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Nepal, 2016:
ten years after the capitulation



- ▶ Nepal: ten years after the capitulation
- ▶ Nepal – timeline

This number is the third one and has been published in November, 2016, as a common initiative from Afghanistan, Belgium and France. We promote the following websites as revolutionary media:

massline.net from Afghanistan,
sarbaharapath.com from Bangladesh,
centremlm.be from Belgium,
lesmaterialistes.com from France.

“Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them.

The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat.

Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie.

As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend—but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks.”

Mao Zedong – Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” (March 1926)

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Nepal: ten years after the capitulation

Ten years ago, on November 21, 2006, the World Revolution knew a setback with the capitulation of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which ceased its People's War to accept a "comprehensive Peace Agreement" with the government.

At the time of the capitulation, the People's War in Nepal began indeed to be world known. It controlled up to 80 percent of the country, after ten years of armed struggle where the Revolution presented itself as strategic proposition for the entire masses. The People's Liberation Army, strong of 30, 000 combatants, went on from victory to victory.

Maoism, as leading ideology from the People's War, was in a process of spreading all over the world, with in the background the historical advances made by the Communist Party of Peru, whereas in India there was a strong reorganization which brought the founding of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The capitulation was a terrible betrayal from this situation in development. Deeply influenced by the eclectic tendencies of the Maoist current called Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) fell into a pragmatic-machiavelic line.

This was strongly intensified by the decadent way of life of its leadership, corrupted by the imperialist lifestyle, what brought a spirit of acceptance



of the social and democratic “improvement” by imperialism considered as a unified globalized system.

The idea of a general victory was abandoned, as it was thought that both India and China, and also the USA, would block any further development. The city of Kathmandu was not considered as possible to be taken; the army, on the contrary of the police, seemed supposedly unbreakable.

REVOLUTION IN NEPAL

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Therefore, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) precipitated itself in the possibility of an alliance with the parliamentary political parties which, in the situation of crisis where the Monarchy took all the control of the country, accepted to form a Republic, in exchange of the end of the People's War.

This was just a new laying out of the semi-feudal semi-colonial nature of the country, but the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), hoping for a quick integration, self-intoxicated itself, with the “people's revolt” as phantasmagoria.

In fact, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) already imagined that it found a new method combining insurrection and people's war.

After the capitulation, it continued its idealist innovations with the revisionist theory of a multiparty constitution, where all political parties were considered as anti-feudal, because they were opposed to Monarchy, where therefore the destruction of the old state was conceived as not possible and even not necessary, as the general democratization, with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) being the major force in the country,

would be unavoidable.

This concept of “democratization” was not new: it was a mere renewal of the revisionist thesis of Karl Kautsky and Maurice Thorez in the imperialist countries.

More precisely, it is what was professed by all the revisionist currents in the third world during the 1960's-1990's period, pretending to make a front with the national bourgeoisie to reform the country, when there were in reality trying to build a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie serving Soviet Social-imperialism.

Nowadays, as there is no Soviet Social-imperialism any more, such a tendency can only lead to the subordination to imperialists or

expansionist semi-colonial powers. In Nepal, it is easy to see that Prachanda became the lackey of India.

And of course, as the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) became a part of the world system of exploitation and oppression, it was strongly supported in its capitulation.

Naturally, the electoral victory of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was greeted all over the world by all the revisionist forces. The calls to support the Nepal Revolution grew always more as soon as the peace agreement were signed. There were even groups appearing calling to support the People's War in Nepal, when it was already over.

Revisionists won prestige of this and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) profited from this in keeping being considered as revolutionary.

But this was sadly not all. The vast majority of the forces upholding Maoism supported this process.

Instead of considering that the peace agreement was the end of the process transforming the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in a revisionist party, it was considered that it was only the beginning of it.

Years after the peace agreement, it was still spoken of a “complicated” situation and it was explained that still everything was possible, that a “red line” was growing, a new party in constitution, etc.

Ten years after the peace agreement, we can see that this was fully erroneous. There was no such thing like a “red line” in the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) which became revisionist, because the black line entirely won precisely with the “comprehensive Peace Agreement”.





A proof of it is the fact that all the tendencies and splitter movements which quitted the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) still thought that it was correct to reach such an agreement.

The “people’s revolt” was only a false dream masking the capitulation; it was a trick to occupy the radical sectors of the masses, to estrange them to scientific socialism. The calls for a “red line” in the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) formed an impediment to this understanding.



The forces who have pretended to “defend” the achievements of the Nepalese Revolution, the possibility of its continuation, have in fact helped to block any self-criticism in Nepal. They prevent a dialectical materialist perspective of the history of Nepal, of the conditions of class struggle.

It was correct to denunciate what consisted historically in a capitulation. Prachanda was not only an opportunist, he was a revisionist and the systematic criticism of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) should have been done immediately at

the time of the “Peace Agreement”, to liberate the forces in Nepal wanting to move to a scientific socialist understanding of the situation.

This was also very important to protect Maoism. The situation in Nepal helped widely the Revisionist currents, in particular Hoxhaism, to maintain the accusation that Maoism was an “armed struggle without perspective”, a petty-bourgeois trend. Rejecting these slanders was only possible with a general Maoist condemnation of Prachanda and the position of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) with the “Peace Agreement”.

That's why we say, ten years of the Nepali capitulation, that it is important to learn from it. It helps to understand the Maoist teachings on the question of the state, on People's War, on the principle of bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It shows the nature of forces pretending nowadays to be Maoist, when they were converging with the revisionist line of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

This is particularly the case of the Maoist Communist Party of Italy and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada. Both were at the very heart of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and very close to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). They accompanied the process to the "Peace Agreement": it is easy to see from their positions at that time.

It is important to see that there was in Nepal in December 2006 , in presence of many Maoist parties, an international Seminar "on Imperialism and Proletarian revolution in the 21st century". Nevertheless, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) had then already signed the "Peace Agreement" and developed all its theories about "multiparty democracy".

Was it then not already time to denunciate the revisionist line of Prachanda, the capitulation of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)? Ten years after, it is clear that yes.

Learn from the defeat in Nepal, which is only a bend in the road of the World Revolution!

Defend Maoism against Revisionism, but also against connivance and convergence with Revisionism!

Uphold the principle of the armed ocean of the masses! People's War until Communism!

Organization of the workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist)

Marxist Leninist Maoist Center of Belgium

Communist Party of France (marxist leninist maoist)



Nepal - Timeline

April 1, 1986: Communist Party of Nepal - Mashal tries without success to launch an armed process against the elections. In Kathmandu the statue of King Tribhuvan is painted black and a number of police posts attacked.

April 9, 1990: the ban on political parties is lifted.

November 9, 1990: a new constitution is promulgated.

November 19-20, 1990: merger of the Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal), the Communist Party of Nepal (Fourth Convention), the Proletarian Workers Organisation, the Communist Party of Nepal (Janamukhi). The name of the new organization is Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre).

April 6, 1991: violent incidents around the general strike, the police kills a dozen people.

May 12, 1991: the United People's Front Nepal, generated organism of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre), becomes the third largest party in the parliament with 9 seats (UML: 68 seats, Nepali Congress: 110 seats).

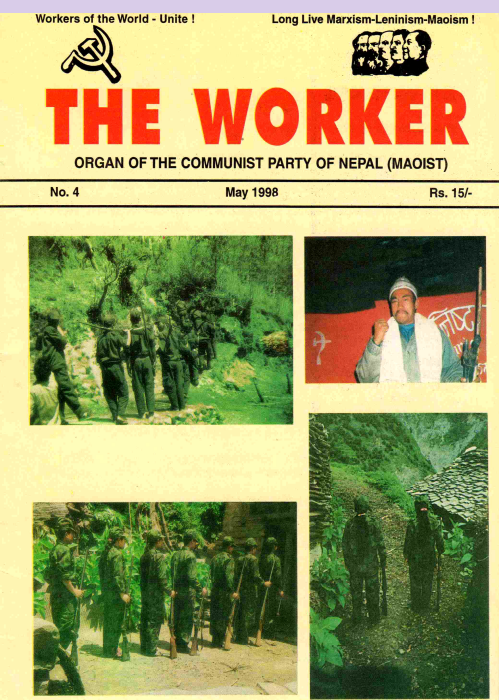
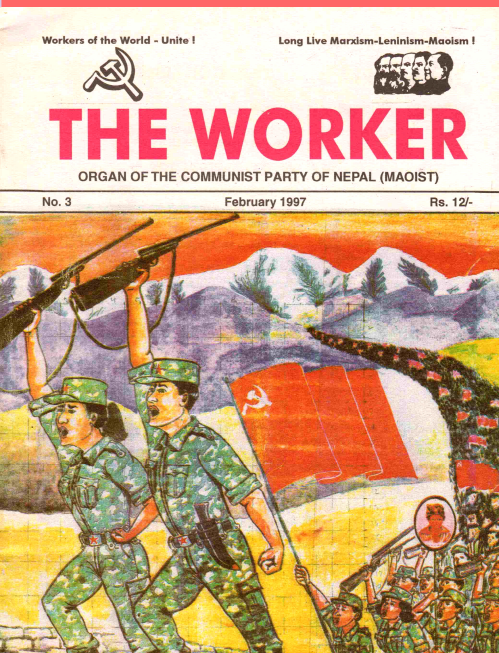
May 22, 1994: process of splitting of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre), with Puspa Kamal Dahal, known as Prachanda on one side, Nirmal Lama on the other.

March, 1995: the Third Plenum of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre) abandons elections and the organization becomes the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist-Centre), under the leadership of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai.

September, 1995: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist-Centre) adopts the principle of People's War, for which three fronts are organized: the Sindhuli, Kavre and Sindhupalchok Districts in eastern Nepal, the Gorkha and Lamjung Districts in central Nepal, the Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot Districts in midwestern Nepal. The state answers with the two-months during "Operation Romeo", arresting more than 130 people without warrants, nearly 6,000 others being driven out of their villages, raping dozens of women.

February 4, 1996: Baburam Bhattarai representing the United People's Front Nepal, presents a forty-point list of demands to Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba.

