

# MAOIST OUTLOOK

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| Contents:   | Page |
|---|------|
| Editorial   | 1    |
| Political Report of Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal          | 2    |
| Our Position on the Formation of the International Communist League | 8    |
| Party Unity: Necessity and Importance                               | 14   |
| On the Russo-Ukraine War  | 17   |
| Science of Revolution   | 20   |
| Press Statement   | 24   |

## Editorial

The Communist Movement is, in the main, an internationalist movement. The goal of every communist party is world communism. The guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is not possible to achieve this goal alone and in an isolated way. There is a well-known quote about the long march that every communist should keep in mind - "Either we all will reach or none of us." Developing an international organization to achieve victory at the international level is necessary. That is why Karl Marx took painstaking effort and initiative in forming the First International. He had to fight against anarchists and other trends. During this struggle, Marxism was further established and tested. Working class movements were advancing in different countries in the light of Marxism.

Lenin applied Marxism in the concrete condition of Russia in October 1917 and developed Marxism qualitatively to a higher stage, i.e., Marxism-Leninism. Lenin revealed that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action.

Communist Party of China, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, accomplished a new democratic revolution in 1949. Mao further developed Marxism-Leninism to a higher, qualitative, and third stage, i.e., Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Communist Party of Peru first used this terminology. The Committee of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) in its expanded meeting of 1993 adopted a document called "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!", which gave rise to a higher level of unity at the international level.

RIM came into being in 1984. It was a big achievement to unify the international communist movement of that time. Despite a great deal of positive contributions of RIM, one important weakness in its formation was its inability to incorporate all Maoist parties and organizations within its fold. It acted smoothly for over two decades. The lack of a matured and successful line struggle against the anti-Marxist New synthesis of Bob Avakian, Chairperson of RCP, and the capitulationism of Prachanda, the then Chairperson of CPN(Maoist), resulted in this international organization a completely defunct and liquidated situation.

Genuine efforts of regrouping the Maoists at the international level are going on at various levels. It is an arduous task to fulfil. Ideological and political lines are decisive. Leaders of the contemporary communists should also be sincere, wise, and prudent. The International Centre of Communists is a must. Our Party calls upon all Maoists to strengthen efforts to achieve unity and form an international centre. Our efforts should be "we all should reach" the goal but not "none of us will reach" as mentioned in the quote.

# **Political Report of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal**

[Presented and Approved in the Joint CC Meeting held on 29<sup>th</sup> April 2023.]

Comrades,  
Revolutionary Greetings!

Today, we are proceeding with party unification between the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and the Nepal Communist Party (Bahumat). It is a matter of tremendous happiness, enthusiasm, and dignity for us the revolutionary communists, the proletariat, and all the revolution-loving masses of people. This unity is of special importance in the current situation where the Nepali Revolution and the Great People's War experienced a grave setback, the Nepali Communist movement is dominated by right-wing revisionism and the objective condition for revolution is maturing but the subjective condition is unfavourable for the revolution and therefore it has become a tangible expression of historical necessity.

On this historic occasion of party unity, we contribute heartfelt tributes to the immortal martyrs of the Nepali people's movement, the ten-year-long People's War, and the world revolution. We express special respect to the brave warriors who were disappeared by the state during the People's War. Likewise, we convey our heartfelt respect to all the wounded and disabled warriors of the People's War.

Today, history has handed over a special epoch-making historical responsibility before us to advance toward communism through scientific socialism by accomplishing a new democratic revolution in Nepal by uniting all the true revolutionary communists and rallying all the masses of people by striking the class enemy with a thunderbolt and exposing revisionism. We are hopeful and confident that the Unity Convention will be a splendid and grand success in undertaking this kind of historical mission and responsibility with special earnestness.

## **International Situation**

The inter-imperialist contradiction between several imperialist countries, the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist within imperialist countries, and the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nation and the people are the fundamental contradictions of today's world. Though inter-imperialist antagonisms, at certain times, are intensified, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed people of the world is today's main contradiction.

Because of the arms race and nuclear stockpile among the imperialist countries in the present world, a proxy war has been going on instead of a direct war between them. This kind of war has directly imposed the burden of war on the people of war-torn countries and indirectly on the oppressed people of the world. The United States and 31 countries belonging to NATO indirectly participated in the war in favour of Ukraine on the one hand, and other countries like China, Iran, and North Korea indirectly participated on Russia's side on the other, it seems that the third world war is going on indirectly. Scepticism about the use of nuclear weapons by imperialist countries in this war is spreading the world over. However, there is no immediate possibility of a world war. Whatever is in its essence as such, China is taking the initiative to negotiate a solution to the Russia-Ukraine war. Thus, in terms of the main trends of the present world, revolution is the main trend of the present world, regardless of the situation in which revolution is achieved by war or war is ceased by revolution.

Today, neoliberal imperialism is governing the world. As a result of this imperialism, enormous crises have emerged in the world. Those crises can be summed up as follows: First, A brutal war has been imposed on the oppressed nations and the people and their natural resources have been exploited. Second, People of every country are displaced due to the oppression of imperialism.

The problem of insecure migration and emigration has arisen from this universally. Third, the balanced environment of the world is being destroyed because of the imperialist production system, and unnatural weather changes are taking place. Fourth, extreme oppression is imposed on women around the world and trafficking for commercial purposes is on the rise. Fifth, the gap between the

impoverished and the affluent, the vulnerable and the influential is widening due to the imbalance in the use of cutting-edge technology in production.

Today's era is the era of globalized imperialism and proletarian revolution. Now the Ukraine war is going on due to the rivalry between American Imperialism and Russian state capitalism. The main reasons for this war are the American intrigue to expand NATO membership to Ukraine comprising European countries contrary to the prior agreement not to expand its membership, competition to control world markets, and energy dependence of the European people on Russia. American imperialism has not only instigated to push China into war on Chinese Taipei, but it has also been provoking war in different regions of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. American imperialism has become synonymous with war as Lenin has clearly stated, "Imperialism is war".

From the death of Mao in 1976 until the decades of 1980s, a conference was held amongst the communist parties that upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as their guiding principle. After 4 years of that conference, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was constituted in 1984. RIM played an important role in fostering the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, ideological clarity, and proletariat relations. However, RIM was unofficially dissolved due to the arrest of Gonzalo, serious right-wing revisionist deviations in the Maoist leadership of Nepal, and the weaknesses of RCP America. Despite fetching relative "defensiveness" due to the dissolution of the Rim in the International Communist Movement, Maoist wars are going on in India, Peru, the Philippines, and other countries. Communists around the world are trying to unite ideologically. Although today's world imperialism is going through a serious economic, political, and cultural crisis and the objective condition for revolution is becoming favourable, the subjective condition of the revolutionaries is unfavourable, and in the current situation, the international communist movement is on the defensive position. Therefore, in this situation, it is necessary to emphasize the creation of a revolutionary international communist centre on the one hand and it is necessary to build a united front against imperialism to strengthen the subjective condition of the revolutionaries on the other.

#### **National Situation:**

Present-day Nepal is a country inhabited by multi-national, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and multi-psychological masses of people. Exploitation and oppression based on class, nationality, region, gender, and caste systems are prevailing in Nepal. With the end of the feudal monarchy, the feudal monarchy system has come to an end from the point of view of the political system. However, in terms of land ownership, political culture, and social culture, feudalism still exists. A semi-colonial situation also exists due to the continuation of unequal treaties/agreements with India including the 1950 A. D, increasing Indian interference in various areas, and the control of Indian expansionism/imperialism in some of the territories of Nepal. After the Second World War, the imperialist countries adopted a neo-colonialist policy instead of a direct colonialist policy. Using their Nepali agents, various imperialist countries have made economic, political, and strategic agreements, increased interference under the pretext of financial support and assistance, and globalized financial liberalization, exploitation, and privatization of natural resources. In these circumstances, Nepal is basically in a neo-colonial state.

Under its strategically sensitive presence between China (with its vast geography and population) on the one hand and India (with its huge population) on the other, the interests of the US and European imperialist countries have been associated with Nepal. Due to the interests of the imperialist countries of the world, all the imperialist countries are vying to build up political, economic, and strategic command in Nepal. American imperialism is making an effort to restrain politically, economically, and strategically through the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and State Partnership Program (SPP) projects in Nepal.

At this juncture, the issue of the country's national independence and sovereignty is becoming very serious in Nepal. The Indian ruling class has pushed territorial encroachment on several regions of the country, including Lipulek, Kalapani, Susta, Maheshpur, and Pashupati Nagar. At the same time, the enhancement of micro-management has been going on in the economic and political realm of Nepal. Likewise, American imperialism has increased micro-management in Nepal's economic and political

sectors by making financial investments including the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and State Partnership Program (SPP) etc.

The problems of democracy in Nepal are also becoming serious. Although outwardly speaking of freedom, equality, and fraternity, in essence, the dictatorship of comprador and bureaucratic capitalists and feudal is prevailing in Nepal. Now the ruling class is pushing to move forward in the direction of fascism. Workers, peasants, and women, including the people of such communities as Dalits, Madheshis, Muslims, and indigenous nationalities are being deprived of their rights.

Consequently, the problems of livelihood for the Nepali people are becoming severe. The country's economy is under the sway of imperialism/expansionism. The national industries of the country that generate a self-reliant economy for the people have been finished off. Due to foreign capital investment, the country's natural resources have caught up with the hands of monopoly capitalists. As a result, all these have put together unemployment, corruption, poverty, and health hazards due to epidemics in the country. The vast population of the youth workforce in the country is compelled to move abroad. As a whole, the country is running through a horrible financial crisis. Political, economic, social, and cultural crises are intensifying due to comprador-bureaucratic capitalist and feudal state power.

