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Make revolution Possible

We had opportunity to see 'The Red Star' vol.3, issue 16 (16-30, June) in a very attractive cover with matter assimilating the centre and burning issue 'revolution of Nepal'. We know, the revolution in Nepal is in its peak and, simultaneously, it is in a very sensitive condition whether it gets victory or defeat.

The article of Maoist leader Netra Bikram Chanda "Biplab" is very interesting as well as optimistic. He, probably, is the only leader who speaks openly from the bottom of the heart and always tries to show the way to socialism. Optimism developed in the second generation itself is revolution. Actually, Nepalese people believe in leader as he is a God/Goddess. It is not the age of God and religion. It is the age of man, the man of the post modern era.

Due to be the men of post modern era, they have a sense of frustration, alienation and fragmentation. Moreover, they are being accustomed to live that life. Therefore, the leaders should focus on those sides/issues of life and try to collect even tiny sparkles from each and every corner of the world.

Leader Biplab has not only talked about the issues that are entangled only in the internal issues of the revolution; but also he has tried to share the experiences of 10 years People's War and the peace process openly with the international communities. The revolution of Nepal is on the cross road. It is in need for assistance than only criticism and criticism. We can imagine what a man will do if one is crossing the river and is standing in the middle of the currently flowing river expecting help from outside than hear preaching and criticism. Yes, he must take initiative from his side, however, the outer help has significantly important role to cross the critical situation.

Sudhir Nayaghare &
Ramnath Palpali
(from Iraq)

Why is the Maoist so formal?

It's our great surprise that Maoist did not handle any programme of resistance against the Meghalaya incident. Only the sister organizations gave memorandum to the embassy of India. Only the formal, mere formal, programmes were organized. Very slow voices were heard inside the rooms and media club houses.

The bourgeois media raised the issue as it was no more than the ethnic conflict created due to the antagonistic relations between Nepali speaking Indian people and the Khasis. Some others expressed as the Nepali origin people were usurping the uranium mines there. These were not the actual expression. Reality is far behind than these matters.

Only a few people understand the policy of divide and rule. All use this formula. However, the anti-people forces not only use it but develop it in different colourful forms to hide its real essence in an easy way.

Probably, this colourful form became very helpful to Maoist and did not force it to run a nation-wide protest against Indian hegemony.

Maoist is in opposition. Even in democratic countries, opposition become more aggressive and keep the people conscious against the conspiracies and the abuse of authority. However, here in Nepal, the opposition is like ruling party and ruling party is like opposition. Ruling party puts demands to opposition and opposition rejects to fulfill it. It creates a curiosity whether opposition has its own state power to fulfill the demands of ruling parties/class.

Dipesh Limbu
Dharan

Miscreants Attempt to Foil Relation

UCPN-Maoist called its representatives back to Nepal from American visiting team. The party took step soon after one of the representatives; the Polit-bureau member of the party, Agni Sapkota "Kanchan" was made disallowed to visit America by some of the miscreants on June 25. Four member visiting team was decided to send to take part in ten-day interaction programme "Boston Treaty & State building" in Boston, America. A team of twenty three representatives of Constituent Assembly (CA) were participating in the interaction programme from Nepal. Out of them four were from UCPN-Maoist CA members.

Agni Sapkota "Kanchan" was stopped till late night though the other twenty two members of CA were allowed to take flight according to schedule. Kanchan postponed his visit to America as he knew the conspiracy to stop him on the way. The other members party secretary CPGajurel, standing committee member Top Bahadur Rayamajhi and Polit-bureau member Pampha Bhushal have returned without taking part in the programme.

The relation between UCPN-Maoist and American government was considered to be improved. UCPN-Maoist is the largest party in CA and first republican government of Nepal was formed under its leadership. It is the only responsible party in CA with full mandate to lead the nation. The undesirable incident has made both the UCP-Maoist and American Authority ashamed. UCPN-Maoist is the most popular party that has been elected with leading mandate. The incident has made Maoist feel 'criticized over its prestige and self-respect'.

On the other, American Authority also could not remain untouched due to the miscreants. America itself invited and hesitated to take responsibility. America is known as the largest democratic country of the world. But, it seems that it is surrounded and influenced by the miscreants who are involving in the roguish tasks since Panchayat Period.

The attempt that has taken is based on the policy of 'divide and rule'. Some of the representatives are allowed and some are not. This is defined as a wrong diplomacy. The largest party of the CA in Nepal has publicly announced its disagreement in such work.

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The talks continue: Top leaders of the three major parties holding talk.

End of Consensual Politics !

Dipak Sapkota

The parliamentary parties have clearly spoken that they are not in favor of peace process and constitution making. By rejecting out-and-out the proposal put forward by the Maoist on July 10, the ruling parties Unified Marxist Leninist (UML) and Nepali Congress (NC) have indicated to keep the rightist alliance intact and pick a new Prime Minister from

the alliance. The deadline to form a government of national consensus has slipped away and president has asked the legislature to choose a new PM from the majority. Five days of time was added on July 8 after the request of all the political parties to make a consensus government.

Maoist proposal came as the result of demand made by ruling parties. But, when the Maoist tabled the proposal, the ruling parties call it vague and against

the peace pact. Earlier, they were continuously demanding that Maoist should propose a proposal in order to lead a national consensus government. But, when the Maoist put forward the most clearly and straightforward proposal, they are making hue and cry. The outright rejection proves that parliamentary don't want any consensus with Maoist. It seems that the politics of national consensus has come to an end. The ruling parties are

showing their unwillingness for a national consensus.

The new peace plan proposal entitled 'Bases of consensus for ending present political deadlock' is a very flexible proposal to find a national consensus. Maoist has agreed to bring the PLA cantonments under the direct control of the Special Committee and fix the numbers of PLA members who would later be integrated by asking their choice individually. Likewise, it is ready for the formation of a commission to determine which of the public properties captured by them during their 10-year People's War should be released. Likewise, Maoist is not objecting to make state restructuring commission if that doesn't challenge the state restructuring and distribution of state power committee of the Constitution Assembly. (See box for the full proposal)

Only 11 months is left to declare a new constitution. All the parties have agreed to declare new constitution by mid-April. If this deadline is to be met, then a national consensus is a must. If it is not met, that means no constitution at the stipulated time and peace process will be in limbo. The ruling parties do understand clearly that the historical tasks will not finish until and unless common ground is not prepared, but they are once

Maoist Consensus Pill

● Special committees should visit the cantonments and ask the combatants on who want to get integrated into security forces or want voluntary rehabilitation or join politics.

● Peace process and constitution writings should be taken up simultaneously

● The term, standard norms, used in the CPA regarding army integration is not the one for recruiting existing security forces, rather it is the term of army integration.

● A separate force comprising of the PLA soldiers will be the best, easy and appropriate model.

● Without addressing the rights of those tillers, they can't be removed from or deprived of that land.

● YCL is not a paramilitary organisation and it does not have any paramilitary mechanism.

● The entire remaining cases against Maoist leaders that were filed during the People's War should be nullified immediately.

● National united government, based on consensus, must be formed under our party leadership.

again standing against it.

In the four years of the peace process the parliamentarian parties have been speaking endlessly that they are committed to the peace process and constitution making, but they have been acting against it continuously. The ruling parties have also rejected the suggestion made by the UNMIN. Last week, the UN Mission in Nepal had produced a peace plan that seeks 60 weeks' time. Instead, they accused the UNMIN of trying to scuttle the peace process.

It is now clear that the ruling parties have staged the play of resignation to fulfill two aims. The first one was to diffuse the Maoist demand that the present government must be dissolved. The second one is that government led by Madhav Kumar Nepal had been so infamous that ruling party leaders had no way to face-save. Now, the Maoist demand has been diffused and 'new government' is formed.

Unified CPN (Maoist), the single largest party of Nepal, has time and again said that it is ready to implement the first point of the three-point agreement signed on May 28 by it. On May 28 three-point agreement, three parties, including the Maoists had said that they were "committed to moving ahead with consensus and cooperation to take the

Bases of consensus for ending

The main historical task at present is to conclude the peace process by writing constitution from the constituent assembly. In this context, it is clear that one of the main issues related to the peace process is the integration and rehabilitation of the People's Liberation Army. As it was not possible to conclude the aforesaid tasks in the stipulated time, a three-point agreement was reached on May 28 to end the ongoing political deadlock. We should have speedily moved forward to reaching national consensus and forming a national unity government but no concrete achievement has been made yet. Our party, the Unified CPN (Maoist), has been carrying out serious discussions with all other political parties for this. Though late, the Prime Minister has resigned, we are clear that we should, along with the formation of a national unity government, utilize this situation to make a national consensus. Seriously realizing the fact that the historical task of establishing peace and writing constitution should be accomplished within the extended time and we are taking initiatives for that. We have also been requesting other political parties to be serious in this regard. In order to push forward peace process and constitution writing, we have been concretely putting forward our position on what can be the possible minimum bases of consensus while in discussion with political parties and in public. Our party has a strong opinion that the task of establishing peace and writing constitution can and should be fulfilled by working on these bases of minimum consensus and developing further consensus. In this context,

peace process to a meaningful conclusion, carry out all the remaining works related to the peace process and accomplish the historic responsibility of completing the task of writing a new constitution." For that, Maoist publicised bases of consensus for ending present political deadlock and action plan on integration.

our party wants to clarify its position on what can be the basis of minimum consensus as follow:

1. Issues related to peace process:

1.1. On army integration and rehabilitation:

First of all, the Unified CPN (Maoist) seriously requests all the parties to understand deeply the crux and spirit of Army integration and rehabilitation embedded in Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA), Interim Constitution 2007 and various agreements made amongst the political parties. If so happens, army integration and rehabilitation will not be a complex issue, instead it can be solved easily.

