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www.afgazad.com

afgazad@gmail.com

European Languages

زبان های اروپایی

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The evolution of UCPN(M) into social democracy in Nepal

2/14/2012

The steps taken in the last one year raised this political and ideological breakout and vacillations to the level of surrender. Handing over the keys of containers, returning the property expropriated during the People's War to the landowners, the BIPPA agreement signed with India and finally in November the signing of a 7-point agreement which means the absolute liquidation of the PLA are the expressions of this line of surrender.

01/02/2012 /International Bulletin /Issue 113

The People's War led by the Maoist revolutionaries in Nepal was a focus of resistance that strengthened all the revolutionary and communist forces of the world. This resistance that has put an end to the 240 year-old monarchy at the cost of thousands of martyrs and great sacrifices has yet come to sad end that requires to think on it and to draw lessons out of the process. Departing from the idea that in Nepal, which is stuck in between China and India, the revolution would not be maintained or defended if it were advanced only on the base of the People's War even it ends with victory, CPN(M) had found a way out of the situation on the basis of an alliance with the 7-party alliance of the bourgeoisie against the kingdom at its Congress in Rolpa in 2005. The Maoist revolutionaries had thus opened the way forward for the struggle through a risky manoeuvre of elections. By this way it had been possible to overthrow the monarchy. What

was waiting for the Maoist revolutionaries now was the peace process which in many countries had exposed revolutionary forces to a difficult test after fighting for many years under the disadvantaged internal and international conditions.

However, for the UCP(N), the peace process turned into a "corrosion corridor" of the bourgeois parties, the USA and the other imperialist forces and the Indian expansionism. UCPN(M) was not able to stand as a determining will here; on the contrary, it has been the Nepalese bourgeoisie and the imperialist and expansionist forces who were conducting the process and holding the initiative. The bargaining with the bourgeois parties continued in a prolonged way on the basis of the issues of Constitution and the unification of the armies. The decision of UCPN(M) on renouncing from or involving in the government and its presence and acts in the parliament were not taken as a tactic for growing the people's movement but on the contrary, the people's movement was taken as a reserve force used in consolidating the situation of UCPN(M) in the parliament and its involving in the government. With discussions blocking the process, the bourgeois parties and the imperialist and expansionist forces created important opportunities for increasing the revolutionary struggle and people's action, but these were not utilised. The bourgeois parties violated the agreements many times, but the UCPN(M) insisted on keeping up with these agreements which actually had turned to bring only disadvantages for it. It could not respond these processes by opening a field of legitimacy in the eyes of the people for turning back to armed struggle, and it could not even carry out the line of mass action that it had planned. It wasted a lot of time and energy in the parliamentary discussions. What determined this line was the fact that it was not mainly depending on the people any more. The fact that it was not able to bring any solutions for the basic necessities of the people despite its presence in the Constitutional Assembly and the periods of forming the government resulted in people losing their confidence in the party. This process caused an important meltdown in the ranks of the People's Liberation Army, too. At the international level, the UCPN(M) isolated itself more and more from the revolutionary forces, and from the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM) at the first place. On the contrary, it developed its relations with the revisionist and reformist forces on the party level on the one hand and with imperialist forces including the Indian expansionism and the US imperialism on the government level on the other hand. The goal of destructing the old state apparatus, especially the army, through violence was completely missed and there appeared an absolute understanding of absorption of this apparatus by the PLA on the base of negotiations only, after it was directly taken over by the bourgeoisie from the hands of the monarchy. The Constitutional Assembly lost its "constitutional" character and turned into a permanent parliamentarian structure. Let away intervening in this situation, UCPN(M) became a part of this and step by step turned into an element of the parliamentarian system.

In a parallel way to this process, a bureaucratic way of functioning developed in the party and a middle-class lifestyle and thinking started to prevail among the cadres. The party did not call its Congress despite all opportunities. Thus the social democratic tendency gradually became the majority in the party.

The steps taken in the last one year raised this political and ideological breakout and vacillations to the level of surrender. Handing over the keys of containers, returning the property expropriated during the People's War to the landowners, the BIPPA agreement signed with India and finally in November the signing of a 7-point agreement which means the absolute liquidation of the PLA are the expressions of this line of surrender.

The opposition of Baidya-Badal represents an important resistance in the party against this line of surrender. However, the opposition, with its continuous vacillation and insisting on a solution on the base of reconciliation, weakens its own ground. At this point there are enormous problems that cannot be sacrificed for the aim of "party unity". The axis of Prachanda - Bhattarai has openly shifted to social democracy. By continuing to wait, the opposition does not get rid of being minority in the party but on the contrary this situation deepens further. The opposition will not be able to develop further without daring to put its differences in action instead of in negotiation with the social democratic line.

The Nepalese revolution is an important post of resistance for the peoples of the world and its achievements as well as the reasons of and lessons about how it came to this point should be learnt. The tactic of the imperialist forces of holding the centres of revolutionary resistance under military siege and in "corrosion corridor" achieves important success in some situations. So the revolutionary and communist forces should understand these experiences very well. And the urgent and actual duty of the international revolutionary and communist forces is to watch carefully and support every step for a revolutionary exit from this corrosion corridor.

Total isolation as a part of the total war

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The Kurdish people have announced that they take Ocalan as the symbol of their own will through numerous actions and activities and campaigns of declaration of will, all with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people. **PKK*** and the representatives of the Kurdish national freedom movement at the legal and democratic fields of struggle have continuously shown Ocalan as the interlocutor for the solution of the question. The Turkish colonialist fascist state is very well aware of this fact. In this sense, the policy of total isolation of A. Ocalan is a policy of total war.

