constituent parties and organizations were: United National People's Struggle Committee (representing the revolutionary faction of UCPN (Maoist) as Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist was not formed at that time), Communist Party of Nepal (Unified), Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Revolutionary Communist Party, Nepal, Federal Democratic National Forum (Forum-affiliated Federal Limbuan Autonomous Council), Tamsaling Nepal National Party, Janamukti Party, Nepal, Nepal Nagrik Party, Communist Party of Nepal (MLSocialist), All Nepal Indigenous Nationalities' Federation (Unified), Indigenous People's Federation (Socialist), Tharu Mukti Sangram and Indigenous Nationalities-Ethnic-Regional Federation, Nepal. It had carried out several activities, the most important of which was collection of signatures of millions of the people from all over the country and submitting the contents for people's constitution to the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

Later, after the sad and fruitless end of the historic Constituent Assembly on 28 My 2012, mainly due to Prachanda-Baburam clique and Madheshi Front , Nepali Congress and UML, the front was transformed into a republican front and was renamed as Nepal Federal People's Republican Front. It consisted of the same political parties. Of course, two of them namely All Nepal Indigenous Nationalities Federation (Unified) and Indigenous Nationalities Federation (Socialist) were dropped as they were fraternal organizations of CPN (Unified) and CPN (ML-Socialist) respectively and United National People's Struggle Committee was replaced by Communist Party of Nepal Maoist as it had been already formed by that time. Later in early March 2013, a front called Federal Republican National Front consisting of 5 political parties wished to work unitedly and all 10 parties started launching the movement together. On 14 March , UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress, UML and Madheshi Front, ill-famed as 4-Party syndicate, and the President as well took an unconstitutional, undemocratic, apolitical and hegemonist step. It forged consensus on 11 points and, though unauthorised, made several amendments to the Interim Constitution, and formed ultimately a non-political government led by sitting Chief Justice Khilraj Regmi forcibly. It was a master plan of external forces including the Indian expansionism and US imperialism.

This step of theirs dissatisfied many even among the alliance of the ruling parties led by Prachanda of UCPN (M). They held talks and meetings with this Front for weeks but almost all of them except a few did not join the Front and returned at last. When it was formally formed, there were 33 parties and, therefore, it is called 33-Party Agitational Front, though the number has reached as many as 56 and still continues to rise.

Ever since its formation, it has carried out various programmes of struggle that include several seminars and interaction programmes on various issues mainly focusing on nationality, chakka jam (blockade of vehicles), demonstrations, several corner and mass meetings, submitting memoranda to Election Commission,), encircling the Presidential building and Sighadurbar (the central secretariat building of the country) and called on Nepal Banda (nationwide general strike) on 7 April successfully. Our main demands are abrogation of the decision of 14 March, dissolution of the Khilraj Regmi government, holding of an all-sector roundtable conference and formation of a national united government under the leadership of patriotic, forwardgoing and agitational political parties. Recently on 29 April, the Front submitted a Letter of Protest to the Indian Embassy in Nepal demanding the immediate shutdown of the Camp office of Indian Embassy in Biratnagar which was opened in 5 years ago when there were floods in the Koshi river and some people from the Indian government had come to Nepal for its control and repairing. On 2 May, a seminar was organised on nationality and citizenship issue. A chakka jam was organized on 3 May from 9 AM to 11 AM in front of office of Election Commission demanding to stop the activities said to collect voters' list and issuing citizenship certificates to the people for the purpose of Constituent Assembly election in future.

It is to be noted that this is an issue-based Front which consists of diverse political parties and confines to the issues of national independence and sovereignty of the country, opposing external interventions, struggling for the abrogation of anti-people step of 14 April and for the resolution to the ongoing political crisis only. In addition, it is only a tactical front and, hence, naturally, each of the constituent political parties has or may have its own political philosophy and faith, and aims and objectives. However, there are many communist parties, too, which follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/Thought and some of them can be expected to be a part of the strategic front and can go to the extent of party unity. But this is matter of future.



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