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Great Unity



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|| news brief ||

Encroachment of Nepali land

Indian expansionism has again started its campaign to encroach Nepalese land from east to west. India Administration has spread its bloody nails in Santapur, Shriantu and Pashupatinagar of Ilam district. India has encroached 20 acres of Nepali Land.

The Patriotic Republican Unity Campaign (PRUC) has given memorandum to the government and demanded to stop and return the encroached land to Nepal. The PRUC has clearly stated that this type of expansionist interference is no longer bearable to the Nepalese People.

Chitwan Festival

Many new festivals are being organized all over the country after the declaration of Federal Democratic Republic. Recently, Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' inaugurated Chitwan Festival-2009.

On January 9, addressing the masses, Prachanda said that the old 12-point understanding has ceased to work and it is necessary to make a new 12-point agreement to solve the newly emerged problems.

The tradesmen, business complexes, federations of the industry owners and the investors are hopefully looking forward. Together with an increase in production, they have paid attention to its proper publicity and exhibition. The industry owners are trying to expand their relations among the people. The newly formed elected government has clearly publicized its policy and plan for the promotion and protection of national industries.

The role of major tactical line in making a new constitution

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



C P Gajurel

the success or failure of strategy.

We have short term as well as long term tactics. Short term tactics is changed constantly depending on every small change in the situation. Perhaps Lenin was explaining about such tactics

when he said that such tactics is changed even within twenty four hours. Every revolutionary party involved in making revolution should be aware of every small change in the situation so that the party enables itself to deal with all the challenges coming up in the class struggle. So formulation of correct tactics and its implementation is a real test of all revolutionary parties.

Apart from the short term tactics which changes even within twenty four hours we have relative long term tactics, which can also be termed as major tactics. Major tactics determines major political demands and its application and implementation. There are series of short term tactics whose main aim is to achieve the major tactics. The Second National Conference of the

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Intervention in Pashupatinath Temple

The debate on Pashupatinath Temple and the nationality of the priests who perform rituals has ended. The Former Bhatta has been reappointed as the caretaker priest of Pashupatinath Temple. After the resignation of former Bhatta, the appointment of a Nepali Brahmin as a new priest, the debate had spread in north India.

The debate untied a bundle of contradictions and the feudal, expansionist and imperialist came to the street to protect their heaven of loot that amounts to millions of rupees. They were continuously handling the debate through political and diplomatic intervention.

The elected government of Nepal was forced to withdraw its decisions. It shows the direct interference of foreign powers. The struggle between nationalism and independence has opened its routes in a new way.

Karl Marx has said that, old army, old judiciary, old bureaucracy and religious institutions and temples are the main pillars of the reactionaries. He, in the Communist Manifesto, says that these pillars should be smashed and new ones should be made in place of them.

The main task of the elected government is to write a new constitution according to the federal conception for the restructuring of the entire state. However, before beginning to write a new constitution, all the reactionaries from imperialists to domestic puppets are attempting to seize CPN (Maoist) led government.

Fast Track or Electric Railway?

An interesting debate is going on about the development of infrastructure of Nepal. The government has publicized a general outline of the development of infrastructure. Many specialists and the analysts are participating and suggesting new ideas and options to the authority.

Capital city Katmandu has been linked with only One National Highway. The government is now concentrated the debate on the alternative highway to link the capital with the rest of the parts of the country.

The specialists and the Engineers have reached to the conclusion that Electric railway will be cheaper and quicker than the Fast track. The electric railway will be 3 times more cheaper than it in its constructing budget.

Great Unity



Red Star reporter

The CPN (Maoist) and the CPN (Unity Centre-Masal) have unified and formed the Unified CPN (Maoist). The unity of two major revolutionary parties gives a positive message to the world. Unity was possible on the strong foundation of the decade long People's War and the 19-days People's Movement. The unity itself is a historic task to fulfill the historical mission for writing a new constitution from the Constituent Assembly (CA).

Anti-people forces are making alliances and they are directly supported by imperialist and expansionist powers. They want to seize and abort the CA. Again, they want to continue their colonial intervention by aiding their puppets in Nepal.

Although we are in the peace process and want to write a peoples' constitution peacefully,

the reactionaries are hatching conspiracies against the people forces. Therefore, writing the constitution is a struggle between two classes. The reactionaries are waiting for the opportunity to return power to the hands of their puppets.

The revolutionaries and the peoples forces are honestly trying to write a new constitution. They are in favor of liberating the nation from the chain of imperialism and feudalism and building a sovereign and independent Nepal. The reactionaries are against it. To strengthen the hands of the people, the unification of two Maoist parties to form the Unified CPN-Maoist will play an important role.

The dream of the martyrs, the wounded and all the Nepalese people are still awaiting fulfilment. Peasants,

workers, women, and dalits are actively participating in the various campaigns to social transformation. They want revolutionary parties and their leaders to lead the transformation forward. Domestically, all the people are hoping for a bright future. Internationally, revolutionary parties and organizations are suspicious whether the Nepalese Maoists will prove victorious or be defeated. They are in a dilemma and they are warning us about the way ahead. In this critical situation, the Unified CPN-M has roared from the heart of Kathmandu, Tundikhel.

The unity has opened a highway for the further unification of communist parties and organizations into one single centre. It has again shown that the power of the people is undefeatable. It is a new beginning

in the 21st century to drive the revolutionary chariot ahead.

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

Central Committee Member of Unified CPN-Maoist, Narayan Kaji Shrestha "Prakash", said the parties merged in order to complete the communist movement. He also stated to the mass that the party is committed to establish the People's Republic and therefore they would not tolerate any attempts to retain the traditional parliamentary democracy.

The end of bonded labour custom

•Menka Chaudhary

The Kamlari custom in Nepal has existed for a long time. Under this custom, the daughters of the Tharu community were sent to feudal lords or landlords as a guarantee for a debt. They work in the houses of the landlords until they are married or marriageable age. Most of them are victims of sexual exploitation.