The basic contradictions in contemporary Nepali society are as follows: the contradiction between the capitalists and the working class, the contradiction between Nepal and imperialism/expansionism, the contradiction between oppressed Nepali people as a whole, and comprador and bureaucratic capitalists and the remnants of feudal class, and the mutual contradiction between the reactionary class. Among all these categories of contradictions, the contradiction between the entire oppressed Nepali people on the one hand and the comprador-bureaucratic capitalists and the remnants of feudal classes on the other is the main contradiction. Along with these basic contradictions, some important contradictions have appeared in present-day Nepal. The first is the contradiction between the poor farmers and the land mafia, the second is the contradiction between foreign traders and the local traders, the third is the contradiction between comprador capital and the national capital, the fourth is the contradiction between the oppressed nationalities and the oppressive nationality, and the fifth is the contradiction between the oppressed women and the oppressive patriarchal society, the six and last-there is a contradiction between the discriminated untouchable community as Dalit caste and the supposed upper caste.

While examining the national situation of the country, it is essential to mention something about the ten-year-long People's War. The people's war waged by the then CPN (Maoist) from 13 February 1996 was a great phenomenon in the history of the Nepalese revolution. The process of the Great People's War, by uniting all the downtrodden and oppressed people of Nepal, creating a new power, and government in most parts of the country, and building a People's Liberation Army up to seven divisions, advanced strongly from strategic defence to the direction of the counter offense. However, the adoption of democracy in the 21st century and recognition of federal democracy as a revisionist ideological and political line against new democracy and scientific socialism by the Prachanda and Baburam faction in the party, unholy agreements from 12 points agreement to the comprehensive peace agreement through to a malicious alliance with domestic and foreign reactionism, along the serious betrayal with Nepali people and the world proletariat, the people's war terminated. Although the topics mentioned in the constitution such as republic, secularism, federalism, and inclusive proportional representation should be deemed as partial and quantitative positive achievements, however, from the point of view of totality and quality, our pursuit to advance toward scientific socialism by establishing a new democratic state power against the reactionary state power could not be fulfilled and that constitution remained regressive.

The existing state power is trapped in a vicious circle of dire crises financially, politically, and culturally. There is growing disbelief and disgust toward the ruling class, their political parties, and the parliamentary system among the masses of people. All coalition governments formed under the parliamentary system have become very unstable. The impact of the increasing environmental pollution in the world is also affecting Nepal and the situation is also becoming dire. Nepalese people are looking for alternative political power and authority. Looking at it like this, the objective

conditions for the revolution in the country have started to become favourable. However, right-wing revisionism has remained dominant in the Nepali communist movement and the subjective conditions of the revolutionaries are still unfavourable.

In such a situation, there is a need to build a communist party as the vanguard of the proletariat which has theoretically adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guiding principle, in terms of organization militant revolutionary, terms politics having revolutionary principles, and in terms of programs a comprehensive set of revolutionary policies, tactics, and programs that have a balance of political and strategic strategies based on the economic and political analysis of the existing society, and in terms of culture has high morals and communist behaviour. Only this kind of party can strengthen the subjective conditions for revolution. Therefore, the process of unity between the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Bahumat) has been advanced to achieve this objective by rounding up the true revolutionary communists.

### **Procedure and Foundation of Party Unity**

The procedure for party unity commenced following the correspondence made by the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and pursuing the initiative for party unity by the Communist Party of Nepal (Majority). The first negotiation was held on June 18, 2022, after constituting the negotiating committee for party unity from both parties. After holding four rounds of negotiations, the meeting with the top leadership of both parties decided to form the Party Unity Coordination Committee on July 4, 2022. Discussions were held several times between the three parties by constituting a party unity coordination committee including the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) on November 8, 2022.

The issues of consensus and contention related to unity were singled out point by point during the discussion. Following the departure of the CPN (Mashal) from the last meeting (on April 4, 2023) referring to the need to discuss some issues in their central committee, party unity has been concluded by coming to a basic consensus between the CPN (Majority) and the CPN (Revolutionary Maoists) on the following issues. Job has been accomplished to prepare a solid base for ideological, political, and organizational unity after meaningful efforts on the part of both parties. Procedure and Foundation of Party Unity

### **The fundamental ideological, political, and organizational basis of party unity will be as follows:**

1. Consider Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Mao Thought as guiding principles.
2. Complete the new democratic revolution and advance towards scientific socialism.
3. Accept new democracy as a general program and scientific socialism as the fundamental program.
4. Acknowledge the role of using force in the revolution and develop the concept of it.
5. Adhere to the principle of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution.
6. Concede proletarian internationalism.
7. Operate the organization according to the principle of democratic centralism.
8. The party will be named the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal.

We have determined some important methods while preparing the party unity process and its base. The first method is the method of materialistic dialectics, which is based on unity-struggle and transformation. The second method is the consensual method. This method has a special importance in the party unity process. The third method is the method of democratic centralism. Out of these three methods, we have been emphasizing the consensual method.

### **Party Policies, Programs, and Guidelines**

1. Nowadays, Nepal is, socially and economically, in a neocolonial condition with semi-feudal and semi-colonial attributes. Nepal is a multi-national, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural, and regionally diverse country. Nepali society is divided into different castes and classes. According to the class point of view, the main enemy of the Nepalese revolution has been comprador capitalism comprising bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. The friendly forces of the current revolution are workers, peasants, squatters, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. The proletariat is the

leading, most revolutionary, and decisive force of the revolution. Imperialism/expansionism is the external enemy of revolution, while the world proletariat and the working masses are allies of revolution.

2. In terms of the present Nepal, based on the social and economic characteristics and contradictions mentioned above, the general program of our party is a new democracy, the basic program is scientific socialism, and the ultimate goal and aim is communism. For the attainment of such programs, various types of policies, strategies, and tactics should be followed as per the circumstances. Our current strategy is to establish a new democratic state power under the leadership of the proletariat and joint dictatorship of all oppressed masses. In the current situation, the first step in the political course of action of the Nepali revolutionary communists will be to reach out to scientific socialism by going through a new democratic revolution with the people's democratic dictatorship.

3. Taking into account the global socio-economic conditions in general and of Nepali society in particular, the principal strategy of the Nepali proletarian military tactics will be usurpation of the state power through armed struggle by embracing the sovereign Marxist doctrine of the use of force regarding state power, implementing the basic principles of the protracted people's war and general armed insurrection making them complementary to each other in Nepali characteristics. The essence of Nepali military guidelines is to implement the work of building a revolutionary party, a revolutionary mass base, and a revolutionary army in a conscious and planned fashion from the very beginning by developing appropriate strategies under the framework of people's struggle, people's resistance struggle and people's rebellion.

4. As soon as the step of a new democratic revolution is laid down in Nepal, we will enter into scientific socialism. The basic strategy of scientific socialism is to establish the leadership of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat. After establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, relations of production based on socialist public ownership will be created and developed. During the period of socialism, there will be a long-term struggle among the class, class struggle, class conflict, and the socialist path and capitalist path. We aim to move forward toward communism by solving class struggle and class conflicts through theoretical recognition of permanent revolution and applying it in practice through the great proletarian cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**The following are the fundamental aspects of the general program of the party:**

- a) Establishment of a new democratic republican state power.
- b) Protection of territorial integrity, sovereignty, and national independence of the country.
- c) Attainment of the fundamental rights of the working class.
- d) Ending of feudal land ownership and managing of revolutionary land reform. Commercialization and industrialization of agriculture.
- e) Development of an independent and self-reliant national economy with national industry against comprador and bureaucratic capitalism. A leading and predominant role of the state sectors with a limited private economy and cooperative system.
- f) Federalism with National and regional self-governance and identity with recognition of the right to self-determination in principle.
- g) Provision of special privileges for Dalits, women, Muslim communities, and disabled people.
- h) Nationalization of educational and health sectors.
- J) A Judicial system of public accountability and accessibility.
- j) Application of foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and Panchasheel.
- k) Establishment of democratic, national, and scientific cultures.

**The set of tactical policies will be prepared by specifying and solidifying the issues related to nationality, democracy, and people's subsistence. The immediate programs of the party are as follows:**

1. Revoke all unequal treaties and agreements, including the 1950 Nepal-Peace and Friendship Treaty, and the 1947 Britain-Nepal-India tripartite Gorkha Army sharing Treaty.
2. Nullify the Lipulekh Agreement between China and India.

