

# THE RED STAR

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Nepal's National Magazine

## Unmasked

Red Star Reporter

The Nepali people have lost a great deal because of the obstacles created by the Nepali Congress (NC) during these last two and a half months: the selection of a President and Prime Minister, the initiation of drafting the new constitution, the budget for the coming fiscal year have all been disrupted and delayed.

The lust for power of the NC has betrayed the aspirations of the Nepali people; moreover it is giving a very negative and confusing message to the international community. As a result, the Sri Lankan foreign minister had to invite both GP Koirala, who has declared his resignation from the post of Prime Minister as well as the Maoist Chairman, Prachanda, the likely future Prime Minister, for the 15th SAARC summit.

the NC started obstructing the political process by putting forward a seven point demands. Later, while some of the demands were met, the NC leaders started to add more demands. Furthermore, they demanded that the leader of opposition should be in the Security Council; this does not exist anywhere in the world. The main purpose of all these conditions was to prevent the Maoists coming to power. But with time, the true intentions of the NC had come to light.

However, the attempts of the NC have burst like bubbles; GP Koirala had to declare resignation. But, just as he resigned, the Madhesi leaders started disrupting the CA meeting. This is no coincidence. The NC and the Madhesi leaders had a private meeting a few days before the announcement of GP Koirala's resignation.

After losing the election,

The Nepal Congress



The real face of Koirala? 'Ghatana Ra Bichar', a Nepali Congress leaning newspaper published this cartoon on 2nd July reporting that Koirala will show his real face.

pretends it is a democratic party; if so, it should accept defeat and step aside and let the victorious Maoist form the new government. To be so greedy for power is to ridicule democracy. The NC has been punished by the people; it is not in a position to preach about democracy to anyone else. The NC should look in the mirror, and ask itself about its own democratic credentials. Who are the NC to tell the Maoist what to do

and what not to do?

The undemocratic character and obstinacy of the NC has almost broken the consensual political tradition that started two and half years ago with the signing of 12-point agreement. By putting forward its seven point demands, even after being defeated in the CA election, the NC has breached the 12-point agreement. In this way, the NC has effectively

replaced the Monarchy. The NC, with the backing of expansionist and the assistance of so-called Madhesi leaders is trying to ambush the patriotic, democratic and leftist forces along with the Maoist. The real democratic, progressive and leftist forces have two options; either to surrender or prepare to fight for a pro-people and independent Republic. Only the second option can save revolution and national sovereignty.



This cartoon was published in Greek Revolutionary Newspaper "ARISTORA!" on May 30, 2008.

## Nepali democrats and the fig leaf of democracy



■ Dharmendra Bastola

There is a saying: 'a political death is several times more merciless than a real death'. If there is any one who has suffered from political death, it is Girija Prasad Koirala and his feudal autocracy. According to the general norms of democracy, after an electoral defeat, the defeated party must leave the government and allow the largest party to form a new government. But GP Koirala has ignored and mocked such norms and values, and stayed in power without any political legitimacy. This exposes the true nature of Nepalese democracy-it is in

fact is a feudal and comprador autocracy and a bourgeoisie dictatorship. If GP Koirala really abided by the democracy he advocates, he would have resigned long ago and let the new government be formed.

Giraja's recent comments 'Minus Girija', 'confusion in the international community' and 'wondering elsewhere' and ultimately 'arriving to the parliament to declare resignation' portray many meanings. The meaning is: if there was no confusion in the international community, or if he was not wondering elsewhere instead of coming to the Constituent Assembly, Girija would have submitted resignation right after the defeat in the election. Does a sovereign nation depend on the 'clarity' or 'confusion' of the international community even after a political process has been decided? Can the people of that country realise self-respect, who have a leader, but roaming aimless unless instruction comes

from outside? This is what a real character of the Nepalese democracy and its democrats. Again the Nepalese messiahs of democracy are never tired to deliver lectures as if they are the number one democrats or even a pioneer of the kind of democracy, ironically, which can never move unless it is moved from outside.

There are many examples of how leaders respect their own democracy. In India, Sonia Gandhi gave up the post of Prime Minister. Similarly, in the United States of America, Hillary Clinton has now given her support to her Democratic Party rival Barack Obama. Contrary to these examples, Nepali democrats are sticking to their posts even after suffering defeat. And, even after declaring his resignation, GP Koirala is provoking a disastrous agenda that may split the country, as has happened in Korea, Vietnam, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, the former Yugoslavia and the

Continued on page 5

# Who is behind Tibetan 'protests' in Nepal?

For over a year, Tibetan 'refugees' have been regularly protesting in front of the visa section of Chinese Embassy. The Nepali police regularly arrest the demonstrators in the morning and release them in the evening. The next day, the same routine takes place.

However, two weeks ago, the Nepali police arrested three Tibetans for violating Nepali law. But as the Nepal government tightened anti-Chinese activities, various western countries started to speak in the internal matters of Nepal. Diplomats from the US, Canada, Germany, UK, France, Australia, Denmark and Norway issued a joint statement showing their 'concern' over the detention of three Tibetans, Kalsand Chong, Ngaway Sangmo and Tashi Dolma, who were arrested by the Nepali police.

In the statement, the diplomats said that 'none of the three had participated in violent activities' and asked for their immediate release. Moreover, the US state department spokesperson Tom Casey issued a statement in Washington demanding the release of the three Tibetans.

More than one hundred thousand refugees of Nepali origin from Bhutan live a miserable life in refugee camps with no right to protest. However, the

Tibetans enjoy a lavish life with the money coming in from western countries. Why is there not same provision for all the refugees? The financial sources of the Tibetan

The anti-Chinese protests are timed to disrupt China's preparation for the Olympic Games. The Dalai Lama, with the full support of anti-Chinese forces, is leading

the US is financing about 14,000 youth to help the 'Free Tibet' movement, in the form of a religious army. They are paid the equivalent of a soldier in the Indian army.

The Chinese Ambassador to Nepal, Zheng Xianglin, has repeatedly spoken against the anti-Chinese protests in Nepal. Talking with The Rising Nepal two weeks ago, his Excellency Xianglin stated that: 'Dalai Lama and the so-called Tibetan government in exile are behind the protest. Chinese authorities have shown their concern to Nepali authorities for the protection of its national embassy.'

Some Nepal media are also supporting the Tibetan protests. A large media house, that has connections with Indian big business, places much emphasis on these protests, as do the international media such as CNN. Countries like the US are interfering in Nepal to attack China. The US state department made a statement: 'to ensure humane treatment of peaceful protesters'. The US still believes that it has some kind of moral legitimacy to make these kinds of demands, but the US not have any moral legitimacy left anywhere in the world to make such demands; after all, look at Afghanistan, Iraq, the treatment of prisoners in Abu Gharaib, Guantanamo bay etc.



Some international media mis-reported the Tibetan unrest. The above German N-TV portrayed incidents in Nepal as happening in Tibet. Photo- agencies

refugees should be made transparent.

them. Furthermore, there are reports that

## Mutiny in Police camps

For the first time in the history of Nepal, low ranking policemen of the Armed Police Force (APF) from the Chandika Battalion of Parbat district and the Bageswori Battalion of Nepalgunj (a town of western Nepal) revolted against the repression of their high level officers.

The mutiny of the junior policemen against their officers started first in the Parbat district, where the junior policemen accused the officers of treating them badly, beatings, prejudice, of providing poor quality rations etc. The policemen have simple demands, such as edible food, the ending the abusive behavior, the payment of the allowances the government had promised for their work on Constituent Assembly election, holidays to visit their families and homes etc.

Within few days of the revolt in Parbat, some 200 lower rank policemen of the APF in Nepalgunj revolted, beat their officers and held them inside their barracks for two days. However, not a single shot was fired. They had similar demands to the policemen of the Parbat district. They held 3 DSPs and 14 Inspectors. As the junior police started their agitation, the DIG and SP of the Battalion fled to a nearby police camp.

These two similar agitations, in two different police battalions, in less than a week, has brought into light the pathetic condition of armed forces. It seems that the junior police had no other option than to revolt and risk their lives and careers. This action proves that the high officers do not behave in a respectful and human way to the lower level policemen. The revolt has also demonstrated that the restructure of the armed organizations must be the very first agenda in the new Republican state.

## Former crown prince leaves Nepal

Former crown prince Paras left the country this week, after 32 days of the formal declaration of the Republic of Nepal. He flew to Singapore with his brother-in-law Raj Bahadur Singh and Adarsh Bikram Rana.