In this context, it is necessary to pay attention on the fact that the development of explicit national defence policy will help succeed the peace process.

In addition to this, it is necessary to develop a concrete working plan on the question of democratisation of Nepal Army and professionalization of PLA.

1.2. Should move forward with following bases:

A) The task of bringing the PLA cantonments under the direct control of the Special Committee should be implemented immediately.

B) In order to fix the numbers of PLA to be integrated into the security forces, the special committee should visit the cantonments and ask the combatants on who want to get integrated into security forces or want voluntary rehabilitation or

The ruling parties talk much that Maoist has not converted into a 'civilian party'. Parties like NC and UML who were downsized by the people in the constituent assembly who do not make equal constituent assembly members as to Maoist even these two stand together, demand the Maoist to respect the people's mandate. NC and UML are

present political deadlock

join politics. Along with this, the number of those who cannot work actively in security forces owing to their physical inability should be separated. When these numbers are respecified, the remaining number will be the number to be integrated. The number of PLA to be integrated should be determined by this scientific method. It should be done within two months.

c) After finalisation of the numbers to be integrated and rehabilitated, the PLA members will be managed at two different places within a month and standard norms for integration will be developed.

d) It should be clear that the term, standard norms, used in the CPA regarding army integration is not the one for recruiting existing security forces, rather it is the term of army integration. And studying the international experiences in relation to it, the standard norms of integration should be defined on the basis of consensus.

e) We should also reach to consensus on the modality of integration. According to the CPA, it is clear that integration is not the individual recruitment but a special provision for integration. In the context of army integration, our party believes that to establish a separate force comprising of the PLA soldiers will be the best, easy and appropriate model. But, we can and should move forward by having discussions on it.

f) In the special context of Nepal, constitution writing is an inseparable and important part of the peace process, so the tasks related to peace

process and constitution writings should be taken up simultaneously. However, once the constitution is guaranteed, a timetable should be prepared to integrate and rehabilitate of PLA members before the new constitution is promulgated.

g) UNMIN's role is necessary until the peace process reaches to conclusion and succeeds. But, the previously fixed tenure of UNMIN remains only for two months and it is clear that it will not be possible to reach the peace process along with the army integration to its conclusion. So, the UNMIN'S tenure should be extended on this basis.

Among the aforementioned seven points, the minimum consensus in the first three points will provide ample base to take forward the task related to the peace process at present. On the other points, our party has presented its vision and opinion. We can go ahead by having discussions and consensus on them.

1.3. Other

a) Although it was agreed to make public the whereabouts of disappeared citizens in the initial phase of peace process, but not to do anything in this sensitive issue till now is a very sad situation. So, a commission should be formed to find out the whereabouts of disappeared citizens within a month and the work should be started immediately.

Those injured in the course of People's war should be treated properly.

b) Most of the properties seized during conflict have been returned back according to the agreement. A parliamentary committee was also

demanding Maoist to be like them; status-quoist, corrupted, moral-less, anti-nationalist etc. How come NC and UML who are rejected by the people can demand Maoist to be this and that? Who are they to give

certificate of 'civilian party' to other political parties? They should look at the mirror of constituent assembly mandate before they demand other to be a civilian party?

It's an open secret the play

of resignation, the demand of civilian party and alliance against the Maoists done according the plan of foreign power. That power is trying to create fragmentation in all the political parties of Nepal. With this that foreign power wants

formed to submit a report when our party was leading the government. We are ready to revive the previous committee to monitor the issue of returning properties seized during conflict or form another committee to resolve the problems within a certain timeframe. Even now, our party is ready to resolve such problems by forming a mechanism comprising of other parties at the local level.

Here our party wants also to clarify that the state must guarantee the right of the tiller through a policy of revolutionary land reform. Without addressing the rights of those tillers, they can't be removed from or deprived of that land.

During the People's War, the erstwhile state has destroyed houses and properties of the people. The families related to it should be properly compensated by the state.

c) Young Communist League, Nepal (YCL Nepal), which is associated with our party, is a mass organisation of the youths. It is not a paramilitary organisation and it does not have any paramilitary mechanism. According to its organisational norms and system, it has possessed some collective shelters. It has been done so to establish collective culture and maintain frugality. We don't think anyone should object it. However,

paying attention to some objections, those types of group shelters will be removed soon to create conducive environment.

Same type of policy should be taken up to those types of youth organizations, which are affiliated to other political parties.

d) All those who sacrificed their lives during the people's war should be declared martyrs. Only one hundred thousand rupees has been provided to those families of martyrs, who were declared martyrs by the rebels. Families of other martyrs have been provided with one million rupees. By ending this kind of discriminative policy, entire martyr-families should be provided with Rs one million as a respite.

e) All of the commissions under CPA must be constituted as soon as possible.

The government under our party leadership had initiated a process to form a state-restructuring commission consistent with the constitutional provision. But, it couldn't succeed because of the unhelpfulness of other parties in the government. After that, parties in the present government didn't both to think about it. In that situation, the state-restructuring and power-distribution committees propelled their tasks forward and prepared reports,

to weaken Nepal nationality, integrity and sovereignty. The ruling party leaders have proved themselves that they are mere stooges of foreign power. They have stopped relying on Nepali people and their strength, aspiration and wish.

The parliamentary political parties, corporate media and status-quoist intellectuals have been trying to defame the Maoist Party and its leaders. Picking one against the other they have been trying their best to create rift in the Maoist party. They must have expected that the historical

attempt of revolutionary change will be halted if the Maoist party is divided. The CIA style propaganda is being done continuously to defame Maoist and mainly it's Chairman Prachanda. This is not an attack over Maoist Chairman only but to the whole Maoist party and revolutionary communist movement of Nepal. The rightist reactionaries, who used to shed under the palace before the republic and now under the NC and UML, are in this campaign. The Himal corporate Media has been in the forefront in this campaign.

During the people's movement in 2006, PLA was helpful for the ruling parties, but they have been like the main enemy now. The main aim of these parties is to dismantle PLA. But, they are forgetting that each PLA member is trained with military skill who can lead chaos if s/he is humiliated. The present necessity is to integrate PLA and Nepal Army and form a democratic, patriotic, professional and highly disciplined force that will grasp the new political system.

Nepal's parliamentary parties have proved that all

which were already discussed in the constituent assembly. In the context, when the committees in the constituent assembly have prepared the reports and that are discussed in the assembly, there is no need to form a state-restructuring commission now as the constitution has directed. But, our party is ready to form a state-restructuring commission in line with the agreement reached among three parties in relation to its TOR, provided it will not become parallel to and challenge it but help. Yet, by discussing with other parties also, our party is open to take other appropriated decisions that won't hamper national consensus.

f) The entire remaining cases against Maoist leaders that were filed during the People's War should be nullified immediately. The acts of embarrassment by reviving those old cases and the filing of the new ones even after the peace process started must be stopped completely.

2. In the context of writing constitution

a) A working plan must be prepared to complete constitution writing within the extended timeframe. And, the tasks should be started on that basis.

b) A time table must be prepared to complete constitution writing before mid-April, a little before May 28, 2011.

reactionaries in the world are the same. They are against the peace and progress and conspire against the revolutionary transformation. The political development of Nepal has also shown that the opportunist and reformist ultimately serve the rightist reactionaries. The UML particular has played this role. It has stood against the Maoist and in line with Congress in the most decisive turnings of Nepal's political history.

Unless and until Maoist is not brought in consent, present political deadlock will not

end. Likewise, it is proved that the parliamentary parties cannot lead the historical task of peace-process and constitution making process. If the parliamentary have once against tried to put the Maoist in the opposition, they will be responsible for the all wrong outputs of the future political deadlock. If they try to pick a Prime Minister from the rightist alliance, s/he will totally fail like Madhav Kumar Nepal.

The tendency of parliamentary parties will hamper the peace process and constitution making.

c) Taking up the important issues related to the content of the constitution and basing upon priority, efforts should be made to develop consensus and for this one month's period should be allotted.

d) The issues in which consensus could not be reached even during this period, the entire reports of the thematic committees should be sent to the constitutional committee according to the provision of the constituent assembly regulations. The constituent committees should take the unified draft to the people. While taking the unified draft to the people and collecting suggestion, the arrangements should be made to send dissensions simultaneously.

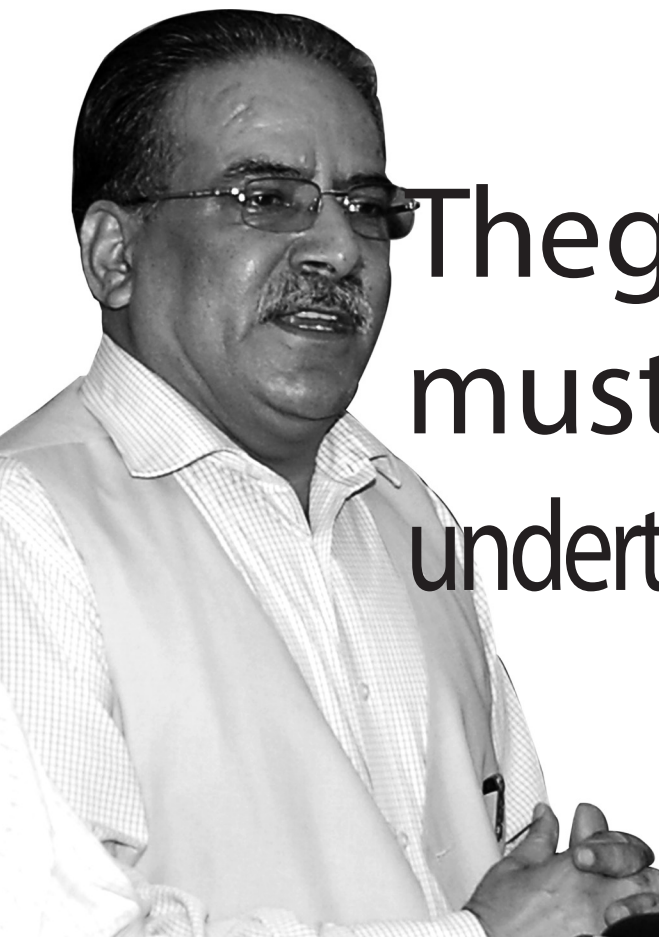
e) The attempts for consensus must be made till the final promulgation of the new constitution. And, the task of declaring new constitution must succeed.