February 13, 1996: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launches the People's War. It is present with Committees in 35 of the 75 Districts of the country, having three kind of organizations: the Radak Dal i.e. the



Fighting Groups, the Gaun Surakcha Dal i.e. the Village Defence Groups and the Swayamsewaka Dal i.e. the Volunteer Groups. At the beginning, the arms are a 303 rifle, some homemade guns and the nepali knives called Khukhuris. 6,000 actions are made in 15 days, belonging to four types: propaganda, sabotage; guerilla actions, execution of class enemies.

May 26, 1998: the Police begins the operation “Kilo Sierra II” in Rukum and Rolpa.

November 27, 1998: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) calls to develop base areas.

August 7, 2000: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) rejects peace talks offer.

January 22, 2001: the State announces the formation of the Combat Brigades called Armed Police Force.

February 2001: Second National Conference of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which adopts Prachanda long strategic document: “The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History”. This will be called “Prachanda Path”.

“ Through the internal contradiction of the imperialists, unequal development and distribution as per the inherent character of capitalism, the development of this objective situation will lead to the revolution in any country in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and its international importance is just evident. It magnificently justifies Mao's analysis that Asia, Africa and Latin America shall be the storm centres of revolution. These characteristics clearly indicate that 21st century shall be the century of people's wars, and the triumph of the world socialist system. Apart from this, it also shows that there has been a significant change in the prevailing concept of model of revolution after 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 almost impossible in any country (...).

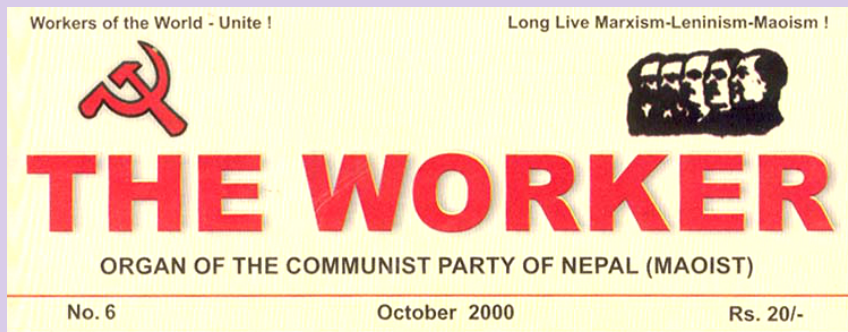
Actually, the new situation clearly indicates the change in the nature of strategic difference that occurred between armed insurrection and protracted people's war generally until the Eighties of 20th century.

There should be no confusion at all that basically, the developed imperialist countries must essentially pursue the path of armed



insurrection and the oppressed countries of the third world protracted people's war even today.

But the change occurred in the world situation as mentioned above has created a situation that necessarily links the characteristics of armed insurrection and protracted people's war with one another, and, moreover, there is a need to do so.



Because of this situation of the development, it has been almost impossible to successfully advance the strategy of protracted PW of encircling the city with villages and building base areas in any third world country, without pursuing several characteristics of armed insurrection from the beginning.

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

world country should concede and apply the above-mentioned characteristics of general armed insurrection, too.”

Mai 28, 2001: Prachanda gives an interview to A World to Win, produced by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

“ The rapid development of people's war is inevitable today after this leadership problem is solved through intense struggle against alien tendencies in the proletarian movement, mainly right revisionism. For the masses there is no alternative to rebellion and revolution, given the objective

background of exploitation, repression and poverty prevalent in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of the Third World (...).

Taking the synthesis of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the highest expression of conscious class struggle, as our starting point, we delved into serious study. We made a particularly fervent study of the ideological struggle that erupted in the process of the development of the Communist Party of Peru, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and in other countries (...).

The Party has been striving to develop the people's army according to the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: "without a People's Army, the people have nothing", "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", and "armed sea of masses", which are requirements for the revolution."

June 1 2001: Gyanendra becomes king, as officially Prince Dipendra went mad and killed ten members of his family, including his brother the king, committing himself suicide. Dipendra was since the beginning of the year sent two times by the king as emissary to negotiate with the the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

July 22, 2001: Sher Bahadur Deuba becomes Prime Minister and calls to peace talks.

July 25, 2001: general ceasefire.

August 30, 2001: first round of peace talks, in Kathmandu.

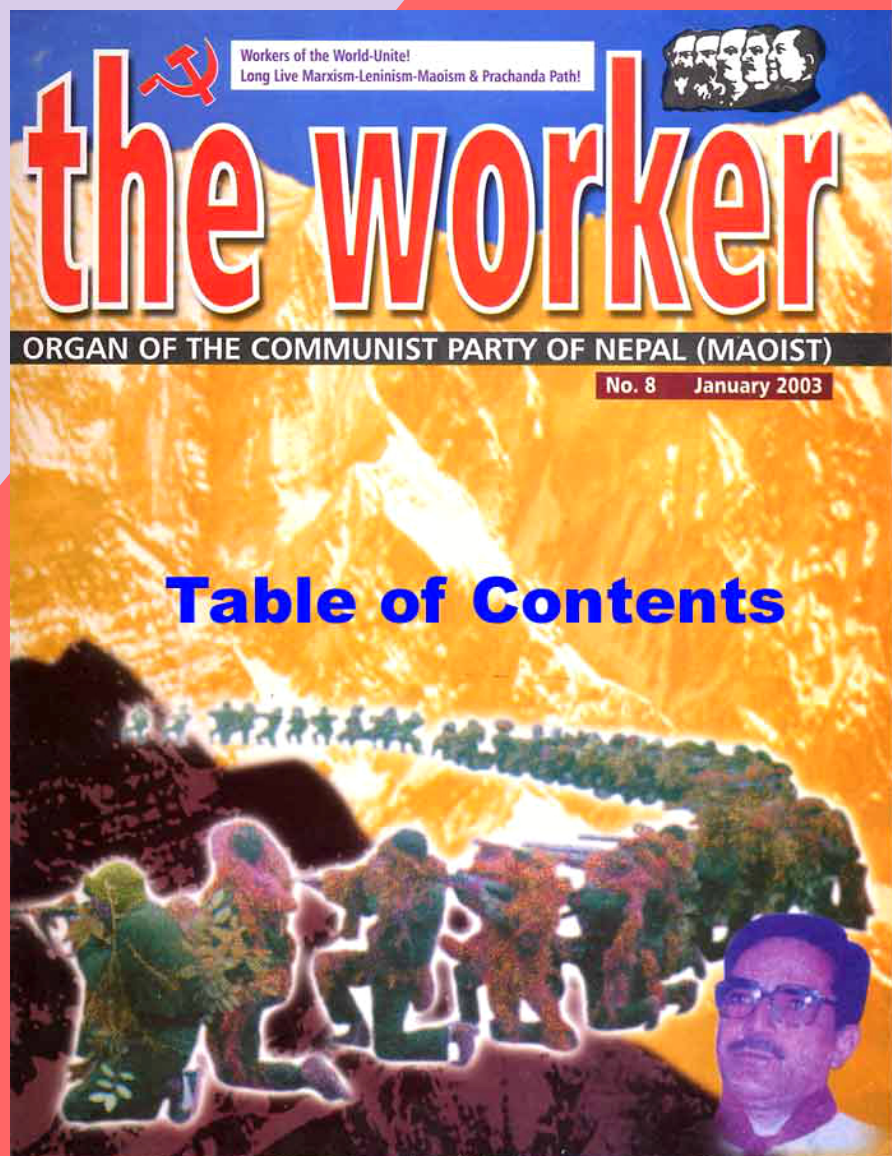
September 13-14, 2001: second round of peace talks, in Bardiya district.

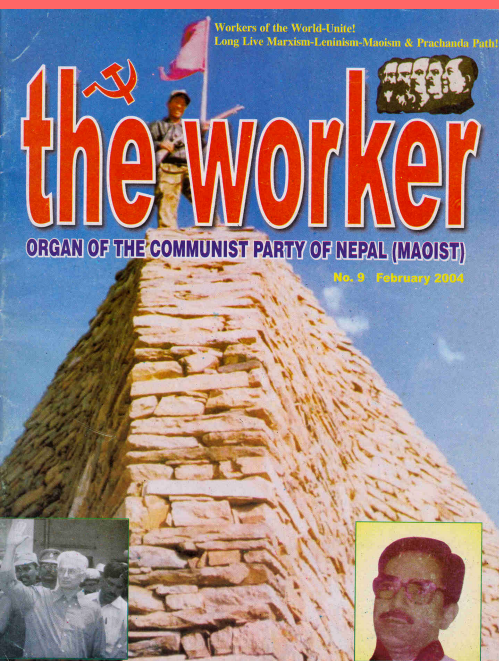
November 13, 2001: third round of peace talks, in Kathmandu.

November 21, 2001: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) stops the peace talks, following by daring attacks police and military posts in forty-two districts, attacking for the first time the Royal Nepalese Army, in particular in Ghorahi (Dang District) with a 1,100 strong unit.

November 26, 2001: the government declares the state of emergency and the Royal Nepalese Army is mobilized.

May 7, 2002: the USA announces counter-insurgency support.





May 15, 2002: Great-Britain proposes counter-insurgency support, followed by India.

May 22, 2002: the King Gyanendra dissolves the Parliament.

October 4, 2002: the King Gyanendra takes control of the government.

January 29, 2003: general ceasefire.

April 27, 2003: first round of peace talks, in Kathmandu.

May 9, 2003: second round of peace talks.

August 17, 2003: third round of peace talks. 17 cadres and 2 others persons are killed in a fake encounter at Doramba.

August 27, 2003: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) withdraws from the peace talks.

December 17, 2003: the Royal Nepalese Army announces the killing of 1056 Maoists since the end of the ceasefire.

April 2004: during the last months, 11 out of the 95 Central Committee members of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) have been arrested in India.

January 31, 2005: Bhattarai is kept temporarily in custody and condemned with others cadres, following his refusal to centralize the People's War and to launch an anti-India campaign, and his use of Nepali mainstream media in December 2004 to promote a "note of dissent".