Many speculate that he went to Singapore for arranging school for his three children. Although he used the VIP lounge he traveled on an ordinary passport.

Neither his parents, former king and queen and close relatives were present in the airport to see

The consciousness of the policemen, the revolt against the high handed repression of the high ranking officers has surprised the status-quo, the bureaucrats and the politicians. But the right of the policemen to rebel didn't develop overnight and it didn't develop out of nowhere. The consciousness of the policemen to rebel is the result of the ten year long People's War which has taught all the oppressed to rebel against the oppressors. The highest human right is to rebel. The junior police had expected that their oppression would end once the republic is established, but when the feudal oppression within their organization didn't end, they had no other option than to revolt. This revolt has shown the character of the officers of the armed forces in Nepal; the officers need to be taught how to behave with juniors.

A team under the home minister held a meeting with the agitators and a probe is underway. After they received a promise that the high ranking culprits will be punished, the policemen ended their agitation. An AIG of the Armed Police force said that there were many irregularities in the battalion. It is an ironic that a high ranking officer, the battalion commander Hari Sanket Budathoki, received an award for being the best Battalion Commander in the AFP last year. Budathoki has now been transferred.

The agitation has also revealed that a large section of armed personnel want a radical change in their organization, and in the country also. This revolt has sent a message to the new government as to where the problem lies. This is a strong example of how much the 10 year People's War has influenced the poor and oppressed people of Nepal, including the junior armed personnel.

him off. It is said that Paras is angry with his father, Gyanendra Shah not handing over him the throne.

Some Nepali papers have reported that he has left for Singapore to set up a permanent base there and he would call his wife and children to join him after a few days. On the other hand some have reported that he has plans to contact some international criminal groups to attempt to regain 'what he has lost': the throne.

## Prachanda gets SAARC invitation

Sri Lankan Minister for Foreign Affairs Rohitha Bogollagama invited Chairman of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) Prachanda for the 15th SAARC summit. The summit is due to be held at Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka from July 27 to August 2.

In a meeting held between Prachanda and Bogollagama in the Maoist central office, he invited Prachanda hoping that a new government will be formed under the Maoist leadership before the summit.

Likewise, Rohitha Bogollagama called on Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala at the latter's official residence in Baluwatar. He also invited Koirala to attend the 15th summit.

According to the Sri Lankan Embassy, Minister Bogollagama is going to all the other seven SAARC countries to invite the government heads for the summit.



## NOTICE

According to the Nepal Engineering Council (NEC) Act, 2055 BS, all engineers (Nepalese & non-Nepalese) engaged in Engineering Profession in Nepal must apply to be registered in NEC. Engineers, working with government, quasi government, private sections, NGOs, INGOs, bilateral and multilateral agencies and consultants etc., if not registered with NEC, can be punished as it would be against the Law of Land.

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**The United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) has been in Nepal for one and half year. Regarding the issue of military integration, what were the agreements and differences between UNMIN and the CPN (Maoist)?**

After the success of 19 day April Movement, built on the foundation of the 12 point understanding between the Seven Party Alliance and the CPN (M), as well as the ten year People's War in Nepal, the Seven Party Alliance and the CPN (Maoist) agreed to a peace process.

ask for an extension of the UNMIN mandate, then UNMIN will leave Nepal by the end of July. But if the new government wants to extend the role of UNMIN until the peace process is complete, then we will have to make another appeal to the UN Security Council within the time frame. Once the Security Council approves, a small part of the mission will stay here. As the process of military and arms management is still incomplete, the peace process will not be complete until the military is integrated and

the leadership of General Wilhemson. In this committee, General Wilhemson is the chairman; and Shivaram Pradhan and I are vice-chairmen. We have been actively working to systematically lead the peace-process to the meaningful conclusion. Till now, the first stage of registration and the second stage of verification process have been accomplished. Particularly, in the case of working together, it has been done with mutual understanding. It is natural that sometimes it is smooth, sometimes there is strife. At times, we had to struggle very hard

castes, tribes, regions and genders in the state; the preservation and promotion of the language, culture and geography, with the right of autonomy and self-decision; the preservation of nationality, and an independent economic system and so forth. These things are inscribed onto the concept of a



# We had to struggle hard

– Nandakishor Pun 'Pasang', Deputy Commander of PLA

Letters were written to UN, on the understanding of both parties, for mediation and monitoring between the two groups. It was approved by the UN Security Council for a UN Mission to stay in Nepal for one year. In the presence of UNMIN, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was held on 8th Nov. 2006. UNMIN was given three roles: firstly, to support, monitor, and supervise the peace process to try and ensure the election for the Constituent Assembly takes place; secondly, to monitor and supervise the peace agreement and any breaches of human rights; thirdly, to monitor and administrate the military and weapons. For this, we had a tripartite agreement. As the election for the Constituent Assembly was not held in time, and had to be postponed time and again, the interim government of Nepal made an appeal to the UN to extend the mandate of UNMIN for another 6 months. After the completion of the CA election on April 10, the primary role of the Constituent Assembly has been accomplished and the UN mandate is due to end. If the new government to be formed in the political agreement does not

there is a provision for the government to make an official appeal to the UN Security Council. Certainly, there are some agreements and differences on the issues of military integration, administration and rehabilitation. As things have to be settled by the political parties, according as the spirit of the interim constitution, it has to be settled systematically by due process. The difference between the CPN Maoist and UNMIN doesn't make any difference. UNMIN does not have the right to make decisions. Similarly, as the conflict in Nepal is different from other countries, the agreements between us allow us to move forward, while the differences allow us to exchange experiences.

**You are the vice-chairman of Joint Monitoring and Coordinating Committee (JMCC). How did you find working with UNMIN?**

JMCC was created as military and weapon management committee. The committee is made of nine members, including Myself, Prabhakar and Baldev from our side; Shiva Ram Pradhan, Ganesh Bhandari and Subarna Mahat from the Nepalese Army, and three from UNMIN under

too, and as a result we had to stop the registration and verification process. We had to struggle not only with UNMIN, but also against the unaccountable behaviour of the Government. Till now, in total, we have been successful in establishing cordial relations. Still, the future is uncertain. **The party has developed new thinking regarding the state. Regarding the PLA, some say that a Peoples Liberation Army should be active among the people. At the same time, military integration requires that the PLA stay in the cantonment. How do you solve this paradox?**

Our party, the CPN Maoist, has put forth the concept of democracy in the 21st century with much thought, study and diligence. Our party has put forward new scientific thinking in the 21st century: it has identified healthy multi-party competition among the political forces that are against feudalism and imperialism, freedom of thought and expression, preservation and promotion of human rights, the implementation of international law, guarantee of participation of oppressed and exploited classes,

New Peoples Democracy in the 21st century. We have also theoretically clarified the concept of the PLA; that

the PLA should not only stay in the barracks but move also among the people. This is correct and scientific. Because the old traditional army is feudal, autocratic, fascist and comprador bureaucratic, its character is against the People, the People's expectations, and the People's sentiments. It has been structured by policies which are very primitive, which provides security, serves and is devoted to the monarchy and the aristocracy. It serves a handful of rich upper class people. It does not respect and protect the masses, instead it massacres them. It tramples on the voice and the rights of the people. The old traditional army is limited to the barrack and is regarded as 'great'. It has been monotonously trained and disciplined into a Fascist attitude. Let's not talk about the rights of the low level soldiers

in front of high level commanders, they are not allowed to talk eye-to-eye with the officers. In case any soldier talks with the officer-eye to eye, he is dismissed for lack of discipline and bringing the organization into disrepute. Therefore, it is against the people. They are completely detached from the mass of people. It cannot serve and protect the people and country. Therefore, staying among the people means changing the rules and regulations, processes and procedures of the former army through a new dimension; by making it people oriented, people serving, people controlled and making it genuinely serve the country. The army shouldn't be confined to barracks, the army should be with the people; the army should serve the people. We mean that the army should work

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## Nepali Maoist are connected with people

Nepal (Maoist) in the elections, an interest developed in the West about what happens in Nepal. Before that, the media didn't even mention Nepal; but when the Maoist won the election, they were obliged to state something. We have been supporting the Nepali people for a long time, and it was natural for us to come and visit Nepal, and have a face to face relationship with revolutionary forces here in Nepal.