The Kamlari custom is a hang over of slavery. This custom still exists from Dang, Banke, Bardia, Kailali to Kanchanpur districts. It is a tradition. According to the custom, the parents of Tharu indigenous tribe send their daughters to work in the houses of landlords for one year after

the celebration of their biggest festival Maghi. Every year the members of the family of Tharu tribe get together and celebrate the Maghi festival. In this festival, the daughters have a formal right whether they want to go to the house of the same landlord or not. However, due to their economic and social status, the daughters are forced to go to the same landlord's house or to other landlords. They have no other alternative other than to choose the landlords. But they have to go.

A non-government organization, FNC, has taken the initiative to declare one of the five districts Bardia as a 'no Kamlari Zone'. The manager of the institution (FNC) Man Bahadur Kshetri says, 'there are 4688 Kamlaris in the 5 districts.



1041 are in the Bardia district.' The FNC have helped 628 Kamlaris and 552 have been sent to school.

Although the government has declared a civil act to liberate the Kamaiya and Kamlari and to eradicate

Kamlari custom, it has not been implemented in practice. The sisters, daughters, the young and even the old men are working in the houses of landlords as cattle grazers, making fences, ploughman, cow-herd, buffalo-herd and Kamlaris.

How are you taking the recent unification of the CPN-Maoist and CPN-Unity Centre?

- I have taken it very positively. This is a polarization among the revolutionaries. This polarization is not only the unity of two revolutionary parties, but it is the beginning of the unity of true revolutionaries.

Some people say that this unity will not exist for a long time because of the differences of the opinion. Can you clarify them?

- There are no differences of opinion. If there were differences in opinion, the unity would not be possible, rather it would be impossible. We came to the conclusion because there is no difference in opinion. It is only an illusion of those who are saying so.

Would you tell us something about Maoism and Mao Zedong-thought that the party has accepted?

- We split 13 years ago.

The issue of debate was whether to apply the strategy of People's War or the People's Movement. The then CPN-Unity Centre, at that time, was pleading for People's Movement. However, the then Maoist was in favour of People's War. Now, it is the time of the People's Movement.

After 13 years, we have united. The cooperation for the 19-day People's Movement began from the Siliguri meeting, in India, with the 12-point understanding. Along with cooperation, the inter-relationship and understanding developed between the two parties. The Unified CPN-Maoist has openly accepted Maoism and Mao Zedong-thought. We have, now, made a strong unity and it is the starting of the unity for the revolutionaries. This is a very positive initiative in the history of communist movement of Nepal. We are going to accomplish the new People's Democratic Revolution.

4). So, you think that the Unified CPN-Maoist is able to lead the People's Movement or

rebel here after?

- People rebel. When the enemies of the people create problems and they do not give way to write the constitution, we call the people for rebel against the foreign reactionary powers and their domestic puppets and the remnants of the feudal order. We will successfully lead the rebellion.

Are you thinking to carry the process of party unity ahead with the other communist parties and organizations too?

- The process of party unity has begun. The recent unity is a great beginning of the party unity. We hope that other small communist parties and organizations will be for party unity.

Some others say that the party unity is to make a big party for the next election. The slogan of insurrection is only speech. How do you respond them?

- The important election of the Constituent Assembly has already been accomplished. We have to accomplish the revolution according to the

aspirations and the mandate of the people expressed through the struggles. The question of a big party is not related to the question of insurrection. The party line is the important thing for it. Nepali Congress was a big party, but it was defeated in the elections. Therefore, the conception that a big party always wins the election is wrong. The policy, plan and the decision of the party addressing the voice of the people is the main thing here.

You are the only remaining founder member of Communist Party of Nepal. How do you feel on the revolutionary party unity?

- The dream of accomplishing a new People's Democratic Revolution that we had at the beginning of the Communist Party of Nepal has not been accomplished yet. However, in my life, the monarchy has been abolished and Federal Democratic Republic has been declared. I got

By making policy and plan of the struggle for the implementation in our own countries, we can serve Proletarian Internationalism.

opportunity to see it in my life. I have yet to see the New People's Democratic Revolution and Peoples Republic of Nepal.

What do you want to say to the international revolutionary parties and the organizations?

- Firstly, I want to say that the countries of the world have their own specificities. According to the specificities and the situation of the country, communist parties should do their work. They should try to make their own plans suitable to the specific situation. I want to call them to make and launch the struggle in their own country. By making the policy and plan of the struggle for the implementation in our own countries, we can serve Proletarian Internationalism.

We are going to accomplish the New People's Democratic Revolution

■ Nar Bahadur Karmacharya

Nar Bahadur Karmacharya is the only surviving founding member of Nepal Communist Party, formed in Kolkata, India in 1950. He's a veteran comrade of a full half a decade of revolutionary activities. Currently, he's working hard to achieve a unity between the of the CPN(Maoist) and CPN(Unity-Center-Masal). Consequently, he is strongly lobbying for further unification among other numerous fringe communist parties. And, he affirms that the unity between the two parties pave the way forward in this regard and it'll bring about a new People's Democratic Revolution.



Tharu nationality & culture

Ramcharan Chaudhari

Nepal covers .3 percent territory in the Asian Continent and .03 percent territory of the world. It is situated between two friendly countries, with its own natural resources and own distinct cultural identity, from Himalayas to the Terai Region. Since ancient times, the dynasties of Gopal, Manishpal, Kirant, Lichhavis, Malla entered Nepal as refugees and contributed to the development of the original civilization and culture of Nepal. From earlier periods, Nepal has been an

inhabited by various castes and cultures, and has accepted the existence of different languages, religion, costumes and conducts. Therefore, in Nepal, cultural diversity is directly proportional with the unity of cultures.

