

Union of Revolutionary Communists (Marxists-Leninists-Maoists)

**In Nepal a great revisionist betrayal
has been consumed**

Published: February 2007 Republished at <http://lesmaterialistes.com/urc-mlm-nepal-ete-consommee-grande-trahison-revisionniste>

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November 21, 2006 will be remembered as a dreadful day in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people of Nepal.

This day will remain in the history of the international communist movement as a day of betrayal of MLM principles. It was this day that saw the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal - "Prachanda" - put his signature on the counter-revolutionary process that has been brewing inside the Central Committee for years .

Today, the President of the NCP (m) and Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala signed a peace agreement which in principle puts an end to the revolutionary civil war which was launched on February 13, 1996 and which cost 13,000 lives (including the great majority were party activists and members of the Nepalese people).

This act constitutes an abandonment of the revolutionary path and a capitulation before the bourgeois-feudal state, the imperialists and the Indian expansionists. Koirala is a proven reactionary, an old collaborator of the Anglo-Yankee imperialists and the monarchy. One of the main leaders of the Congress party, strongly linked with the Indian state.

Prachanda ("the fierce") was a revolutionary MLM communist who contributed to the outbreak and development of the People's War in Nepal, bringing this valuable experience to the enrichment of revolutionary MLM science, but who ultimately deviated - following in the footsteps by Bernstein and Kautsky - on the way by adopting a bourgeois, reformist, opportunist and counter-revolutionary line, a revisionist line. Koirala and Prachanda shook hands to seal a pact against the proletariat and the people of Nepal.

At this moment, all the advances obtained by the revolutionary masses, led by the party, are seriously threatened. Revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses in areas liberated or controlled by the Maoists are now seriously exposed to the risk of being massacred by the Royal Nepalese Army (NRA).

The "prachanda way" does not lead today to a Republic of New Democracy, but has deviated towards a bourgeois Republic of old type, which hesitates even before the monarchy (which preserves the loyalty of the army).

How could it have been possible a betrayal of such magnitude on the part of the revisionist leadership of the NCP (m)?

APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST EVENTS OF THE CAPITULATIONIST REVISIONIST LINE

June 1, 2001 was a turning point in the revolutionary civil war in Nepal. On this day, King Birendra was assassinated with all his family.

This crime was hatched by the imperialists associated with the ruling monarchical-feudal classes. The reason was the repeated opposition of the monarch to the use of the Army to fight the guerrillas. This situation hampered the efforts of the ruling classes to effectively annihilate the guerrilla forces.

Until this event, communist troops had faced police forces (and in the later stages, anti-guerrilla special forces).

Far from being defeated, the Maoists were gaining strength. Their actions, launched in 1996, led them to form guerrilla zones in 1998 in 15 of the country's 75 districts.

In these areas were established SEMI-CLANDESTINE POPULAR COMMITTEES.

By the end of the year 2000, there were already FREE AREAS in which popular power was exercised almost openly, covering thousands of square kilometres with a population of several million people (in the west of the country).

In these areas, police forces had been swept across dozens of districts. It was then that Gyanendra, the brother of the murdered king, settled on the throne.

He immediately used the Royal Army against the Maoist guerrillas. In doing so, he received increasing military and financial aid from the imperialists and the Indian state.

However, in the army still troubled by the assassination of the king, important contradictions occur which threaten to sharpen.

At the same time and for the same reasons, the crack between the monarchical faction and the parliamentary faction begins to widen

On the other hand, the following month, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) developed an offensive with important military actions. The CPN (m) calls for a national strike which is a great success, since it contributes to destabilize the national political situation.

In this conjuncture, where the revolutionary forces obtain new victories and where the ruling classes are struggling in an acute crisis, the leadership of the CPN (m), far from taking advantage of the opportunity to launch an offensive which would further sharpen the crisis in which is the old monarchical state, launches a real lifeline in the form of a unilateral cease-fire of the PLA and negotiations which will last 4 months.

The points put forward by Prachanda are as follows: a) formation of a provisional government; b) a new constitution; c) establishment of the Republic, which was replaced by the request of a provisional government and a constituent assembly.

It was recognized that these demands corresponded to a bourgeois republic very far from a republic of new democracy, but it was alleged that it was part of a "flexible tactic" intended to gain the republican sectors of the bourgeoisie.

These 4 months of dialogue were used by the reactionary forces to recompose, resolve their internal contradictions and prepare for the military offensive against the Maoists. On December 21, the monarchical state broke off the dialogue and prepared to attack.