**So how do you find the Maoist movement if Nepal? How different was it from your impressions in Greece?**

I had the impression that the Nepali Maoist movement was one of the most advanced Maoist movements in the world. I had read some documents and interviews from Chairman Prachanda and other leaders. We published a book with documents from the leaders of CPN (Maoist) in Greek, so we had a good idea about the Maoist movement here in Nepal. You know that knowledge has two stages. One stage is the stage of the sensual. It is the proof of the practise. We saw in the whole life, in the whole society, the influence of the Maoist Movement here in Nepal. It is one thing to read about it but another to see and know it.

**You also visited the Chitwan cantonment of People's Liberation Army (PLA). What were your impressions? How did you feel to meet PLA fighters?**

It was very emotional. Mao said that without a People's Army, the people are nothing. We saw the PLA. We think that the Nepali people have a very big weapon in the

struggle against reactionaries, expansionism and imperialism.

**What did you learn from Nepal that you feel are useful for your party and your political work?**

I think that a lesson we have learnt from the Nepali Maoists is how they are very connected with the people. How they have a strategic orientation and are tactically flexible. We think that we need flexible tactics in all our politics but we have to deeply focus on our strategy. We think that a lesson of the Nepali Maoist Movement is this- the 'concrete analysis of concrete situation'. I think this is the greatest lesson that all Communists in the world should learn again and again.

**Can you tell us, briefly, about the Communist movement in Greece?**

Greece has a great Communist movement and it led big struggles in the decade between 1940 and 1950. We had two civil wars; a guerrilla war against the Nazi Fascists and another civil war against the Monarch Fascist forces, British imperialism and then US imperialism. You must know that, for the first time during the civil war, US imperialism bombed Greece and ran some concentration camps. They evacuated the mountains to attack guerrilla forces. The great struggle was defeated. Then we had the big intervention of Soviet revisionism in the internal life of the Communist party. Marxism-Leninism became a force in 1964 in Greece. They led various struggles but they had many splits in the decade from 1980. Now, we are regrouping various forces to build the genus of a Communist Party in Greece.

The KOE is the third strongest force on the Left. We have a revisionist party which was pro-soviet. We have a force which is called SINAPISMOS; or 'Coalition'. These are ex-members of the pro-soviet party; some are from the Eurocommunist tendency. We are the third largest party on the left. We are strengthening our forces at this time. I think that we have to learn from the positive and negative experiences of the history of the Communist movement. We have to see what Communists must do in the 21st century.

**What lessons from the history of Greek Communist movement are useful for Communists in Nepal and elsewhere?**

Greece had National Liberation Movement in 1821 that had been influenced by the French Revolution. We can say that the Greek Bourgeois were dependent on various centres in the world. We can even say that the Communist movement of Greece has a great sense of internationalism. All Greeks know a lot about the international movements and are interested. Greeks even fought in the Spanish Civil war. Greek Communists were executed when they refused to go to war in Korea. So I think, let's not see it as lesson; what we have to say is that we were the first to face Soviet intervention. We are in a situation between Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the Balkans. So we have a very mixed thinking. I think that mixed-thinking can think better in the situation. I don't know if this can help a little in your struggle. We are small force when we talk to Nepali Comrades.

**(Rudi Rinaldi, general secretary of the Communist Organization of Greece (KOE) was in Nepal with 35-member delegation on second week of June. We interviewed him about his visit to Nepal, his impressions and communist movement in Greece.)**

**What was your main purpose for coming to Nepal?**

We think that the Nepali Revolution is one of the most important revolutionary processes in the world. After the big victory of Communist Party of

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## EDITORIAL

### No blackmailing, please!

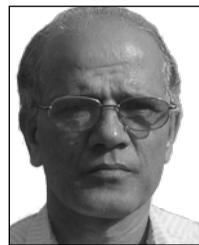
*"When the old is dying but the new cannot be born, a great variety of morbid symptoms appear"* Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*

If the present transition is not settled by progressive thinking and planning, no independent pro-people Republic can be established. Even though it is two and half months after the election, and a month after the republic has been implemented, yet still no President has been chosen. The obstacles to progress are, externally, Indian expansionism, and internally, the Nepal Congress. The NC and India are outwardly in favour of the Republic, but essentially they are trying to stall the progress of the country, to keep things in favour of the status quo. They have totally violated the people's mandate and betrayed the Nepali people.

The drafting of a new constitution should be the principal issue at the moment. Instead of paving a way forward, the NC and some self appointed Madhesi leaders are setting unnecessary obstacles in the path. The issue of the type of autonomous region that will form the new Federal Nepal must be seriously debated among the people. However, these parties are trying to blackmail in order to benefit from the critical condition of the nation at present. The indigenous nations in Terai, such as Tharus, say that creating a single Madhesh region in the whole of Terai plains would be to simply continue the old centralised feudal state from Kathmandu.

The Terai region comprises of many different groups with various historical, linguistic, cultural and social backgrounds. If it is made into a single autonomous state; the majority of the Terai dwelling people would not gain desired advantages; only a handful of Madhesi leaders and Indian rulers would benefit. To sacrifice the people's will and the national interest just to satisfy the desire of a few 'leaders' will ultimately lead to another rebellion. The leaders should stand up for the oppressed people and for national existence.

The rights of the various ethnic groups must be established. Moreover, the issues that should be decided after long debates in the Constituent Assembly cannot be decided forcefully right now. The NC is backing the 'madhesi leaders' demands as the NC has to step down from power. The CPN (M) has proposed Ram Raja Prasad Singh for the presidency, but the 'Madhesi' leaders' are dancing to the tune of the NC, and obstructing Singh to be the president. This proves that the 'Madhesi leaders', who claim to represent Madhesh, are only blackmailing Madhesi sentiment for their own selfish motives. Their behaviour has shown them to be the playthings of the NC and of foreign powers.



■ Basanta

The New Democratic Revolution in Nepal has been attaining new heights, one after another. The heroic Nepalese people, under the leadership of our party, the CPN (Maoist), have demolished the a 240-year old feudal institution, the monarchy at the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, on May 28, 2008. This has laid the foundation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. No one is unaware of the fact that this political change has been possible only because of the dynamic leadership of our party and the strength of its scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path. It is clear to all that had there been no 10 years of People's War to politicise the masses against feudalism and imperialism in every corner of the country, the mass uprising in April 2006 could not have happened. In the same manner, the establishment of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal would still be a long way off had there been no mass uprising in April 2006. What is apparent here is that only the proper fusion of two models, applied in the 20th century proletarian revolutions, the insurrection and the protracted people's war, has elevated to this height the development of proletarian revolution in Nepal.

Nepal is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. Feudalism and imperialism, predominantly Indian expansionism in our case, have been barriers to radical transformation of social, economic and cultural relations and the consolidation of national integrity and people's sovereignty. After the establishment of Federal Democratic Republic, the feudal institution of the monarchy has been demolished. Without doubt, feudalism has weakened considerably in the political sense. But the struggle to get rid of feudalism is not over. Furthermore, the democratic republic that has been established

in Nepal is a political system connected with the imperialist world order. So the bourgeois republic can in no way be a political system for the oppressed classes, nations, and regions of Nepal.

The slogan of a "New Nepal", so rampantly used during the Constituent Assembly election, can be achieved only by smashing feudalism and imperialism from the soil of Nepal. No other form of state power other than the joint dictatorship of the democratic and patriotic forces under the leadership of the party of the proletariat can turn the present Nepal into a New Nepal. It cannot be anything other than New Democracy.

What has been achieved in Nepal is a Federal Democratic Republic. It is a kind of bourgeois democracy, in which the CPN (Maoist) is playing a central role. In spite of that, the vanguard of the Nepalese proletariat has not yet seized the whole state power. And so the Nepalese revolution has not reached the strategic goal of New Democracy, the joint dictatorship of the entire anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. Right at this point, what should be understood is that the Federal Democratic Republic is a tactical step to New Democracy, the first stage of the proletarian revolution, as Chairman Mao has defined it. Therefore, in no circumstances, can it be the strategy of the proletariat or a separate stage before New Democracy.

The present phase of revolution, which is at the stage of strategic offensive, is at a crucial juncture. The forces of revolution are struggling against the counter revolutionaries to create a favourable situation in which they can seize the whole power, and the forces of counter revolution are doing everything they can not to let the power go out of their hands and into the hands of the oppressed. An intense political tug-of-war is on the scene and our party is on the offence. However, it is not yet victorious.

At the moment, when the Federal Democratic Republic is established but the party is yet to make an immediate tactical step clear, there is some confusion within the left revolutionary camp

both nationally and internationally, including in the ranks of our party. There are different trends—right, centre, left—that generally exist in the Communist movement, and such confusion is natural at certain points.