3. National Unity Government

In accordance with people's mandate in the constituent assembly election, a national united government, based on consensus, must be formed under our party leadership to accomplish the entire aforementioned tasks.

This is the full version of the Maoist proposal to end the political deadlock publicized on July 10.

This historical task cannot be fulfilled in the leadership of parliamentarian parties. The 15 years of parliamentary system has proved that NC and UML, and other parties cannot carry forward the great tasks of state restructuring and building a progressive and prosperous Nepal. People won't tolerate the wrong-doing and obdurate of these parties. If the Maoist party is sidelined, it will have no other option to organise people's outrage and redirect it against the status-quoist and retrogressive parties. Maoist should prepare itself for that. ■



The government must be formed under the leadership of our Party

Prachanda, Chairman UCPN-M

The Politburo meeting that was held for the long time has decided that it will lead the national united government. If it's sure that the national united government will be formed, who will be the prime minister?

The politburo meeting has decided that national unity government must be formed under the leadership of UCPN (M). When the time comes to form that government, our party will finalise about the leadership. We didn't discuss it this time. The main focus is that the government must be formed under the leadership of our party. It's the party that counts, not the person.

Your party has been demanding the formation of national united government. There are talks of majority government too. Are both the options open?

Both of the options are open. But, we also discussed about the possibility of the national unity government in the politburo meeting. We came to the conclusion that the possibility of a national unity government is getting weaker. Taking this situation into account, we have decided to remain prepared for both the options.

You were to hold a Congress on the coming February. But instead, you called an Expanded Meeting of the Central Committee. How can it be a party that doesn't hold its Congress for 20 years?

When we had unification 20 years ago, we named it as Unity Congress. But when the Unified CPN (Maoist) was formed, it was done after a national convention. That convention had approved a party document too. So, the context of not having

a Congress for a long time is about our former party, the CPN (Maoist), not the present one, the Unified CPN (Maoist). The convention of the unified party has already taken place.

Secondly, the nation is at a very sensitive condition. The transition period is reaching to its end. The major issue now is to conclude the peace and constitution writing process, and the priority should be to give a way out. The party Congress is obviously necessary but it is not the principal task at this time. We have thought that the resolution of the burning issues of nation and its people is the main question at present. But at the same time, it is necessary to build a unified understanding in all these issues and consolidate the party ideologically and organizationally. So, we have called the Expanded Meeting of the Central Committee.

What decision did your politburo meeting made on army integration, which is the main point of the debate?

In the comprehensive peace accord (CPA), we had agreed to provide same status to Nepal Army (NA) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the main spirit of the CPA was to build up a National Army by democratizing the NA and professionalising the PLA. Both the Armies are under the monitoring of UNMIN. Same numbers of weapons are kept in the container. In the interim

constitution, the provisions are made in the same article for NA and PLA. But, parties in the government are propagating as if NA is the only Army of the state and the other is not, this is against the crux and spirit of the CPA. We have decided to oppose this strongly.

Secondly, integration and rehabilitation is the also crux of CPA. Confusion has been created on the modality and standard norms. This politburo meeting has clarified this confusion. No number of PLA soldiers for integration is mentioned in the CPA. It means that all those PLA verified by UNMIN are eligible for the integration. So, the demand that has been made to specify the number of soldiers to be integrated is against the CPA and peace process. We have come to the conclusion that the trend that doesn't want peace process to succeed is provoking this issue.

Likewise, the modality of the integration also had not been fixed. That is to be decided by the political consensus. Our meeting has seriously and comprehensively discussed this issue and decided that it would be easier to integrate PLA as a separate force and give it a special responsibility. We will try to make consensus with other political parties having this stand.

The ruling parties are talking about the standard norms for integration. This is rather the standard norms for new recruitment not for the

integration. The standards of new recruitment are not applied in the integration process in any country. Moreover, the CPA had been done without our own ingenious peace process. Integration of two armies was agreed upon, not the recruitment of PLA soldiers into the Nepal Army. So, the standard norms of the integration should be discussed. We have come to the conclusion that we can take the international practise as reference and make consensus among the political parties.

What about the restoration of the local people's government?

People have several problems. Actually, this government is not the one with any sense. This is adding more problems instead of reducing them. If you see from the security perspective, murder, loot and kidnapping has been a daily routine. The government doesn't show any concern. People are tormented by the state. The inflation and corruption had never been like this in the Nepalese history. So, our PB meeting has decided that our party, for being the largest party in the country, should try to solve this problem. For this, we need to have common fronts of all oppressed class, nationality, region and gender in central, regional and local levels. We have decided to initiate a process of relief. So, it won't be wise to provoke as if Maoists are restoring people's governments. This is an attempt of the Maoists to serve the people of this country.

Maoist Constitution for a New Nepal: A Few Questions for Open Debate



Gopal Siwakoti 'Chintan'

UCPNM draft Constitution has openly challenged all the regressive forces either to compromise or come up with their own versions of the constitutions before the people. It has made all its points and provisions of differences in the CA very clear.

Constitution is a supreme legal document to bring together the two force active in contemporary society—the State and its citizens.

The nature of a constitution depends on how it is written and what forces are behind it in defining the limits of power given State and the rights and sovereignty to be vested on the people. So constitution is also a formal contract between the State and its populations with the separation of powers among the State organs such as the executive (government), legislative (e.g. Legislative-Parliament) and judiciary (courts) as to the governance.

As Marx says, the legal instruments such as the constitution and other laws are part of means repression by the States. The origin of these instruments and their implementing mechanisms are directly related to the origin of State, property and families. As such we are governed by various constitutional provisions and legislations popularly known as property law, contract law, family law etc. There were of course no constitutions or laws during the primitive state of society but only some basic social norms and values to collectively govern them which we call a period of

primitive socialism.

Today's modern world is divided into two forces economic and political powers—the capitalist and the socialist. Under the capitalist class there are feudal kingdom such as Bhutan, military dictatorship such as Burma, ceremonial monarchies such as Britain and Sweden, and social democracies such as in Denmark, Finland and Norway. Likewise, the socialist or pro-socialist camp is represented by countries such as China, Cuba, North Korean, Vietnam, Laos etc. This is where Nepal's transitional democracy is struggling to survive in between the two both

reactionary and progressive forces have the situation of power balance in which the external reactionary and imperialist forces are overtly lining up with the Nepali reactionary forces against the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) or UCPNM.

This was the main reason behind the failure of the elected Constituent

Assembly (CA) in delivering a constitution by last May 28, 2010; which is now extended for one year.

Going through the process of constitution-making with the reactionary forces is never an easy situation for the UCPNM. It has multiple theoretical, constitutional and political challenges to address. The first challenge is of very serious nature which is about how could any Maoist revolutionary party achieve its political goals through a peaceful means of process which is now the constitution-making through the CA? As this is only going to be a compromised legal document among diverse forces, what could be the minimum that it must achieve? Then where should this constitutional compromise lead to the process of complete revolution and if so then when should it have the break-even point for a new departure? These are the tough questions to find answers satisfactory to all.

This second challenge of the question of constitutionalism. All

the regressive forces dominated by revisionist and bourgeois camp are gathering their strength to call the UCPNM as going against the basic values, norms and principles of constitutionalism? But what is that constitutionalism that they are talking about which is nothing more than what the western bourgeois philosophers and thinkers have propounded for. Fine, some of these principles have values as regards the separation of power between the government, the legislature and the judiciary. But there are no any hard and fast rules as to what constitutes a genuine separation of power when it comes to the election and selection process of the legislators and the judges as well as the monitoring their transparency and accountability. Further, new principles of constitutionalism can always be formed and found given the status of various stages of class struggles and so on one needs to be fixed in certain principles that were laid down to preserve the status quo of exploitative, unjust and discriminatory society.

But the UCPNM must come up with its own principles and parameters of constitutionalism drawn from all aspects of democratic norms and values of governance. These norms and values may range from the spirit of Communist Manifesto to various declarations and conventions relating to human rights, the rule of law and democracy. The nature of constitutionalism may also

vary from the very norms and values of that particular society as well such as those lay down under Hinduism, Buddhism, traditional indigenous and ethnic customs and the stage of political development as well. For example, it would be absolutely wrong to try to copy all the models and principles of western capitalist-bourgeois-imperialist society as the foundations of constitutionalism when Nepal is entering into the most progressive phase of socio-economic and political transformation today led by the Marxist-Maoist forces of change.

The political challenge is also not of less importance for the UCPNM as to deal with when re-shaping the model of the new constitution which is currently paralyzed in the CA due to the destructive role of regressive counter-revolutionary forces. In one hand, it is none other than the UCPNM that achieved, saved and will save the CA. It also has a moral duty to do all its best as to try to produce the most progressive constitution through the CA as the largest political party in the country. Equally challenging part is that any inaction or failure on the part of the UCPNM will also lead Nepal to collective multi-party militarized dictatorship with surrender to strategic geopolitical anti-Chinese Indian and American interests in this continent. Its end result will be

the collapse of Nepal for a long time as a fully independent, sovereign and prosperous country the people of Nepal highly deserve for their dignity, pride and survival.