February 1, 2005: the King Gyanendra and the Royal Nepalese Army take the control of the state.

April 29, 2005: end of the emergency state.

June 20, 2005: the Seven Party Alliance calls the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to stop the people's war and to join against the king.

September 3, 2005: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) announces a three-month unilateral ceasefire.

September 2005: in France, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) begins the publishing of a series of articles about Nepal with Nepal: "lead the Revolution till the end or be defeated by sugar-coated bullets?", followed in October by "The Nepalese Revolution at a turning point: dare the new or "reform" the country?".

“ In most of the "Third World" States, there is a more or less "democratic" constitution, which does not prevent the State from being a fascistic State, dominated by imperialism, bureaucratic bourgeoisie sold to that imperialism and great landowners.

What does uniting traditional political parties then mean, since those parties are useless, discredited as pretending to be progressist but having done nothing against the fascistic State that they even characterised as democratic, and having always opposed People's War? (...)

One cannot speak of "vacillating" parties whereas those parties always supported the fascistic State, against People's War.

The CPN(m) is a Vanguard, it built on its fight against those traditional political parties' opportunism, what is the point of reviving them whereas they are historically supplanted?

It is not possible to assert on the one hand that People's War in Nepal has entered the strategic offensive phase, and on the other hand to stop the armed struggle precisely while the old State has to be destroyed.

The CPN(m) questions the fact that the Party leads the Army and the Front, after having built those three forms in turn. It places the Army under the guidance of the United Front, and subordinates the Party's policy to the United Front, which is a questioning of the revolutionary principles."

October 2005: the Chunwang Baithak Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) adopts the principle of the "democratic republic" instead of the "people's republic" goal.

November 15, 2005: the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) founded in 1981 reunifies his two factions, forming the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Centre).





November 22, 2005: the Seven Party Alliance and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) sign a 12 point agreement, calling for peace and the holding of a Constituent Assembly.

February 10, 2006: Prachanda gives a long interview to the Indian newspaper The Hindu.

“

We want to analyse the experience of revolution and counter-revolution in the 20th century on a new basis.

Three years ago we took a decision in which we said how are we going to develop democracy is the key question in the 21st century. This meant the negative and positive lessons of the 20th century have to be synthesised in order for us to move ahead.

And three years ago we decided we must go in for political competition. Without political competition, a mechanical or metaphysical attitude will be there. So this time, what we decided is not so new.

In August, we took serious decisions on how practically to build unity with the parliamentary political parties. We don't believe that the people's war we initiated was against, or mainly against, multiparty

democracy. It was mainly against feudal autocracy, against the feudal structure.”

“That when we go for state power and are in power, then we will not do what Stalin or Mao did. Lenin did not have time to deal with issues of power. Although Stalin was a revolutionary, his approach, was not as scientific as it should have been, it was a little metaphysical, and then problems came.

We also evaluated Mao in the plenum. If you look at his leadership from 1935 to 1976 – from when he was young to when he was old and even speaking was difficult – must he remain Chairman and handle everything? What is this?”

“We must accept this ground reality. We have mentioned democratic republic and constituent assembly, with the understanding that we should be flexible given the balance in the class struggle and international situation. This is a policy, not tactics. This is a necessary process for the bourgeoisie and the national capitalists alike, let alone the middle-class.”

“In the multiparty democracy which comes – interim government, constitutional assembly and democratic republic – we are ready to have peaceful competition with you all. Of course, people still have a doubt about us because we have an army.

And they ask whether after the constitutional assembly we will abandon our arms. This is a question. We have said we are ready to reorganise our army and we are ready to make a new Nepal army also. So this is not a tactical question.”

“The weapons of both sides should be put together and both the armies should be transformed into one under the supervision of the United Nations or another reliable agency. (...)

The army will be formed according to the results of the election. This is what you should be clear about. We will accept it if the constituent assembly says we want monarchy. We are flexible even that far. We will accept it even if the people say we want an active monarch. “

February 2006: in France, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) defines Prachanda as the “follower of modern revisionism”, because of his position in his interview to The Hindu.

April 21, 2006: several hundred thousand people fills the 27-kilometre long Ring Road that surrounds Kathmandu and Lalitpur, in the frame of the mass movement launched by the Seven Party Alliance and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), with a 19 days general strike.

April 25, 2006: the Seven Party Alliance stops the movement in accepting the Prime Minister post and the reinstall of the Parliament.

April 26, 2006: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) announces a three-month ceasefire.

May 3, 2006: the Seven Party Alliance announces a ceasefire and the beginning of peace talks with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

May 18, 2006: the Royal Nepalese Army becomes the Nepali Army, the state adopts secularism.

May 26, 2006: first round of peace talks between the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), who decide both of a 25-point Code of Conduct.

June 16, 2006: first media appearance of Prachanda in 35 years of political activity, at the Prime Minister's residence, in presence of the Seven Party Alliance leaders, after having being brought by helicopter to Kathmandu from the Kaski District.

June 17, 2006: eight-point agreement between the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), consisting in the formation and interim constitution and government, the dissolution of both the Parliament and the parallel Maoist government structures, the United Nations supervision of the arms management of the Nepali Army and the People's Liberation Army.

June 2006: CPI(Maoist) spokesman Azad gives an interview to People's March.

“ Firstly, we are greatly perturbed by the proposal put forth by comrade Prachanda in his various interviews that his party was committed to multiparty democracy, which will be practiced not after the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat but within the semi-colonial semi-feudal society. The 2003 Plenum document was quite vague regarding CPN(Maoist)'s concept of multiparty democracy or political competition, i.e., whether it is applicable after the seizure of power by the revolutionary party or prior to seizure itself (...).

Moreover, we find that comrade Prachanda and the CPN (Maoist) had turned the tactics to the level of strategy and path of the world revolution in the 21st century. Thus, in his interview to The Hindu comrade Prachanda stressed that the Maoists' commitment to multi-party



democracy is not tactical but the result of a lengthy ideological debate within the party over three years.”

August 27, 2006: the Colombian Unión Obrera Comunista (MLM) adopts a resolution about Nepal, “giving a fraternal and internationalist call to the leading comrades of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) so that they take again in consideration their engagement with the parliamentary republic and bourgeois democracy, which are the completed instruments of bourgeois dictatorship”.

November 13, 2006: Communist Party of India (Maoist) releases a document called “A New Nepal can emerge only by smashing the reactionary state! Depositing arms of the PLA under UN supervision would lead to the disarming of the masses!!”.

“ The agreement to deposit the arms of the people’s army in designated cantonments is fraught with dangerous implications. This act could lead to the disarming of the oppressed masses of Nepal and to a reversal of the gains made by the people of Nepal in the decade-long people’s war at the cost of immense sacrifices (...).

The CC, CPI(Maoist), as one of the detachments of world proletariat, warns the CPN(Maoist) and the people of Nepal of the grave danger inherent in the agreement to deposit the arms and calls upon them to reconsider their tactics in the light of bitter historical experience (...).





Even more surprising is the assertion by the CPN(Maoist) that their current “tactics” in Nepal would be an example to other Maoist parties in South Asia. Comrade Prachanda had also given a call to other Maoist parties to reconsider their revolutionary strategies and to practice multiparty democracy in the name of 21st century democracy.

Our CC makes it crystal-clear to CPN(M) and the people at large that there can be no genuine democracy in any country without the capture of state power by the proletariat and that the so-called multiparty democracy cannot bring any basic change in the lives of the people. It calls upon the Maoist

parties and people of South Asia to persist in the path of protracted people’s war as shown by comrade Mao.”

November 21, 2006: a Comprehensive Peace Agreement is signed by the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

November 2006: the Colombian Unión Obrera Comunista (MLM) adopts a resolution calling “to struggle against the opportunistic betrayal of the direction of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)”.



December 26-30, 2006: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) organizes an international Seminar “on Imperialism and Proletarian revolution in the 21st century” at the 114th birthday of Mao Zedong. Are notably present representants of the Communist Party of Afghanistan (Maoist), the Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, the Maoist Communist Party of Turkey/Kurdistan, the Revolutionary Communist Party of USA. A press communiqué is published at the end.

“ The international seminar on ‘Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution in the 21st Century’, organised as part of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the initiation of the People’s War in Nepal, has been successfully completed with the participation of 14 Maoist parties and organisations.

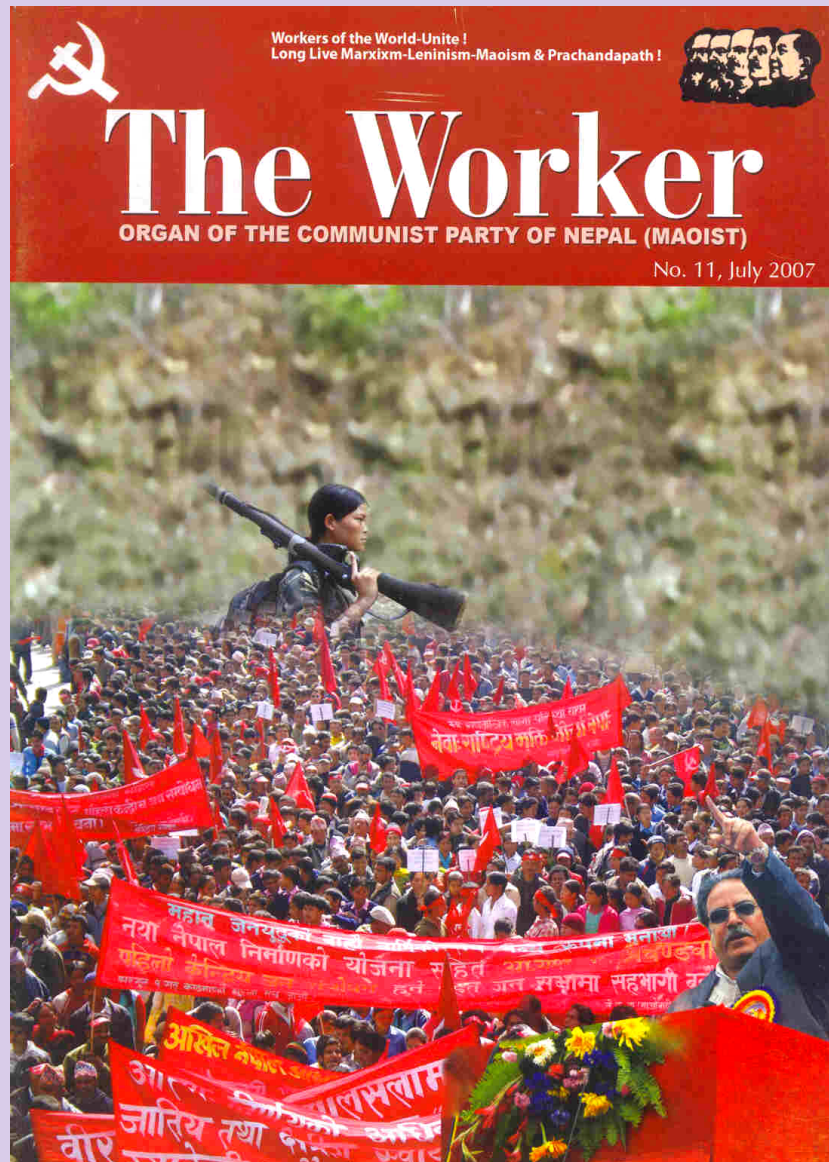
The seminar was held at a historic juncture where the Nepali people are marching forward to a decisive victory over their enemies and when US imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the world, is getting bogged down in its wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