For such a confusion to arise there must be some objective basis. It is known to all that the Second National Conference of our party, held in 2001, had formulated the roundtable conference, interim government and election of the constituent assembly as a political tactic. The Central Committee Meeting held in Chunwang on August 2004 further concretised it in the form of a Democratic Republic. Now, with the election of the Constituent Assembly and declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, the tactic of the Chunwang Meeting is no longer valid. Yet, at the same time, the party is yet to chalk out an appropriate tactic to organise a final offensive for the seizure of power. Naturally, this situation has led to some confusion. It must not linger. If this situation carries on, wittingly or unwittingly, it may lead to make the present democratic republic a strategic stage before the New Democratic Revolution.

However, after the Constituent Assembly election and establishment of the Federal

Democratic Republic, the class and social relations, under the same semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic structure, have changed to a great extent in Nepalese society. The primary feudal institution, the monarchy, has now ceased to exist. Notwithstanding the existence of feudalism in terms of economic and cultural aspects, the comprador bourgeoisie, which mainly serves the interest of Indian expansionism in our context, has now come to the fore. In this sense, the national aspect of the New Democratic Revolution has become more dominant than the democratic one.

The political tug-of-war, which is sharpening between the political parties, is in essence the class struggle centred on which class, the comprador bourgeoisie or the democratic and patriotic forces under the leadership of the proletariat, should lead the future

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## FROM THE HISTORY

### 'That is the way a fighter for socialism dies'

After 1300, the fascists took the palace ground floor. The defense was organized on the upstairs floor and the battle went on. The fascists attempted to enter through the main stairs. At approximately 14:00, they were able to take a section of the upstairs floor. The president was entrenched together with several of his comrades in a corner of the Red Room. Advancing toward the area where the fascists had penetrated, he received a gunshot wound in the stomach that doubled him up in pain but he did not stop fighting. Leaning on a rocking chair, he continued to fire his weapon against the fascists who were a few meters away until a second shot in the chest felled him and while he way dying he was riddled with bullets.

When they saw the president falling down, members of his personal guard ener-

getically counterattacked and repelled the fascists all the way to the main stairs. Then, in the midst of the battle, a gesture of unusual honor takes place.

Taking the motionless body of the president, they take him to his office, sit him on the presidential chair, place the presidential sash on him and wrap him with a Chilean flag.

Even after death, he was a heroic president. The immortal defenders of the palace resisted the brutal fascist attacks for a period of two more hours. By 16:00, after the palace has been on fire for several hours, the last bit of resistance ended.

Many persons will be astonished by what has been told here, and that is the way it is—simply astonishing. The high fascist command of the four branches of the armed forces had

revolted against the government of the Popular Unity, and over a period of 7 hours just 40 men resisted the bulk of the artillery fire, the tanks and the aircraft of the fascists. Very few times in history have such pages of heroism been written.

The president was not only courageous and firm in keeping his dying word to defend the cause of the people but he grew to unbelievable heights at the hour of decision. The valor, the calmness, the cynicism, the capacity for leadership and the heroism that he demonstrated was admirable. Never in this continent has any president played such a dramatic role.

Many times the defenseless thought was knocked down by the brutal force, but now it can be said that never before has brutal force met such resistance carried out on military

grounds by a man of ideals whose weapons were always the word and the pen.

Salvador Allende demonstrated more dignity, more honor, more courage and more heroism than all the fascist military put together. His incomparable act of greatness forever sunk into shame Pinochet and his accomplices.

That is the way to be a revolutionary. That is the way to be a man. That is the way a true combatant dies.

That is the way a defender of his people dies.

That is the way a fighter for socialism dies. *The text forms part of the book, **Grandes Alamedas: El combate del presidente Allende** by Jorge Timossi. Allende was born one hundred years ago in Valparaiso, in southern Chile, on June 26, 1908.*

# Nepali democrats and the fig leaf of democracy

(Continued from page 1)

former USSR. This is the true intention behind the slogan 'one Madhes, one Pradesh'.

Where are the real stakes in this political process? The seven point agenda that the NC has put forward were not the milestone to depart from the seven party alliance, SPA, this case had occurred many times in the past. But these seven points are quite crucial because the general political orientation of the 12 point agreement was almost over along with the deposition of monarchy and having the Federal Republic of Nepal brought into being. And the struggle over state and democracy has so intensified in these two months, and taken Nepalese society to a new height. By which the validity of the democratic republic has now weathered away for the both: to the Maoist as well as to the parliamentary parties. Hence, the necessity of the New Democratic Republic has emerged up for the Maoist and the necessity of social fascism has emerged up for the parliamentary parties. Any confusion on this question will lead to political disaster, not only for the political transformation of the Nepalese society, but also for the interest of the national

integrity and sovereignty.

The NC blames the Maoists for not respecting democratic norms. But history has shown again and again that it is not the communists but the capitalists who violate norms and values. Isn't it the Maoist party that supported the Congress government by supporting the two third majority provisions in the constitution to remove the prime minister or to change government? Has our party ever tried to remove Girija from the post, even though there were many complaints from the UML over this constitutional provision? Isn't this enough evidence for any one that it is only the CPN(M) that has truly valued the established norms and values? Fundamentally, this so called democracy is nothing but bourgeois dictatorship. This bourgeoisie dictatorship does not and cannot tolerate anything that is in the interest of the masses of the people and is against the feudalists and autocrats. This is one fact, which is enough to prove how hollow the dictum of democracy is and why it is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As long as Girija was in power every thing was fine for him as well as for the Congress. The moment the election results kicked them out

of power, they moved against the mandate of the people. Now it is very clear to all, that the democracy of the Nepalese democrats is nothing but a fig leaf to hide their undemocratic character and their class dictatorship.

Once again, what are the real political stakes? The outstanding contradictions are whether Nepalese society should go forward or not; whether the Nepalese people are sovereign or not; whether Nepalese society can be restructured or not; whether the Nepalese economy can be re-organized or not? This issue is linked with three major factors that are related to the changes in Nepalese society. Those issues are: the NC does not want the Nepal Army to be democratized to serve the Nepali people.; the NC does not want to abolish the feudal mode of production and reorganize the Nepalese economy; the NC does not want to restructure Nepalese society into national and regional autonomous republics according to the principal of the nation to the right of self determination. So the real question is whether the Maoist should be allowed to form a government and write a new constitution that has to be written two years from the CA election.

Regarding federalism and au-

tonomous states, it is important to understand the meaning, definition as well as the scientific methodology to resolve oppression of one nation by another. Lenin said:

*The right of nations to self-determination means only the right to independence in a political sense, the right to free, political secession from the oppressing nation. Concretely, this political, democratic demand implies complete freedom to carry on agitation in favour of secession, and freedom to settle the question of secession by means of a referendum of the nation that desires to secede. Consequently, this demand is by no means identical with the demand for secession, for partition, for the formation of small states.*

If the parliamentarians are to respect the right of nations to self determination, they must respect the Tharuwan, Kochila, Mithila and Bhojpur peoples through equality, freedom and the right to self determination. Instead, the demand of the parliamentary parties is not for establishing freedom for the oppressed masses of people, rather it is a demand to establish a set of feudal lords, bandits and looters in every state. Their conception is not designed to end oppression but to promote

national chauvinism and autocratic feudalism. Why is the slogan 'one Madhesh one Pradesh'? Has the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) ever put forward slogans such as 'one Pahad, one Pradesh'? This is not a political solution. In fact, the federation of autonomous republics relates to a tactical question to shatter the chains of bourgeoisie exploitation and allow the masses to develop politically, economically, and culturally by creating equality for the people. By this process, national and regional chauvinism and oppression will be abolished, and the conditions will be developed so that all the national and regional barriers will be demolished.

But this kind of society, which is radically different from an exploitative bourgeois society, cannot be established unless the old one is smashed. Marx pointed out in 1871 that "the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made (that is, the bourgeois) state machine and wield it for its own purpose, that it must smash it, break it up." As Marx said, as long as the old state still exists, it will try and stop the people establishing a new state.