It is in this context that the UCPNM decided to come up with its own version of a preliminary integrated draft constitution declared in public on May 29, 2010 in Kathmandu. The main objective of this open challenge to all the anti-CA and anti-constitutional regressive forces is to create an environment for a most progressive constitution that the CA need to produce or get them ready to face the popular mass uprising against them any time as the situation requires.

The basic features of this UCPNM draft constitution are as follows:

1. The name: It is named as the 'Constitution of the People's Federal Republic of Nepal, 2067 (2010)' which the other parties in the CA have been opposing the word 'People's'. They consider this wording as the reflection of socialist connotation.
2. The Preamble: It clearly states what kind of a constitution the UCPNM is seeking from the CA. It says the constitution will be guided by the spirit and principles of the establishment of an independent and the prosperous Nepal for of all the peoples; will aim to put an end to the current semi-colonial and semi-semi

feudal structure of the society towards the goals of socialism through the achievement of a class-less prosperous society; the radical restructuring of the State and society; the right to self-determination for the suppressed classes of ethnicities and nationalities through autonomous governance programme while maintaining territorial integrity and diversity; the guarantee of human rights, periodic elections, the competent, impartial, independent judiciary which is accountable to the people, the rule of law based on democratic values and principles under the people's democratic, competitive multi-party system, proportional representation, inclusiveness and participation to prepare a ground for socialism; the elimination of all forms of discrimination and the practice of untouchability by ensuring economic equality, prosperity, social justice and special rights for the suppressed communities, including the women, the Dalits (untouchables) and the Muslims and laying the foundations for socialism through the abolition of all the remaining of feudalism and foreign interventions.

3. Fundamental rights: As regards the fundamental rights, it also has incorporated the rights to employment, labour, food, housing, health, education, language and culture, social

justice, social security as well as clean and healthy environment which are known as basic economic, social, cultural and environmental rights. These are also the kinds of rights that can only be guaranteed less under the bourgeois social democracy like of Nordic countries, and more under the socialist societies such as today's China and Cuba. What is important to note is that no discriminations are made against the others set of civil and political rights which are all found in this draft constitution. The provision of the right to individual property and revolutionary land reform with no compulsion for the State for compensation is another characteristic of this constitution that no bourgeois and capitalist forces should be worried for.

4. Compensation for victims: There are also provisions for compensation to the victims of human rights violations ranging from those affected by crimes, torture, illegal detention, practice of untouchability and discrimination, exploitation, environmental pollution and abuses committed at the time of the state of emergency.

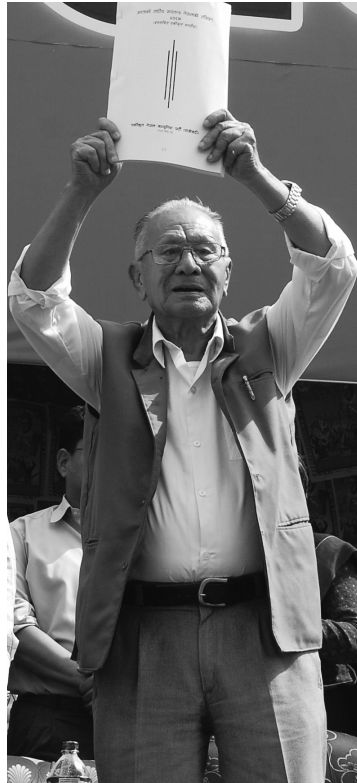
Likewise, special provisions are made for compensation to women, children and Dalits (untouchables) for any discrimination, mistreatment, exploitation and the practice of untouchability. Victims of crimes also have the right

to rehabilitation at the same time as necessary. For the first time, provisions are made for the payment of such compensation also from the perpetrators of any rights violations.

5. Special rights provisions: The right to participation at all levels of decision-making based on the principles of proportional representation and inclusiveness is another feature of this constitution. The other features include the prior right of the Dalit community in political representation at local government bodies based on the number of their populations, and the same prior right for indigenous peoples, ethnic nationalities and the local communities over land and natural resources.

6. Fundamental duties: It also provides for the fundamental duties of citizens as regards the loyalty to the nation, paying taxes, compulsory military training in case of healthy citizens above the age of 18 as well as duties to respect to and care for parents, children, senior citizens, women and those less able or disabled. It is to be made clear by law how they will be supervised and implemented but it is something that can be found generally only in socialist constitutions.

5. Directive principles, policies and obligations: As found in many constitutions of the world today, it has provided



Maoist advisor Nar B. Karmacharya unveiling the draft constitution prepared by Maoist

The nature of a constitution depends on how it is written and what forces are behind it in defining the limits of power a given State and the rights and sovereignty to be vested on the people.

for a series of directive principles, policies and obligations of the State on all matters of governance. Although, such a provision is used as an escape from incorporating many of them into fundamental rights, it is for the first time among the past six

constitutions of Nepal as well as India and other countries that they can be questioned before the Supreme Court as regards their effective compliance violations or inactions, including reporting obligations to the Federal Legislature and formation of monitoring committees under the Federal and State-level legislature.

6. State restructuring and distribution of state power: This is one of the most controversial issues in debate as it will totally replace the unitary form of governance practiced for centuries. The ruling elites, the feudal lords and the military and the bourgeoisie-bureaucratic capitalists will be the main loser of it. It is proposed that the new Nepal will be divided into federal, regional and local bodies, including autonomous, special and protected regions. At present, 12 autonomous regions are named on the basis of ethnic nationality, language and geography, including village and municipality-level bodies at the lowest levels. There will also be separate autonomous executive, legislature and judiciary as provided by law.

7. The President: It proposes the presidential form of governance in which the President shall be elected directly for a maximum period of two terms -- four years each. Cabinet shall be formed from among all the

parties represented in the Legislature on the basis of proportional representation and inclusiveness. There is also a provision of recall by 10 percent of the voters and if endorsed by a two-third majority of Members present in the Legislature. This provision is also new to make the elected representatives more accountable to their constituencies.

8. The Legislature: Only on tier-Legislature is proposed three levels of governance known as Federal House of People's Representatives, State (or Regional) House of People's Representatives, Village and Municipal Council of People's Representatives. The proportional representation and inclusiveness is the most fundamental principles to be applied. They can also be recalled by a majority of voters through the Election Commission.

9. The Judiciary: The Judiciary is organised with the provision of the Federal Supreme Court, State (or Regional??) High Courts and the Local Courts. The Chief-Justice and other Justices of the Supreme Court will be appointed by the President for only a period of four years upon the recommendation of the Special Judicial Committee of the Legislature as to be approved by a majority of Members present in the Federal Legislature. The same procedures are applied for the

appointments of the Chief-Judge and the other Judges of the State (Regional??) High Courts as well.

10. The Nepal Army: This draft addresses the most critical and controversial issue of the democratisation and restructuring of the Nepal Army with the integration of the People's Liberation Army. The proportional representation, inclusiveness and the application of democratic principles will be the main basis of such restructuring as well as future recruitment. To conclude, it is not to say that this draft Constitution is complete and there are no rooms for further debate, reconsideration and re-writing. For examples, concerns are being raised as regards the so many vague restrictive provisions made to curtail freedoms of speech, expression, movement and the mass-media in accordance with the law. There is unlimited scope for arbitrary restrictions of these freedoms by the government. The provision of too many commissions relating to the protection and promotion of human rights by sectors may also be unnecessary. The naming of the 12 autonomous states (regions??) on the basis of more ethnic nationality and language and less on the basis of geography is certainly going to be difficult for the other parties in the CA to digest and endorse.

Given the limited space this commentary has, it can be said that the UCPNM draft Constitution has openly challenged all the regressive forces either to compromise or come up with their own versions of the constitutions before the people. It has made all its points and provisions of differences in the CA very clear. This draft will certainly help the people in general and the CA members in particular as to how to undergo through debates in the final state of constitution-drafting if it is ever to be done in the next 11 months.

With this draft now in public, the UCPNM has now the upper hand as regards to their honesty, sincerity and commitment, both nationally and internationally, and to tell the whole world about they are trying to achieve a maximum given the enormous difficulties and obstacles that all revolutionary forces face around the world today. This exercise by the UCPNM in Nepal will never go in vain but will provide both a model constitution that could work and/or show the way for further steps to take until the task of revolutionary change in this Himalayan country is complete. ■

(Chintan is an advisor of Kirat State Committee and associated with Water Resources and Energy Department of the UCPNM. He is also a lecturer at Nepal Law Campus, Tribhuvan University)



People Should Keep on Creating Incessant Pressure over CA

-Purna Kumari Subedi,
Vice-Chairperson of Constituent Assembly

The term of CA has been extended for one year. However, the people do not seem to be optimistic to write constitution?

We should go to the people and clearly say that we could not write new constitution on the stipulated date. There is no option than to apologize before the people. The governments should make the process easier and more convenient. Along with it constituent assembly should have carried its programmer incessantly among the people.

All the political parties should respect the mandate and aspiration of the people for writing constitution on the extended period. But some trends and tendencies are not ready to accept it. There is too much humiliation for them.

Certainly, there is suspicion among the people about drafting a new constitution. It is because the representatives of the people have not been able to do what they had committed before the people. Therefore, the political parties and the CA should go to the people, give reasons for not drafting constitution on time. All of us should assure the people providing them scheduled road map of writing new constitution.

Weakness may occur while working. Mistrust

grew among the political parties. All should go to the people and speak clearly. People are angry and have some mistrust too.

Have you worked out for schedule or roadmap for writing constitution?