Tharu is one of the main castes that have lived in Nepal since ancient times in the thick forests of Terai in Nepal, settled from Bhadrapur of Jhapa to Kailali, Kanchanpur, the districts of inner Terai (Chitwan, Dang, Surkhet) and in the Siwalik hills of 22 districts. Tharu society has its own unique culture and tradition, and has enriched

Nepal culturally.

Conversely, in the lack of mechanisms for identification and promotion, such a unique culture is in danger of disappearing. The harsh conditions among the people are caused by illiteracy, improper sanitation and other factors due to the centralization of power and natural wealth in just a few individuals or groups, with the majority of the people not gaining benefit..

The ethnic residential area of Tharu possesses not only cultural diversity but also bio-diversity. Tharu culture can

promote Tourism in Nepal. Tharu tribe and the bio-diversity of the environment attracts the national and international visitors. It can obviously bring economical progress.

Tharu land has the prominent environment of Thakur Dwara, nearby Bardiya National Conservation Park. Bardiya National Conservation Park, with an area of 968 sq kilometers, has its specific identity and has been a shelter for various wild animals including some endangered species, such as the One-Horned Rhino and Blue Cow. The Babai and Geruwa

rivers have been flowing here since time immemorial.

To preserve and promote the indigenous culture, it is necessary to organize events in the national and international arena. It is an essential since culture can be a centre for relations between all the religions and for the whole human society. Culture includes social values, tradition, marital and other relations, political understanding, arts, language, literature, science and technology. The society is organized in co-ordination with all of these factors.

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EDITORIAL

Write peasant's & worker's constitution

The Constituent Assembly (CA) is gradually progressing . It has successfully elected chiefs for different committees to accelerate CA affairs. It has been inescapable for the members.

The proportionate representation of chiefs of CA committees is its beginning. It is based on the agreement of the political parties.

In spite of this need, the ground inside the country is different. Along with holding interest to jot down constitution, the parties and the institutions are slowly polarising. The CA is going to be the place of two opposite close debate. The political parties are making their efforts for party unity of the like-minded and for the united front even with the different opinions and having some of the common agendas.

After the end of monarchy, political parties are in the struggle of opinion. The political parties, which fought unifiedly against monarchy, are now in the struggle of opinion to fulfill their class interest. The debate has begun. Even among the people, there is an interesting debate on writing constitution. The people from every nook and corner of the country are forewarning the political parties not to write constitution in favor of imperialist, feudalist and their puppets. They are eagerly waiting for glorious sunshine writing constitution.

The people want to institutionalize their sacrifice and aspirations through new constitution. They are hurriedly waiting for the declaration of pro-people constitution. The constitution should be written in favour of toiling people.

The masses of the people are expecting more from the Unified CPN-Maoist and other parties and organization. They want Unified CPN-Maoist to lead and fulfill the expectation of the people. Unified CPN-Maoist should accomplish the historic task dedicating to inscript constitution of peasants and workers.

'Punish the murderer'

Journalist Uma Singh was brutally murdered in her own residence in the second week of January. She was affiliated with Radio Today.

Journalist sector has been the sector of insecurity during and after the civil war in Nepal. The dangerous thing is that even in the period of on going peace process, the journalists are being victim by the unidentified



late Uma Singh

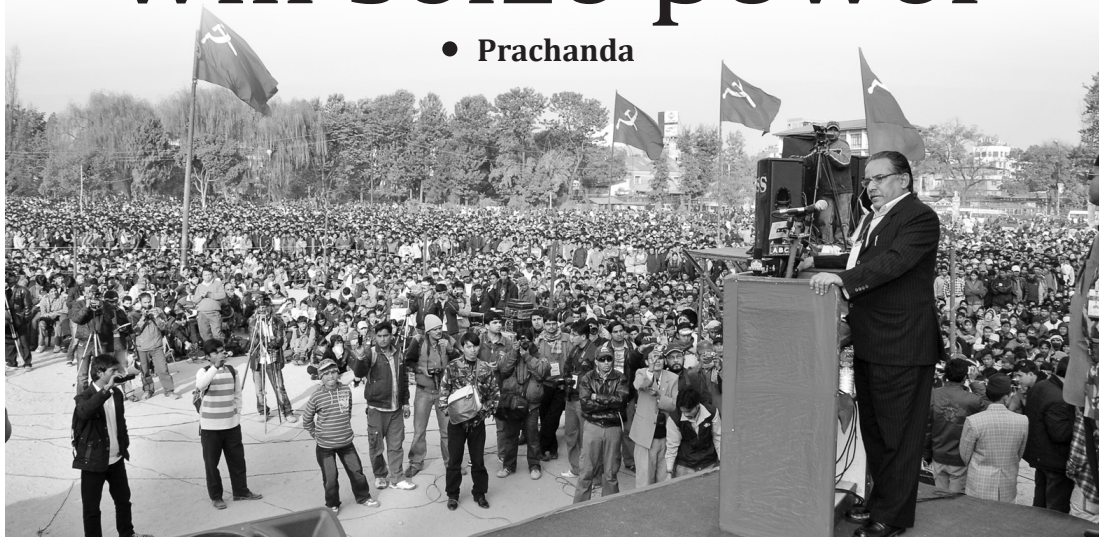
armed groups.

Regarding the murder of Uma Singh, the government has assured the journalists to form an investigative commission and take action over the murderer.

Revolutionary Journalists' association, Nepali Journalists' federation and the other organizations and the institutions have given memorandum to the heads of the state.

Nepalese people will seize power

• Prachanda



When we were in People's War for the political and social transformation, the enemies of the people had thought to assassinate us and end the process of social transformation at that time. However, Nepalese people, the justice loving people, did not support their plot and plan to be unimplemented. People's War, rather, developed into its leap, one after another, and advanced forward to smash the hundreds of years of feudal reign.