*{writer is a central committee member of communist party of Nepal (Maoist)}*

## Red star over Himalayas

SHEO MANGAL SIDDHANTKAR

May 28 was the first historic meeting of the Constituent Assembly of Nepal. The monarchy was abolished and the country declared a 'Secular Federal Democratic Republic'. King Gyanendra lost all his power and has vacated the palace. Thus, it was the end of royal history in Nepal and the end of the Brahminical 'Avatar' ideology that has existed for 240 years. More importantly, we must see how Chairman Prachanda conducts the orchestra of multi party democracy. The question of the "Development of Democracy in the 21st Century", put forward by Chairman Prachanda and adopted by CPN (M), must now be tested; this will be concretely reflected in the process of the conduct of CA and the drafting of the constitution by the different parties.

I hope and suggest that the new constitution should not be a directionless muddle of 'vulgar democracy' and Indian style socialism, as in the Indian constitution. Rather, it should be the fusion of the scientific development in Nepal from the experience of the struggle, for a New Proletarian outlook for the 21st century. I understand that in the course of running a party or a coalition, democracy for minorities should be given the foremost importance. If the Maoists can do this, they will be able to build a new Nepal.

At the outset, it must be said that the CPN (M) doesn't practise 'Mao Tsung Thought' but Maoism as Prachanda Path. The CPN (M) may agree or may not agree with what I have perceived while going through their documents, and seeing the difference of their practice from the other parties in Nepal. One should not be satis-

fied with the successful conclusion of the CA, as there are more complexities ahead. They have to restructure the state, from a monarchist state to a Federal Democratic Republic with a Socialist orientation, without exercising the traditional form of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. Correctly, they have pledged to democratise the Nepal Army and professionalise the People's Liberation Army. They must be vigilant over the forces of the status-quo and reactionary conspiracies. In the process of all this, the Maoists will have to develop comradesly relations even with those elements who do not believe in comradesly relations. They will have to practise a new type of Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In this context, I hold that the Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not mean that when the party of the Proletariat takes over the state and the government, the guns of the state should be turned against the non-proletarian classes in society; but rather the induction of the Proletariat and the involvement of the Proletariat more and more in the running of the state, the government and in the social organisations. This too, in a natural and democratic way rather than in a fascistic way.

Prachanda Path has first to negate feudalism and imperialism in the old Nepal and build a new Nepal. Thereafter, the negation of the negation will be necessary to move towards socialism of a different type. I would like them to be cautious about burdensome legacies from earlier revolutions. 250 years ago, before the Sugauli Treaty was signed with British, the old Nepal was not so poor and backward. But imperialism, feudalism and the monarchy have made Nepal poor, backward

and shamefully dependent; the new Nepal has to negate this. The negation of feudalism, imperialism, and the monarchy will take time, this will depend on the constitutional provisions and the laws framed by the new Federal Republic of Nepal and the new government.

Taking into consideration the above problems, it is good that Maoist Chairman Prachanda is against ex-king Gyanendra taking refuge in India. He does not state why he is against it, but it is crystal clear to me it is related to statecraft. If Gyanendra and his son Paras are softly dealt with, they will certainly create another power centre, and this can happen very easily in India. He can even form a Royal Kingdom of Nepal in exile in India or in Britain. I would like to suggest that if he does not behave properly at the time of the emerging new Nepal; the state should be ready to teach him a lesson; as soft or hard as necessary. He should declare his assets and it should be examined by an appropriate investigating agency; it should be shown from where he has accumulated this much or that much of personal and private capital in his name, or in the name of his other family members. He should not be allowed to leave the country until the process is concluded. Apart from this, his criminal deeds also should be investigated and cases against him and his son must be immediately filed. In this period of transition, from the old state to the new one, undesirable elements must be restricted with an iron hand. Failing this, the new Nepal will not be able to take root.

Regarding natural resources, Nepal is one of the richest countries

of the world. It was in the interests of the monarchy to stop progress, so that the consciousness of the people could not oppose the reactionary and anti-people system presided over by King after King as an Avatar of the deity Vishnu. The Himalayas, the Hills, and the Terai are an excellent support base to develop the nation. Feudal production relations under the leadership of the monarchy 'based on high-caste Arya-Khas Chauvinism' has created a 'terrible network of class, ethnic, regional, sexual, linguistic and cultural exploitation' that has obstructed the emergence of new productive forces. The ten year People's War has broken several chains, and now the Maoist leadership is set for a great historical breakthrough in form and content. Regarding the question of equi-distance or equi-proximity with India and China, Nepal's Maoist leadership promises equi-proximity with India and China to develop the country from the bourgeois phase to further phases.

Most of the Left parties in Nepal characterise India as an expansionist state, whereas I prefer to characterise India as a junior imperialist state with a modern state apparatus. In spite of this, Nepal has little to worry about because of obvious reasons. Even the NDA's Former Security Advisor, Brijesh Mishra, has advised the UPA government to assist Maoist Chairman Prachanda in the formation of a government in Nepal. The reasons are best known to all those concerned. In my opinion, Nepal has not much to worry about from American Imperialism, which has almost reached its collapse because of its wars in West Asia. Still, caution is necessary because defeated

enemies are sometimes stronger in the counter attack. The monarchy is dead but imperialism and feudalism are still here.

In the May issue of 'The Other-side', Ashok Mehta says that: "Power, as these Maoists have demonstrated, rejecting the old Maoism, does not flow from the barrel of the gun, but from the vote of the people." This is not true. In reality, it was the ten years People's War with the gun that propelled the peace process, the Seven Parties Alliance (SPA) on the basis of the 12 point programme; the 19 day Peoples Movement on the streets of Kathmandu, the re-organisation of the interim parliament and the CA election itself. All these things happened because of the power of the of the gun under Maoist leadership. Mr. Mehta must not forget that the Nepali Maoists had peacefully raised their demands, from 1991 to 1996, for transformation of the old Nepalese Society into a New Democratic society, but they were not given a hearing from any quarter. Thereafter, they resorted to the Peoples War that continued for ten years. They learnt the lessons from the defeats of contemporary armed movements, and they entered into peace talks from a position of strength. It was not a surrender, but the opening of the door to peace, progress, and prosperity of the people and the formation of a People's Republic.

The New Nepal is not only a new beginning for Nepal but also for the whole of the Proletarian world to march forward for a New Proletarian Revolution.

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# Literature of People's War from the Philippines



■ Florentino A. Iniego, JR

Long before the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist had sparked its people's war on 13 February 1996, the flare of the people's revolution has been blazing for decades in the Philippines. Inspired by the victorious revolution of China, Vietnam, and Cuba, and with the resolute aim of ending the worsening crisis of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was re-established on 26 December 1968 under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. On 29 March 1969, its armed wing -- the New People's Army (NPA) -- was organised to ignite the salvo of people's war.

The CPP wages armed struggle in combination with agrarian revolution and forming the people's democratic government and mass organizations. It builds the national united front by relying mainly on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, winning over the middle class and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst reactionary clique at every given time in a protracted people's war.

For four decades, the NPA has succeeded in seizing the initiative and launching tactical offensives in guerrilla fronts under attack as well as in the far more numerous guerrilla fronts and other areas beyond the control of the reactionary armed forces and police. It is increasing its platoon-size and company-size offensives and is looking forward to the building of mobile and more effective regional centers of gravity and to the development of relatively stable base areas on the basis of the guerrilla fronts.

While the revolution spreads out, the literature of people's war radiates vibrantly featuring the literary work of the Red fighters, cultural cadres, and mass activists nationwide. Its literature adheres to the political line that "the new mass art and literature in the Philippines are part and parcel of the national democratic revolution being waged by the Filipino people against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism." The outcome of this line was conveyed authentically in the poem "The Guerrilla is Like a Poet" by Jose Maria Sison:

*The guerrilla is like a poet.  
Enrhymed with nature  
The subtle rhythm of the greenery  
The inner silence, the outer innocence  
The steel tensile in-grace  
That ensnares the enemy.*

*The guerrilla is like a poet.  
He moves with the green brown multitude  
In bush burning with red flowers  
That crown and hearten all  
Swarming the terrain as a flood  
Marching at last against the stronghold.*

*An endless movement of strength  
Behold the protracted theme:  
The people's epic, the people's war.*

The poet declares the unity of the people's warrior with the graceful movement of nature. With its subtle and gentle gathering of strength, it slowly builds the foundation of the epic war. As a critic said, "the lines behave as significations, not of ideas, but of social actuality." Moreover, it reminds us of Ho Chi Minh's poetic line that "A poet must also learn how to lead an attack."