Yes, we have discussed about it. CA has made thoroughly discussion. The subjective committees have finished their tasks. In the discussion, differences of opinion have clearly seen. And, the chiefs of subjective committees have assured the CA that the differences of opinion can be narrowed down. A meeting of the chief of subjective committee is going to be held soon. The leaders of the political parties and the whips are going to hold a collective meeting. This will help to narrow down the gaps and create a trusty environment.

Main thing is the responsibility to the people and duty to the nation. Every leader and representative should think about constitution and nation from the perspective of a citizen. If we realize our duty and responsibilities, we can write a new constitution and give it to the people and the nation. We can build new constitution.

This is the 7th time for writing constitution in the history of Nepal. More over, it is the first time



For the completion of drafting a new constitution on stipulated date, we had to go to the people to take suggestions. And then, we would have to pass them after issue-wise discussion in CA. But, if we evaluate the whole work, it will not take more than 7-8 months to complete writing new constitution

and first process of writing a new constitution by the representatives of the people.

We are in the new process. The new process is to elect the representatives of all the class, region, gender, area, marginalized, Muslim and Madhesh. The process of electing the representatives of the people is mixed elections system through first-past-the-post, inclusive and proportionate.

We are interacting with the leaders and experts of those countries that have gone through the process like us. We have shared our experiences in decision making level.

Along with it, it is necessary to accept the reality that people are the history makers. Nothing is possible without the participation of the people. The big-big wars and movements have been succeeded only after the active participation of the people. Belief towards the people should be increased.

What are the mentionable tasks that are done during the period in CA?

We have done lots of works in 2 years period. Only they are left to make public in their quality. After the discussion of concept of subjective committees among the people, the process of discussion is being run and we have centralized 3 documents out of those eleven subjective committees. Other 8 are being centralized. There are not so big gaps

of the differences of opinion in discussion. The differences are not so complex. The task left was to centralize the document of subjective committees in Constitutional Committee, run discussion about it in CA and publish it into gazette.

For the completion of drafting a new constitution on stipulated date, we had to go to the people to take suggestions. And then, we would have to pass them after issue-wise discussion in CA. But, if we evaluate the whole work, it will not take more than 7-8 months to complete writing new constitution in the extended term. It is because we have completed more than 80 percent of the total work.

The task left to us is to try to narrow down the differences. The constitutional committee will take initiative to narrow it down in the discussion of subjective committees at first. If it becomes impossible, we will go to the process of CA. After the centralization of documents of the subjective committees, we will enter into discussion in CA. Even if those issues of disagreement or differences are not narrowed down through the discussion in CA, we will and should go to the people.

Actually, the task of CA will be accomplished when the documents of subjective committees are centralized in Constitutional Committee and make

discussion over them. However, we go to the people to collect their opinion and enter into issue-wise discussion and pass them through the process.

Then, we come to the process according to interim constitution. We have to make the constitution through consensus. It directs us to pass constitution unanimously. This process proceeds twice. If the draft is not passed in this way, it is passed through two-third majority of the total CA members. If the two-third majority cannot pass it, there remains no option than to go to the people. The people should keep on creating incessant pressure over the CA.

What should the political parties do at this time?

The main thing, the political parties should understand, is that politics should be in favor of the people and the nation. They should understand that the people cannot digest and be kept quiet if situation goes against them. Simultaneously, the political existence and future of the politics is lively connected with it. People have the right to take decision. People are like the fiery ordeal of all the political parties.

We all know that the party which developed the national agenda is sidelined now. UCPN Maoist raised the issue and brought it to the CA. People clearly know that the national agenda of republic of Nepal, federalism, secularism, constitution assembly and the restructuring of the entire state are developed by UCPN-Maoist. It is not hidden among the people. People are very conscious and forward.

Therefore, the party, which developed the national agenda, should lead the nation heading the executive body of the state power. Other party or power can not understand what the agendas are. Only UCN-Maoist has a clear vision about the agendas. The political parties should play the role what the people have given through the election of the constituent assembly. Otherwise, how people can believe them?

A debate is in the market. They plead that new constitution can be only drafted by the experts but not by the representatives in the CA. How

do you response this market debate?

Of course, there are very few people who do not want a new constitution of the people because their rights get cut off if people are given right. They seem to be disappointed due to the demarcation of their unlimited rights.

If we talk about experts, who the experts are! Either the representatives, who know the society, are expert or the few people, who have textual and technological knowledge, are expert. Principally and technically, they may be different but, in practice, people and society are the prime things. People are the transporter of the change and progress.

We have lots of experiences about the constitution, which were made without participation of the people, in the past. We want to guarantee the rights of the people with their active participation. Misfortune! Those, who have no mandate, are in the government. Then, how people can believe? The political parties, government and concerned actors should be aware on time and should evaluate the weakness and mistakes of the past. All of parties should be ready to take shares. Only this can ensure the political existence and its future.

Will the achievements of the wars and movements of the people be institutionalized in the new constitution?

Yes, they should be institutionalized and our initiatives should be so. There is a type of tendency in the CA that is 'not to walk due to the fear of stumbling'. Persons who have executive power can not use it. Such type of dilemma or neutrality does not work. I think we should play our effective and active role.

Till now, the achievements of wars and movements are not institutionalized. And the parties leading the movements have not been succeeded to institutionalize the achievements. This is the problem we have. People should not be deceived at this time.

Request the people to warn the representatives. The achievements should be protected. We can write constitution and bring change in assistance of the people. ■

Agenda for a New Foreign Policy



Hiranya Lal Shrestha

To deal with foreign countries, the five principals of peaceful co-existence (Pancha-sheel) seem to be a good basis of foreign policy, through which we can establish, maintain and develop bilateral relation with any foreign country irrespective of its size, economic strength, military strength or political system.

The historic constitution assembly election was held on April 10, 2008. The CA declared Nepal as the federal democratic Republic on May 28 2008. In the process of formulating new constitution, we have to set agenda for a new foreign policy to cope with changing national, regional and international scenario. Above all we have to promote national interest and carry out international obligations and responsibilities.

Interim Guidelines

Post CA successive government should shoulder the responsibility conducting domestic and foreign policy in accordance with the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007. The directive principles and the state policy laid out in the Interim

Constitution have provided clear orientations to Nepal's foreign policy, "with international relation, the government shall be guided by the objectives on enhancing national dignity, integrity and independence on the country."

"The foreign policy of Nepal shall be guided by the principles enshrined in the charter of the united nations, the Pancha Sheela, international law and the values of world peace."

"The state shall pursue a policy of making continuous effort to institutionalize peace in Nepal through international recognition by promoting cooperative and cordial relation with other countries in the economic, social and other spheres on the basis of equality, with neighbouring and other countries of the world."

Poor Performance

Due to the lack of political stability and coordination among political parties and various stakeholders, there is poor performance in foreign affairs in post CA-Nepal. External domination and interferences increased even in internal affairs. Nepal's humiliating defeat in UNSC in 2006 has raised serious question regarding the credibility of its foreign affairs capability. The total failure of Nepal's diplomacy in Bhutanese refugee problem, for repatriation has raised further suspicion in the efficiency of Nepal's foreign policy conduct.

There are increasing incidents of border encroachment, which Nepal government could not resist. Nepal could not be effective of protect Nepali diaspora in Meghalaya in India.

Nepal's advocacy or the concept of economic diplomacy has practically been a mere slogan and no government concrete achievement has been made so far. It has also failed to create a balance between imports and exports in its international trade. External dependency scenario increased in these days.

Both our neighbours China and India are lodging complaints that Nepalese soil misused by third countries against them. Anti-China activities by so-called "free-Tibet" separatists is serious concern of China. Misuse of open border by terrorists and extremists against India is serious concern of our southern neighbour. The security capability of Nepal to address legitimate concerns of neighbour is eroding. Nepal government has no courage to ask India to introduce passport system and regulate border to check undesirable activities and cross-border crimes. Nepal Terai is plagued by armed criminals, women trafficking and drug smuggling.

Challenges

Peace diplomacy is top priority of Nepal in present context. Due to lack of consensus between major parties, we are facing a situation lack of consensus between major parties; we are facing a situation like "No war, No peace" process. The world is watchful to see whether the peace process will end well. We need to work hard

to remove their doubts on this issue. UNMIN role is for better than single country dictation and domination. Absence of gun-running is not enough. We have to address root causes of conflict though socio-economic transformation. We have to seek international support to build "peace through development" particularly for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

We have to both unrealistic blind nationalism and capitulation and flunkeyism in foreign affairs. We have to adopt pragmatism and a policy of national dignity.

Conclusion

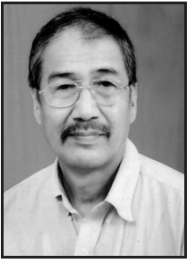
Yesterday, foreign policy had the adjective of preserving the feudal regime and appease regional and superpower to seek their blessing. Today, it should be oriented to preserve sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and wellbeing of the common people of Nepal. At the same time, we must able to take our international community in confidence by erasing all their doubts and confusions. Nepal should be capable to address their legitimate interest, but never to allow interference.

The policy of equal-proximity and balanced foreign policy should be basis of good neighbour relationship. China and India are not only our two big neighbour but also two largest market of the world. In order to interact with these emerging two growth-engines of

the world and seek benefit from both sides, should offer Nepal as a transit state between China and the SAARC countries.

To deal with foreign countries, the five principals of peaceful co-existence (Panchasheel) seems to be a good basis of foreign policy, through which we can establish, maintain and develop bilateral relation with any foreign country irrespective of its size, economic strength, military strength or political system. All unequal treaties should be reviewed or replaced by new treaties based on Panchasheel and mutual benefit. We have to promote regionalism with fruitful economic co-operation and free trade.