3. Return the Nepali territories encroached upon by the Indian rulers including Limpiyadhura, Kalapani, Lipulek, Susta Maheshpur, and Chhapkaiya. Stop border intrusion. Regulate the borders of two (Nepal-India) countries.
4. Abrogate the MCC agreement between Nepal and America. At the same time, close the SPP contract that is being tried.
5. Put an end to non-governmental organizations (NGOs, INGOs) run by all reactionary elements including imperialism/expansionism.
6. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of Nepal should be protected, and all foreign interference should be ended.
7. Workers, farmers, women, Dalits, Muslims, indigenous nationalities, and the oppressed classes and masses of backward areas should be given special attention to the rights and interests of the masses, and they should be empowered in economic, political, and cultural fields. They should be ensured full proportional representation in all sectors of the state.
8. The right to organize and struggle for their proper demands should be ensured for the workers. Social security should be provided for workers in the informal sector. Abolish the hire and fire system and make the workers permanent. Abolish the contracting and contract system and arrange a direct employment system through industrialists.
9. Terminate feudal land ownership and arrange land, housing, and employment for the landless and poor farmers. Solve the problems of squatters, peasants, farmers, and free laborers. Arrange fertilizer at a cheap price on time. Provide appropriate subsidy. Establish a National Biovision Institute. Arrange agricultural implements and fertilizer factories. Industrialize and commercialize agriculture.
10. End the unemployment problem, generate employment in the country itself, and arrange necessary allowances until employment is arranged.
11. Respect the martyrs and provide adequate relief to the martyrs' families.
12. Immediately publicize the situation of the missing warriors and provide adequate relief to their families.
13. Provide adequate relief for the injured and disabled.
14. Arrange privileges for women, Muslims, Dalit communities, and people with disability. Provide equal rights for women in all sectors and end patriarchal oppression. Declare all discrimination against Dalits, including untouchability, as illegal and arrange strict action against the culprits. End religious and cultural oppression of Muslims. Make arrangements for the disabled to live with dignity.
15. Establish federalism, and national and regional self-governance with recognition for the indigenous nationalities, Madhesi, and the masses of the backward regions. Finish up linguistic privilege and give education to all language speakers in their mother tongue.
16. National independence and an independent economy should be built and developed. In the field of economy, expansionism/neoliberal imperialism should end the oppression and exploitation and emphasis should be placed on the development of national industries. The direction of industrialization should be provided to the country by rehabilitating the national type of industrial factories that were closed in the past. National assets and natural resources such as rivers, forests, herbs, minerals, etc. should be utilized for the benefit of the country and its people.
17. Stop the privatization, commercialization, brokering, and maffiaization that is happening in the education and health sectors and nationalize them.
18. Assert control over bribery and corruption in the courts and arrange quick, cheap, and pro-people judicial access.
19. Make arrangements to solve the issues of the People's War through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
20. Regulate the illegal market, corruption, bribery, and extortion, and take strict action against criminals.
21. Adopt an independent foreign policy, not going after imperialism/expansionism.
22. Protect archaeological materials, endangered languages, folk art and literature, songs, music, and culture.
23. Ensure academic rights and freedom of writing, artists, writers, intellectuals, and cultural activists.
24. Stop foreign interference in the media sector including information communication. Ensure freedom of expression of journalists. Ensure the rights of working journalists.

25. Immediately fulfil the legitimate demands made by the People's Liberation Army fighters who were expelled from the camp.
26. Provide certificates of Nepali citizenship to Nepali citizens in an accessible and convenient manner so as not to harm the national independence of the country.
27. Solve the problems of the banking and financial sectors. Do not charge people with high interest rates. End exploitation of usury.
28. Make a special plan to solve the serious and worsening environmental problems and implement them immediately.

### **Our Principal Slogans**

1. Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
2. Long live New Democracy!
3. Long live Scientific Socialism!
4. Down with Imperialism/Expansionism!
5. Down with Comprador and Bureaucratic Capitalism, Feudalism!
6. Let's Expose All Hues of Revisionism!
7. Unite Workers and Oppressed People!
8. Red Salute to Brave Martyrs!
9. Long Live the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal!

## **On the Formation of International Communist League**

International Department  
Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal

Fifteen Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties working in fourteen different countries have founded an organization named the International Communist League (ICL) and released its declaration on December 26, 2022. In addition, the ICL published an appeal on February 8, 2023. It reads, "We call on the entire international proletariat, all Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations to join the red flag of ICL to strengthen this new wave of world proletarian revolution." Our party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal, releases in brief its opinion on the formation of the ICL, the declaration it issued, and the call through this declaration to join the ICL.

For the past year, we were busy in bilateral discussions and debates for party unity between our two parties, the then CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) led by Comrade Kiran and the then CPN (Majority) led by Comrade Kanchan. We did not think it appropriate to publicize separate views of the two parties on ICL while the unity process was undergoing, and we did not do that. After the success of the unity talk between the two parties and the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal under the leadership of Comrade Kiran, our party has prepared its opinion on this question. Mainly because of this unity process, our party was a little late in publicizing its views on such an important international event for the world proletariat. We apologize for this.

After the undeclared dissolution of the RIM, we, the constituents of the United Party, have been continuously working hard to build an international organization under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this sense, we were positive yesterday, and we are so today to any initiative taken or to be taken by genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to build that kind of organization. Not only this, but we also have a clear opinion that the foundation of an international centre of genuine communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is inevitable today. In this situation, our party offers revolutionary greetings to the ICL and the constituent parties that formed it aimed at facing the current challenges of the world proletarian revolution.

But our party has disagreements on some issues of this international event. We believe that the way the ICL was constituted, and its declaration was adopted without discussing with many influential parties has failed to build a strong ideological and political foundation that unifies the ICM. Therefore, in the given situation, our party will not join the ICL according to its call. However, it does not mean that we do not want to work together with ICL and go ahead. Our party is in favour of trustworthy and enduring cooperation and principled unity. Also, pursuing the Maoist method of



unity-struggle-transformation and new unity on a new basis, our party wants to go ahead for a higher level of unity. We are striving for this and will continue to do so.

ICL has taken positions on many ideological, political, and organizational issues in the declaration. We agree with many of them and disagree with a few others. We believe that not by negating one another but by learning from each other's positive aspects through a healthy two-line struggle and reducing one's limitations and weaknesses can create a strong base that helps achieve a higher level of unity. This is what we mean by saying that the two-line struggle is the driving force of the Communist Party. In this context, we have presented our position in points as follows.

First, ICL says, "The principal problem for the ICM is still the dispersion of forces and the main danger is revisionism." This statement is correct. In addition, it has identified five questions that draw a demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism in the present world context. They are: "1) acknowledging or not acknowledging Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism and the necessity to combat revisionism and all opportunism; 2) acknowledging or not acknowledging the omnipotence of revolutionary violence in order to make revolution in each one's own country; 3) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity to demolish the old state apparatus and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat; 4) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, 5) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of proletarian internationalism." Our party agrees with the four points mentioned here. However, the terminology 'omnipotence of revolutionary violence' in point No. 2 seems to mislead and create some confusion. It is necessary to be clear on this.

Mao spoke in one context about the "omnipotence of war." In an article titled "Problems of War and Strategy," Mao says, "Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad; it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense, we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." (Mao, Selected Works, Vol. 2, Page 225). In this article, Mao has again said, "Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Our principle is that the party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the party." Right at this point, it is notable what Mao meant by saying, "Put politics in command" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

In that article, when Mao said "the omnipotence of war" is Marxist, he meant that violence is an integral part of Marxism but not more powerful than Marxism. By saying so, Mao has emphasized that violence is inevitable for revolution, it is universally applicable, and the role of war guided by Marxist principles in revolution is omnipotent. The way the ICL has put forward the subject matter is not logical. We believe the debate that puts aside other related aspects and picks up only those that serve one's logic does not help anyone reach a correct conclusion. If the demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism is drawn based on whether one accepts the "omnipotence of war," there is a severe danger that Marxism is reduced to revolutionary violence. The revolutionary violence is an integral and decisive aspect of Marxism but not more powerful than Marxism. We want to draw ICL's serious attention to this question. MLM is omnipotent, not the revolutionary violence. To clarify this Lenin said, "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true." (Lenin Volume 19 Page 23). But we agree that ICL's emphasis on revolutionary violence is undeniably justified in the present context where parliamentarism has prevailed in the international communist movement.

Second, the ICL declaration reads, "The new international organization is a centre of ideological, political, and organizational coordination, based on democratic centralism." Given the present level of ideological and political unity among the parties, the subjective conditions of our movement to build an international organization based on democratic centralism have not been met yet. The formation of an international organization based on democratic centralism, among Communist Parties that have weak ideological and political grounds and are unable even to publish a joint statement on May Day

does not match the actual objective condition of the movement. In the given situation, every communist party must emphasize the development of a revolutionary class struggle consistent with the characteristics of its country, learn from the experiences of the fraternal communist parties, and develop a healthy two-line struggle to achieve a higher level of unity. The form of an international organization that helps exchange experiences and organize ideological debates is a loose coordination centre of MLM parties that makes decisions based on consensus. At this time, all our international work should be focused on this.

We have acquired experiences of First, Second, and Third Internationals active in the past. Summation of all those experiences is not possible here. But it is relevant to mention Mao's conclusion about the Third International (Comintern) that operated based on democratic centralism. In a question asked after the dissolution of the Comintern, Mao said, "At present, the form of revolutionary organization known as the Communist International is no longer adapted to the necessities of the struggle. To continue this organizational form would, on the contrary, hinder the development of the revolutionary struggle in each country." (Mao, Selected Works, Vol. 6, Page 332). We must seriously take this statement of Chairman Mao, who rejected the instructions issued by the Comintern and said that maintaining an organization based on democratic centralism means hindering the development of the struggle in every country. How can democratic centralism be operative now, while it was not so in the past when the communist movement had its global influence and there were established proletarian leaders like Stalin and Mao to lead it?

Third, the draft proposal placed by the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (CUMIC) asserted that the guiding principle of the international communist movement would be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. But now, ICL's declaration does not contain the term mainly Maoism but says Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the guiding principle. It is a correct political decision. However, it is silent on why they deemed necessary yesterday and irrelevant today. It is not a minor issue that someone can retain or remove on will, but an important theoretical question. It would impart its political significance had it clarified why 'mainly Maoism' was wrong to add to our guiding ideology. By not doing this, ICL has shown its ambiguity on this question.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the integrated revolutionary principle of the proletariat. It is not the arithmetic sum of three different doctrines: Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism. Leninism was born on the foundation of Marxism and became Marxism-Leninism. In the same way, Maoism was born on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism developed. So, Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism are not separate theories; they are inseparably interconnected, and the latter stands upon the base of the former. It is what is meant by saying no party or person can be a Marxist without being a Maoist in today's era. The terminology 'mainly Maoism' separates Maoism from Marxism and Marxism-Leninism, so it is wrong. Although the declaration did not give any reason why ICL stopped saying 'mainly Maoism', its decision to adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guiding principle is correct. In today's situation, the theoretical foundation of unity of the international communist movement is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, nothing else.