To reverberate its call for participation in the people's war, Emmanuel Lacaba, a Red Warrior martyr from Mindanao, wrote an "Open Letters to Filipino Artists." These series of "letters" starts with an address to his fellow petty bourgeois artists -- his "companions of youth" -- to support or join the revolution. The poet shares his experiences with the people's army and the basic masses. Then concludes with a "difference" on how and why his generation had taken the Frostian line of "the road less travelled." *We are tribeless and all tribes are ours.  
We are homeless and all homes are ours.*

*the masses  
With its decisive desire to win,  
With its decisive desire to win.*

While infusing the theme of people's war, the people's warrior, and the people's role in the ongoing struggle, revolutionary literature has awakened the urgent need for a genuine national and social liberation. It helps in mobilizing, organizing, and arousing the broad masses to participate in the decades-long struggle in the countryside and urban areas.

Now entering its 40th year of continuous struggle, the CPP renders the highest tribute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes for their supreme sacrifice and exemplary service to the people. In its 39th anniversary statement, the Party declared that "...Once more we collectively renew our resolve to carry forward through protracted people's war the national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution. We are determined to complete this stage through the nationwide seizure of political power in order to reach the stage of socialist revolution and begin the long transition to communism. Most urgently, we wish to prepare the celebration of the



*We are nameless and all names are ours.  
To the fascists we are the faceless enemy  
Who come like thieves in the night, angels of death:  
The ever-moving, shining, secret eye of the storm.*

*The road less travelled by we've taken  
And that has made all the difference:  
The barefoot army of the wilderness  
We all should be in time. Awaked, the masses are  
Messiah  
Here among workers and peasants our lost  
Generation has found its true, its only, home.*

To popularize the aims of the revolution, the CPP draws near to a genre that is traditionally well-liked by the people -- the song. By composing a marching theme of the revolution, the people will gradually understand their important role in the people's war. In a song "The People are Decisive" that was adapted from Mao Zedong's essay, the role of the masses was given a wholehearted emphasis:

*We should know that weapons  
Are important things in war,  
But it is not the decisive factor.  
The people, not things, are decisive,  
The people, not things, are decisive.*

*The struggle for power is not just a competition  
Between strength in arms or economic might.  
Moreover, it is a struggle with the strength of*

Party's 40th anniversary in the coming year by accelerating advances in an all-round way in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people under the leadership of the Party."

As a part of the world proletarian revolution, the CPP is developing its closest relations with Maoist parties and relations of the Party with foreign communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism or anti-imperialist solidarity. It is always active in promoting the international united front against imperialism and all reaction and in strengthening organizations and movements on various concerns in the struggle of the world's peoples for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

In the "roof the world", the 21st century Maoism has shook the world when the proletariat delivered a triumphant offensive against the forces of imperialism, feudalism, modern revisionism, and local reactionaries. Certainly, the time will come that the next victory will shine gloriously from the "pearl of the orient" -- in the Philippines.

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## Lal-Salam

— By Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bhandari

No such lovely words exist as -- "Lal salam!"  
Oh, my revolutionary warrior!  
Oh, my revolutionary hero!  
With its harmonious melodies warming our hearts,  
There are no other words to praise you.  
Neither temptation nor disgust can ensnare our minds,  
Come and rage against the lure of the sinister night.  
For the sun casting its light on the bosom of the earth  
Makes the rhododendron bloom red, red,  
Illuminating the radiance of the faithful sky,  
People stood up chanting in a deafening sound --  
"Lal salam!"

When the Rolpai first shouted -- "Lal salam!"  
The Koshi, Karnali and Gandaki  
Also applauded -- "Lal Salam!"  
And all the people of the nation  
Marching together, cheering up in unison -- "Lal Salam!"

At once, the people rise up  
Their heads high gazing at the sky,  
Everyone lined up along the streams,  
Rivers, mountain ranges,  
And the world resonates,  
Rejoicing -- "Lal salam!"

Birds chirping on the bosom of the earth,  
Driving away the wicked serpents  
Awakening the people everywhere:  
East, west, north, and south.  
And everyone were in chorus  
Singing -- "Lal salam!"

Happiness embraces bare bodies  
And shines on gloomy faces.  
Well scented breeze and a song  
Welcomes the rising sun.  
Unleashing the nature's glory  
Which had been suppressed for centuries  
And they all declaim the words -- "Lal salam!"

No such lovely words exist as -- "Lal salam!"  
Oh, my revolutionary warrior!  
Oh, my revolutionary hero!  
Oh, my red blooming flower!  
There are no other words to praise you  
Other than the hymn of -- "Lal salam!"

*(Lal-Salam is Red salute in English, The poem is translated by Durga Neupane)*

## We had ...

according to the chain-of-command, on the basis of a mass line that is organized, disciplined and armed. Accordingly, the army should be structured and defined. Let's understand that the meaning of 'barrack' as the place where the army stays, eats, sleeps, and does the different essential activities of an army. Not staying in barracks does not mean completely rejecting it; we are against being completely limited within the barrack. We are against totalitarian, fascist, anti-people procedures, thoughts, and concepts. We want to build a bridge between the barrack and people. The whole state should be oriented to serve the people. The relation between people and army or barrack should be like the relation of water and fish. Therefore, a new national army should be made integrating People's Liberation Army in the temporary cantonments and the Nepal Army. The new national army should be defined under a new national security concept. We still have to go through the democratization of Nepalese Army and professionalisation of People's Liberation Army. After the completion of these both processes, it will proceed to the direction of creating a mass militia. It will proceed in the direction of enriching the masses with military knowledge and capability. Only then, all the people of this small country can protect the country under the leadership of the army. We can make a successful advance through joint security promotion and development activities for the people and country. Therefore, this internal conflict can be solved through the process of clear understanding of the new concept and definition of thought, vision, process, method and procedure. It should be implemented based on the concrete ground reality of the concrete situation of the contemporary time at the different stages of the revolution and the process of the social development. It is not time for that process.

# Why is oil price so high?

How to explain the oil price? Why is it so high? Are we running out of it? Are supplies disrupted due to conflict on west Asia? Or is it a reflection of oil company greed or OPEC greed? Are the Chinese and Indians consuming the precious little that is left?

For more than half a century, world oil prices have not moved much around the average figure of U.S. \$27 a barrel. Between the mid-1980s and 2003, the real price (that is, adjusted to inflation) of crude oil on the major international trading exchanges was typically less than \$25 a barrel. But, during the last 18 months, the price of a barrel in international market has risen as never before and no economist was able to foresee it or explain the reasons behind it satisfactorily.

According to projections of the Energy Information Administration of the U.S. government, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) oil demand will contract for the third successive year in 2008. While non-OECD demand growth in 2008, led by China and West Asia, will remain reasonably strong at 3.7%, aggregate global demand will increase by only 1.2%. Supply is expected to be approximately the same as the previous year, at around 86 million barrels per day. Yet in the first five months of this year, global oil prices have increased by more than 140%.

Most of the explanations put forward dealt with supply conditions. One argument that has been around for a while is that of "peak oil" – the position that global oil reserves are running out, and may have already peaked or will shortly peak. The most extreme proponents of this position also believe that more investment in exploration will do little

to change this imbalance and, therefore, the world must learn to shift to alternative forms of energy. In this perception, the current spike in price is simply the inevitable effect of more than a decade of denial. However, for this to be true, it should be reflected in growing imbalances between actual consumption of oil and global supplies. But this is not the case, as will be evident below.

The most ridiculous of the supply-side arguments is the one that blames OPEC for the current situation.

This remarkably stupid argument ignores that fact that since the 1980s, OPEC has not fulfilled the basic requirement of a cartel: a mechanism to enforce quotas upon its members. In fact, today OPEC is more like a club of some oil producers, rather than a cartel that is in command of world oil supply. It controls only about 40 per cent of the world oil production. And it has been remarkably inefficient in imposing any kind of production quota on its members, who have happily increased or decreased their production as they wished. Most of its members are producing exactly as they would if OPEC did not exist. And in any case, OPEC has been around for nearly more than five decades, and for most of that period the world oil price has been around \$27

a barrel. The argument appears even more foolish once it is known that the slight decline in global oil supply in April 2008 (compared with a year ago) is entirely because of non-OPEC oil exporters, since the supply from OPEC countries was actually higher by 1.7 million barrels a day.

The other argument relates to demand and suggests that the voracious demand for oil in China and India – which in turn is fed by heavy

or actual purchasing power, the domestic retail prices of oil products in India and China are many multiples of the prices prevailing in the U.S. So the subsidies leading to excessive fuel consumption are much more prevalent in the U.S. than they are in India or China.