After we entered into the peace process, the reactionary elements, inside and outside the country, had thought that CPN-Maoist would have split into three fragments. However, their "dream" smashed and failed within a few days. This shows that their prediction was empty and hypocrisy. CPN-Maoist advanced ahead with its strong unity.

A few days ago, some of the leader of the parliamentary parties publicly addressed that the CPN-Maoist-led Government will fall down due to its weaknesses. Along with it, they made many conspiracies to abort the process of unity between CPN-Maoist and CPN-Unity Centre-Masal. Nevertheless, in the course of time, we have unified and the reactionaries have become smashed. This unity is the example of the victory of all the revolutionary forces and the defeat of all the reactionary forces. Thus, unity is a great leap in the revolutionary continuation. This is a new victory of the Nepalese people against the anti-people forces.

We are now advancing ahead through the critical situation. In this period, we have a great responsibility to institutionalize and transfer the declared republic in to People's Democratic republic. We want to carry the original Peace Process, brought by Nepalese people, in to a logical end. It will be the correct way for national sovereignty and independency. We want to write a constitution, which protects the rights and benefits of the peasants and the workers, through the constituent assembly. To accomplish the historical task, we have no other weapon than

the unity of the Nepalese people and unity of the revolutionary communist parties. The more the reactionaries hatch conspiracies against Nepalese people and the Maoist party, the more unity and the resistance power the Nepalese people get. The declaration of the new unity is the result of the same process.

Some of the leaders of the other political parties think and say that the declaration of the federal republic is only the result of 19-day people's movement. That is a big misconception. It was impossible to declare republic without the victory of a decade long Peoples War. Was the declaration of federal republic possible without the sacrifice of the best sons and the daughters of the Nepalese people? We should realize the truth. No one can be a communist who does not accept the historic role of the People's War.

The present peace process has been achieved by armed fighting. It has not been achieved by surrendering and begging. The peace process is the fruit of fight. To make the peace process success, it is necessary for the Nepalese people to be conscious and agitative. Certainly, the hundred years old monarchy has been ended. However, the monarchy rooted in all the mechanisms of the state power has not been ended. To end the monarchy from all the sectors and the mechanisms of the state power, people should stand up.

In the 21st century, a probability is available here that formation of single revolutionary party is possible in Nepal. Through the sacrifice and the co-work of the Nepalese people, a reliable and the convincing ground has been made, which provides the foundation to the communists to be united under the single revolutionary centre. On the other, there is no alternative power than communist to protect the national sovereignty and the independency. In this occasion, I would like to appeal the entire leftist, progressive and the patriotic forces to be united into single revolutionary front.

The present government is not the continuation of the same

parliamentary government of the past. It is neither the repetition of the old government. This is an elected government after a big revolutionary change. There will be two misfortunes if the present government falls down. First, the future of the Nepalese people and Nepal will be lost into darkness. Second, a big hurricane of the struggles will come and people will capture the state power if the 'kings', feudal lords and their puppets try to overturn the present government in the assistance of the foreign powers. At that time, no power will be able to stop the struggle and nobody will be there to reject the result of the struggle.

We are now sailing in the same boat since 12-point understanding. If someone tries to make hole in the boat, we all will be downed with the boat. Therefore, we struggle against the reactionary tendency and the status quo to carry the peace process into logical end.

In the past, we fought against monarchy and brought federal republic. Now, we are going to write a new constitution. Certainly, there will be debate and discussion for making a constitution. The debate will be on either the People's Republic or the republic of the enemies of the people. The debate will be either the democracy for comprador, bureaucrat and the feudal lords or the peasants and the workers. The debate will be either advance ahead or go back to continue status quo.

People should be in continuous struggle. The struggle is for the victory in the constituent assembly. The peace process will meet an incident if there is no struggle against the enemies of the people.

The present unity between two revolutionary communist parties is the process towards making single centre of revolutionary communists, uniting the power of the Nepalese people against all the reactionaries, building the foundation to accomplish the remaining revolution to its goal. We will be able to give some of the contribution to the human being and the proletarian class from Nepalese land.

On Dogmatism



Laxman Pant

Ever since the advent of revolutionary Marxist philosophy the revisionists and opportunists of different shades and colors in the international communist movement have labeled as dogmatists against the partisans of class struggle and dictatorship of proletariat, the cardinal principles and two pillars of Marxism. It goes without saying that being a revolutionary social science, Marxism, like any other branch of science has to pass through the series of application and practice to prove itself. As the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism are not like the arithmetical formulae nor these are biblical sermons, merely memorizing or chanting the same will not bring about the revolution in the nations. These formulations have to put into the furnace of class struggle, of the revolution in order to attain the liberation of mankind. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism develops constantly with the practice. That is why practice is called the acid test of revolutionary theory. Necessary changes or adjustments in certain features i.e. tactics are needed as per the changed space and time in a given country in order to

carry out successful revolutions. But "under no circumstances is a Marxist-Leninist party allowed to use the pretext of certain new social phenomena to negate the fundamental principals of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism and to betray communism. (The differences between Com. Togliatti and Us-The Documents of Great Debate, Antarrashtriya Prakashan, Vol-Page-77)

Let us examine what Khrushchev, the founder of modern revisionism, has to say on dogmatism. He states - "The communist movement faces yet another danger- dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. He further states, "Dogmatism and sectarianism are irreconcilably at variance with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application." (Khrushchev's Report On the Moscow Conference; The Documents of the Great Debate, Antarrashtriya Prakashan Vol-3, Page-17)

It is not accidental that in the middle of nineties, while our party was seriously involved in Four Preparations, namely 1-Theoretical and Political Preparation 2- Organizational Preparation 3- Preparation for Mass and Class struggle and 4- Technical Preparation. The Nepalese revisionists had relentlessly launched a campaign and hurled slanders

on revolutionary forces branding them dogmatic and ultra-'leftists'

All the agents of modern revisionism, right from Bernstein through Khrushchev to Deng, along with scores of other petty revisionists like Tito, Togliatti, Thorez etc. in the international communist movement have unanimously accused the genuine revolutionaries of being dogmatic, sectarian, ultra-'leftist' and adventurist while class collaboration and reformism is being extolled as 'creativity'.