Two days later, the PLA completely destroyed the military barracks in Dang. In this new stage of the revolutionary civil war, the EPL must confront the RNA continuously. Up to this time (a period of 7 years) 3,000 people have died, and with the entry into the running of the Royal Army, more than 5,000 people (the majority are poor peasants accused of being Maoists) were massacred during 2002.

On December 26, 2001, the monarchy suspended all constitutional guarantees and established a state of emergency.

In May 2002, the parliament was suspended and in October, the king directly assumed state power. This is the result of the continuous defeats of the Royal Army and the national strikes (including one of 5 days in April).

Taking advantage of this situation, the leadership of the CPN (m) calls on the bourgeois parliamentary forces to combat autocracy by formulating a minimum common program, which contains the points formulated above.

Faced with communist advances in Nepal, the Anglo-Yankee imperialists and the semi-colonial Indian state increased their aid to the king. China and the European Union express their concern and the UN (platform of imperialists and semi-colonial bourgeois governments) offers its services as mediator for future negotiations if the two parties request it.

At the end of 2002, the revolution was installed in the 75 districts of Nepal. THE EXTENDED PEOPLE'S WAR had already reached the stage of strategic balance, in which the EPL and the ARN found themselves on an equal footing.

Two powers exist: on the one hand a state in formation, the State of New Democracy which is developing and gaining power in the liberated zones, based on the revolutionary force of the exploited classes, and on the other, a State in decline, supported by the imperialist, bourgeois and feudal exploiting classes, which defends itself and seeks to retain its power.

In February 2003, the leadership of the NCP (m) declared a unilateral truce for the second time and launched a series of negotiations with the monarchy, which would last 7 months.

In this new dialogue, the Party reiterates its demands, while at the same time it seeks to form a common anti-monarchical front with all the republican sectors of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. To this end, he advances a "common program for progressive democratic change".

Internally, the argument put forward is that this prepares the ground for the strategic offensive and the general insurrection (once the political agenda of the NCP (m) has been refused by the monarchy). On August 27, 2003, the royal government, feeling ready for the attack on the Maoist positions, broke off negotiations.

Then the PCN (m) triggers a transition phase in the People's War. It is a question of moving from strategic balance to the stage of the strategic offensive.

This new stage was subdivided into 3 phases: the first with decentralized actions, the second with relatively centralized actions, and the third consisting of highly centralized actions.

Thus the People's Liberation Army, following this plan, carried out multiple attacks against the king's armed forces.

Struck by the impressive victories of the revolutionary forces, the monarchy tried to take back the initiative in the war. King Gyanendra seizes absolute power on February 1, 2005, and takes direct control of the government of Kathmandu.

At the same time it imposes martial law on the whole territory, blocks communications and directly censors all media.

Thousands of opponents are arrested and taken to secret jails. The leaders of the main bourgeois parties (old collaborators of the monarchy) are under house arrest, including 5 former prime ministers of the royal government.

The monarchy with its back to the wall resorts to desperate means. Its main support is the army.

The revolutionary masses led by the PCN (m) control 80% of the national territory. Many organs of revolutionary power (people's committees) administer the liberated areas, administer justice, maintain order, organize economic work, distribute the land and property of the landowners, organize health, education, culture, social assistance, etc.

Their functioning is governed by a public legal code for the administration of popular power in a new democracy. The people's war is in its third stage (strategic offensive) and it is reaching its second phase (relatively centralized actions).

In this very favourable situation, the leadership of the NCP (m) once again decided on a UNILATERAL ceasefire on September 3, 2005. In November, it reached a 12-point agreement (repeating its proposals) which it signed with the alliance of the seven bourgeois parties who oppose the absolute monarchy (while remaining ambiguous on whether or not to maintain the monarchy).

The leadership of the NCP (m) unilaterally extended the truce with the monarchy.

On January 2, 2006, the CPL-led EPL put an end to the unilateral ceasefire by resuming fighting against the ERN. On April 6, the Party participated in a large national strike, called by the alliance of the seven bourgeois parties, which would last 3 days.

The masses, agitated by the revolutionary communists and the consequent republican elements, exceed the deadlines and the strike lasts 19 days, until the king (put under pressure by the imperialists, the Indian state and the overflow of the masses) accepts the 12-point agreement, renounces absolute power and cedes the government to the parliament it had dissolved 14 months earlier.

King Gyanendra, at the request of the opposition, appointed Koirala prime minister, he who had already held this office in the service of the monarchy.

During this great national strike, the leadership of the CPN (m) declared a complete cessation of the military actions of the PLA throughout the Kathmandu valley. He justified this by saying that it would remove a pretext of repression and massacre against the people by the Royal Army.

However, this did not prevent the police and military forces, during the strike, from using their weapons and murdering 22 people, injuring more than 5,000 demonstrators and arresting tens of thousands.