February 13, 2007: big mass rally of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in Kathmandu.

February 2007: the Chilean Unión de Revolucionarios Comunistas (MLM) publishes a long document called « In Nepal has been consumed a great revisionist betrayal”, where Prachanda is presented as someone having “deviated like Bernstein and Kautsky”, the opportunist line existing already since years in the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

“ November 21, 2006 will be remembered as a disastrous day in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people of Nepal. This day will remain in the history of the international communist movement as a day of betrayal mmlm principles.”

February 23, 2007: the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist–Leninist–Maoist Centre) joins the the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).





April 1, 2007: formation of an interim government, with five members of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

April 1, 2007: publication in the Red Flag, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada, of an article called “What is the situation of the revolution in Nepal?”.

“ Developments over the last year in Nepal, after more than 10 years of armed struggle that shook the foundations of the old regime and won admiration from millions of exploited people and proletarians around the world, did not go without generating debates within the international communist movement—and within forces supporting revolution in that country.

Many wonder about the decisions made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN[M]) and the future of their revolution. Important Maoist parties like the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Communist Party of the Philippines publicly expressed their dissent with the Nepali comrades.

Other parties or organizations, whose actual existence is slight of outside the Internet, [We refer here to a small group called “Parti communiste marxiste-léniniste-maoïste” of France.] profited from hardships occurring

in the normal course of a revolutionary process, like the one going on in Nepal, to launch a wild campaign against the leadership of the CPN(M), and even against other parties and organizations (notably the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) who would not follow their appeal to publicly condemn what they call “Prachanda revisionism” (from the name of the main leader of the Nepali party).

We have clearly set ourselves apart from this childish position, a position which shows a total misunderstanding of the complexity of a revolutionary struggle which is taking place outside of some webmaster’s cozy apartment. In many places there are individuals and collectives of all kinds who have no revolutionary experience, or even the slightest idea of its strategic requirements, but who nonetheless aspire to confused revolutionary ideals. Such groups or individuals will sometimes be attracted to a certain revolutionary symbol. Some will, however, never go beyond this stage.

Many romanticized the revolution in Nepal, seeing images of armed fighters and acts of open rebellion, and praised the CPN(M). But the recent tactics applied by the Maoist party and the appearance of new images, such as Prachanda no longer a charismatic mysterious revolutionary leader but shaking hands with Prime Minister Koirala, have disappointed them. Their narrow militaristic and romanticized vision of revolution prevents them from understanding that both kinds of activity are part of the same process, and that this process in and of itself always remains essentially political.



That being said, developments from the last year are raising serious issues, some of which are actually linked to important principles.

At this point, as a Maoist organization that has supported the revolutionary process in Nepal since its beginning, and acting as a detachment of the international communist movement, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) submits the following considerations:

1. The revolution in Nepal constitutes the most advanced revolutionary experience of the last 10 years for the international proletariat. The application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the conditions of Nepal by the CPN(M) allowed the country's revolutionary masses to rapidly progress and win one victory after another.

The revolutionary process in Nepal also brought forward the whole international communist movement. It confirmed the accuracy of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and of the strategic path of protracted People's War.

Revolution in Nepal demonstrates the Maoist thesis, according to which the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history; it once again proves the necessity of a solid revolutionary leadership embodied by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard party linked to the international communist movement.

2. Tactical decisions made by the CPN(M) over the last 18 months are in continuity with the orientation developed by this party, which allowed the revolution to progress up until now.

Our first impression is that these decisions are not surprising; the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is following the plan it adopted when it first declared the People's War. From the outset, the CPN(M) clearly indicated that, within the class composition of Nepal, the main enemy of the Nepali people was made up of feudal landowners and of comprador bourgeoisie and their imperialist allies in the US and India; and that to ensure their domination, these reactionary classes relied, politically, on a monarchist type of state which supports the entire structure of oppressive relations in Nepali society.

On the basis of concentrating all revolutionary forces to attack one enemy at a time, the CPN(M) decided to target feudal monarchy, and demanded the formation of a constituent assembly that would create a democratic republic. It fought to initiate a united front with the forces opposed to monarchy—including some hesitant forces that it carefully brought into the camp of revolution (even if only temporarily).

3. These tactical decisions and this step in the revolutionary process has, however, raised a number of questions that should be mainly answered by the CPN(M). One of them is about the important military issue which will determine what force will become dominant at the end of this

political process. The peace accord of November 2006 did not force the People's Liberation Army to give up their arms, as some claim, but simply put them in warehouse.

During a conference in New Delhi on February 3rd, 2007, Comrade Gaurav, finally freed after more than three years in prison, and now assuming leadership of international relations for the CPN(M), explained that the People's Liberation Army would need only an hour to fully mobilize itself (eKanpitur.com, 2007/02/03).

The question of how the national army will be disbanded if the Maoists win the elections in the constituent assembly still remains open. Party leader Baburam Bhattarai recently raised the idea that the national army could be "substantially reduced" and replaced by a people's militia (eKantipur.com, 2007/02/09).

However, until elections are held and the Maoists can proceed with building a new country, the conditions of the peace accord, even if they have not neutralized the armed capacity of the People's Liberation Army, have still placed the forces of the enemy in an advantageous position,



since only part of their troops, weapons and supplies, equivalent to that of the PLA, were set down in the same way.

The national army currently possesses enough surplus strength, in strict military terms, to intervene in the electoral process and perhaps even stage a coup d'état. If they did so, however, it would go against the spirit and word of the peace accord, and the legitimacy of the revolutionary forces would be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt; then, the PLA would be in a far better position to pick up arms to defend the integrity of the free democratic process.

More generally, the transitional process, which the CPN(M) hopes will abolish the monarchist state once and for all and lead to a democratic republic as a step towards New Democracy and socialism, remains scattered with obstacles. The path towards revolution in any given country never follows a straight and predictable line. It can not be claimed that each step must follow another with a kind of historic determinism.

The key is for the revolutionary proletariat, embodied in its vanguard party, to lead the process, to accumulate its strength and at each step act according with the reality of the situation, forging and breaking class alliances, advancing and withdrawing, and realizing the tasks necessary for the next step. It is the greatest hardship any revolutionary party will confront.

As a supporter of the CPN(M) told us not too long ago, the closer the party gets towards seizing power, the more it progresses in transforming society through revolution, and the more its margins of error narrows. When the People's War was initiated in 1996, the party could afford to make mistakes (relatively, of course).

A single defeat, or a single failure, could not lead to the consequences that it can now, as millions of people have put their hopes in the revolution.

4. Nothing is settled; everything is still possible. We are of the opinion that nothing is final, nothing has been set in stone, for the revolution in Nepal. We clearly reject the point of view of those pretending that a bourgeois line has triumphed within the party and that the revolution has been defeated.

The revolutionary movement in Nepal is more alive than ever.

The masses are involved by the millions, in one way or another, in the revolutionary process.

They benefit from the contribution of a trained and combat-proven vanguard party which has proven its mastery at military and political tactics; each compromise made during the course of the People's War, and each cease-fire, allowed it to accumulate its forces, isolate the enemy and put the revolutionary camp in a better position. This, however, does

not give any guarantee about the future. The party (as well as elsewhere), as the leading center of the revolution, is obviously where the bourgeois line is going to redevelop.

In 1957, eight years after the triumph of Chinese Revolution, three years of New Democracy and four years of socialist construction, Mao Zedong wrote: “Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and torturous and at times even very sharp.

The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet.” (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People) We believe that in Nepal, the matter of knowing who will win is not yet resolved.

5. The challenges for revolution in Nepal are shedding light on a certain number of difficulties and weaknesses within the revolutionary forces and the world proletariat.



From the beginning, the CPN(M) was always very aware of the dialectical link which unites revolution in Nepal and world revolution. It also grasped the importance of relating the revolution in Nepal with the world revolution, even if it involves mainly internal factors specific to Nepal.

This relation begins with revolution in South Asia, particularly in India, which constitutes the most immediate and dominant foreign influence in Nepal. The CPN(M) has spent a lot of effort unifying Maoist revolutionary forces in the region. It put forward the strategic idea of a Federation of Soviet Republics of South Asia as a means of establishing and consolidating socialism in each of the region's countries.

At the international level, the CPN(M) participates with the efforts of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (the RIM) to develop the world revolution and people's resistance, and build Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard parties and organizations everywhere in the world, as well as a global revolutionary leading center.