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The total isolation of the Kurdish national leader Abdullah Ocalan is continuing for 6 months. He has not seen his lawyers since July 27 at all and among his relatives, he has seen his brother Mehmet Ocalan only once during all this period. Recently, Mehmet Ocalan went to Imrali to see him; however he only received a note of the PKK leader saying "Here the situation is very touchy. It is not convenient for us to receive visitors". This form of protesting against the ongoing total isolation by Ocalan shows the degree of seriousness of the situation. The isolation torture goes on in the F Type prisons for 11 years. Since the massacre of **December 19* * , 2000*** , the isolation torture continues to be even aggravated through prohibitions on communication and visitation, hindering the prisoners from receiving periodic

publications, disciplinary punishments, hindering of the right to get medical care, sudden and unexpected transportation of prisoners to different prisons, torture and arbitrary measures. The attack of isolation is a comprehensive attack aiming at the surrender of all the society, and of the prisoners at the first place.

Within the framework of the total war against the Kurdish freedom movement, the Turkish bourgeois state implements this state policy on the Kurdish national leader A. Ocalan with special goals and at a special level of intensity. The total isolation of Ocalan means insisting in not accepting the Kurdish freedom movement of millions of people as a side to address to. Ocalan has been leading the struggle that the Kurdish nation has been carrying out for tens of years for their national democratic rights. He is the accepted leader of an oppressed people struggling for its freedom and in that sense a symbol of that resistance. The Kurdish people have announced that they take Ocalan as the symbol of their own will through numerous actions and activities and campaigns of declaration of will, all with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people. PKK and the representatives of the Kurdish national freedom movement at the legal and democratic fields of struggle have continuously shown Ocalan as the interlocutor for the solution of the question. The Turkish colonialist fascist state is very well aware of this fact. In this sense, the policy of total isolation of A. Ocalan is a policy of total war. It is another aspect of the traditional policy of annihilation and negation, of civil massacres like recently in Roboski and like the political genocide with thousands of detentions. The Kurdish liberation movement and its armed forces have proved clearly since Ocalan has been kidnapped and been imprisoned as a hostage in 1999, that it is able to not only continue its struggle, lead it successfully but also to even develop it further even with its leadership being imprisoned. Thus, the measure of total isolation is not a move of the bourgeois Turkish state in order to weaken the movement by hindering Ocalan from intervening in the struggle and sending directives, as the Turkish state claims, but an open declaration of war, of sharpening the level of confrontation even more. It is the very open message that the bourgeois Turkish state and its **AKP*** government are not interested in any attempt of dialogue concerning the Kurdish question in this process. Their one and only answer remains liquidation.

The draft law on the total isolation is the attempt of legalising this policy and carrying it at out at a higher level. On January 17, the AKP proposed to take the Law No.136 on Criminal Execution and Security Measures on the agenda of the parliament. That means that they are aiming at making a change to the law in order to create a legal base for the total isolation of Ocalan. This initiative was commented on January 22, by the president of the Executive Board of **KCK*** Murat Karayılan, who stated: "That is a law developed within the context of the total war. It is an attempt to cut off all the external communication of the Leadership of a people and to leave him in an apolitical situation. To approve this law means the domination of law mentality forever. Let them do it, and they will have to face the consequences". At the annual meeting of the PKK Assembly, it was said: "It is seen that the AKP state, who has rejected all the proposals of our Leadership and our movement for a democratic solution and preferred to get results through the forces of violence of the state, wants to hinder all possible peaceful solutions by the new law of isolation that aims at leaving our Leadership totally out of the process. For this reason, our meeting has defined that the mentioned law of isolation is essentially a law of war and has decided on what to do against it."

It is obvious that this policy of the colonialist fascist regime has never been successful and will neither be in future.

The Kurdish people already starts to increase its resistance against this new act of war at different fronts. Also in the prisons itself, the resistance is growing. The 8000 prisoners of PKK and PAJK in the Turkish prisons made a statement that they decided not to accept visitors from January 28 to February 5 in order to protest against the ongoing total isolation of their leader Ocalan. Furthermore, Kurdish prisoners have started indefinite and non-alternate hunger strikes in different prisons.

In this situation of sharpening of the attack against the national Kurdish movement, it is the duty of the revolutionary and communist movement of Turkey to clearly side with this freedom struggle. The Kurdish freedom movement and its guerrilla forces are playing a revolutionary role against the colonialist fascist dictatorship and being an important stronghold in the Middle East against imperialism. To actively support the Kurdish struggle for the freedom of its leader and against the colonialist yoke is not only a necessary act of solidarity but urgently necessary for the interest of all democratic, revolutionary and communist forces in Turkey, themselves.

[AKP /]* Justice and Development Party

[PKK /]* Kurdistan Workers' Party

[KCK /]* Kurdistan Democratic Confederation

[December 19, 2000 / 19 December 2000 / F-Type prisons / December 19 / f-type prisons / December 19 / 19 December / death fast / Death Fast /]* On the 19th of December 2000, the fascist dictatorship murdered 28 revolutionary prisoners and wounded dozens more in a simultaneous operation aimed to force prisoners into 20 F-type prisons. The massacre, with its brutality and unspeakable violence, also had the purpose of creating an atmosphere of fear and helplessness in the entire society. As a response to this massacre, the revolutionary prisoners started a death fast. The death fast made the plans of the state entirely futile. The tradition of resistance and non-surrender continued into the F-type prisons. The renowned death fast was a great ideological achievement. 133 revolutionary prisoners fell in the massacre of the 19th of December 2000 and during the death fast following it.