It requires consensus to conduct foreign policy in the national interest in Nepal. An all-party national consultative committee and foreign affairs should be set up under the chairmanship of the prime minister. The Constituent Assembly should endorse Nepal's comprehensive foreigner policy and national security policy doctrines and the government should implement a code of conduct accordingly. We should learn from the experience that external forces will play only if we are divided and dependent on others. Nepal foreign policy should be conducted on consensus and non-partisan bases for the promotion of national interest. ■



Dil Sahni

People's War, Art and Literature

The worldshaking decade long People's War in Nepal has brought revolutionary changes in every sphere of our life. It is said that every revolution produces its own singers, poets and writers. Nepal alone can't be exception to it. Nepal is not exception to it indeed. The protracted People's Revolutionary War has produced hundreds of its singers, poets and writers. It has produced a new kind of literature. Such a new kind of literature is called people's literature. It is also called war literature. The war literature produced during the wartime or even after it is popular as a new realism. The new realism is not other than socialist realism. In other words, new realism is another name for socialist realism. However, the whole of war literature is not new realism. Hence, it is not socialist realism. Indeed it is anti war literature. It is anti revolutionary literature. It is counter revolutionary literature. It is indeed reactionary literature. The anti people's war literature was produced by the poets

and writers of the ruling class of all shades. This means the revolutionary war also produces its arch enemy artists, poets and writers. It also produces anti revolutionary art and literature. This is indeed the law of dialectical materialism. When there is action there is reaction as well. Every revolution is to confront counter revolution. Every revolutionary art and literature is to confront counter revolutionary art and literature.

The counter revolutionary anti people's war art and literature has presented people's war as ugly thing. It is blind to any positive side of it. It presents the people's war negatively. It is not people's war for them. The reactionary writers and poets have depicted the people's war as an anarchism, socialist fascism, ultra left adventurism, terrorism and soon. Hence, their writing is full of ill willed and product of prejudiced mind. If there is any positive side in their writing it is its dealing with the people's war, even though it is presented negatively. It only suggests the greatness of people's war. It only suggests the height and depth

of the people's war. It only suggests the strength, volume, velocity and dimension of the people's war.

The people's war lost many people's artists, singers, poets and writers during the war period. In Anekot, seven people's artists sheltering in a house were encircled and brutally killed by the state's security forces. Some of the most popular artists brutally killed by the state were Masta Bist, Changba Lama and Chunu Gurung. The security forces also inhumanly tortured and cruelly killed Krishna Sen in the police custody. Krishna Sen was a great revolutionary poet and reputed journalist. Krishna Sen's killing in the custody was widely criticized and condemned. During the people's war the state cruelly killed more than one hundred sixty people's artists.

Whatever it is the merciless killings and disappearance of the artists, poets, writers and journalists could not make silent the voice of voiceless people. The people's artists went on singing revolutionary songs in every nook and cranny

of the country. The dramatists staged revolutionary dramas among the masses. The poets wrote war poems visualizing their victory. The writers wrote articles expressing their faith in the revolution and showing their confidence in the victory of the people in the people's war.

The decade long people's war has inspired hundreds of poets and writers to produce art and literature making the people's war as its themes and subject matters. Some of the well known writers and poets of people's war are Krishna Sen, Iswar Chand Gewali, Ghanshyam Dhakal, Dr. Rishiraj Baral, Dr. Jagadish Bhandari, Mani Thapa, Ganga Shresth, Balram Timilsina, Khushiram Pakhrin, Maila Lama, Purna Biram, Ramesh Bhattarai, Sudha Tripathi, Mitra Lal Pageni, JB Tuhure, Dr. Tara Pandey, Dr. Gopindra Paudel, Hiramani Dukhi, Ganesh Bhandari, Ram Chandra Bhattarai, Khem Thapaliya, Dharendra Premarshi, Dil Sahni, Punya Karki, Satya Pahadi, Nibha Shah, Dipendra Rokaya, Poshraj Paudel, Modnath Marahatta, Krishna KC, Ghana Shyam Neupane Parishrami and so on .

The cultural organizations such as Samana Pariwar, Kshitij Pariwar, Sen-Chyang, Pratirodh, Baikunth-Chet Newa, Bisu-Chuli and many others worked day and night

The decade long people's war has inspired hundreds of poets and writers to produce art and literature making the people's war as its themes and subject matters.



to arouse awareness among the masses. In the later phase of people's war, many artists associated with film industry joined the people's movement. They also made film to promote the cause of the people's war. Apart from this hundreds of CD, VCD and DVD are produced to disseminate the message of people's war.

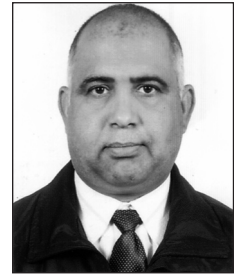
The decade long people's war and its fusion with nineteen days people's movement brought a sea change in the history of Nepal. In fact, it was unprecedented change in the history of Nepal. It overthrew the ages old autocracy of monarchical form of political system. It ushered in a new era of democratic republicanism. However, the journey of people's war is not ended with

the establishment of democratic republicanism. There are miles to go to reach and achieve the goal of people's war. In fact it is in its half way of long march. It means the people's war has won half of battle in fight; still there is half battle to fight and win. Hence, the artists, poets and writers have significant role still to play in the days to come.

The people's war inspires artists, poets, and writers to produce war art and literature. Simultaneously the people's war art and literature so produced too inspires the people's war to continue and go ahead. The decade long world shaking people's war has left so much war materials to write that even mythical 'Shesh Nag' of thousands mouths cannot describe it. ■

New understanding for a new constitution

Similarly, nationalism is the total sum of the feelings of the nationalities. If nationalities are not largely involved in the making of constitution, it will not carry the national spirit. Constitution without a large conference of nationalities will bring dissatisfaction, and naturally the number of dissidents will grow.



Rajan Pokhrel

The new constitution making process even in an additional year is uncertain. The four year peace process is at a stake. The old and parliamentary political forces are willing to drag the situation to the status quo, and the new revolutionary power is trying to push it forward to a total-restructuring in all political, economic and social setups. The 'push and drag' game is finally sure to lead the situation to a violent turn.

In a power struggle the side which has accumulated more power will generally win. This is the rule of politics and the rule of the world's system because all power is a political power and all power struggles is violence. Therefore, the peace process is also a kind of power struggle. In a violent struggle, the peace

process is designed at a point when both sides have almost the balance of power, and each side is trying to gain more power to violate the conditions of the peace process in one pretext or the other. Therefore, peace is always transitional. Violence is inherent, and indispensable from peace. Peace is very short. It's time to prepare for another aggression. Whether it is the change of era from the earlier to the latter ages or the change of systems from the older to the newer ones, it is violence that has made all changes possible. Therefore, violence must be guided by poetic justice. Violence has energy that functions very powerfully for changes.

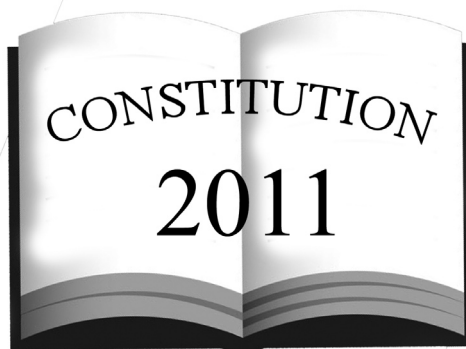
When this traditional peace process has to be broken in to anarchy next year, and more

violence is being envisioned, last May 28 was an opportunity to outst the previous 12-point agreement that established the republic with a simple amendment need not have been continued for the same purpose. Even after one year, new constitution by the constituent assembly cannot be promulgated without the consent of new political and ethnic fronts. So the 12-point understanding and the political equation on that ground has been already outdated, and the one year to add on the interim constitution is a sheer waste of time. The constitution is a compromise between the Maoist and the old political forces cannot solve the people's problems. It will not address the demands of the revolutionaries who went to the violent people's war. Moreover, in this supposedly

peace process there are chances for the regressive and anti-social elements to play upon the progressive forces and the revolutionary changes will turn vague. That will bring frustrations. And in the anti-climax, no revolution will be possible. Then the possibility of progressive change will be pushed back for several years.

Similarly, nationalism is the total sum of the feelings of the nationalities. If nationalities are not largely involved in the making of constitution, it will not carry the national spirit. Constitution without a large conference of nationalities will bring dissatisfaction, and naturally the number of dissidents will grow. At that situation, nationalism will surely weaken. There will be more and more aimless and destructive violence ahead the revolutionary process will take a long way probably never to return or it will take decades. Therefore, the revolutionaries must not take any self-damaging decisions. Yes, no doubt, the process of construction begins after destruction, but if there is destruction regularly twice, thrice and four times, construction too will move understanding and sign a new one. During these four years Unified CPN (Maoist) has proved itself to be the largest political power over the Nepali Congress Party, so called CPN-UML and the royalist. In these

Had there been no agreement of the addition of one more year for the interim constitution to continue, there would have been a new equation formed in the Nepalese politics by now.



four years new political forces like Janadhikar forums, TMDP, Sadbhawana and the likes too have enlarged. Besides, there are many ethnic fronts emanating with the demands of political rights and federal system. Had there been no agreement of the addition of one more year for the interim constitution to continue, there would have been a new equation formed in the Nepalese politics by now. All-sector-national-convention would have been summoned as Maoist was always demanding during the People's War period. A government of the national consensus would have been formed in the leadership of the largest political party. The havoc of political violence that is supposed to come next year in Nepal would have

been faced this year itself, and the process of political and physical development would have been geared up on totally a different dimension. That was an opportunity basically for the Maoist to lead to instruct and to advance. The UCPN (Maoist) would have easily united all complicated knots and deadlocks of Nepalese politics.