According to more reliable analysts, there is interplay of three factors that can be recognized as driving the oil prices high. The US aggression in the west Asia – where the biggest oil suppliers are – and the liquidity that the Federal Reserve is pumping out to ward off recession coupled with the decreasing US dollar that leaves many investors turn to commodities market for speculative activities on oil futures.

In an effort to forestall a threat of serious recession to American economy (a continuous fall of price levels) the Federal Reserve is pouring out money that is financing speculation in oil futures contracts. Hedge funds and investment banks, facing a crisis after incurring huge losses due to the dramatic fall of housing prices, are restoring their damaged capital structures with profits made by speculating in highly leveraged oil future contracts, just as real estate speculators flipping contracts pushed up home prices. The oil futures bubble, too, will pop, hopefully before new derivatives are created on the basis of high oil prices.

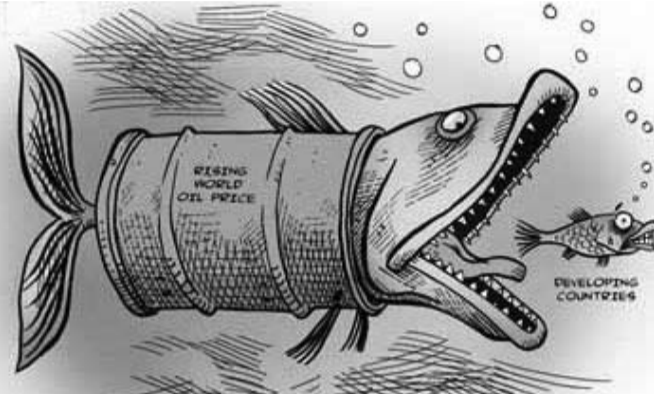
The other major factor affect-

ing the price of oil is the prospect of an Israeli/US attack on Iran that has resulted in an increased current demand in order to build stocks against disruption. Therefore, the run up in oil price coincides with a period of heightened US and Israeli military aggression in the Middle East.

Thus, the straightforward explanations based on real demand and supply is simply not useful in understanding the current price hike. Rather, the price for this very physical commodity, this universal intermediate, is now determined in the virtual world. In other words, speculative forces, operating especially through the commodity futures markets, are driving the current oil price surge and increasing aggressive behavior of America/Israel toward Iran is only adding fuel to the fire.

In the mean time, whether or not Wall Street traders are driving up the traded price of oil to heights completely disconnected from supply-and-demand fundamentals, the current pricing arrangements are generating incredible profits for the large, integrated oil companies – Exxon Mobil, Chevron Texaco and the like. While the price of oil is going up, these companies' drilling expenses are not. Oil can trade at \$100 a barrel, or \$150 a barrel. It still costs Exxon Mobil and the rest only about \$20 to get a barrel of oil out of the ground.

And as the oil giants are having windfall profits due to the increasing prices, the lives of majority poor people all over the world are turning from bad to worse due to the increased burden upon their shoulders from the price hike. Therefore, this is another blunt example of the apathy of our capitalist system where the rich thrives at the cost of poor masses.



state subsidies that keep the domestic prices of fuels down – is responsible for the recent price surge. On the surface, this argument appears plausible, but once again it is fallacious.

It is true that China's demand for oil has been increasing rapidly, but it still accounts for less than 8% of global consumption, and India for less than 3%. The current obsession with subsidies ignores the taxes imposed on petroleum prices that affect retail domestic prices. In fact, the U.S. still has among the lowest domestic prices of fuel in the world, substantially lower than India's even in nominal terms. Relative to per capita GDP (gross domestic product)

## Cat and mice play in Nepal Rastra Bank Present ..

■ Basu De

Vijayanath Bhattarai is the latest culprit of internal disputes for power within the administration of Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB). As the banker of banks, it has the sole authority over financial operations; it has to play a larger institutional role to develop the monetary and banking system.

Recent evidence shows that the NRB's institutional role is diminishing while non institutional role is increasing. Vijaya Nath Bhattarai was not the only governor who abused his power. From the first governor of NRB, Himalaya Samsher JBR to Vijayanath Bhattarai, many have abused their power. As it has been appearing the alleged involvement of bank's executive it might not virtually has been so. On the direction of their seniors, some honest governors were also compelled to misuse power. They were proven innocent later.

NRB is an institution where the royal Palace, business interests, and bureaucrats had a huge influence in such miss carrying events. Eventually the governors became the victims. For example, acting Governor Keshavnath Sharma committed suicide after he was found guilty receiving a bribe of \$ 10,000 in 1984/85. He was popular in the bank as a hard working, honest and sincere man. None of the staff in the bank in that period could believe that Kesavnath

Sharma was ever involved in bribery.

A great scandal known as LC scam in the Rastriya Baniya Bank, amounting to billions of rupees, was committed with the joint effort of businessmen and bank staffs in the period of Governor Hari Sanker Tripathy. As the scandal was connected with an elite group, the culprits were never revealed. The carpet scandal also operated in the period of Governor Tripathi, and was connected with the royal family. The scandal had greatly influenced in the export sector by affecting balance of trade. The two general managers of Baniya Bank, Punya Keshari Dhungana and Guru Prasad Neupane, were suspended for approving a loan of ten million rupees, while not keeping adequate collateral. were the visible scandal which were enforced to do from bureaucrats. Both the general managers were released after getting the benefit of doubt from the High Court. Therefore, all such illegal activities that were done from NRB or from commercial banks were all done by high ranking authorities. Without prosecuting them, the lower level bureaucratic management was victimised.

The above non-institutional actions of NRB show that it is unable to play an autonomous role due to the involvement of the royal palace in the Bank. The dirty games of the palace ensured that no governors in NRB could be appointed without

having consent of the king or of his secretaries. As such, all the governors had to be loyal to the palace. As per NRB act of 1955, the governor is selected from the ministry of finance in accordance with seniority. Moreover, a potential governor must be a senior economist and also a good administrator. Despite having such rules in the bank, the royal palace had an upper hand in the selection of governor. All notorious business tycoons and corrupt politicians had strong relations with the royal family; they were putting our economy in to digression. The blacklisted businessmen are the best example before us for receiving overdrafts worth billions of rupees from commercial banks under personal guarantee. None of it has been paid back yet.

Racism is the next element of their power struggle. The employees of the NRB are the biggest victims of this. There is a wide gap between high classes (Brahman, Chhetries) and minor classes, mostly from Newari community. The upper class is getting higher privileges going abroad for further study and quick promotion etc. while lower class do not get such opportunity.

Governor should have to perform their duties in living between two sharp edges of the sword. And they were often victimised. Nepal is seriously suffering from economic hardship. The Nepal government has a bigger challenge of facing this hardship. The increases in prices of

petroleum products have further aggravated the problem. Government expenditure in unproductive sectors has increased. The consequence is that the GDP growth of 2.5% will likely to be reduced in coming days. To combat this problem, political parties, intelligent scholars, economist and economic institutions as NRB, National Planning Commission, CEDA ought to express their thoughts. Surprisingly, they are not doing so. As a responsible institution NRB has to fulfil its objectives by adopting suitable economic measures. The major problem in the economy is inflation which should be controlled immediately. NRB can do so by changing interest rate and intervening in money market by purchasing foreign currencies in required amount. It has to develop micro enterprise policy for grass root level of development. NRB also has to change the present rules and regulations of financial institution that is playing the role of landlord in our economy. NRB had adopted wide interest rate disparity policy between commercial banks and financial institution. Under this facility financial institutions have taken many undue advantages from their investment. Many debtors were bankrupted while recovering their loan. The financial institutions have still been holding the properties of the poor people who have failed to pay back their loans. NRB now must review this policy which is against the poor.

Nepal. As a matter of fact, Indian expansionism does not want to loosen its grip over the party of the comprador bourgeois, so it can keep Nepal in its fist. The alliance between the Nepali Congress and the Madheshi parties, which is openly coming to the surface in the Constituent Assembly, has in fact broken the previous agreement reached between our party and the seven parliamentary parties. And a new reactionary polarisation is now starting. Without a doubt, Indian expansionism is doing all this from behind the scenes and is conspiring for a final offensive against the democratic and patriotic aspirations of the Nepalese people. As a result, national sovereignty and territorial integrity is in serious danger.

At such a crucial juncture, when an unholy coalition of reactionary forces is openly forming, the time has come to call upon the entire democratic and patriotic forces to struggle against national capitulation, and build up a strong united front for the seizure of power. Nothing other than the power of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of proletariat can build a New Democratic Nepal and thereby defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation. There is no other way out to break the existing deadlock.