Fourth, another question of debate raised by ICL in the declaration is that of people's war. The way the ICL uses the terminology people's war in its declaration is ambiguous. During the new democratic revolution in China, the form of violence developed and applied by Mao was a protracted people's war, not merely a people's war. Some communist parties, including ICL, use the term people's war. But no one has yet explained and clarified whether it is the protracted people's war defined by Mao or its different or developed form that corresponds to the present context. The ICL declaration writes, "People's War is a war of masses led by the Communist Party to conquer and defend the New Power for the proletariat." This statement implies that all forms of violence that are applied in revolution are people's wars. Here lies ICL's serious theoretical problem regarding the nature of violence. It is necessary to be clear whether the People's War is a protracted people's war as defined and applied by Chairman Mao or different from it, and if it is different, how it is so. If we are not clear on this, we will not wage revolutionary war but will be infinitely groping in the dark in pursuit of finding the correct path of revolutionary violence.

The lesson we have learned from Mao is that the protracted people's war goes through three strategic stages: namely defensive, equilibrium, and offensive. In these three stages, the guerilla war, mobile war, and positional war, respectively play principal roles. Moreover, the base area is the backbone of the protracted people's war. In capitalist countries, the development of science and technology and the information, communication, and transportation networks they have laid have made it impossible to establish the base areas. Then what kind of people's war will it be without base areas? It needs to be identified. Even in the semi/neo-colonial countries oppressed by imperialism, the protracted people's war cannot now be applied as it was done during the Chinese revolution. In this situation, the models of revolutionary violence in developed capitalist countries, where the centre of class struggle is the cities, and in oppressed countries, where the centre of revolution is the countryside, should both be developed relative to new objective conditions. It is necessary to correctly identify to what extent the two models of violence applied in the past revolutions – protracted people's war and armed people's insurrection – resemble or differ from the terminology people's war that the international communist movement, including ICL, is using now. The word people's war is lovely to hear, but if we are not clear about how it is applied in the field of revolution, the communist movement will not advance but will continue groping in the dark.

In the past few years, there have been spontaneous rebellions in many countries of the world. In the absence of revolutionary party leadership in those countries, all those rebellions have disappeared as the high waves of the sea do. We all witnessed the spontaneous uprising of the people of Sri Lanka last year. The Sri Lankan military and armed police remained mute spectators. It was inevitable for the spontaneous public outcry to subside, and in due course that did. Let us imagine, had there been a genuine revolutionary communist party and even a small but committed army under its leadership, what would have happened in Sri Lanka at that time? When we talk of using force in the revolution, we must pay attention to such events. Besides, when we speak of developing the military line, we should seriously consider the development of science and technology. The crux of what Lenin meant when he said, "the concrete analysis of concrete conditions' is the essence of Marxism" and 'Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action', remains here. We believe that none of the two models of the successful revolutionary violence of the past can be applied without timely modification that corresponds to the changing objective reality.

Fifth, the ICL declaration reads, "With the ongoing people's war in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines, and preparations for it in many other countries, a new great wave of world proletarian revolution has arisen in the world." In our party's opinion, it is a subjective analysis; it does not correspond to the present reality of the world communist movement. This analysis is nothing except a mechanical replication of Chairman Mao's 1962 statement, which said, "The next 50 to 100 years or so, as of today, will be a great epoch of radical change of the social system in the world." This interpretation was objective and correct when the Socialist Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China had spread a revolutionary message around the world, and imperialism was weak. But in the present condition, when the Communist Party is nowhere in power after 1976, and the international communist movement is dispersed, the ICL position is subjective. We disagree with this.

Six, the correct analysis of the fundamental and principal contradictions of the world is one of the essential conditions for the development and success of the proletarian revolution. ICL declaration has defined that the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, the contradiction between labour and capital, the inter-imperialist contradiction, and the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and the people are the fundamental contradictions of the world today. In addition, it has identified the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people of the world as the principal contradiction. Our party believes that the ideological contradiction between capitalism and socialism will remain so long as there are classes in society. Nevertheless, to consider it as a fundamental contradiction in the present condition when no single socialist country exists in the world does not confirm the objective reality. It is one of the contradictions of the world, but not the fundamental one at present. As far as other contradictions are concerned, they are correct.

However, there is a problem with the declaration on comprehending the relationship between the imperialist powers and the present international balance of power. There exists always a state of contention and collusion among the imperialist powers, in which the former is absolute, and the latter is relative. Imperialist powers collude with other forces to form temporary alliances and blocs to undermine their rivals. They confront each other to establish their monopoly and capture the natural resources and markets. In the present world, Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea have formed a bloc against another bloc, the US-led NATO. Right in this context, the ICL declaration reads, "The imperialist dispute is absolute, and the collusion is relative. This determines the circumstantial and temporary character of the imperialist alliances; this is why one cannot speak about "imperialist blocks;" this is revisionism. Thus, the European Union is not a block, or an "European imperialism," but an alliance of countries of Europe, under hegemony of Germany." According to them, the concept of the circumstantial alliance between the imperialist powers is Marxist, the bloc is revisionist, and the European Union is not imperialism. What kind of Marxism is this? Our party does not agree with this kind of metaphysical argument.

Again, the declaration reads, "On the side of the imperialist powers, Yankee imperialism is the sole hegemonic superpower. Russia is still an atomic superpower and there is a handful of second-tier imperialist powers." This interpretation implies that the US is the only enemy of the world proletarian revolution because it is the sole hegemonic superpower, and all others are not so because they are second-tier imperialists. Right here, the declaration does not write a single word about the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the war that is going on between the US-led NATO and Russia in Ukrainian Land. Why is ICL indecisive on such a formidable international issue with worldwide political and economic implications? We think it is a serious question.

As a result of the unequal development of capitalism, the imperialist country that is weak today can become powerful tomorrow and vice versa. No imperialist power is number one forever, including the US. At present, the development of China is pushing the US behind in many respects. And another country may emerge as a superpower tomorrow. In this way, ICL's analysis of the current balance of power between the imperialist superpowers and their level of confrontation does not correspond to the existing objective reality. It is a metaphysical understanding.

Seven, there is no unity among the Maoist forces in understanding Comrade Gonzalo and his valuable contributions to the international communist movement. Gonzalo's contribution is vital in defining Maoism, applying it in the specific conditions of Peru, and establishing it in the international communist movement. There is no doubt that his firm conviction in MLM, and relentless struggle and sacrifice for the emancipation of the world proletariat are exemplary and unique. He has exhibited a great ideal of being a revolutionary communist. The communist movement should highly admire him. Notwithstanding this, we do not think it is a mature decision to address him as Chairman Gonzalo and synthesize his contributions as Gonzalo Thought.

Eight, the issue of evaluating the Comintern and Stalin has been controversial in the international communist movement. Our party considers Stalin a true successor of Lenin, a builder of socialism in Russia, the hero of the Second World War, and a great leader of the world proletariat. Our party believes that the decision taken by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern under Stalin's leadership to defeat fascism and protect the proletarian power in the Soviet Union was correct. In this regard, our party agrees with ICL. Our party believes that although he was a great revolutionary, he made some metaphysical mistakes. We think the evaluation of Stalin made by Mao is correct.

Nine, there are differences in the contemporary communist movement as regards the evaluation of RIM. After the counter-revolution in China, and particularly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the establishment of the Committee of RIM (CoRIM) was a revolutionary step of far-reaching significance. It was a befitting reply to the apologists of imperialism when they had attacked the communist movement from all angles, saying Marxism has failed, socialism has been defeated, and capitalism has been proved to be the only viable option. The RIM Manifesto prepared by the Second International Conference held in 1984 and the document Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism adopted by the Second Extended Meeting of CoRIM held in 1993 had become the correct ideological and political guidance to the world communist movement at that time. In our party's opinion, the role

played by the RIM at that time was vital in sharing the experiences of people's wars in Peru, Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Turkey, and other countries and in building communist parties in several others. Also, RIM was established as a trustworthy Marxist-Leninist-Maoist international centre of the world proletariat among the revolutionary communists the world over.

However, given the sectarian and authoritarian trend of RCP, USA, and the unhealthy competition that had developed among the chief leaders of the prominent parties in RIM, the role of the CoRIM weakened in the later period. The class and national capitulation of Prachanda and the post-Marxist deviation of Bob Avakian resulted in the undeclared dissolution of CoRIM in 2008. Although it could not last long, we should highly evaluate the revolutionary role the CoRIM had played in most parts of its existence. Now, we are on a mission of constituting an international organization of the proletariat; the experiences the world proletariat has accumulated in the past are valuable to guide the upcoming tasks. The initiative to build an international communist centre should be based on the synthesis of the overall experiences of the first, second, and third internationals, including the RIM.

Finally,

We placed above our party's critical comments on the formation of ICL and the major ideological and political positions adopted by it. We believe the pursuit of forming ICL is admirable, and an international centre of the Maoist parties is a must in the present world situation. Nevertheless, the process of its formation, the organizational method and principle it has adopted, the ideological and political positions of the declaration, and the path of revolution it has pursued do not correctly grasp the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles. There are problems with militarist thinking in the document adopted by ICL. Instead of understanding the organization as a unity of opposites, the sectarian and monolithic thinking that entertains the unity of like-minded parties seems to prevail in the ICL. The opinion of our party is that the ideological and political line expressed in this manifesto cannot unite the dispersed MLM parties and thereby face the current challenges imposed by imperialism. Instead, it has split the movement and made it weaker.