History of Nepal is the witness that every time the constitution that was built for the establishment of one thing was immediately dismantled, after the single performance was complete. Likewise, the interim constitution to oblivion, it will be possible only on the long pre-history. There revolutionaries who intend to lead everything in command, either destruction or construction, will fail in their mission. So, revolution is always consciously handled, with revolutionary thought, plan of action and leadership.

Therefore, Nepalese revolution is at a serious mode. Only a sensible and thoughtful leadership can instruct it to a successful conclusion. Only that leadership can stop ceaseless brain-drains and continuous worker's flow to other countries for the exciting and aggressive development of Nepal.

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Green House Civilization Crisis



Thakur P. Devkota

The cutthroat competition of the developed countries in production industries and trade relation the third world countries are severely affected. Due to such competition they do not want to reduce the GHG emission. The third world countries are victim from that competition and they compelled to share the adverse effect of the climate change.

Known to all but belated debate is the Green House Civilization Crisis. The entire human civilization is in crisis. The totality of this crisis is being seen in the form of climate change. Climate change, though it takes a long time, is the indication of the gradual ending of running human civilization and beginning of the other. Therefore, inside the issue of climate change, there lies a contradictory existence of life and death.

We are talking about human life, while we are talking about the climate change. Simultaneously, we are talking about death at the same time, while talking about the same issue of the climate change. It is the issue related to the question of destruction and construction at a time.

Due to this principal reason, climate change has been a burning

issue in the present world. Due to the human activities in the process of human development there is imbalance in physical environment. That imbalance in the physical environment is a threat to the human civilization as well as the existing biodiversity in the biological environment. The earth is a large greenhouse and in this greenhouse there are a lot of chemical elements and compounds mixed with each other. When there is change in the ratio of chemical structure of the greenhouse elements then there creates the problem in the natural balance. Due to that imbalance in natural greenhouse gas the earth warms gradually, that causes the climate change. That warming process is due to the human activities in the process of industrial development after the industrial revolution.

The greenhouse gas is formed by carbon dioxide 72%, methane 18%, nitrogen oxide 9% and remaining gases 1%. Carbon dioxide plays the major role in global warming. The sources of greenhouse gas are fuel, transport, production industries, agriculture by-product, garbage, etc. IPCC forecast that from this ratio of global warming till 2050 increased with 3°C, in 2080 increased with 5°C, rainfall in 2050 increase with 7% and in 2080 increase with 11% and sea level in 2030 increase with 16 cm. And 2070 increase with 7-50 cm. Carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, hydrofluoroperflurone, sulphur dioxide, chlorofluorocarbon, etc. are the main casual gases of the global warming. The anthropogenic activities increase the concentration of GHG in our

environment make imbalance in the nature of the atmosphere so that there is change in the physical structure of the environment that is the global warming or the climate change. The emission of GHG by the developed countries is very high but the underdeveloped countries are severely affected by that phenomenon. Now 80% fossil fuel is used to produce the energy for development of the industries.

The above condition shows that human civilization is at risk. The Kyoto protocol is the important agreement to reduce the GHG emission, mitigation of GHG gas and its process, the adverse effect of the climate change on human civilization. Kyoto conference decides to reduce the GHG emission at the rate of 5.2% till 2012. The victim of global warming mainly is underdeveloped countries without any share of the GHG emission. The first world countries highly developed in infrastructure, production and economically sound but the least developed countries do not develop their economy.

Due to the cause of climate change the severe effect in temperate zone than in tropical zone. Climate change is the cause of natural disaster, warmer the cool season, changing trend in rainfall, seasonal interchange, erosion, loss of biodiversity, causes the new disease etc. The industrial development is one side and

another side is utilization of forest product for the development of industries causes the increase in concentration of green house gases. This unwanted increase in green house gases from the industrialization and deforestation causes the global warming and that severely affects the third world. The climate change affects in natural system and there is gap in the chain of ecosystem. The temperate ecosystem is very sensitive to the climate change due to this there is a reduction in the snow covered area, change in the vegetative belt in the edge area, the temperature rise increases the metabolic activities and increase in organic production that also increases the concentration of the carbon in soil.

The climate change affects the agriculture production by appearing the new plant disease, decrease in plant suitability and it adversely affects in whole production system. It affects in living beings based on natural resource and their livelihood. The crisis in food security, malnutrition, population growth, appearance of new disease, changing in the production pattern, natural disasters etc. are causes the crisis of human civilization. The concentration of the green house gases in water, soil, and atmosphere create the new challenge to the human civilization. There may be disappearance of some climatic zone, biodiversity and may be appear the new climate and new

biodiversity. The high altitude may change in agricultural land that may change the present trade interrelationship between the low land and high altitude land. The dependencies of water resources of low land to high altitude may be in crisis. So there may completely change in the relationship among the people in different parts of the earth. Heavy rainfall causes the destruction of physical infrastructure, population growth, drinking and irrigation water scarcity; change in economic activities causes the problem in management of human system. The small change in upper land causes the severe effect in the low land living beings. So we must plan carefully in the protection of upper land ecosystem for sustainability. Biodiversity Conservation, control in deforestation and plan in reforestation, carbon storage, watershed management, soil productivity conservation, tourism management, soil management, crop plant adaptability etc are the main things for the planning of development. The third world is dependent upon the agro-based economy and the production pattern is so traditional so that the small change in the climatic factor there is drastically reduced in the production and that affects in the food security and agro-based industries. A study shows that due to the cause of climate change there is 5-20% decrease in the gross national product.

To mitigate the climate change 1% GNP is sufficient but the industrial countries have no any plan for the investment. There are several challenges to human civilization among them the climate change and the economic crisis are the most important.

To mitigate the challenge of the climate change the future plan must be emphasis on reducing the GHG emission, reduce GHG concentration, protect the biodiversity, and reduce the rate of GHG emission. Reduce adverse effect of the climate change, protect the fragile ecosystem of the high altitude, and strengthen the ecosystem services, etc are the major activities to balance the nature. The human activities concerns to the GHG emission reduce and make the eco-friendly environment to development. The clean energy development plan

and involvement to the carbon trade facilities and agreement to the developed countries without any boundaries to utilize the natural resources for their industrial development. So the underdeveloped countries like Nepal planned the production industries by utilizing the natural resources. The geo-graphical structure of Nepal is situated from tropical to alpine region. So the climate change effect in all type of ecological zone. Due to the traditional farming system and agro based economy there is adverse effect in the national economy also. For sustainable development we must formulate the development plan with adopting the climatic condition. Adoptability with climate change is the main things for the national planning. By addressing the changing environment and

possible new trend of evolution in human civilization and living being required the long term development strategic plan. The cut throat competition of the developed countries in production industries and trade relation the third world countries are severely affected. Due to such competition they do not want to reduce the GHG emission. The third world countries are victim from that competition and they are compelled to share the adverse effect of the climate change. The climate change creates the great challenge to the human civilization and threat to the existence of the living being. From that condition there is necessity to study the subject of climate change and further research about the cause of climate change and new solution to the human civilization.

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Maila Lama releases revolutionary music video

Kathmandu/Revolutionary artist Maila Lama brings a musical video album. His new album "Matribhumi", literally means 'Motherland' was released recently. Maoist Chairman Prachanda released the video and audio albums in a program organised in Kathmandu.

Nine songs with videos are included in the Album. Maila Lama composed music for all those songs which were written by various persons. Four different videos were presented in the releasing program.

Maila Lama is a popular revolutionary artist who had taken part in the 10 year long people's war. Lama, the chairman of the Samana Cultural Family was seriously injured while attacking a police post. In the releasing program he shared his experiences during the people's war and while making the music album.

चौतारी अडियो भिडियो म्यूजिक प्रा. लि. को नविनतम प्रस्तुति

माइला लामाको

मातृभूमि

संगीत: माइला लामा

- १) उठ सयौं छेउ crtb 0130018706
- २) कुलजस्त crtb 0130018112
- ३) निकै नै टाढा crtb 0130018120
- ४) सर्रासै मेरो crtb 0130018123
- ५) गाउँ सहर crtb 0130018116
- ६) जायै बस् crtb 0130018124
- ७) लाग्छ आधा crtb 0130018117
- ८) बुकानमा जिन्दे crtb 0130018119
- ९) उठ जाय crtb 0130018115

अपवादक सभा विवरण
चौतारी अडियो भिडियो म्यूजिक प्रा. लि.
आवासकोशी, बलान्द्र, काठमाडौं
फो. नं. ५८७७, फोब. : ५९६२०५

अडियो क्यासेट र भिडियो सिडी सर्वत्र बजारमा उपलब्ध छ।

Youths eyeing Korea for job



Large number of energetic Nepali youths was amazingly seen online 15 to 18 June in Kathmandu for the sake of foreign employment. They filled out the forms under the Employment Permit System (EPS), the new strategy introduced by South Korea. 42 thousand youths filled up the form for the Korean Language test

The South Korean government has allocated some 4000 jobs quotas for Nepalese, which is 20 percent of the total worker to be recruited from different countries in the year 2010.

Every youth collected \$ 17 i.e. Rs one thousand two hundred and 75. Total youth those have filled the forms had collected more than 54 millions. Almost all of this amount went out of Nepal. Most of the youths are frustrated with country's sorry state on employment opportunities. All the youngsters slap the government's irresponsible attitude toward them.

One of the employees Mr. Loknath Bhattarai of Syangjha Mirmi Italy Chowk said, 'Nepali youths are not interested to go other country for the sake of job, it is our compulsion.'

The country and its young population's lack of faith in the

government and opportunities it may provide is undoubtedly a cause for the concern, - his hidden sound escape out from his mouth.