The writer is a central committee member of CPN (Maoist).



# Marvellous Bhairabkunda

Dipak Sapkota

Nepal has hundreds of destinations for tourists and travellers. However, the exploration of new destinations also leads to a need to develop infrastructure. Tourism has proven itself to be a major medium to develop Nepal. With the confidence that sustainability will prevail in Nepal, it is time to concentrate on developing the tourism sector.

Nepal is trekker's paradise. A large section of tourists and travellers who visit Nepal go trekking. Many of the trekking routes are around Pokhara and Everest. But some destinations around Kathmandu Valley are also attracting trekkers, such as in Sindhupalchowk. The district has many interesting things to do, including trekking, rafting, hot-springs, bungee-jumping, as well as historic and religious places of interest.

Bhairabkunda is to the northeast of Kathmandu, and close to Nepal-China boundary. It is a holy lake named after a terrifying Tantric form of the Hindu deity Shiva. The lake is also sacred to Buddhists, who call it Chhomen. The lake is 4250 metres high (13,943 ft.). A typical trek from Kathmandu to Bhairabkunda would be like this:

After breakfast we take a bus ride out of the Kathmandu Valley on the Araniko highway up through the hills. After a five hour bus ride, we reach the starting point for the trek - 'Dhande'. We spend the first night at this serene and beautiful spot. Trekking starts the next morning. During the trek, we will see the different ways of life and culture passing through the forestations and the grazing lands. In the late afternoon, after about five hours walk, we will arrive at Chanaute. Likewise, on the third night we stay at Golchhe (Pangtang), on the fourth at Dallenche Kharka, fifth on Charmu Pati. On the sixth day after a walk of about five hours, we arrive at Bhairabkunda. From the top of Bhairabkunda, we can see the Rolwaling mountain range, the Jugal Mountain, and mountains in Tibet. This is an impressive sight.

The above trek is at a comfortable pace, consisting of walking about 5 to 7 hours a day, 10 to 13 km of ascents and descents. But for domestic tourists and pilgrims, and those trekkers who want to walk harder and faster; it is possible to reduce a few days. The organic rhythm of walking on foot to Bhairabkunda is a wonderful experience. The immense contrasts in altitude and



climate support a spectacular mix of lifestyle and wildlife. There are superb panoramic views of mountains, diversities of landscape, all kinds of flora and fauna, and friendly locals.

Returning from Bhairabkunda, we return a different way. We can take the Araniko Highway by climbing down from Baghmara and Listokot. We will also watch the sunrise from Baghmara, just before leaving for Nayapul. It is the site of the only bungee jump in Nepal, and is one of the best bungee-jump spots in world. We can have a lot of fun with bungee-jumping or bungee-swing. After this, there is the pleasure of a hot-spring bath in the nearby town of Tatopani (literally hot water). Tatopani

is on the border with China. After the hot-spring, we can either return to Kathmandu or go rafting in Bhotekoshi River. This is an hour away by bus. Rafting for three hours is a lot of fun.

The Bhairabkunda trek, the bungee-jump, the hot-spring and rafting makes a superb package. Moreover, it is close to Kathmandu valley. This destination is for an adventurer-trekking up to 4250 metres, bungee-jumping and rafting. This destination can be developed as a 10-12 days package destination.

Bhairabkunda is a new tourist destination, which is getting more popular. This destination needs proper publicity, and the

development of infrastructure on the trekking route such as hotels, lodges, water and toilet facilities, information boards etc. A Bhairabkunda Conservation and Tourism Development Committee has been formed for this purpose. The Chairman of the committee, Arjun Sapkota, said that they are trying their best to look for some assistance from the government and non-governmental organisations related to tourism. He also said that despite inadequate facilities, about a hundred groups have chosen Bhairabkunda to go trekking. The Committee also held a publicity tour last year that comprised the representatives of political parties, journalists, and representatives of the trekking agencies.

## Indian solidarity with Nepali Maoist

In a significant move, fourteen Indian revolutionary parties and organizations that uphold Marxism-Leninism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/Mao Zedong Thought publicly shared the same platform on June 23, 2008, for the first time in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement. They unanimously conveyed greetings to the CPN (Maoist) for its victory in the recent Constituent Assembly Election, and resolutely supported the current political line of the CPN (Maoist); the Constituent Assembly Election and Federal Democratic Republic. On this occasion, the Chairman of the CPN (Maoist), Prachanda, sent a felicitation letter wishing great success to the program jointly organized by Solidarity Initiative for Revolutionary Struggle in Nepal at the University Institute Hall in Kolkata, the capital of West Bengal. West Bengal is where the spark of legendary Naxalite movement was ignited in the 1970s. The felicitation letter states: "The Constituent Assembly Election has now laid a foundation for a Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. The monarchy, the feudal institution, has been demolished. However, the Nepalese people's struggle against feudalism and imperialism is by no means over. Therefore, there will be greater challenges in the days ahead." Acknowledging the importance of proletarian solidarity at an international level, the letter further states: "in the present situation of expanding imperialist offensive, mainly by the U.S., we hold that the success of the proletarian revolution in a certain

country is dependent, more than before, on whether or not the proletarian class can develop internationally, for a strong revolutionary movement to fight imperialism." CM Prachanda in his message also added that the present political changes in Nepal would not have been possible had there been no strong solidarity of revolutionary, left and democratic forces and individuals around the world, and India in particular.

After reading out the Chairman's felicitation letter, and before a large gathering of participants from every corner of West Bengal, the party representative and Provincial Committee Member, Laxman Pant, said that the victory of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is also a victory for the international proletariat. He further added that this is the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the indomitable ideology of the proletariat, and signified the defeat of revisionism and parliamentary reformism. West Bengal has been the stronghold and epicenter of revisionism in India, where parliamentary 'communists' have ruled the province for over three decades. He urged all the forces that prior to forming any opinion about the Nepalese revolution; they must make an overall objective assessment of present world situation. The Russian and Chinese revolutions took place during a period of sharp inter-imperialist rivalry and World War, a period where imperialism and revisionism were weak; in our time, the subjective and objective situation is entirely different. He

said that although the party has achieved vital political and tactical victories, nevertheless the final victory is still in the future, and the class struggle is not over. He further called upon all the participating parties and organizations not to establish any view about the party's ideology, line, policies and programs by going through media reports and interviews with the media, but by scrutinizing the party's official statements and documents.

The list of other speakers who presented their views in the meeting included Santosh Rana, the General Secretary of PCC, CPIML and convener of the organizing committee, Somnath Chatterji, leader, SOC CPI ML, Amrit Paira, leader Mazdoor Kishan Party, Sadanand Bagal, West Bengal State Committee, Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), Animesh Chakrawarty, CPI-ML Liberation, Pradip Singh Thakur, CPI ML New Democracy, Shukhendu Bhattacharya, Workers Party, Alok Mukherji, CPI ML Janshakti, Prasun Chatterji, Gan Pratirodh Manch, Sukhendu Sarkar, D.M.S., Sailen Bhattacharya, CPI (ML) PCC, Yash Das CCRML, Varnali Mukerji, CPB. The other two parties, namely the CRLI and CPRM gave their consent for the program, however, they could not make it to the program. The meeting was chaired by a three-member presidium of Sukhendu Bhattacharya, Sadanand Bagal and Pradip Banerji. All the speakers unanimously stressed the need to build a strong Indian people's solidarity movement in support of the Nepalese

revolution, and resolutely resist external intervention from both Indian expansionism and U.S. imperialism. They expressed the view that the Nepali revolution has vitalized the revolutionaries in India and the whole world over. The final resolution was passed jointly. The joint resolution adopted by fourteen parties' states: "The people of Nepal have achieved a significant victory in the long drawn struggle for the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of democracy and a democratic republic under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). This assembly expresses its solidarity with the Nepalese people and sends its revolutionary greetings for the victories achieved by them under the leadership of CPN (Maoist). At the same time, this assembly severely condemns U.S. imperialism and Indian expansionism and other reactionaries who are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal, and the committee expresses its resolve in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Nepali people, led by the CPN (M). The resolution was tabled before the meeting by Santosh Rana. The proceedings were conducted by Pradip Banerji. On this occasion a memento was presented to the Chairman of CPN (M) by CPI ML Janshakti, which was received by Com. Laxman Pant on behalf of the party. The program came to an end after a vote of thanks by Sukhendu Bhattacharya on behalf of the Presidium.

(This report is contributed by Laxman Pant.)