The international unity of the revolutionaries is the imperative need of the moment. At present, the communist parties are not only internationally scattered but also, are not ideologically and politically strong and unified as well. An organization based on democratic centralism in such a shaky situation cannot bring desired results. It is the time to build a solid ideological and political base that enables scattered Maoist forces to confront the impending challenges. The healthy and sharp two-line struggle that helps develop ideological and political unity can materialize this task. It makes us go along the spiral path to achieve a higher level of unity through unity-struggle-transformation, not through a circular one of unity-struggle-unity. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, Mao emphasized that the target of the two-line struggle should be revolutionary transformation. It is the imperative need of the present day to grasp and apply it scientifically.

ICL declaration says that all fundamental contradictions, including the world's principal contradiction, are intensifying. This is a correct analysis. Now, the imperialist superpowers do not seem prepared for a world war, but the danger of the inter-imperialist conflict turning into a Third World War still exists. Mao's synthesis that either the world war would give rise to a proletarian revolution, or the proletarian revolution would prevent the world war, therefore, revolution is the main trend at present is relevant even today. But an important weapon to turn this basic trend into reality is the united intervention of revolutionary communists scattered around the world based on MLM.

Many important revolutionary communist parties have remained outside even after the formation of ICL. They have presented their disagreements with ICL in their political documents. In the given situation, the ideological and political line adopted by ICL is short of making the genuine Maoist Parties rally under its red flag. To realize the international unity of the genuine Communists, it is necessary to take the initiative from a newer height. It is our firm opinion that every genuine Maoist Party should play its creative role in building a new international coordination centre among those parties united in ICL and outside of it. It is the need of the day. We are ready to play a required role in this regard. Prejudice does not help us unite. Working without prejudice can the scattered Maoist parties be united at the international level. And by so doing the ideological, political, and

organizational basis to build a communist international centre based on democratic centralism is prepared for tomorrow. In the present context, it is the appropriate way to bring together the entire scattered revolutionary communists in one international centre.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!  
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!  
Down With Imperialism and All Sorts of Reactions!  
Down With All Sorts of Revisionism!  
Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

## **Party Unity: Necessity and Importance**

– Com. Kiran

### **Background of Unity:**

While the Nepalese Communist movement has remained divided, we have been making necessary efforts and taking initiatives in the later part of time to unite the revolutionary communist parties, groups, and individuals. The result of these efforts and endeavours has been the completion of party unity between our two parties. It is a matter of great pleasure and pride. We consider this unity as an expression of historical necessity, and it has a special historical significance.

In which background and why did we make the historic decision of party unity? The joint press statement issued by the main leaders of the former CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) and CPN (Bahumat) has given a brief answer to this question. It reads, "In the background of the contradiction between the objective world favourable to revolution and the subjective world adverse to it, the negative situation created by repeated splits in the Nepalese Communist Movement and the positive results arising from the specific historical unities and inspired by the demands of the Nepalese exploited and oppressed working class people, communist leaders and activists the historical decision of uniting two parties, the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and Communist Party of Nepal (Majority), has been taken." (Joint press statement dated April 7, 2013).

Both of our parties took an initiative for party unity with CPN (Mashal) and in that process, a tripartite party unity coordination committee was also formed. However, our differences remained on some theoretical and political issues, and the party could not unite with CPN (Mashal) right then. And a tripartite agreement was made to take necessary initiatives and make efforts for unity in the future. Our efforts to unite the true revolutionary communists continue.

### **Basis of party unity:**

What are the main bases of party unity between the two parties? The joint statement reads: "The guiding principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general program of the new democratic revolution, the basic program of scientific socialism, the mandatory role of force in the revolution, the organizational system of democratic centralism, the end of the current state power and parliamentary system, the proletarian dictatorship against the bourgeois dictatorship, proletarian internationalism, autonomy to oppressed nationalities and territories with the right to self-determination, the historical role of the Great People's War and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are the foundations of our unity." (Joint press statement dated April 7, 2013).

Similarly, mentioning the ideological, political, military, and organizational bases of party unity, the political report adopted in the joint unity congress refers to, "one, considering Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guiding principles; two, completing the new democratic revolution and advancing towards scientific socialism; three, accepting new democracy as a general program and scientific socialism as the basic program; four, acknowledging the role of violence in the revolution and developing the concept about it; five; adopting the principle of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; six, accepting proletarian internationalism; seven, running the organization according to the principle of democratic centralism; and eight, naming the party as Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal." (Political Documents of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal, Page 12, Internal Publication Department June 2023).

The fundamental bases of party unity mentioned here are relatively correct. It is necessary to enrich and develop them through extensive discussions and debates till the National Unity Congress is convened.

### **Method of party unity:**

To advance the process of party unity, it is necessary to determine a certain method and proceed based on it. In this context, we have determined three types of methods, they are – the method of materialist dialectics, the method of consensus, and the method of democratic centralism. As regards the method, the political report adopted in the unity convention reads, "We have determined some important methods while preparing the party unity process and its basis. The first method is the materialist dialectics, it is based on unity-struggle and transformation. The second method is the consensus method. This method has a special importance in the party unity process now. The third method is the method of democratic centralism. Out of these three methods, we have emphasized the consensual method." (Ibid page 12).

Of the three methods of party unity the method of materialist dialectics, that is, the method based on unity-struggle and transformation is the universal method. However, this method cannot be forcefully applied at present. Likewise, the method of democratic centralism is a general method of party life. But in this transitional period of party unity, it is also difficult to apply this method to the overall issues of differences and disagreements. In the given situation, we have considered the consensual method to be a relatively appropriate basis, and this is the correct one for now.

### **Dialectics of development of the communist movement:**

On this question, every object is based on the universal dialectical principle: "One divides into two". It also applies to the Communist Party and party unity as well. Like every object, the history of the international communist movement is based on the dialectics of "one divides into two". Highlighting the experiences and lessons of the international communist movement, the Communist Party of China led by Mao said, "The Communist League, the First International, and the Second International, all of which were originally unified, divided in two in the course of their development and became two conflicting parts. Each time the international struggle against opportunism and splittism carried the international working-class movement forward to a new stage and enabled it to forge a firmer and broader unity on a new basis. The victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Third International were the greatest achievements in the struggle against the Second International's revisionism and splittism." (The Great Debate, Volume I, 1956-1963, Page 242). Drawing the essence of that experience and lesson, the Chinese Communist Party further says, "Unity, struggle or even splits, and a new unity on a new basis – such is the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement." (Ibid)

Yes, the dialectics of the historical development of the Nepalese communist movement is also like this. The party unity that we have realized now is also an expression of unity, struggle, and up to even division, and a new unity on a new basis. It is very much necessary for us to assimilate the essence of the lesson and experience of the international and Nepalese communist movements.

On the historic occasion of May Day, 2023, the declaration of unity between our two parties was issued. On that occasion, the declaration of the party unity issued publicly by the Chair Comrade Kiran, said, "The process of unity-struggle-transformation has weakened in the Nepalese communist movement, while unity-struggle-disintegration has aggravated. On this occasion, we pledge to make the process of unity-struggle transformation prevail." (Party Unity Statement on May Day 2023). The commitment expressed in the Party Unity Statement issued on International Workers' Day is of special significance, and we must grasp it well.

### **The question of strengthening party unity:**

We realized unity between the two parties and called this unity a unity of historical significance. It is a good thing. But it is not enough. To make this unity a unity of real historical significance, it is necessary to strengthen this unity ideologically, politically, organizationally, and emotionally. Not

only that, the question of strengthening party unity is also a question of going ahead towards building a new type of party.

The Communist Party is a political party and the vanguard of the proletariat. However, our party has not become so. Even though our objective is to go from socialism to communism, we still have strong petty-bourgeois thinking, tendencies, pollution, and mentalities. Petty capitalism is based on individualism, it emphasizes individual ego and selfishness, not society, collectivism, and socialism. For us to become true communists and build a revolutionary communist party, it is necessary to continue the ideological struggle against various non-proletarian thinking, tendencies, and mentalities, including the petty-bourgeois ones.

To strengthen Party unity, we need to focus on and pay attention to the following issues now.

Firm adherence to the party line. Mao said that the correctness or otherwise of ideological and political lines decides everything. The ideological, political, military, and organizational line our party has adopted is correct in the relativity of the present situation and it is necessary to follow it firmly and go ahead with its implementation. It is necessary to enrich and develop this line further during the Unity Congress.

Second, the conduct of class struggle. At present, we must conduct the class struggle effectively along with various forms of people's struggles to protect national independence, attain democracy, and ensure people's livelihood, based on the party's policy, program, and line. By advancing the class struggle, we can develop relations with the people, build mass bases, and establish the party.

Third, the handling of internal contradiction. The party is a division of one into two. Therefore, inner struggle or two-line struggle is inevitable in a living party. The starting point of the two-line struggle is the inner struggle, while the culmination of the inner struggle is the two-line struggle. Therefore, we should not be worried that there is an inner struggle or contradiction in the party, but we should correctly identify and solve it. The party leadership rank should lay special emphasis on solving the existing struggle or contradiction in the party in a friendly manner in time.

Fourth, the adoption of a correct working style. For a revolution, it is not only necessary to have a correct line, but also should follow a correct style of work. From Marx through Lenin to Mao, the main aspects of the developed and established working styles are – identity between theory and practice, close relationships between party leaders, workers, and the masses, and adoption of self-criticism and criticism. We must grasp this type of working style well and follow it firmly.