In the short run, because of the current international context characterized by imperialist war and the USA's hegemonic imperialist offensive (since the fall of Soviet social-imperialism, and in particular since the September 11, 2001 attacks), proclaiming, establishing and maintaining a Communist-led revolutionary regime represents a gigantic challenge that can never be overcome alone by Communists in a single country. This challenge belongs to Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, to revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces all over the globe.

6. In this context, solidarity with revolution in Nepal is more necessary than ever. We must continue to support Nepal's revolutionary masses; in fact, our solidarity with them must strengthen. This does not exclude debate and discussion on the orientations of the CPN(M).

Not in the least bit. Comrades from Nepal openly participate within the international communist movement, so that the

worldwide revolution can be strengthened by their experience, and vice-versa—not in a literal way, but in a very real and concrete manner. And if there is a single concrete revolutionary movement in the world, it is in Nepal. This revolution belongs to us all: it is the revolution of the world's oppressed people.

The Maoist conception of revolution excludes any unconditional submission to some “father party.” Thanks to the revisionists, this deviation, which has always plagued the international communist movement, has brought disastrous results in the past. It has been vigorously fought against by Mao and the Chinese Communists, and today is rejected by the CPN(M) and genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces.

What revolutionaries in Nepal need, what they are righteously asking from us, is that we take the revolution's issues at heart; that we defeat our fears and our monotonous inaction and lack of resolve, which has become the characterization of far too wide a portion of the international communist movement. They ask that we openly debate with them, in the spirit proletarian internationalism. They ask that we go forward, decisively, on the road to revolution.

We must not underestimate the impact these advances will have on revolution in Nepal, including on the possibility for revolutionaries there



views. Finally, there are those who remain silent by opportunism or because they are wavering.”

February 28, 2008: rally in the front of the US consulate in Montreal by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada in support of the “Nepalese People’s Republic”.

April 10, 2008: elections of the first Nepalese Constituent Assembly. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) receives 38,1% of the votes, the Nepali Congress 19,1%, the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) 18%.

April 13, 2008: declaration of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada “greetings the victory of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)”.

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To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist),

To Comrade Prachanda and all militants and all the activists of the party,

Dear comrades,

It is with great joy and renewed proletarian internationalists feelings that we welcome the resounding victory that you just won, in the frame of the election to the constituent assembly that will end the monarchy and the old regime in Nepal (...).

You just take the next step - a critical step - towards the construction of a new Nepal. No doubt the road to total liberation of the people of Nepal and the establishment of a revolutionary regime will be strewn with obstacles.

The imperialist powers who claim to be masters of the world and the reactionary forces that defend and enjoy the old world order, are sure to hatch plots and conspiracies to prevent the triumph of the revolution. The invaluable experience that you have accumulated over the past 12 years and the unfailing determination of the revolutionary Nepalese masses allow you to move forward and overcome, until the final victory. Know that on this road, you can still count on our militant solidarity.

Having participated in the first international brigade road construction Martyrs in Rolpa district, our party was a privileged witness of your success and your determination. The historic victory that you just won encourages us to continue the fight with more vigor.”



April 24, 2008: the Communist Party of India (Maoist) expresses his point of view on the elections in Nepal.

“ The election results in Nepal have proved once again the overwhelming anger of the masses against the outdated feudal monarchic rule in Nepal, against the Indian expansionist’s bullying and domination of Nepal, against US domination and oppression, and are a reflection of the growing aspirations of the Nepali masses for democracy, land, livelihood and genuine freedom from imperialist and feudal exploitation (...).

The real test, however, begins now after the CPN(M) taking over the reins of power. It is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that no radical restructuring of the system is possible without the smashing of the existing state. It is impossible to make genuine changes in the system through measures initiated “from above”, i.e. through state decrees and laws (...).

The CC, CPI(Maoist), suggests to the CPN(Maoist) to beware of the conspiracies of the imperialists led by the US imperialists, the Indian reactionary ruling classes, and the feudal comprador forces of Nepal to engineer coups, political assassinations, creation of artificial scarcity through economic blockades and sabotage, and subversion of the democratic process, and calls upon it to be fully prepared to confront these reactionaries by armed means (...).

The CC, CPI(Maoist) sees immense possibilities in present-day Nepal to carry forward the revolutionary programme by firmly relying on the masses and intensifying the class struggle for genuine land reforms and against imperialist/expansionist domination of the country, while guarding against all reactionary plots and schemes. This is possible if the main leadership of the Maoist party does not become part of the government but concentrates on the principal task of continuing the class struggle by mobilizing the masses.”

May 10, 2008: the French Maoist Communist Party hails the electoral success of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).



“
communism.”

Our party welcomes your success in the elections of April 10, 2008. This is primarily the result of ten years of people's war (...). You borrow a path for some is not orthodox, but you are not alone on the path to

THE RED STAR

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Break the deadlock

Red Star Reporter

The delay in forming a new government according to the mandate of the election of Constituent Assembly (CA) is a bad omen. However, the Federal Democratic Republic (FDR) has been implemented and monarchy has been abolished from the first meeting of CA. All these historic decisions have been taken on the basis of agreement among the political parties. But even after the new mandate was secured in the election of CA, the Nepali Congress (NC), the third party of the country, is putting hurdles in the way of political progress. The NC is not ready to give way to the CPN (Maoist), the largest party of the country. This is because of its class interests. Therefore, it is breaching the norms and values of democracy. Instead of making the process easier, the NC, together with the CPN (UML), has put a seven point pre-conditions not to leave power. Now, they are insisting on taking state power by demanding the presidency though



Koirala trying to replace Gyanendra?

they have already been rejected by the people in the election of CA. The CPN (Maoist), taking these concerns seriously and responsibly, published the names of five prestigious candidate leaders not from the party but from civil society for the post

of president. But the parliamentary parties are not ready to accept it, and they claim that the list is designed: "to create illusion over the 'form and take benefit from the other political parties." But the CPN (Maoist) does not have this interest because it has not named any party leaders on the list. Therefore, the claim of the parliamentary parties is ridiculous.

The NC is intentionally trying to prolong the transitional period rather than to find a logical solution for present impasse. The reason is that the votes of the feudal order have transferred to the NC. Another cause for prolonging the impasse is to build annual budget in favour of NC because it will be the commencement of a new economic year. In spite of all these efforts, the NC is producing falsehoods in the fascist style of Gorbachev, lying and lying until people believe the lie is the truth, that the CPN (Maoist) has stepped down to accept the terms and conditions put forward by NC. Dispel this illusion, the Chairman of

CPN (Maoist), Prachanda, said, "It is 100 percent false that we have abandoned our political stand on the presidency. This is propaganda used to check the pulse of the people." Chairman Prachanda further stated: "Nepalese people are looking for a change, a new ideology and a new leadership. Therefore, we are not ready to accept the old leadership because accepting it will be to disrespect the mandate of the people."

The CPN-Maoist ministers have resigned from the NC led government a few days ago and given an ultimatum to Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala to resign and to smooth the way to form a new government under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist). The leaders of the major political parties are holding meetings to form consensus. But the NC seems to remain rigid by repeating the old and stale demands which are against the peace accord and the agreements made before. The CPN-Maoist has said the CP Koirala is too old and feeble to lead the country and

it has already announced that a honourable position will be given to CP Koirala after his resignation from the post of Prime Minister. The CPN (Maoist) has proposed him to be a leader of an all-party mechanism. But CP Koirala, who refused the same proposal to be the first President in the past, by Maoist, is now dying for Presidency. After the abolition of the monarchy and implementation of the FDR, the class equation of Nepalese society has changed. The antagonism has shifted in the last month. So the progressive force and the representative of the feudal and bureaucratic capitalism - the NC cannot carry on together. The NC and the CPN (Maoist) are at logger heads because of the new antagonism. As this is a transitional period, the NC should understand the situation and not try to create conflict. If the NC really accepts 'democratic' norms and values, it must show them in practice. Their old and meaningless ideology and outlook cannot

Continued on page 2

Establishment of republic and the direction of revolution



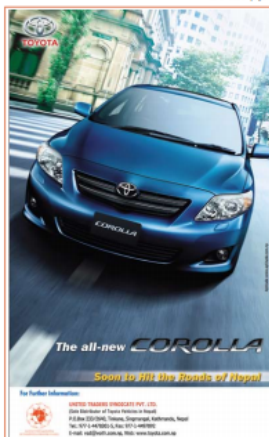
Mohan Baijya Kiran
To say in the essence, this period is the political, economical and cultural transitional period. The old power has not disappeared entirely and new one is not established yet. Therefore, the present period is very sensitive and critical period.

Nepal, a multi-caste, multi-lingual, multi-religious country, exists in semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions. The people have been struggling for a long time for the establishment of a People's Democracy, protection of national independence, and the guarantee of livelihood. To achieve these goals, the People's Movement, People's struggle, class struggle and armed struggle took place in different forms. The great People's War advanced to its climax. Under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist), the process of abolishing feudalism in the political, economic and cultural spheres was driven ahead. Proceeding this way, our party adopted the tactics of reasonable conference, interim government and the election of the Constituent Assembly (CA), participated in negotiations and cease-fire. Thus allowed the People's War to move ahead effectively against the tyrannous 'song' of King Gyanendra, and the 12 point understanding was made with parliamentary parties. The failure of a decade long People's

War and the 19 day People's Movement brought the monarchy to its knees. Then, the country advanced by the peaceful development of the revolution and the election of the Constituent Assembly was accomplished, despite so many obstacles and complexities. The CA election made the CPN (Maoist) the largest party in the country. From the first meeting of the CA on 28 May 2008, the declaration was given to establish and implement the Federal Democratic Republic.

At the conclusion of the entire process, we can say that the Federal Democratic Republic has been declared. Along with it, the process of forming a new constitution is being formed addressing the issues of class, caste, religion, gender, to restore nature of the state on a new basis; the guarantee of the right to education, health, food, social-security

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June 19, 2008: the Red Star, published by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), has an ad for Toyota on his cover. This was already the case in February March, for example. Nepal Telecom and the internet provider Ncell did also such ads.

January 1, 2009: publication in the Red Flag, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada, of an article by Samir Amin, called "Nepal: a promising revolutionary breakthrough".