It is crystal-clear that modern revisionism, under the pretext creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and under the pretext of concrete analysis of concrete condition, opposes the very revolutionary soul of MLM; under the cover of opposing dogmatism and 'left' adventurism it pursues the line of unprincipled compromise and capitulationism before the reaction.

Revisionists have always based their 'creativity' and 'concrete analysis of concrete condition' on the so called changes in objective conditions and world situation. Bernstein and Kautsky held that the analysis of Marx was outmoded, and Khrushchev advocated for class collaboration and peaceful co-existence because according to his formulation 'the world war would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons ... it would be the most destructive war in all history.' (Ibid) Their Nepalese counterpart- CPN (UML), as early as in eighties, had advanced the proposal of new

definition of Marxism. The same proponents and flag bearers of parliamentary reformism in our country, who claim to have creatively developed Marxism-Leninism to the newer height through People's Multi-Party Democracy (Janatako Bahudaliya Janabad), have been in the forefront to defame the genuine revolutionary forces as dogmatic and ultra-'leftist'. Just as the Chinese Communists had rightly pointed out, in repudiation of revisionist line of the Communist Party of Italy and its leader Togliatti in sixties, and said that 'the huge specter you call "dogmatism" is haunting the world.' (Ibid, Page-266), the same specter of dogmatism and ultra-leftism is haunting the present-day revisionist forces worldwide and their Nepalese counterparts who have drowned themselves in the parliamentary marsh, and are pursuing the policy of class collaboration with feudalism, Indian expansionism and U.S. imperialism.

Modern revisionism is the main danger of present era because it "mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people". (Ibid, Page-77)

These words, written about a half-century ago by the Maoists of China still hold true in the present times.

The Chinese Maoists have long ago refuted the accusation

of dogmatism hurled at revolutionaries by modern revisionists in the following paragraphs:

Some people who call themselves creative Marxist-Leninists say that times have changed, that conditions are no longer the same and that there is no need to repeat the fundamental principles stated by Marx and Lenin. They object to our quoting from the Marxist-Leninist classics to explain issues, and brand this practice "dogmatism".

To discard Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of shaking off the chains of dogma is a convenient trick. Lenin exposed this trick of the opportunists long ago:

What a handy little word "dogma" is! One need only slightly twist an opposing theory, cover up this twist with the bogy of "dogma"- and there you are!" (ibid page 250)

Once again in the Nepalese Communist movement the sharp debate between revisionism and "dogmatism" is unfolding. History will prove that to firmly uphold the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism is not a dogma, to hold high the banner of class struggle and continuous revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat is not the dogma; and to quote the great teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao is not a dogma at all. Those who attack the genuine revolutionaries for practicing 'dogmatism' are the revisionists who are upholding bourgeois pragmatism.

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The mandate of the coalition government



Bhim Regmi

Nepali People are very fortunate as the decade long conflict surprisingly turned into a peace process, and the Nepali politics is marching ahead. Again, People are unfortunate as the current elected government of Nepal is more or less unable to address the problems of people.

What's wrong with the government? Some politicians think the Maoist led government failed to address the present crisis. Some people think the party itself is an obstacle to move ahead. Similarly, the major charge against the government is that the party is not

truly committed to strengthening the democratic system rather than to prepare a ground for the final rebellion.

Then what is the answer? It is very simple and clear-cut. The sine qua non, the feudal-ist culture, within the party system has not collapsed yet. Sometimes these backward attitudes are expressed through the party leaders' expressions. They lecture that they are ready to give a readymade constitution to the people. Is that a solution for the present crisis? Who gave them the authority to delimit the area of constituent assembly? Again, who made them the new king to declare a constitution? Similarly, sometimes the undemocratic culture of the party leader is expressed in the latent level. They know everything but they pretend they are too innocent like babies. Surprisingly, the leaders from different factions, who come from different schoolings, represent different

classes of people; get united to make unethical plots against the government.

Some coalition parties are knowingly and intentionally speaking against codes and conducts of the government. It looks as if these same senior leaders are unaccountable to their parties. The same has happened in UML and Madeshi Forum. The main thing is these two parties act as the opposition to the government. They should make every thing clear. What is their stand on the process of constitution, peace process, army integration, land commission and distribution and so on? Let's think the largest party of Nepal, Unified CPN (Maoist) is loosing its ground or it is not ready to fulfil the agenda proposed by them before the election is not good. If so, why other parties are failing to address the problems? Truly speaking, no party except Unified CPN (Maoist) were sincere enough to hold the

election of CA polls. Though the party lost many cadres before the election, it took part in the election honestly to make its own agenda a success. Now the conspiracies are being hatched step by step by the so called past giant parties. This is the main problem.

For the first time Nepali people of different corners of life made high ambitions with the present Prachanda government. The major thing of the government is to establish peace throughout the country to assist the constitution assembly to draft a people base constitution, to start army integration, to strengthen national interest, to uplift the economic life of backward and indigenous group, females, landless, badi community, Karnali and so on. It means the government has bundle of problems and the right things has not begun yet. So it's the time to be bold and make a decision in favour of Nepali exploited people. The

delay is not good at all and it creates problems only. The more the government waits the many obstacles appear on the political ground.

The Kathmandu politics is not easy to understand. Here are many interests. The national and international communities are directly and indirectly involved with this politics. In the next side perhaps the people from Rolpa, Rukum, Kalikot and the other marginalized areas are worried about the postponement of actions of the government. Only once the golden opportunity comes in the hand, if it shifts away, that situation never comes in the same form. Almost all Nepali are curious to see that time and be hopeful that the government would fulfil the mandate of the election and address the problems of people. It's not only the government of media people; again the government should think the oppressed people are looking standing on the horizon.