With the government in the hands of the seven-party alliance, Prime Minister Koirala, with the help of the recently restored bourgeois parliament, resumed and intensified his conversations with the leaders of the CPN (m) to arrive at a complete and final ceasefire, which ends with a peace treaty supervised by the UN. In accordance with this objective, Prachanda wrote a letter (on July 24) to Kofi Annan, then Secretary General of the United Nations, requesting his intervention in the peace process which is being established in Nepal.

By this act, the president of the CPN (m) accepts the imperialist interference in the effort to derail the communist revolution in Nepal.

THE CONTENTS OF THE NEPAL PEACE AGREEMENT

Negotiations between the two parties have not been easy. Each must have overcome the distrust which was his towards the other. They sought to obtain the maximum benefit for themselves with the minimum of concessions. In this diplomatic game, they had to resort to each other to all kinds of pressures and threats.

Once the agreement was signed, this situation persisted, each inch of land being disputed, article by article, in a negotiation carried out "from above" and on the backs of the Nepalese masses.

With the signing of the peace agreements, all the reactionaries in the world believed they had defused a bomb, which today is to be disarmed in each of its components.

That is why all the imperialists on the United Nations Security Council celebrated this act, overflowing with joy. In Nepal, the day of the signing was declared a "national holiday" by the reactionary government the next day.

The negotiations (and the interests at stake) postponed, but did not prevent the achievement of the main points of the agreement.

On November 21, 2006, the first and most important point for the reactionaries was achieved: the end of the war. It is a capital point because they were losing it. On November 28, a second step was taken: the agreement on the control and management of arms and armies, which consisted in disarming the army which was winning the war, that is to say the APL; and which only disarms a third of the Royal Army, the police not being concerned by the agreement.

With this agreement (if it comes to fruition), the revolutionary masses are disarmed (without power) and the king with a diminished army retains his power.

If Prachanda succeeds in stopping the people's war and disarming the People's Liberation Army, the Nepalese people will find themselves defenseless against their traditional enemies; the class structure and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition of Nepal will essentially be preserved.

The revisionist leadership of the CPN (m) by signing the first two agreements renounced the Republic of New Democracy, socialism and communism.

His search for a united front in the fight against the semi-feudal monarchy has gone far too far and has led to the abandonment of the MLM revolutionary principles to reach an alliance with the leaders of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie which historically has never been republican in a consistent way.

On this path, by applying an opportunist, revisionist line ("development of a democracy of the 21st century"), he opted for the establishment of a bourgeois democracy for Nepal. Within it, these revisionists who emerged within Maoism occupy parliamentary and governmental offices.

During the month of January 2007, the revisionist leadership of the NCP (m) signed with the government a provisional constitution "perfectible".

Then, the 7 parties and the prachandists formed a provisional parliament of 330 seats.

The 3 main parties: the Congress party, the PCN (m) and an old-style revisionist party, the PCN (unified ml). These parties won 83 seats each. The remaining seats are distributed among the 5 smaller parties.

The new parliamentarians were appointed "by hand". The prachandist bench elected as chief Krishna Badahur Mahara (who was the spokesperson of the NCP (m) during the peace negotiations).

According to the agreements, in June 2007 parliamentary elections should be held to form a constituent assembly which drafts a new constitution.

The assembly will decide the fate of the monarchy. Prachanda has already declared that it will accept the decision of the constituent assembly.

Today, these revisionists own only a quarter of the current provisional parliament. Still missing is the formation of the provisional government, which will be formed by representatives of the 3 main parties (Prachanda may be part of it).

LEARN FROM THE NEPALAIS REVOLUTION, UNMASK THE PRACHANDA REVISIONISM

The revolutionary struggle of the communists (MLM) is made up of successes and failures, victories and defeats, but also big and small betrayals.

As Maoists, we view this as part of our struggle, as something natural.

Just like the rain that wets us or the sun that lights us. For this reason, we should not be overly surprised.

We may regret what is happening in Nepal, but we cannot (nor should) sit by the water to cry. On the contrary, we must shuffle and shake off all this revisionist dust and continue our march forward.

From what is happening in Nepal, we must learn lessons that will make us more capable of facing the class enemy. From great betrayals, we can extract great lessons.

It is necessary to study them, to reflect on them and to prepare ourselves to face them. The revolutionary experiences of Peru and Nepal tell us that the Maoist perspective is correct.

It is by following this path that the revolutionary struggles are developing in India, in Turkey, in the Philippines.

Our internationalist task is not only to popularize the communist (Maoist) experiences of the revolutionary struggle in the world, but also and mainly to mobilize the masses to launch the People's War in our own country.

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