January 12, 2009: the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre-Masal), coming partly from the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre-Masal) where the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) comes from a split, joins the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which becomes the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), still mostly known as Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

February 1, 2009: Kiran responds to an interview called "The street struggle is connected with the peace process" in The Red Star, published by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

"How are you evaluating the unity between CPN-Maoist and CPN (Unity Centre-Masal)? Our party had already made decisions to make single pole of the revolutionary parties and organization. It is the beginning of the unity among the revolutionaries. This unity will certainly fulfill its responsibility for the nation and the people that is to accomplish the revolution (...).

Is the street struggle related to the future insurrection? The street struggle is connected with the progress of the peace process. The three fronts: the government, CA and street: are complementary. However, the front of struggle can take another bend if the anti-people and the reactionary powers create obstacles incessantly against writing constitution and the peace process."

February 16, 2009: Kiran publishes an article called "The Mandate Expressed in People's War", The Red Star.

“ Right before 12 years, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) had brought a historical initiation of the

people's war to establish a New State Power by assaulting over the old state power on 13th February. The day has been established as the momentous day for the Nepalese people. Now, we are going to celebrate the day as the entrance of the 13th year all over the country. At this moment, it is necessary to be serious for the adoption and the implementation of the expressed mandate of the great people's war remembering the commitments committed before the initiation of the people's war.

Now, we are advancing ahead in the peaceful process through between the historical process of the ten year long people's war and nineteen days people's movement. The goal of the great People's War is to move ahead to the direction of Socialism and Communism by establishing the New Peoples Republic in Nepal. At present, we are advancing ahead energetically to the direction to built new Nepal through the election of the constituent assembly (CA) as the starting point of achieving the goal."

May 4, 2009: Prachanda resigned from the post of Prime Minister after being impeached by the president Ram Baran Yadav from the Nepali Congress to dismiss Nepalese Chief of the Army Staff Rookmangud Katawal.

October 12, 2009: the World People's Resistance Movement interviews Chandra Prakash Gajurel "Gaurav" in England.

“ When our party talks about multiparty competition or democracy, we are talking about our concept of '21st Century Democracy'. The difference here however is that in China there was a condition, all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces had to cooperate with the CCP. This was the precondition. But now our party is talking about allowing those political parties to compete even with the UCPN(M). In China there was a precondition, they were not allowed to compete but had to cooperate. In elections they made some sort of compromise or negotiation and they fixed candidates by consensus. In some constituencies the other parties put forward their candidate and the CCP did not. And in most other seats they did not have a candidate but supported the candidate of the CCP. But here in Nepal today we are talking about competition. All those political parties will be allowed to compete with the UCPN(M). We can have direct elections with those parties and the Maoists. That is the difference.”

December 15, 2009: the French Organisation Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste Voie Proletarienne published the document "Long live the revolution in India and in Nepal!"

“ Since five years, the Asian continent is the heart of the world revolution (...).

THE RED STAR

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A new chapter in Nepal-India relationship

Dishnu Sapkota
After returning from India

Prime Minister Prachanda returned home after paying a five-day state visit to India. He called the visit a success and the visit has opened a new chapter in bilateral relations and co-operation between the two countries.

As a member of the delegation, I covered the visit for Radio Nepal, the state owned radio station and various other media. The Indian government welcomed PM Prachanda's visit heartily. Although New Delhi was reeling under the paroxysm of explosions in various parts of the city, nonetheless the Indian media paid significant coverage to the visit.

On the second day, PM Prachanda held talks with his Indian counterpart, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. A joint statement was not the issue in the meeting. However, India agreed to review, readjust, and replace all treaties including the 1950's 'Peace and Friendship Treaty'. This was a significant achievement.

During the three-day visit with Indian President Mrs. Pratibha Patel, Vice-President Hamid Ansari and President of Indian National Congress Sonia Gandhi, PM Prachanda also met the opposition leader Lal Krishna Advani, the leader of the Hindu nationalist BJP, and who has been critical of the Maoist. Advani congratulated PM Prachanda and welcomed the Federal Democratic Re-

public of Nepal. On the third day, he met leaders of several Communist parties in India. Later he addressed journalists at a press conference. He took a large gathering of Indian, Nepali and other international journalists about the agreements made between the two heads of state. Nepal and India have agreed to form a joint task force to study and sort out the issues that need revision. He also said that help Nepal build infrastructure development and invest in the infrastructure sector.

Talking with the journalists, PM Prachanda said that his party was going to experiment with a new democratic system. He argued that his party was not practicing formal parliamentary democracy or one-party communist dictatorship. "We are trying to go ahead with a new democratic system. This policy would strengthen the Parliament, District and town-level democracy. We want a people-controlled democracy."

During the three-day visit, I chatted with some Indian journalists about media coverage of the visit. They said there had been significant coverage, and especially the print media has given large coverage to the visit and agreements between the two sides in their editorial and analysis.

The visit to the southern Indian city of Bangalore, the



Prime Minister Prachanda shakes hand with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh during his five-day state visit to India.

information technology hub of India, on the fourth day was significant. This was the first time any Nepali Prime Minister has visited the South Indian city during a state visit. Cases welcoming the PM were held in the city and preparation had been made to welcome the Nepali PM. Prachanda visited the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), UNESCO Campus and the BICRON office. He was quite surprised to see the information technology sector. He had even encouraged his colleagues and cadres to give emphasis on the information technology during the visit. The Chief Minister of Karnataka, Mclellendevayappa, Continued on page 2



Chandra Prakash Gajurel

People-oriented budget PM leaves for United States

Prime Minister Prachanda has left for the United States to address the 63rd general assembly meeting of the United Nations. He will address the assembly on the 28th September.

PM's personal secretary Shakti Bhaskar Bhattar, Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Ganesha Acharya, PM's foreign affairs advisers Rita Bahadur Thapa and others will accompany him. Further, the PM will hold a meeting with the United Nations general secretary Ban Ki Moon. Likewise, PM Prachanda, also the Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) will be with the US Secretary of State who also held bilateral talks with US president George W. Bush. Bush has sent his invitation for the meeting. He will also attend numerous receptions organized by US government secretary Ben R. Rhodes and US president George W. Bush.

Prachanda, the commander of the 10-year long People's War, had always had a keen interest in the information technology sector. He had even encouraged his colleagues and cadres to give emphasis on the information technology during the visit. The Chief Minister of Karnataka, Mclellendevayappa, Continued on page 2

On the 15th September, the Finance Minister, Shrestha unveiled the historic budget of Rs.256 billion for the fiscal year 2009/2010. This is the first budget from the Maoist led coalition government and the new Peoples Republic of Nepal. The Finance Minister proposed Rs.124.50 billion for development, Rs. 111.82 billion for general administration. Further, he has allocated Rs. 16.18 billion for the principal payment, Rs.91.31 billion for capital expenditure, and Rs. 128.51 for recurrent expenditure.

The size of the budget of the FDI is about 39.0% more than previous governments. The government has a strategy to build the budget from different sources. One of the sources for the budget is the revenue of the state. The budget has secured foreign assistance of 65 billion, foreign grants Rs. 47.00 billion, foreign loans Rs. 18.70 billion and Rs. 41.11 million will be the deficit of budget. The budget may seem somewhat ambitious, but it is well planned and thought out. Along with the establishment of the Federal Democratic Republic, the budget hopes to address the hopes and aspirations of the people. The Finance Minister has clearly presented the sources and expenditure for the budget, every source is clearly defined. The budget addresses the problems of rural areas as well as the problems of urban areas. It addresses the marginalized, exploited, neglected people and ethnic groups of Nepal. The budget has focused strongly on education, health, women, water, electric, development, roads, irrigation, and tourism. For socio-economic transformation the government will prioritize infrastructure and industrialization. The two pillars of socio-economic transformation will be freely, cooperatives, and socially, public private partnerships. There is a great hope that this budget will be able to change things for the better, and the poor of the country will benefit.

THE RED STAR

104-2, No-2, Jan. 16 - 30, 2009 Rr.101- www.krdnnews.com.np Nepal's National Magazine



Chairman Comrade Prachanda said that unity is the process towards the formation of a single centre of Nepalese communists, as the unified power of Nepalese people against reactionaries and a foundation of accomplishment of remaining revolution.

The role of major tactical line in making a new constitution

Encroachment of Nepali land

Indian encroachment has again started in campaign to encroach Nepalese land from east to west. India Administration has spread its tentacles in Sikkim and Panchagarh of Ilam district. India has encroached 20 acres of forest land. The Patriotic Republican Unity Campaign (PNUC) has given memorandum to the government and demanded to stop and return the encroached land to Nepal. The PNUC has clearly stated that the type of equipment interference has no longer bearable to the Nepalese People.

Chitwan Festival

Many new festivals are being organized all over the country after the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic. Recently, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal "Prachanda" inaugurated Chitwan Festival-2009. On January 15, addressing the masses, Prachanda said that the old 12-point understanding has ceased to work and it is necessary to make a new 12-point agreement to solve the newly emerged problems. The tradition, business, companies, federations of the industry owners and the investors are hopefully looking forward. Together with an increase in productivity, they have paid attention to its proper publicity and exhibition. The industry owners are trying to expand their relations among the people. The newly formed elected government has clearly published its policy and plan for the promotion and protection of national industries.

For all revolutionary parties without exception the questions of strategy and tactics are of vital importance. It is true that both subjective and objective conditions should be studied to make and accomplish revolution. But these two conditions are not fulfilled spontaneously or it is not provided to us by nature. Conscious role of a revolutionary party is responsible in making these conditions favorable for making revolution. Correct formulation of strategy and tactics are major instruments for creating such a conscious role. Strategy remains same for certain historical period. But it can only be achieved by the application of a correct tactics. Therefore, it is tactics which is responsible in making a revolutionary party. It is tactics which success or failure decide

when he said that such tactics changed even within twenty four hours. Every revolutionary party involved in making revolution should be aware of every small change in the situation so that the party enables itself to deal with all the challenges coming up in the class struggle. So formulation of correct tactics and its implementation is a real test of all revolutionary parties. Apart from the short term tactics which change even within twenty four hours we have relatively long term tactics, which can also be termed as major tactics. Major tactics determine major political demands and its application and implementation. There are various short term tactics which have main aim is to achieve the major tactics. The Second National Conference of the

CP Gajurel

was explaining about such tactics

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In Nepal, it is the Maoists (Unified Communist Party of Nepal Maoist) who won the support of the majority of the population and organized the popular uprising that brought down the monarchy.