Magar and newly declared national festival

Basant GM

Magar is one of the ancient indigenous tribes of Nepal. This community represents the real identity of Nepal. This hard working community made the rocky and the forestry area of Mahabharat range and the Siwalik hill fertile and cultivable. The Magar are an ancient tribe.

The present civilization and the culture of the Magar tribe is a major pillar foundation of Nepalese culture and civilization. Magar culture believes in labor and hard work. The culture of the Magar community practices collectivity and cooperation among families and villages.

"Magarat" is the name of the land that the Magar people consider their own. It is a Magar land. The Magar people, who have

settled all over the country, share a common language know as "Kham bhasha", as well as common cultural practices. The Magar community has its own unique identity. The Magar worship nature.

The federal government has recognized the Magar "Maghe Sankranti" as the biggest festival of this nationality. Other main festivals are Bhoomee Pooja (Land worshipping), Chandee Poornima (Chandee full moon), Baishakhe Poornima (Baishakh full moon), Mangsir Poornima (Mangsir full moon), Jestha Poornima (Jestha full moon) are the other main festivals. In these full moon days, they worship 12-brothers (Bahrabhai). These forms of worshipping are the different forms of the same nature worshipping. These are the practice and lifestyle of the Magar Community.

The "Maghesankranti" is one of the most popular festivals. This festival relates to the production and the economic life of Magar Community. It covers the main aspects of production, economic life and the cultural life. People enjoy these festivals.

The Maghesankranti is celebrated in a week during the month of Magh. During this festival, the Magar celebrate with archery. They dig out yam and distribute it by making different delicious items. They worship and respect women and feed them delicious food "nirso" (prepared from rice, dhal, salt and fat).

The celebration of archery in the festival goes back to the hunter gatherer age. Furthermore, archery shows that the Magar community is a warrior community. The history of the human

The council of ministers has declared, "Maghe Sankranti" as a national festival of the Magar. After the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic and just before the writing of new constitution, the decision about the festival has been publicized in the course of establishing and institutionalizing federalism.

being is the history of war. It is the history of war physically and psychologically.

The council of ministers has declared, "Maghe Sankranti" as a national festival of the Magar. After the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic and just before the writing of new constitution, the decision about the festival has been publicized in the course of establishing and institutionalizing federalism. After the election of CA, Nepal has actually become the garden of the different flowers. The Government has started to respect and establish the festivals of different tribes and indigenous communities equally.

The Federal Nepal respects the culture of the different indigenous tribes. The festivals and the identities of the different castes and nationalities are now recognized.

Historic first CC meeting of Unified CPN-Maoist

The first meeting of Unified CPN-Maoist is being conducted today. In the meeting, 137 CC members are participating. The source says that the meeting will allocate the responsibilities to different committees that will be formed.

The central committee is only the organizing committee for the coming Party Congress. According to the directives, the meeting will take decisions to expand the central committee by adding 38 members more. Then, the central committee will be of 175 members.

Indian intervention and Human Rights in Nepal

According to international law there is variety of ways for settling the disputes between India and Nepal except illegal intervention. Two recent incidents involving law enforcement agencies of Nepal and India will further highlight the gravity of the situation.

India is an independent sovereign country like Nepal. It is the most influential neighbour in accordance with the Nepal-India Friendship treaty of 1950. As good friend's are supposed to be, India should not interference in their friend's internal affairs. India should play a responsible role while respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Nepal. As Nepal is one of the members of UN since 1955, it must follow the doctrine of sovereign equality among nations. According to the treaty of fundamental human rights of nations, Nepal has right to freedom and equality. India's duties are not to intervene into neighbouring countries internal affairs. If India feels injustice from the activities of Nepal, she has every right to sue against Nepal at international court of justice and the dispute can be settled by peaceful manner by arbitration in international community.

According to international law there is variety of ways for settling the disputes between India and Nepal except illegal intervention. Two recent incidents involving law enforcement agencies of Nepal and India will further highlight the gravity of the situation.

One alleged Indian physician, A.K. Guptha, was arrested in Chitwan, Nepal in connection with a nefarious human organs smuggling racket. The government prosecutor was planning to produce him to court and precede a case under Nepal Criminal Law. In the mean time, Indian police force illegally entered into Nepal territory and arrived in Kathmandu. Meanwhile, New Delhi was pressuring the Nepal government through repeated phone calls to surrender the detainee to India. According to India-Nepal Sugauli treaty of 1817 and Nepal treaty act of 1990, article 9 (i), he has a right

to stay in Nepal. As a natural person, his individual liberty cannot be infringed except under law. The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2006, article 12 (1) (2) respectively guaranteed the right to life with dignity and personal liberty. Rights relating to justice are guaranteed by the above-mentioned constitution article 24. He has right to seek and obtain justice in Nepal because initially Nepal police arrested and detained him for two days in Nepal.

Next case of human rights violation is a mystery even today.

As the Peninsula Online web posted on September 18th that two Pakistani citizens were arrested by Nepal Police from a hotel in Kathmandu. These two were asked to pay their bills in the middle of the night by the hotel staff and were swiftly accompanied by Nepal police and handed over to Indian authorities across the border. Apparently, the reason

behind handing over the suspects was the increasing pressure coming from the Indian side. And, even to this day, the Indian authorities have not furnished any evidence to the culpability of these Pakistani nationals or on their conditions. India, under the international law, has the responsibility to provide Nepal government with the information if she follows the norms and values of international law governing detainees. Indian government has no right whatsoever to detain them and hide them.

As India is the geographically larger state with a mammoth population in south Asia, her neighbours expect not to be treated in a highhanded manner as her partners in south Asia.

Let Nepal be sovereign. Do not terrorize Nepalese. Don't threaten us, if India doesn't think otherwise, Nepalese will think otherwise.