Fifth, the system of unified leadership. The system of unified leadership in the party ranks has special significance. Nevertheless, owing to the law of 'one divides into two', debates, disputes, and discords continue to occur in the party, and they must be regularly synthesized and resolved. However, it is a must to have unity in understanding the past decisions, policies, and their implementation. It is based on a unified leadership system. Also, there is a need for team spirit in the entire party and especially in the leadership ranks at different levels. What this means is that the leadership ranks should be ready to accomplish the party job by working together, helping each other, and following collective leadership and individual responsibility. The system of unified leadership can be established only based on the correct party line.

Sixth, the question of party discipline. Firm discipline is a must in the party to implement party line, policy, and its decisions. Even if you are not satisfied with the policies and decisions of the party, you can register a note of dissent but must implement them in practice. Party discipline is a conscious and advanced discipline, and it is based not on pressure but on a high level of consciousness. To make the party capable of revolution, it is mandatory to bring under disciplinary measures the members who disagree or openly oppose outside other than the related committee, make the existing friendly party contradiction antagonistic, put internal matters on social networks, and disobey the party policy and decision.

**Preparation of Unity Congress:**



The National Unity Congress is very important in strengthening and systematizing party unity. We are preparing for the unity congress. In this process, along with the policies and programs of the party, comprehensive discussions and debates will be held to enrich and develop the overall ideological, political, military, and organizational line. In this process, we must rise above the previous party concepts and prejudices and go ahead according to the objective of discovering the truth from the facts, and we must be determined to develop the National Unity Congress as a proletarian research centre for the Nepalese revolution.

### **Struggle against revisionism:**

In the international communist movement, revisionism has been manifested as a right, centre, and ultra-left opportunism, and now right revisionism is prevailing in Nepal. Currently, right revisionism is becoming a major obstacle to the Nepalese revolution, communist movement, and revolutionary communist unity. Right revisionists of various kinds are working hard to break our party unity and destroy it.

At present, right revisionism in Nepal is vulgarizing Marxism in the name of creative development and original application of theory, by fostering the idea of institutionalizing the current parliamentary system and constitution, defending comprador and bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal class state power, practicing millerandism/cabinetism, opposing revolution and serving counter-revolution, and it is degenerating into reaction. In this situation, we need to wage a ruthless ideological struggle against right revisionism.

### **Conclusion:**

Today we face both great opportunities and serious challenges. The party is going to develop with new and more strength amidst this unity. New hope and enthusiasm are being communicated in the party. An environment that fosters the morale of the people and the revolutionaries is developing. It has helped prepare the basis for making the subjective conditions favourable for the revolution. These are new possibilities. But, on the other hand, class enemies and right revisionists are working hard to destroy the party unity. In addition, the petty-bourgeois mentality existing in us and the mistakes and shortcomings arising from it have also become obstacles in strengthening the party unity. It is a grave challenge before us.

Currently, it is necessary to understand the dialectics of the possibilities and challenges, open the doors of great possibilities, and move forward firmly facing serious challenges. Party unity is a process that can be completed and developed only by facing numerous challenges. Facing all kinds of challenges under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we can and must go ahead.

## **On the Russo-Ukraine war**

– Com. Gaurav

A devastating war has been going on between Russia and Ukraine for the last one and a half years. Because of this war, hundreds of thousands of people, especially the Ukrainians, have fled from their respective countries. The Chief of the European Union stated last November that a hundred thousand Ukrainian armed forces have been killed to date. Russia has also suffered a great loss including some important senior army generals being killed in the war. Imperialist and so-called powerful countries have been divided into two major camps. Until now, four countries with nuclear arms namely, Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran are on one side and thirty-one countries of NATO led by the USA are on the other. Advanced massive lethal weapons have been used in the war. They accuse each other that the other side has used nuclear weapons. In the given situation, many analysts anticipate that World War III is imminent. That is the reason why the Russo-Ukrainian war has become the most prominent issue of concern in the world today. The present article will mainly confine to various aspects of this issue.

### **Historical background**

Because of the devastating war going on between Russia and Ukraine, hundreds of thousands of people have been victimized. It seems to be strange today that Russia and Ukraine in history were parts of the same country. Both were within the territory of the then Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (Soviet Union or USSR) and their common aim was to establish a socialist system throughout the world.

The first socialist revolution of the world was accomplished in Russia in October 1917 under the leadership of Lenin. It delivered the most positive message to the whole world. It had produced unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm and activeness. Union of Soviet Socialist Republic was established on December 30, 1922, to promote the socialist and communist movement in the world in which both Russia and Ukraine were involved. This campaign was gaining momentum under the leadership of Stalin. After the death of Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev usurped the leadership of the government and the Communist Party. He vulgarized the theory of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. He advocated so-called peaceful co-existence, the establishment of socialism through peaceful competition, and so on. He advocated anti-Marxist-Leninist principles and sabotaged socialism by using the name "socialism". As a result of this phenomenon, there was a big setback to socialism that helped imperialism to retain strength. During the decade of the 90s even those so-called "socialist states" failed to sustain. The "socialist system" of East Europe and some other countries collapsed. The Berlin Wall collapsed.

Different types of capitalist systems prevailed in the former Socialist countries which gave rise to new contradictions and domination among them. Russia itself changed into a social-imperialist country. Because of the rise of superpowers US imperialism and Russian social imperialism, the scenario of the world changed significantly. Due to the emergence of two superpowers – the US and Russia and their domination, the world was basically divided into two camps, which gave rise to the Cold War. The process of establishing the so-called "democracy" of the US model by disbanding the Russian model of "socialism" was rampant. Right at this situation Ukraine decided to break out from the then Soviet Union on August 24, 1991. Because of the hostile contradiction and clashes between the countries of NATO led by US imperialism and other countries led by social imperialism, situations of confrontation and war prevailed in the world.

NATO gave a public call to the next-door neighbours of Russia – Ukraine, and Georgia, to join the military treaty organization in 2008. Massive anti-Russia protests were organized in Ukraine. Putin was not ready to accept a NATO partner right at the threshold of Russia. The tug of war was going on. However, the situation of breaking the war did not arrive till the pro-Russian Mr. Victor Yankovich was president of Ukraine. When pro-US candidate Zelensky won the presidential election in 2019, he pursued his line of joining NATO. War was declared between Ukraine and Russia on February 24, 2022.

### **Confusion about the nature of war**

Apparently, this war seems to be going on between Russia and Ukraine within the territory of Ukraine. Russia is an imperialist country and Ukraine is a developed capitalist country. This war is considered purely a show of strength between the two. It is also considered a war imposed by a superpower against an oppressed country. In essence, it is a proxy war fought between two powerful imperialist countries – the US and Russia.

President Zelensky is leading a puppet government that is playing in the hands of US imperialists. Mr. Joe Biden, not Zelensky decides all about this war. Has there been a direct confrontation between the two imperialist powers? No. In fact, this is a proxy war going on between the two countries. NATO member countries are supplying weapons, dollars, pounds, and euros in abundant quantities to Ukraine, for various excuses. How long will they continue the supply? It all depends on whether their interest is fulfilled.

### **The danger of world war!**

Lenin said, "Imperialism is war". This dictum still holds good today. It is very difficult to find any war in the world, where US imperialism is not involved. The US earns a lot of money by selling arms.

About 75 years have passed since the WWII. Another world war has not broken out. Does it mean that this world is free from war? No. There are numerous regional wars and proxy wars due to the contention between two superpowers. There was an era of Cold War until 1991. US imperialism achieved superiority in wealth and military power and exercised hegemony in the world. The world had become unipolar. After facing defeats and confronting various crises the position of the US went on declining. New world powers like China emerged to challenge the hegemony of the US. The world has become multi-polar.

In the given situation, is it possible for a new world war to break out? It will be too difficult for anybody to give a correct answer. What Mr. Putin and Mr. Joe Biden are thinking about will be important to speculate it. The opinions they are expressing are of a conflicting nature.

Mr. Putin during the start of the war did not call it a war, he named it a "special military operation". It implied that he was minimizing the strength of the other side. He had predicted that "Kyiv, the capital will fall within 72 days". But one and a half years have already passed, but Kyiv is still standing. Ukraine is getting abundant amounts of weapons and money from the US and thirty-one members of NATO, to run the war. It seems the war will take a protracted form.

In his speech declaring war on Ukraine, Putin all but openly vowed that any international intervention in the conflict would trigger nuclear retaliation. He challenged, "To anyone who would consider interfering from the outside; if you do, you will face consequences greater than any you have faced in history". "I hope you hear me." Joe Biden declared Putin "a war criminal". If we make up our minds based on these statements, it seems that a new world war is imminent. But there are other versions that reflect the other possibility.

US president said on March 11, "We will not fight a war against Russia in Ukraine" "Direct conflict between NATO and Russia is World War III, something we must strive to prevent."

As a gesture of negotiation, Putin has put forward conditions and said that he wants assurance from NATO, Ukraine, and the US that Ukraine will not join NATO. Russians do not want a wider war with NATO. Mr. Putin has also said, "We do not want to fight against all the NATO countries." One of the reasons behind this war is the issue of who will have control of 14 nations attached to the former Soviet Union.

It seems that America does not want to enter the world war. Their internal policy seems to weaken its international contender as much as possible. Therefore, the US wants this war to be prolonged, wants to supply arms as much as possible, and extends and tightens the international sanctions on Russia.

There are some other strong reasons which help prevent world war. One, it will be more devastating than the previous two world wars. Nobody would like to be involved in a game in which everything is destroyed completely including oneself. Two, the capability of nuclear weapons is not confined to only a few superpowers. Even some third-world countries have achieved that potential. It seems that breaking out of a new world war is least probable. But it would be wrong to say a complete "No".