"Government must have the capacity to regulate these youths, must have ability to provide the employment according to their capacity but not a single leader is concerned on this issue, why?" He has a question to the stockholders and high level officials.

It is highly sad for the Nation, and horrible erode of National capital (i.e. Labour) so that if government doesn't understand the sound of youth's soul then nobody can pull out the nation from the unexpected grief.

Another youths from Pyuthan, Mr Umesh Prasad Poudel argued that Korean has collected millions of Nepalese rupees, no one thinks about that, those money which is collected by Korean government can be used to establish a new industry but nobody concerned about it. If we can do as so then we all youths proudly stay in our motherland and have permanent job to all of us.

He further said, 'this government is not responsible for people and can't measure the force of bouncy life so we need a new and ideal government which can

understand the voice of youngsters and lead the youths to the correct directions.'

Director General of Department of Foreign Employment Mr Mohan Krishna Sapkota said that it is not good to go other country for the sake of employment. State is unable to provide the employment opportunity; due to the compulsion youths filled the form for Korean language test. He added that Korea is the safe country in comparison to other.

EPS KLT (Korean Language test) authority is all given to Korean government. But their copies will be checked by Korean Teachers of TU.

On this issue Maoist has said that this situation is shameful to the nation. Nation is unable to provide the jobs for them. The world is being supermarket where free to sale or buy labour with low cost. Nepali youngsters shouldn't be sale on this market, it is a serious issue.

Thousands of Nepalese are in foreign countries, the numbers of flying abroad is increasing day by day. Tribhuvan International Airport (TIA) has informed that everyday nine hundred Nepalese go abroad for the sake of job, business, studies and others purposes.

Maoist enhances relation with CPC

Kathmandu/A delegation of the Unified CPN-Maoist has returned home after 10-day China visit. The team led by Maoist vice-Chairman Narayan Kaji Shrestha had been to China on the last week of June.

Although Shrestha returned earlier due to the political development in Nepal, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, the in-charge for the international department of Unified CPN-Maoist led the team. Mahara informed that the delegation held meetings with several central and regional level leaders.

Mahara said that the visit was mainly to enhance the relation between two communist parties and the target was met. Talking with The Red Star, Mahara said the delegation got chance to know about the history of CPC and their policy to tackle various issues.

The relation between Unified CPN-Maoist and CPC is new. It started after Maoist came to the peace process. Mahara says, "The relation between Unified CPN-Maoist and CPC is new. It started after we came to the peace process. For both of us we have a common base to start and enhance the relation i.e. Mao Thought. CPC's guiding thought is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Thought even today. We have also followed Mao thought. Our party name carries Mao's name. In this sense, we have a common base to develop a good relation."

He is optimistic that the two-way visits and talks are helping to enhance the relation.

This visit happened at the time when an allegation is made that Maoist is tilting to China. When asked if Maoist was tilting to China, Mahara said they were simply allegations. The visit was only to develop a good relation. ■



Maoist leader KB Mahara holding talk with Wang Jiarui, Minister of International Department of CPC

'The visit was fruitful'

- Krishna B. Mahara, Incharge Intn'l Department, UCPN-Maoist

How was your China visit?

- It was fruitful. A team from our party had been to China on the invitation from the Communist Party of China (CPC). It was a kind of study visit about the various aspects of Chinese development and policy. CPC had adopted to handle various issues.

Who did you meet and hold talk?

- We met several central and regional level leaders. We held talks with the Minister and vice-Minister of the International Department of CPC and other high level officers of various departments. Likewise, while traveling various regions we met regional authorities.

Before leaving for China, you have said this visit is to talk about the relation of two parties. Was there any progress?

The main aim was to have discussion between two parties. This visit was done to enhance our relation. We succeeded in our aim. We talked with the central and regional leaders. The meetings helped us to know about the history of CPC and their policy to handle various issues. E.g. the policy about

the national autonomy, forming the united front, party schooling, model villages etc. They were quite important for our party. Likewise, we put our party's policies and programs, so that the CPC leaders could well understand about our party.

What is the reaction of Chinese leaders about the present situation of Nepal?

- China follows non-intervention policy to others internal affairs. But, they wished that a national consensual government be formed and constitution written at the fixed time. They wished that peace may prevail in Nepal. The leaders expressed their commitment on assisting Nepal in coming days.

There are allegations that Unified CPN-Maoist is tilting towards China at the time when two parties are having frequent visits and talks. Is it true that Maoist has tilted towards China?

- This is only an allegation. We just want to keep good diplomatic relation with our neighbours and friends. We want an independent and sovereign Nepal. For this, we tried to develop our relation with China and CPC. ■

Intensional charge proved fake



The accused kidnapers of Dr. Bhakta Man Shrestha paraded by Police.

Kathmandu/ All the fake charges against the Maoist proved intensional after Nepal police paraded the three accused in front of the Media. The police has said that a racket led by Bhimsen Pandit and Indian criminal Rohit Paliwal Agrawal abducted Dr. Shrestha for a hefty ransom

The notorious kidnapers had kidnapped Dr. Shrestha with help from his former driver Badri Dhungana. Dhungana, an Indian national Nabin Chhetri and a real estate broker Sunil Shrestha have been arrested by the police.

Shrestha, the Executive Director of BP Koirala Memorial Cancer Hospital in Bharatpur, had been kidnapped on May 18. He was let free after 19 days of abduction. The trio who have come to police net told the police that they had kept Dr. Bhaktaman in Kathmandu and Nuwakot.

After the kidnapping of Dr. Bhaktaman, many had raised their finger towards the Maoist. Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal had accused the Maoist in the abduction of Dr. Bhaktaman. NMC Chairman Jagdish Narsingh KC who is also affiliated with Nepali Congress claimed that he would bring out Dr. Shrestha if he was permitted to visit the Shaktikhor PLA cantonments.

Some corporate media came crossing the line of journalism and accused Maoist. Nagarik Daily and Republica daily had claimed that Maoist

leaders including Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' were involved in the abduction. With news, editorial and cartoon, Nagarik and Republica used this issue to defame the Maoist. Although the Police have ruled out any kind of involvement of the Maoist in this case, Nagarik and Republica have not apologized for their intensional accusation.

This case has shown that how parliamentary parties, anti-maoist intellectuals and corporate media use everything to defame the Maoist. Although Dr. Shrestha was a supporter of Maoist party, parliamentary parties, anti-maoist intellectuals and corporate media accused nakedly the Maoist.

It is also believed that the anti-Maoist section of the BP Koirala Memorial Cancer Hospital (BKMCH), who was not digesting the reforms Dr. Bhaktaman was doing, used these notorious criminals to abduct Dr. Bhaktaman. The well planned propaganda of government officials, Congress doctors and intellectuals and corporate media compels anyone to think so.

The allegations made by Nagarik and Republica on the involvement of Maoists in Dr. Shrestha's abduction and the brouhaha that they generated among the political parties and the general populace shows that professionalism is subtly mixed with partisanism. ■

Indian Maoist vow to avenge the death of Azad

Kolkata/ The CPI (Maoist) has vowed to avenge the death of Polit Bureau member and Spokesperson of CPI-Maoist Cherukuri Rajkumar 'Azad'. Issuing a press statement on 3rd July Party spokesperson Ajay has said that it was not an encounter at all but was a cold blooded murder by Andhra Pradesh Police.

Declaring Azad and Jitender the great Martyrs of revolution spokesperson Ajay has vowed to take vengeance of their killers. Hailing Azad, Ajay had said that Azad has become the "mind and soul of Indian revolution through his consistent and efficient work". He adds, "In his death, the Indian revolutionary movement lost an exemplary comrade and a shining star, who served the movement more than three and half decades."

Azad was arrested at Nagpur on June 1st along with Hem Pandey, a zonal level cadre. Azad was travelling to Dandakarnaya for a central committee meeting. They were supposed to be received by their cadre from Dandakarnaya zone. But they were caught there. Ajay has suspected that AP police arrested Azad who was later flown to Adilabad jungles near Maharashtra border and killed them point blank and in cold blood.

Communist Party of India-



called for a two-day strike across the country from Wednesday to protest the murder of its senior politburo member Azad.

Azad was one of the senior most party leaders of CPI (Maoist). He was born in Krishna district of AP, in a well to do family. A brilliant student at the Regional Engineering College, which became famous as Radical Engineering College in those days, he finished his Mtech in Chemical Engineering and moved to Vishakhapatnam as per the Party direction.

He became the district committee member of vizag unit of the CPI (ML) (PW). He moved length and breadth of India, to organize the Seminar on Nationality question held in Madras (now Chennai) in 1981. He was shifted to Karnataka in 1982 and he was one of the founder members of the Karnataka Party and worked as

the secretary of the Karnataka State Committee. He was taken into CC, after the Central Plenum in 1990. He was the elected member of CC in the All India conference in 1995 and since then he served in CC and PB. He continued in those posts after the formation of CPI Maoist too in 2004. He has been the spokesperson of the CC since then.

Ajay has stated in his statement that the Indian revolutionary movement has lost 'an exemplary comrade and a shining star, who served the movement more than three and half decades'.

Likewise Hem Pandey, 30, who was killed with Azad hailed from a nearby village of Pithoragarh town of Uttarakhand State. Pandey had joined the then CPI (ML) (PW) in 2001.

Ajay has stated that Azad was going to discuss with other party leaders about the concrete proposals of well meaning people like Swamy Agnivesh about particular dates for the mutual cease fire. He was carrying the confidential letter of Swamy Agnivesh written to Azad dated 26th June 2010. Ajay has asked the home minister Chidambaram if he expects CPI (Maoist) to sit for talks with his blood on his hands of Azad and Pandey?