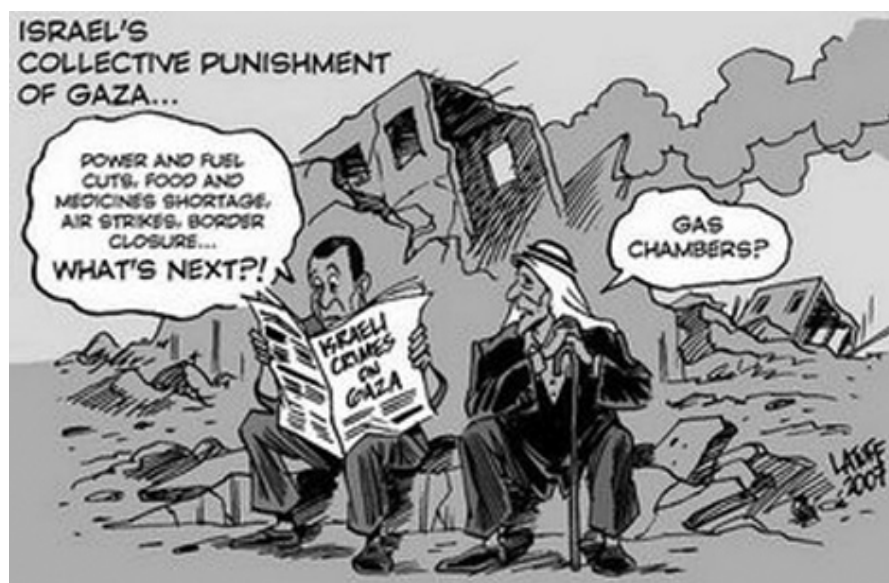
• Prakash Pokharel

American Bull dog bites Gaza

The security council of United Nations has proposed and passed a proposal for the ceasefire in Gaza. Israel, an American bull-dog, is persistently attacking Gaza. After a nonstop bombardment for almost a week, not necessarily military targets, thousands of Palestinian people have been killed and around ten thousand are injured. General Secretary of UN, Ban Ki Moon has repeatedly requested Israeli Administration to stop the inhuman attack over Gaza. But rather than complying with the repeated requests for restraint the Israel forces have shelled the UN headquarters in Gaza destroying thousands of pounds of food and humanitarian supplies intended for Palestinian refugees.

Four veto-yielding members except USA have strongly voted for a cease fire proposal, but the Americans have been adamant in their stand that the Israelis have the right to attack the democratically elected Hamas government as a security measure against the rocket fire coming from Gaza. The warmongering Israel Administration, backed by their American Bosses, is at the centre of the entire humanitarian crisis. Their history in the Middle East dates back to the days of the disintegration of the British Empire in the Middle East parallel to USSR and Comintern rising under Stalin as a world power.

At the beginning of 1947 a very strange coalition had come into being over the Palestinian question; the USA, the USSR and the Zionists. They all supported the partition of Palestine. Of course each one of these had their own specific interests. The USA wanted to push out the old British colonial lion and replace him in the oil rich and strategically important Middle East. As for Stalin, he wanted to use the Jews in



Palestine against British imperialism, and to establish a point of support for them in the Middle East. We also know what Ben-Gurion and his gang wanted a "Great Israel" on both sides of the Jordan or at least encompassing the Sinai Peninsula.

The failure of Soviet policy in the Middle East had become abundantly clear. Israel was lost to the Soviet sphere of influence. But as a consequence of this disastrous policy of Stalin many of the Communist parties in the Arab countries disintegrated and lost their influence.

American economy as well as Israel's is a war economy. American administration cannot develop or reform its finance without launching wars at its initiative. Many wars and battles are fought and will be fought under the pact of American imperialism.

The... party adopted a major tactics of overthrowing the autocratic monarchy and establishing republic, which became a basis to forge a temporary alliance with other political parties including the parliamentary parties that were part of the same old regime. The 12 point agreement signed between our party and other 7 parties in 2005 is concrete example of it.

Major tactical line of the party was accomplished after the successful election of the Constituent Assembly on April 2008 and subsequent declaration of Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic on May 8, 2008 by the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Thus the major tactical line of the party was successfully implemented.

Before the monarchy was overthrown, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society was feudalism, comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalism versus the broad masses. The 240 years long autocratic monarchy was the main enemy. After the abolition of monarchy, the principal contradiction has been changed. In the place of feudalism, which was the principal aspect of the contradiction, comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucratic capitalism has now become the principal aspect. This change in the principal contradiction requires the major tactical line to be changed accordingly.

Now the Nepalese society is undergoing through a transition period. Nepalese society has not undergone complete Revolutionary transformation. The one decade long spectacular People's war an unprecedented mass movement based on the achievement of the PW has succeeded in bringing significant political change in the Nepalese society but definitely it could not

bring about a fundamental and over all transformation in the Nepalese society because of some of its serious limitations. Our party played leading and significant role in bringing about this political transformation nevertheless it was not possible to bring about complete transformation of the Nepalese society. Because complete victory could not be achieved solely under the leadership of CPN(Maoist). Thus our party was compelled to forge alliance with some parliamentary political parties, who are not for complete transformation of the Nepalese society. Therefore the revolutionary transformation is in the half way.

Therefore, a new major tactical line has become urgently necessary. The National Convention of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) held at the end of 2008, arrived at a consensus after almost a week long debate and discussion in taking decision about the major tactical line of achieving 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic', in short 'People's Republic'. The same line has been approved in the joint meeting of the Central Committees of CPN(Maoist) and CPN(Unity Centre-Masal), which unified the two parties to form a single party, Unified CPN (Maoist) on January 12, 2009.