Today, at their initiative, a new wave of popular uprisings has just started in the country to remove from power the bourgeoisie still powerful in the economy, the government and the army, especially as it has the strong support the major powers, neighboring India in the first place. In the complex situation of a tiny circled semi-feudal country, in the debate and the line struggle, the Nepalese Maoists advance toward the democratic revolution (...).

We Marxist-Leninists and Maoists of Proletarian Way, France, assure our Indian and Nepalese comrades of our support. They are the ones that sustain today the hope of the world revolution!”

29 March 2009: the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA makes public an exchange of letter with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), where its policies is criticized.

July 24, 2009: the Communist Party of India (Maoist) writes a 24 pages open Letter to the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

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We are sending this Open Letter to your Party so as to conduct a polemical debate both within your Party and the Maoist revolutionary camp worldwide.

This step has become necessary because of the very serious developments that have taken place in the course of development of the revolution in Nepal that have a bearing on our understanding of imperialism and proletarian revolution as well as the strategy-tactics to be pursued by Maoist revolutionaries in the contemporary world; there is also serious deviation from the ideology of MLM. Hence these are no more the internal matters concerning your Party alone (...).

The UCPN(M) leader has directly assured the comprador bourgeois-feudal parliamentary parties that his Party is ready to have peaceful competition with all of them.

And by describing this decision on multiparty democracy as a strategically, theoretically developed position comrade Prachanda has brought a dangerous thesis to the fore—the thesis of peaceful coexistence with the ruling class parties instead of overthrowing them through revolution; peaceful competition with all other parliamentary parties, including the ruling class parties that are stooges of imperialism or foreign reaction, in so-called parliamentary elections; abandoning the objective of building socialism for an indefinite period; and opening the doors wide for the feudalcomprador reactionaries to come to power by utilizing the backwardness of the masses and the massive backing from domestic and foreign reactionaries or the bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces to hijack

the entire course of development of society from the socialist direction to capitalism in the name of democracy and nationalism.

Overall, com. Prachanda's conclusions regarding multiparty democracy creates illusions among the people regarding bourgeois democracy and their constitution (...).

The fusion theory of the CPN(M) had undergone further deviations in the five years since it was first proposed, and by 2006 it became the theory of peaceful competition with the reactionary parties and peaceful transition to people's democracy and socialism.

From a fusion of people's war and insurrection Prachanda's eclectic theory had assumed the form of negotiations and diplomatic manoeuvring. One of the major reasons for this change was the incorrect assessment of the contemporary world situation and the conclusion that the neo-colonial form of imperialism is now taking the form of a globalised state (...).

Our CC appeals to the leadership and ranks of the UCPN(M) to undertake a deep review of the wrong reformist line that the Party has been pursuing ever since it has struck an alliance with the SPA, became part of the interim government, participated in the elections to the CA, formed a government with the comprador-feudal parties, abandoned the base areas and demobilized the PLA and the YCL, deviated from the principle of proletarian internationalism and adopted a policy of appeasement towards imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and Indian expansionism.”

October 21, 2009: Indra Mohan Sigdel Basanta gives an interview to the World People's Resistance Movement.

“ First of all I would like to say it was not a struggle between two individual leaders. Comrade Prachanda is our Chairman; he has been leading our party and revolution for a long time. Comrade Kiran is a senior leader, even senior to Comrade Prachanda.

Sometimes in the outside world it is said that it is a struggle between Prachanda and Kiran, but this is a wrong way of looking at. Definitely lines come from certain comrades and in our case comrade Prachanda and comrade Kiran are such leaders who have stood as unity and struggle of opposites i.e. they have dialectical relationship.

The way this has been reported in the external media is wrong and is aimed at dividing our party. They projected that Comrade Prachanda was a soft-liner and Comrade Kiran was a hard-liner. This kind of





projection was always there because the reactionaries do not want our party to remain united. They want to destroy it.

The reality is that the principal aspect between them is unity. If they did not have unity how could they lead our party together for so long years? But because they are the products of our society they have different ways of thinking so the differences in certain issues arise.”

Avril 29, 2010: the French Maoist Communist Party publishes an article in support of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

“ There is a debate about the theories espoused by some of the leadership of the UCPN-Maoist. Our Party has already expressed some criticisms and reservations. However, we must always move from the assessment of what is primary and what is secondary.

Today, what is primary is supporting the mass movement led by the Maoists in Nepal. UCPN-Maoist has demonstrated that he had not abdicated imperialism and expansionism. In this delicate phase, our duty is to support the popular initiative against the reactionaries.”

June 16, 2010: Netra Bikram Chanda “Biplap” publishes the article Can We Go Ahead? In The Red Star.

“ 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 fore 4 warded 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.”

May 27, 2011: publication in the bulletin Partisan of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada of an article calledd “Difficult situation for the revolution in Nepal”.

“ It is difficult to predict how the Maoists of Nepal comrades shall resolve these contradictions; rumors of a split of the party are also increasingly strong. Time will tell what will become of the red flag flying over Mount Everest; but we remain confident that the revolutionaries of Nepal will lead the revolution to victory.”

September 2, 2011: the “Comité de Solidarité Franco-Népalais” (French-Nepalese Solidarity Committee) begins to take a critical stance about the situation in Nepal stopping its activity two weeks later.

“Two important news reached us from Nepal. Unfortunately, they are the sign of a great danger for the revolution rather than a sign of recovery of the revolutionary struggle.

First, Baburam Bhattarai was elected prime minister. He is the representative of the reformist line in Nepal. He's for the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary democratic republic he sees as a necessary step towards a people's republic landing stages. He seems ready for any compromise to stop for good the revolutionary process.

Secondly, key containers containing the arms of the People's Liberation Army have just been handed to the Special Committee for Integration, meaning de facto surrender of the PLA. All keys have been made except in a cantonment in Kailali, where the deputy commander said he had received no formal directive from the party.”

September, 2011: in France, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) publishes a document called “Line, tendency, faction and the question of Nepal”.

“For the so-called maoists and real trotskyists, nothing happened in Nepal with the peace agreement in 2006. This is because they looked the phenomena from above, and not from below. And they look it from above because they have a mechanical conception of the Nepali revolution.

They don't understand that the Nepali revolution progresses in spiral, and so that the people's war can suffer huge defeat if its development is not correctly understood by the avant-garde. Only the fact that the Nepali revisionnists like Prachanda pretend that they have invented a “tactic” is a proof of their non understanding of the scientific laws of dialectical materialism (...).

A line is the expression of life (for the red line) or death (for the black line), its ideological synthesis has a high level, because it is question of path for the phenomena. It is what is called a crisis. A line is so an expression not of a tactical problem, but of a strategical one. For this reason, there are not two lines in the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (maoist).

They are two tendencies, tendencies that disagree on many points, and now so many that they become openly opposed, and so fractions, open and public tendencies. But both were favourable of the peace agreement, both pretended to “choose” the path of people's war, instead of understanding people's war as the insurrection of matter.



Both accepted prachandism in the 2000's, with the promotion of "socialism of 21st century", the rejection of the dictatorship of proletariat under the direction of the Communist Party (in name of "democracy"), etc."

September 23, 2011: the French Maoist Communist Party publishes a document called About the line struggle within the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

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Under these conditions, there are two possibilities.

1. Complete surrender, total renunciation to the prospect of insurgency. It has been five years that the Party has been engaged in these transactions, with no significant progress to solve the issue of "power". What do the masses think about all this? They are either in expectation for the better, or disappointed for the worse.

2. The resumption of the revolutionary fight, which involves mobilizing the masses. "One divides into two" and not "two combine into one". One has to choose. The rightist line must be denounced to the masses; the only way is to return to the masses because the masses make history and at the same time suffer when their leaders take false, flickering or liquidationist, revisionist positions."

November 2011: the Colombian Unión Obrera Comunista (MLM) publishes a document called "About the betrayal in Nepal and the role of

2 Feb. 1-15, 2011

Nation

Book on Marxist philosophy



Maoist Chairman Prachanda releasing a book written by vice-Chairman Mohan Baidhya 'Kiran' entitled 'Marxist Philosophy' in the capital in the last week of January. Divided into seven chapters, the book deals with overall aspects of Marxist philosophy. Other vice Chairman Dr Baburam Bhattarai and senior literary figure Khagendra Sangraula had commented on the book. The book is published by the Progressive Study Centre.

Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

the so-called red Fraction”, explaining that there is no such things in the prachandist party.

December 26, 2011: Joint declaration called “The International unity of the communists requires the defeat of revisionism and centrism!”

“ It has appeared that the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) - CPN (M), being a RIM member, has raised in the name of Maoism against Marxism Leninism Maoism, clutching a revisionist platform of renunciation of destroying the old reactionary state, of betraying the People’s War by renouncing to it, by disarming the people, by dismantling the bases of popular power already conquered and by dissolving its People’s Liberation Army in the reactionary army of exploiters, and finally by merging with the revisionist party Mashal in the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) - UCPN (M), and by compromising with all others opportunist parties to defend the class dictatorship of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to serve to run over the people.



It is likewise evident that the Committee of the RIM has, remaining silent facing the revisionist line and the betrayal carried out by the CPN (M), resigned in practice the role of being the international leading center, and compromising the prestige of the RIM (...).

Against such a need that requires to differentiate and to break completely with opportunism, rises again the familiar centrist tendency known in the history of communist movement for its "conciliator" role between Marxism and revisionism. A centrist tendency, headed today by the Communist Party (Maoist) of Italy, direct continuation of the centrism in the RIM yesterday, and mainly in its Committee.