### **Role of UN**

193-member UN General Assembly meeting was held in early March and passed a resolution criticizing Russia for waging war against Ukraine, voting 141 to 5 with 35 abstentions during the 11th emergency special session.

US including NATO countries are tightening the sanctions against Russia and are trying to isolate it completely. It is an open secret that Beijing has full support for Moscow in this war. But China has officially claimed that it will play the role of mediator in the war. Russia is seeking further support for weapons and financial matters from China.

India seems to have a policy of collusion and contention with China, India shares China in important international forums like BRICS. But their armed forces clashed with each other at Arunachal Pradesh. During the period of Indira Gandhi, India had signed a military treaty with Russia for 20 years. The BJP-led coalition government is also trying to strengthen relations with the US at present.

Finally, India abstained during the time of voting in the UN Assembly, in the event of the Russia-Russia-Ukraine war.

### **Nepal in support of NATO!**

Almost every government in Nepal claims to pursue a non-aligned foreign policy, which they say is appropriate based on the geopolitical situation of Nepal. But surprisingly present coalition government voted for NATO, the US, and Ukraine. A similar coalition government dramatically passed the US-sponsored MCC project from the parliament. Since then, most of the parliamentary parties of Nepal have become puppets of the US.

### **Peoples concern**

Whether it be Russia or Ukraine, governments are suppressing the interests of the people. It is evident that none of the governments have enjoyed mass support. It may be a sign that this war is going on in the interest of reactionaries. Innocent people have been killed. People are fleeing from their homeland in the hope of getting shelter in neighbouring countries. According to a report two to three hundred thousand armed forces have been killed till now. Five thousand people have been imprisoned in Russia, who protested the war. The Zelensky government has banned all parties and organizations which oppose NATO.

### **End of the unjust war!**

There are two types of war in general - just war and unjust war. Among the two sides, one is the imperialist power Russia and the other is Ukraine which is the puppet of US imperialism. This war is going on in the interest of imperialist powers. America and NATO have been trying to incorporate the two strong states of the former Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Georgia into the fold of NATO since 2008.

There is no question of supporting either of the two sides. This is an unjust war and should come to an end as soon as possible. We express our sympathy and support to all the people who are victimized by the war.

## **Science of Revolution**

– Com. Kanchan

The revolutionary people of Nepal are in the initial phase of rejuvenating and revitalizing the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal. This initiative is taking place after a long political stagnation, which occurred as a result of a degeneration of the erstwhile Maoist revolution due to the neo-revisionist position of the erstwhile leadership: Prachanda and Bhattarai. A lot of changes have undergone in the last two decades since the people's war terminated. New types of contradictions have emerged, and some old ones have been resolved. New types of hostile forces emerged in the ashes of the old ones. The poor peasants have been superseded by poor workers, big farmers have been superseded by middle-class groceries in the cities, and landlords have been superseded by the mafia comprador capitalist. These achievements have been the great outcome of the ten years of people's war. Once again, the basic features of the society remained oppressed and oppressors. The comprador bureaucratic capitalist system, as per its predatory character, is engaged in meeting its exorbitant lust of collecting booty out of the flesh and blood of the people. As oppressed, the broad masses of people are reeling on and over the hot sand of the Middle East, being rushed into the ghettos of Malaysia, and pushed into the dungeon of South Korea and many other international labour markets, selling their unskilled manpower. While capitalists are accumulating continuously increasing profits as explained by Thomas Piketty in his book 'Capital in the Twenty-first Century' the ratio of return is greater than growth " $r > g$ ", (depicted from Gunaraj's article to Maowadi, and Sam Thompson's, 'Piketty's  $r$  is greater than  $g$  thesis') the families of the workers at home are leading a reverse life making greater expenditure than income " $E > I$ ", consuming better goods than production, bearing bigger social burdens than their strength. These facts are causing the revolutionaries to get united, rectifying their past experiences, and forging

further strategies, tactics, and programs for real revolution and to avoid phony revolution. This situation pushing people towards the quest for a new political system, a new political power, and completely a new kind of society, which is Socialism and Communism, is a high stake and great challenge to the revolutionaries.

Aforesaid situation has been engendered by the basic contradictions prevailing in the country and hence the society has been propelling towards sharpening and exploding at any moment. For these, there is not a single event in the Nepalese society as Lenin argued while discussing people's war that "no single event could decide the outcome of such war" (Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force* P.168), there are many factors for public explosion against the bureaucratic comprador capitalist society. In the realm of basic contradictions, the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class, the contradiction between the Nepalese nation and imperialist-expansionist countries, and the contradiction between the entire Nepalese people and the comprador bureaucrat capitalist state are the fundamental contradictions. Among these, the contradiction between the entire Nepalese and the comprador bureaucratic capitalist state has been the principal contradiction. These basic contradictions have engendered, fostered, and nurtured other contradictions and modus operandi of the state apparatus. These basic contradictions have not only given birth to contradictions between the state and people but also breeds the contradictions among people themselves. To resolve these contradictions, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal has put forward a set of political line as the People's Republic and scientific socialism as strategy, and tactics and programs subsequently matching with according to the strategy. Revolutionary people are now sketching a paradigm that is under a framework of a set of political line - strategy, tactic, and tactical program. Once again, as a law of nature, that is, as per the law of dialectical materialism, the revolutionary situation is taking a rising tide. Hence, the RCPN has emerged not only as a challenging force against reactionary comprador capitalists but also as an alternative political power to establish the People's Republic and scientific socialism. To meet the goal set up by the party, what is needed is a revolutionary theory, a revolutionary Party or a revolutionary organization, and a revolutionary political line.

Before going to the fundamental basis for revolution, a revolutionary party needs to pay attention to which basis of philosophy is it going to make revolution. No need to say that there are two philosophies: one is idealism which had long ago been extinguished along with the end of German Philosophy, written by Engels, and another is dialectical materialism emerged along with the dawn of Marxism. Marxism is humanism, naturalism, individual identicalism, social collectivism, socialism, and communism, in essence, Marxism is the kernel of scientific understanding that grasps the essence that the human brain itself is a matter, in a particular form. Marxism is truth and the only truth that guides us to understand the entire phenomenon in the cosmos and beyond. This is how scientific research and hitherto made experiments from Newton's gravity to Einstein's relativity and Stephen's theory of the Big Bang and singularity proved the truth of dialectical materialism. Still, the extinguished idealism keeps on taking space as an appendage and will take to entire phase, as long as the validity of philosophical museum remains for human beings.

Now, in the question of the revolution of a particular country, the revolutionary party needs to ponder over whether and how these laws of gravity, relativity, singularity, and the big bang apply in various forms. As per the natural laws of matter in motion, these are being applied everywhere and universally, so as apply in parties and society too. From the scientific point of view, or the standpoint of philosophy, nothing is created without destruction. According to the theory of physical science, the Big Bang creates many things together with the destruction of many others, singularity comes to happen after the destruction of plurals, a black hole is created with the destruction of a bright field, and vice versa. Since the human brain is a conscious form of matter, whoever musters the algorithms, musters in society to change into their interest. Besides many idealist philosophers, Marx, Lenin, and Mao, together with Engels, Stalin, and Chao En Lai were the great dialectical materialist philosophers who mustered such algorithms not only in the interest of the proletariat but also, in a broad sense, in the interest of humanity.

Lenin, Mao, and other revolutionary leaders of the 20th century had best calculated the balance of power by countering traditional warfare with people's war by applying gravity, relativity, Big Bang as

insurrection, and developing from quantity to quality. In terms of quantity and quality, "Lenin put it apparently in a discussion of talks with Stalin – 'quantity has a quality of its own'." (Rupert Smith *The Utility of Force*, p139). Mao's *People's War* is another algorithm weighing a balance on one side a formidable enemy Chiang Kai Sec and the broad masses of oppressed people on the other. Hence, we have to conclude that war without politics is terrorism, politics without war is reformism, and political strategy and tactic without one is lopsided. And what is the outcome? The outcome is not as the revolutionary desired, but something else developed according to the law of political gravity.

Let us come to the point on basic principle a revolutionary party, a revolutionary theory, and a revolutionary political line. Lenin stated explicitly, "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". What do we understand by this statement? It is obvious that to bring a revolution into being, revolutionaries must have a revolutionary party; a revolutionary theory, which is a revolutionary political line; and a revolutionary organizational system. Without a proper combination of these components, neither one can make a revolution, nor can one ever lead a revolutionary party as a vanguard of the proletariat, nor can it be an instrument to lead the masses of the people for revolution. Thus, a Communist Party is a vanguard of the proletariat, a means to make revolution, and an organization of communist leaders.

Why do people need a revolutionary party? Marx analysed, "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganization of the working men's party". He further crystallized, "One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge." (Marx Vol 20 p 12). Giving examples from Germany, Italy, and France, where the revolutionary situations were getting matured, where the people were being reorganised for the revolutionary movement, Marx suggested that a number alone means an organisation alone is not sufficient to realize revolution. Together with the organization, this should be combined with knowledge, the knowledge of class struggle, the knowledge to win political power and the knowledge to apply the dictatorship of the proletariat or, to implement the democracy of the proletariat. Furthermore, Lenin said, "Only he is Marxist who extends the reorganization of the class struggle to the reorganization of the proletariat". And Mao added, "lack of clarity on this question will lead him to revisionism". Having a party is to gain strength. The strength that weighs several times bigger than the enemy can win the battle. To conquer a revolutionary political power, the people must have five powers superior to the enemy, namely a revolutionary party with a revolutionary line, disciplined mass organizations under the leadership of the party, a high level of morality of the party members, willingness to win, and use of force. This is required because, as we know very well every individual struggle hard to get free from the misery imposed by capitalist exploitations. However, one cannot be freed himself since one has to enter into a production relation designed according to capitalist exploitation, and as long as such production relation is abolished; one's freedom cannot be achieved at any cost. Here Marx has brilliantly synthesized, "The isolated efforts of the individual workers can do nothing to curb this exorbitant lust for surplus value" (preface of Vol 30 Marx). This is why a party, a party with a revolutionary political line is absolutely necessary.