At present the main challenge before us is to write a new constitution. This process has already been started. When overthrowing the 240 years old autocratic monarchy was major task of the revolution, we formed a temporary alliance with all the political forces at home and abroad to accomplish the same task. Therefore, there was a broad consensus in 'federal democratic republic' to replace the monarchy among most of the political parties. But it was only a temporary alliance,

whose main objective was to overthrow the monarchy. The first meeting of the constituent assembly has passed by over 99% vote that Nepal has now become 'federal democratic republican state'. Thus the federal democratic republic has already been institutionalized.

Right now we are at the cross road—whether to proceed in achieving 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' or "consolidate" the 'federal democratic republic', which has already been institutionalized. People who are unable to understand the real difference between the two republics is blaming us that we have launched an unnecessary debate. But these two types of republics are completely and fundamentally different in their entire character and class nature.

People's Federal Democratic National Republic is nothing but People's Democratic Republic of Nepalese character, which represents the aspiration of entire Nepalese people. It is a bourgeois republic under the leadership of the working class, which leads the Nepalese society to socialism and then to communism. It is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist republic. One may wonder why so many nouns and adjectives in the republic! Since the Nepalese people have high aspirations, they want their demands to be incorporated in the new republic. The word 'people's' represents that it is People's Republic. 'Federal' has been mentioned to express that the state will have federal character against the unitary state of the past. Democratic word represents that democratic rights of the people will be guaranteed and respected by the new republic. Since Nepal is facing a severe external interference in political, economic, social, cultural areas and that the new republic

should safeguard the national sovereignty, independence and integrity. Thus the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' is obviously People's Democratic Republic with the Nepalese specificity or Nepalese character.

We all know that republic is a system where there is no monarchy. Except Bhutan, all the neighboring states—India, China, Pakistan, Srilanka, Bangladesh-- are republic, but having different character. The 'federal democratic republic' is a capitalist republic which consolidates bureaucratic capitalism and comprador bourgeoisie. It is anti-socialist in its character.

Therefore, 'people's federal democratic national republic' and 'federal democratic republic' are diametrically opposite and contradict each other. There is little possibility of these two 'republics' to compromise at the cost of another.

It is obvious that the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' is not possible to achieve only by good talks, mutual understanding among all parties, merely by simple give and take, barely by means of friendly discussions. It is necessary to wage struggle from various fronts. Concretely speaking, now we have three inter related fronts—the street, constituent assembly and government. It seems to be strange how one can wage struggle while being in the government? But it is possible and it should be possible in the new reality. To wage a struggle does not mean to revolt or to wage armed struggle against the government led by our own party. To wage struggle through the government means to struggle against anti-people forces standing against the progressive changes and the

people's interest. There is every possibility of waging struggle from the constituent assembly for the new constitution that we think should be able to resolve the problems faced by the Nepalese people and the country. It is our clear opinion that only the 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' can solve these problems. If other parties can struggle for the consolidation of the same 'Federal Democratic Republic' which has already been institutionalized, why we cannot struggle to achieve 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic'? Definitely we can. We have the right assured by the interim constitution. So nobody can accuse us going beyond the limits of the constitution. So far the struggle being waged from the street is concerned, it is universal right of the people and no permission will be required from anybody for that. So far the struggle through the level of government is concerned, it has limitations. The government cannot go beyond the limits prescribed by the laws and values determined by itself. The constituent assembly has more rights and more authority to wage struggle for the sake of making a better constitution. Therefore, the main front which can carry on the struggle is the streets. So, among the three fronts the street or the mass movement is the main front of struggle whereas the constituent assembly can play significant role in making new constitution. The government can play subordinating role. By a coordinated struggle of the three fronts, it is quite likely that we can write a new constitution which can incorporate 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic', the people's democratic republic of Nepalese type and Nepalese character.

The front has given its emphasis on the necessity of the "right of self determination and autonomous state" and Magarant autonomous state with the progressive restructuring of the country.



Grand Maghi festival

Unity & Celebration

Magar community has celebrated its national festival "Maghe Sankranti" on 14 January in Tundikhel, Kathmandu. It has been celebrated the festival as the new unity of Magar community and the leaders of magar nationality declared "United Magar Front".

The front has given its emphasis on the necessity of the "right of self determination and autonomous state" and Magarant autonomous state with the progressive restructuring of the country. They have released a 'Manifesto of Magar caste: 2009'

on the occasion.

They have put forwarded 7 point demands including Magarant autonomous state and Proportionate representation in the committees of state restructuring on the basis of the population. The front has demanded to the government ton declare Bhumya fullmoon, Chandi fullmoon and Rung as their national festivals.

Defence Minister Ram Bahyadur Thapa "Badal", addressing the gathering, said that the nation has needed a unity and that is started by different organizations of Magar. He further said that the decaration of magar is the declaration of all the oppressed people and he castes of the country.

Tharu, one of the indigenous tribes of Nepal, is celebrating the Maghi from 14th-18th January in the Thakurdwara of Bardia district of Western Nepal. The festival has been organized by the Tharu National Liberation Front, Nepal. This is the biggest festival organized after the declaration of Federal Democratic Republic.

The Tharu are one of the main nationalities that have lived in Nepal since ancient times in the thick forests of the Terai in Nepal; and

settled in Bhadrapu, Jhapa, eastern Nepal to Kailali & Kanchanpur, the west of Nepal; and in the districts of inner Terai (Chitwan, Dang, Surkhet) including the Siwalik hills of the 22 districts. Tharu society has its own unique culture and tradition, and has enriched Nepal culturally.

The ethnic residential area of Tharu possesses not only cultural diversity but also bio-diversity. The objective of the festival is to promote tourism in Nepal with the expansion

of relationship up to international visitors.

The objectives are for the protection, prosperity and development of Tharu culture, costume, religion, and culture of the Tharu tribe, the chance to taste traditional and unique food of the Tharu community, and see the history, prosperity and development of Tharu skill and art. The festival was inaugurated by Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal, "Prachanda".



Kamlaries Declared liberated