In the open bourgeois degeneration of prachandism, the centrists, who yesterday praised his theory, ignored the treason in Nepal and supported bourgeois parliamentarism of the UCPN (M), declare today themselves to be against Prachanda, but actually without breaking with prachandism.

They remain supporters of a fraction of prachandism that no longer recognizes Prachanda as leader, but Kiran. They repudiate the current symbolic acts of Bhattarai and Prachanda in the surrender of the revolution, but deny the revisionist nature of the party and escape its



responsibility in the real political betrayal of People's War conducted in the Peace Agreement of 2006.

Centrism both reconciles and calls "red" a fraction of the revisionist right in Nepal, and fights angry against the revolutionary communists whom are called "dogmatic-revisionists" and "opportunistic liquidators" for their struggle against revisionism and centrism.

It fears the complete rupture, ideological, political and organizational, with the revisionist line of the UCPN (M), a condition without which it is not possible to conceive a true revolutionary line in Nepal, able to return to the People's War and lead it, to conquer the triumph of the Revolution of New Democracy in the whole country."

December 26, 2011: the Maoist Road blog made by the Maoist Communist Party of Italy answers to the joint declaration.

“ leftist-cyber maoists make a joint declaration.. what is their real objective? They attack to 'PCm Italy' but their real enemies are the possibility to save and advance nepal revolution and the rebuilding of an real international mlm organisation with parties and organisations that make the revolution in the praxis.”

June 19, 2012: founding of the Communist Party of Nepal - Revolutionary Maoist, led by Mohan Baidya "Kiran".

July 1, 2012: Mohan Baidya "Kiran" explains his position at a press conference.

“ Yes, we are in the RIM. There are many different parties in the RIM (...). We used to be involved in the decision making in the RIM. The RIM is actually not operative at this moment (...).

We did not leave Prachanda and Baburam but they left us. We did not separate from the party as well but they split themselves ditching the political ideological line of the party. Therefore, now the issue of their class categorization is a real bizarre. An independent political line of Prachanda and Baburam has come to an end. What should we label those who are the puppets of foreign reactionaries and expansionism? It is not possible to join neck together with the puppets (...).

We are not ambiguous about whether to go for People's War or People's Revolt. Firstly, we will revolt for new democracy against parliamentarianism. We don't acknowledge parliamentarianism.

The democratic republic, the aged-decayed parliamentarianism of which all the parties here sing the retro song of democracy deafeningly, that democracy has completely failed, the Constituent Assembly has also failed. Therefore, as an alternative, in the interest of the country and the people we move ahead to establish New Democratic Republic in Nepal against Feudalism, Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism. This is our key agenda.

To attain this goal, if asked how we move ahead, both ways, legal and underground, a revolutionary party can utilize every essential method. We came to the peace negotiation honestly. When we arrived only the Maoists had to make all the compromises but now we don't compromise up to this excess.

So, that is beyond doubt, if necessary– People's War or People's Revolt, anything can happen, this is the key issue.”

August 31, 2012: the Communist Party of India (Maoist) publishes a document called “Hail the formation of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist”.

“ The CC, CPI (Maoist) is sending its warmest revolutionary greetings to you and all the CC members and the entire rank and file of the CPN-Maoist on the formation of the new revolutionary party in Nepal after a prolonged internal ideological and political struggle against the opportunist and neo-revisionist leadership within the party who betrayed the Nepalese revolution and by demarcating and making a break with them.

Even while the Nepal Revolution reached the stage of strategic offense, the UCPN (Maoist) leadership assessed the national and international situation subjectively, took erroneous tactics which themselves led the party get bogged down in the quagmire of parliamentarianism with capitulationism uninterruptedly since end 2005 (...).

Revolutionaries may still be present in the neo-revisionist Prachanda-Bhattarai faction of the party, so your stand of continuing internal struggle and keeping the doors open till the Congress is correct (...).

We end this letter with the great hope that CPN-Maoist would uphold revolutionary traditions of the great oppressed masses of Nepal and Proletarian Internationalism and fulfill the dreams of thousands of great martyrs of Nepal revolution.”



October 2012: the TKP/ML from Turkey releases a document called “The Nepalese Revolution in the Clasp of Reformism and Revisionism”.

“ The UCPN (M) successfully led a people's war in Nepal and is currently at a historical threshold, facing the question of whether or not to continue with the revolution. In the struggle against the revisionist line that is dominant in the party, comrades, especially those in the leadership positions, are taking an active stance in the discussions, expressing their opinions and criticism openly, even publicly for sometime now. This course of action is further proof that situation is extremely serious (...).

The “peaceful transition” theory, advocated as a method of seizing state power, in fact aims to preserve the existing mechanism. The system is preserved, only this time masters with the “revolutionary” or “socialist” mask have come to power.

The “populist” or “revolutionary” governments that came to power through elections or similar methods, and once through coups that took place with the involvement of social-imperialists, never brought about a fundamental change in the reign of ruling classes. Another dimension of the issue is the abstract concept “democracy” that forms a basis for the dreams about “peaceful transition.”

The understanding that defines democracy as a supra-class concept, a common system that is isolated from classes, finds its ground in the assessment of “geniality” regarding imperialism. It is argued that imperialism, which collectively carries the humanity to more advanced standards and optimally develops the productive forces, contains legitimate possibilities for peaceful transformation of the system owing to the virtues of “democratic” regimes that it has established or assisted the establishment of in many countries.”

January 4, 2013: the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada hails the 7th congress of the Communist Party of Nepal - Revolutionary Maoist, led by Mohan Baidya “Kiran”.

“ Montreal, January 4, 2013
Mohan Vaidya 'Kiran' president
Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal', General Secretary

Organisatory Central Committee

Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee and all supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada, please convey our warmest revolutionary greetings to all comrades participating in the historic

Seventh National Congress of your party. Even if we can not be physically present, know that we are with you and that our solidarity is acquired to you (...).

Since 1996, our party, and the organizations that preceded it, has always supported the proletariat and the revolutionary masses of Nepal and the Maoist vanguard party. We're very proud to have participated in the first international Martyrs road construction brigade in fall 2005 in the Rolpa district.

The example of the people's war in Nepal has also led us to undertake a process unit with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), that we have unfortunately been unable to complete before the disappearance of this organization."



January 16, 2013: a Marxist Leninist Maoist National Liaison Commission (USA) sends a Letter of Solidarity and Greetings to Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist.

“ We are most excited and delighted to know that the comrades of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), after years of struggle against the Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionist clique, are forging again a party of steel to complete revolution in Nepal.

The Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionist clique had indeed not only derailed the revolutionary people's war in Nepal but had confused the entirety of the revolutionary movement with their liquidationist treachery.

In Nepal this clique had attempted to surrender the People's Liberation Army to the enemy, it had locked up the fighting comrades, seized their weapons, and negotiated their liquidation with the reactionary state.”

February 15, 2013: the Organization of the Workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist) produces a document called “Either Prachanda Or Mohan Baidya (Kiran) Means More Revisionism!”.

“Bringing forth the theory of fusion of two different kinds of strategies which was held by CPN (M) in its second national conference in 2001 was the beginning for a deeply deviationist line. However, formally this party betrayed the revolution from 2005-2006 on, but, one should consider the theoretical and ideological roots for this.

The so called theory of two different kinds of strategies which is also called “the model of fusion”, according to Prachanda is legitimate due to:

“The rapid development of science and technology, especially in the area of electronic field has brought about completely new model in regard to forwarding revolution in each country and in the world in the form of fusion of the strategies of protracted people’s war and general armed insurrection based on the above analysis.”

In such a manner, revisionism rejected the universality of PPW, and denied its strategic sufficiency.

“Reviving” the model of armed insurrection was not the point of interest for Nepali revisionists. It was a mask for overthrowing the strategy of PPW. They found no “better” means rather than escaping towards reviving an insurrectionist myth for discarding strategy of People’s war.

“Model of fusion” was not more than eclecticism. As MLM forces uphold, today, in all over the world, it is only the PPW which is the international strategy of proletariat. Denying PPW equals to denying and





discarding Maoism. Discarding Maoism equals to discarding communism and future of the world.”

April 13, 2013: constituted by different break away groups, the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified) joins the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

July 14, 2013: the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan expresses its view about the situation in Nepal, in a A Documentary Summary Analysis of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist.

“ It seems that the initial optimism about a profound and comprehensive position by the faction under Kiran’s leadership within the Unified Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist [UCPN-M]—the faction that, after the “national convention of the revolutionary faction of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist” in June 2012, has emerged as the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist [CPN-M] against Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionism—did not have a strong basis.

Despite the CPN-M’s recent congress we have not received or been able to study the documents it produced. Thus, we do not deem it necessary to produce a final and detailed conclusion regarding this party. However, even with close scrutiny of the CPN-M’s pre-congress we can find particular ideological and political positions that indicate the repetition of the deviations of the UCPN-M in a different form and shape.”

November 19, 2013: second Nepalese Constituent Assembly election. The Nepali Congress receives 29,8% of the votes (2,694,983 votes), the

Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist) 27,55% (2,492,090 votes), the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) 17,79% (1,609,145 votes).

November 29, 2014: split in the Communist Party of Nepal - Revolutionary Maoist, as the secretary Netra Bikram Chand leaves and founds the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

May 19, 2016: merger of the UCPN-Maoist, the majority of CPN-Revolutionary Maoist (but without Kiran), a faction of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (but without Netra Bikram Chand) and 7 others organizations. The name chosen is CPN Maoist Centre, with Prachanda as chairman.

July 12, 2016: Baburam Bhattarai, who left the UCPN Maoist in september 2015, founds the Naya Shakti Party (New Force Nepal), on a line of “good governance”.

June 16, 2016: merger of the Communist Nucleus Nepal party led by Hemanta Prakash Oli and CPN Maoist (Revolutionary) led by Bhupendra Neupane, as Communist Nucleus Nepal.

August 3, 2016: Following the resignation of the Prime Minister, member of the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) favorable to China, Prachanda takes his succession, supported by India and the Nepali Congress.