Now what is a revolutionary theory? A revolutionary theory is a whole set of political lines portraying both political and military strategy, tactic, and program that reflects a complete paradigm in order to win confidence to enter into a revolutionary process. In the lack of this kind of confidence to win, masses of people from any country in the world shrink back from advancing to struggle. Only those people who are convinced and boosted up ideologically, politically, and organizationally and have visualized a clear future to achieve, have entered into the struggle. The grand example of such leadership is Lenin, Mao, and many other leaders in the revolutionary movement in the world. Contrary to this, any oppressed people, bugged in the mire of political opaque and lack of ideological clarity, either bound to fall into the pit of religious fanatics or nationalistic sectarianism.

And what is a revolutionary organization? Of course, a revolutionary party itself is a revolutionary organization. Still, it must go through a revolutionary organizational principle. All the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations in many countries have been practicing organizational principles set out

by Lenin and further developed by Mao for some laws that emerged as a necessity to incorporate into the organizational principles in the course of the revolutionary people's war in China. Not only our party, but all the Nepalese Communist parties of different hues and cries have been practicing these organizational principles. Need not to say what they are yet this goes as all party members are subordinated to the party committee, all the lower committees are subordinated to upper committees, all committees are subordinated to the central committee and the central committee is to subordinated to the congress. similarly, there should be democratic centralism and that means democracy in forging policy and centralism in applying that policy. Centralism should be based on democracy and democracy should be guided by centralism. These were the laws developed by Lenin. Mao developed further to resolve inner contradictions in the party.

There are two types of contradictions, friendly and hostile. Friendly contradictions emerge inside the party and hostile contradictions develop with hostile class. To resolve these inner contradictions, the party must apply "criticism and self-criticism", and the method of "unity-struggle-transformation". These laws are not only used by the proletarian organization but also by the bourgeoisie.

Here the proletariat have to pay attention that a particular practice of a particular person or group of persons generate particular ideas that may have opposite vision in viewing particular events or objects within one party and one group of leaders. Sometimes, there are certain conditions and circumstances in class struggle and social phenomena where one object is seen in different positions while viewed from different angles and through different trajectories. In this context, one could be confident in one-sided facts of objective reality. If not viewed from all angles, the truth remained obscured. This could lead the party either to split or develop into a hostile contradiction.

Further, unless we all enter into communism, socialism itself is a transitional state between capitalism and communism. It happens because as long as there is capitalism in any corner of the world, let alone in one country, capitalist impact always falls into a socialist society. Due to this reality, although a communist party is supposed to be a socialist unit, still it is smeared by capitalist values in practice and cultural behaviour. A communist party must give space to rectify these elements by applying their ideas in practice. This could be arranged through a revolutionary administration and socialist democracy. These problems appeared during the period of making revolution and its aftermath. In history, we can observe the content of the problem and subsequent solutions in Lenin's New Economic Policy, Mao's Great Leap Forward, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the grand examples of this kind of socialist democracy.

We have observed in the Nepalese communist movement, and the world that while there is a class struggle at surge; many ideological debates are subordinated to that struggle. This subordination is never an absolute necessity theoretically, while in practice, because of the fierce struggle with the enemy and life and death battle on the field, self-controlling discipline becomes principal instead of political debate. But while class struggle is not in practice, political debate either takes a form of scholastic or the bearers take a stubborn position. This is what we have seen during the people's war in Nepal. For many leaders and cadres, Prachanda and his supporters almost posed above criticism. Even after coming to the peace process, mounted on parliamentarian theatre, and assuming government chair some of the PLA leaders had threatened the then comrade in the arm to Prachanda for physical punishment **if** he raised his voice at the counter and hosted a flag of rebellion against revisionism. These were the grunt and groan from the political degeneration of the gun, this was the severe vulgarization of the political power, and not any logical argument from an ideological and political standpoint.

In the second national conference of the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), resolutions were adopted to prevent counter-revolution in the socialist country. Contents of resolutions are as follows: socialist government should be elected from the masses of people; the party should contest among candidates; government should be subordinated to the proletarian democracy or dictatorship; people should be armed with weapons and military training; and the party should be subordinate to the people. When the political degeneration of the erstwhile leadership happened, these five principles were not only to lose ground but also inadequate to deal with real problems. The armed Maoists could not counter the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and rather quickly swept towards degeneration.

This experiment has proved that in terms of ideological position, armed and unarmed people with and without guns are equal and hapless unless they are ideologically equipped. If they are to prevent counter-revolution, all the masses must be trained ideologically from mother's culture at home and from grade one at school.

Is it possible to generate revolutionary administration, cultural habits, and self-propelling discipline of every individual to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the mothers' lap at home and nursery tutor at school? It is, of course! The Constitution of the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Bahumat) addresses section eleven and articles fifty-two and fifty-three aiming at institutionalizing socialism among the masses so that it becomes a homely culture for every individual to practice socialism. A lot many ideological and political works have been made by the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary-Maoist), especially on the importance of gathering power against imperialism (Documents of the National Conference p.6 paragraph II), and "New Democracy as an inseparable part of Scientific Socialism" (Ibid P.72).

Just as capitalist society is institutionalized culturally at home thanks to capitalist production relations, thereby generating social relations, cultural relations, and ideas developed from the base of that culture, the socialist mode of production will also generate its social relations, and cultural relations and ideas will also be generated accordingly.

We should consider a package of programs for the science of revolution, and a mission to establish a socialist society.

## **The Manifesto of Party Unity**

Today, we are present here on a historical occasion, May Day, with good news. The good news is that the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal has been formed amid negotiations and meetings between the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Bahumat), and the transformation that took place through debates within the Party Unity Coordination Committee. This 134<sup>th</sup> May Day bears a special significance in Nepal today. The liberation of the workers and the oppressed classes is impossible without a communist party which is built from persons equipped with the supreme consciousness of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as their vanguard. Moreover, no movement or revolution can be accomplished without a unified communist party assimilated by that insight. While it has been severely affected by the unity-struggle-split, there are a few examples of Unity-struggle-transformation in the Nepalese Communist Movement. On the occasion of this great festivity, we pledge to make the process of unity-struggle-transformation prevail in the party.

Defending the originality of MLM, we have to develop it in agreement with space, time, and situation. In this context, we must grasp the synthesis reached by Lenin, "Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action, that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life. "This unity of ours is based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Regarding party unity and party building, Lenin instructed us, "If you must unite, Marx wrote to the party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make theoretical "concessions". This was Marx's idea."

We fully agree with the objective of accomplishing the revolution while remaining steadfast to the synthesis Lenin had reached, and we are committed to not making any compromises and not giving 'discounts' on the questions of principle like Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the revolutionary line – the general program of the new democracy and the basic program of scientific socialism and communism – the use of force in revolution, proletarian internationalism, the organizational theory of democratic centralism, the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Nepal, the great proletarian cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and end to the parliamentary system. We declare that the unity of this party has been attained after we achieved unanimity on these fundamental questions.



Protecting the originality of MLM, we have to develop it according to space, time, and situation. In this context, we must also grasp Lenin's synthesis, "Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action, that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life."

Guided by this conclusion of Lenin, we want to announce that we must develop Marxism to solve the present-day contradictions. Today, due to the development of science and technology, there have been sudden changes in the conditions of social life. MLM can develop only by contemplating these changes. In this context, Mao, the advocate of creative Marxism and the defender of the originality of Marxism has synthesized, "We must study Lenin and be courageous in hoisting the red flag, the redder the better. We must be courageous in advocating something new and establishing something different. There are two kinds of advocating something new and establishing something different: Hoisting the red flag is proper; hoisting the white flag is improper."

Despite the space, time, and situation were different in China than those in Russia, Mao accomplished the revolution by advocating new things and establishing different things.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal is committed to implementing MLM according to the situation of Nepal, leading it to develop from this specific situation. In a country where the socio-economic condition is semi-colonial, semi-feudal, and mainly neo-colonial, the remnants of feudalism, bureaucratic and comprador capitalism, and mainly comprador capitalism is the main enemy, and workers, peasants, soldiers, and squatters, including the national bourgeoisie, are the friendly forces, the contradiction between the bureaucratic and comprador capitalist state power at one pole and the entire oppressed people at the other is the principal contradiction. Our party is committed to the fact that the solution to this contradiction is a scientific socialist system that can be reached through a new democratic revolution.

The problems of national independence, democracy, and people's livelihood have become severe in the country. With agreements like MCC and SPP, the threat to national sovereignty has become terrible. By arresting political leaders and workers in false cases and imprisoning them, the problem of democracy has reached an extreme. The problems of people's livelihoods have skyrocketed due to the extreme usury of microfinance, excessive interest, and so-called cooperative organizations under the protection of banks. Instead of solving these problems, the state power, government, and related agencies are trying to oppress the agitators. Our party is committed to leading the struggle for the final solution to the problems of national independence, democracy, and people's livelihood.

On this occasion, we call on the confused revolutionaries of various parliamentary revisionist parties, scattered groups, and personalities to get polarized and integrated into this historic unity process. With this unity of ours, a powerful headquarters of the Nepalese revolution will be established, and revolution will be accomplished.

Date: May 1, 2023



Kiran  
Chairman  
Central Committee  
Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal