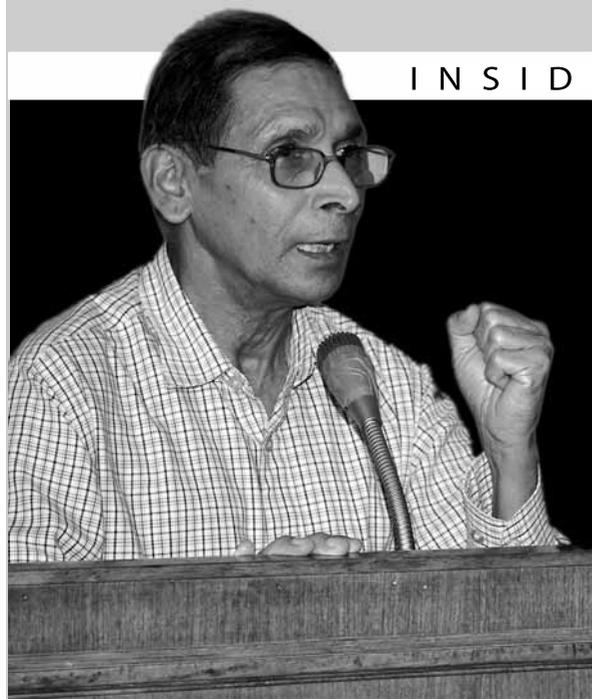


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Create not so humiliating situation!

We clearly know that the fight is between the status quo and the progressive. The rulers and the ruling class always try their best to make the progressive-revolutionaries more humiliating and confess their past. However, it is not a good thing because it is against the interest of the nation and its people.

Nepali Congress was progressive when it was fighting against the oligarchy of Rana rule in Nepal and for the constitutional monarchy. At that time, Ranas used to create rumours and the back-biting against Nepali Congress. King Mahendra took power in his hand in the support of army. But, at the same time, there was unbearable expansionist interference in the internal affairs of Nepal. The patriots and the self respected people also supported undemocratic step taken by the then king Mahendra.

Then UML, in the period of Madan Bhandari, was progressive and people supported it. However, Nepali Congress, at that time, had become status quo and it fought against UML making alliance with India and the palace.

Now, UCPN-Maoist is a revolutionary and progressive party and the largest party even in the Constituent Assembly. Nepali Congress and UML are now status quo and they are making alliance with Indian ruling class and some of the handful regressive in the country. Therefore, they are trying their best to make Maoist humiliating and say sorry to the past. If Maoist and its leaders do not understand it and go to confess or say sorry easily even in the trifle things, what will be the morale of the people?

After the postponement of indefinite strike, Prachanda said sorry standing before those who had held a Basantapur gathering by industry owners and some others. It is a truth like broad day light that the Basantapur gathering was quickly transformed into a retaliation troop and had attacked over the demonstrators, who were demonstrating peacefully. And, Prachanda, said sorry to them apologizing to his speech!

Maoist is mass base party. Were there not any masses of the people in the valley before whom Prachanda could give clarification about his speech of Khulamanch.

**Lal Bahadur Thapa
Bardia**

Reject Delhi Durbar

The majority political analysts of Nepal, frequently, talk on Singhdurbar and mostly criticize Maoists at a time. They have their own limitation of knowledge and write what they perceive from sensory world. And, mostly and repeatedly talk about the same thing on which they can create myth. They create a very interesting myth, but false, false in the sense that they always distort the fact as they are drawing on the canvas. This irresponsibility has made them the characters of farce, who not only ridicule others rather they are being ridiculed at the same time.

They make painting over Nepalese social canvas. They try to create Maoists as dragons and puppets and compradors as heroes who have the blessings from the God Delhi. The act of the analyst painters is to scold dragons, be in favour of heroes and to admire the God. This gives them full stomach satisfaction and provides chances to be invited by God. They write what makes God happy.

The so called analysts often read Ramayana and Mahabharata. They make their criticism on the background of their knowledge learnt by these big epics. And, they try to analyze the present politics as they are going to show and criticize the same society and social conflicts. They, in their insight, create God, hero and dragon and name to them whom they think what. Often their criticism is fictitious than factual. They smell tasty food while making plan, they bring briefcases while thinking and they drink while writing. Taste of money through imagination makes them crazy and they fall in love with Delhi God.

They taste Delhi, bring Delhi and express Delhi through their imagination. Though Delhi durbar is out of reach for all of them, except a handful, they always see a dream to please and get bless from Delhi. If you, the bells of insane, try to know the reality and try to smell the soil of motherland, you will forget to accept the expansionism as your holy God and you will feel the ground reality. That is the reality of true Nepalese people. Reject Delhi durbar, your God!

**Ram Narayan Mishra
Rautahat**

Implement Three-point Agreement

Three point-agreement has been made between three big political parties. The term of the Constituent Assembly (CA) has been extended. However, the political impasse still exists as it was before the agreement was made. A new plot has been hatched against the people and the progressive outlet. And, the political parties have begun to quarrel again because the government aligned parties are not ready to implement the agreement.

The agreement clearly reads that the three points talk about peace process, writing a new constitution and resignation of Prime Minister from the post for the formation of a national united government. The extended term of CA for one year shows the time bound fact that the act of carrying the peace process into a logical conclusion for the political stability of the nation in a fixed time is to complete. The

constitution is to be written in the period of one year. For all these important and historic responsibilities to be fulfilled, the Prime Minister Madhav Nepal has to resign from the post as soon as possible. It is not a rational thing to be stuck on the chair of PM by being obstacle for political exit.

The mandate and the aspiration of the people is to seek the political out let through consensus. Though there have been some mistakes in the beginning since after the election of the CA for power sharing, the nation is not far from the possibility of searching out let without consensus. The greatest mistake was to go into the system of majority which has been a big problem on the way to advance now. The mandate was for making the constitution of federal republic of Nepal to fulfill the evacuation just after the abolition of monarchy. That concept and the step would end the transition period in an easy way. And, it would help to avoid the unnecessary intervention of the foreign powers.

Due to these weaknesses, the foreign powers became successful to establish the alliance and the government in favour of them. This chance of appropriation to the foreign powers made the transition period worse. The independent initiative could not remain in the hands of the Nepalese people any more. Therefore, the political parties and the leaders must digest their ideological biasness for the sake of the nation and the people if they have a little sense of patriotism to the nation and love to the people. It means that they must implement the three-point agreement in practice. Implementing the agreement is to institutionalize the achievements of all the Nepalese wars and the movements for federal republic of Nepal. For it, the government must open the way for forming a national consensus government. ●

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AUTOCRACY KNOCKED DOWN HIGH STAKE GREAT CHALLENGES

Hence, win-win formula to define the three-point agreement is nothing but an attempt to hoodwink the Nepalese people. Let's see! How can feudal autocrats and social fascist win together with the oppressed masses of people?

Though the stooge government is to resign in five days from the date of three-point¹ agreement reached on 28 May 2010, as a result of the tremendous mass movement as an expression of a vigorous class struggle, yet lessons of these struggles have to be drawn in many ways. However, one can find difficulties in believing that agreements would be materialised straightforwardly because of the opportunistic and reactionary class character of the feudal autocrats and social fascist parties, respectively the Congress and the UML, still it is a victory of the masses of people against autocracy that claimed not to resign by the pressure of the street, meaning, by the pressure of the masses of people. The three-point agreements are defined as "win-win" agreement, of course this is a bourgeoisie post-modernist formula where no side loose but both sides wins, and it is a formula of dog's sharing



over carcass. Similarly, through this formula by knowing or unknown way bourgeoisie theoreticians imply the Maoist being a Party to be involved in win-win business, that means the Maoist party has nothing identical in scientific thinking, but equivalent to the bourgeoisie parties as social fascist UML and feudal autocrat Nepali Congress. Is this win-win formula correct in respect to the class society and opposite classes? Of course, not! In a class society where class interest is on the top of the agenda, the class struggle is principal, and where the agreement is conditional and ephemeral there cannot be win-win position but can be win and lose positions.

Win-win formula is simply applied among the predators. One example is enough to prove that both class never have win-win positions, rather sections of

one class can have. Let's dive into historical facts, the curtains of the First and the Second World Wars had fallen leaving win-win positions among the imperialist forces, which divided the world for their pillage and established their colonies. For the oppressed nations and people of the world, this was nothing win-win, but win for the looters and lose for the oppressed.

Hence, win-win formula to define the three-point agreement is nothing but an attempt to hoodwink the Nepalese people. Let's see! How can feudal autocrats and social fascist win together with the oppressed masses of people? There has been a long struggle on new basis, at least for one year, to achieve national independence, civilian supremacy, people's constitution and peace and political stability. The parliamentary parties stood

against national independence and nakedly advocated Indian intervention, stood against civilian supremacy and advocated supremacy of law, stood against writing people's constitution and even if to write constitution these parties declined to accept federal structure, secularism and republic. This is entirely opposite pole to the demands of the people. And now, after a long peaceful struggle this incumbent government forced to accept to resign. This cannot be win for the masses as well as win for the autocrats.

Once more, underneath the banner of win-win, the reactionaries are hatching conspiracy lay up "win" in their own hands and to lay "lost" in the hands of the people. The fact is: either the autocrats will win or the people will. It will be a simple political naiveness for anyone either to



The next point is important to understand how the characteristics of social fascism and feudal autocracy reveal on. How the social fascism comes stepping up with "red banner" and how does feudal autocracy come from hypocrisy of "democracy"! This has greatly been exposed ever before in the Nepalese history.

believe that they will handover government, let alone political power, or let win the masses in a simple way or through delightful conferences in banquet halls. Or, it will be a simple way of capitulation from the revolutionary class and to degenerate to a armed economism reactionary reformism just to agree on power sharing with the social fascist and feudal autocrats having dismissed all achievements through six-point² agreements. Thus the people will still have to struggle hard to win, and to have a final wining.

The next point is important to understand how the characteristics of social fascism and feudal autocracy reveal on. How the social fascism comes stepping up with "red banner" and how does feudal autocracy come from hypocrisy of "democracy"! This has greatly been exposed ever before in the Nepalese history. The scientific conclusion that the ride of revisionist and reformists in power is the ride of reactionary elements over state has now been practically proved.

No sooner the power was assumed, the ministers of the government begun

to violet Comprehensive Peace Agreement. They begun to lam-baste against Great People's War launched for ten years and that abolished monarchy, which established republic, federal system based on the right of self-determination and secularism. They begun to demand Centralised autocratic "Hindu Kingdom" which goes against the spirit of the Constitution of Nepal 2063. These demands, let me reiterate, go against the political norms and values that the interim constitution established, which insures federal structure, secularism and republic. The violation of the CPA and the constitution of Nepal 2063 was an attempt to push the country towards political uncertainty, restoring feudal autocracy and put the country to a semi-feudal semi-colonial status.

Once again, how does the social fascism evaporate over

"red banner" can be seen in these simple examples. The leaders of the UML, while talking about to establish socialism though through bahudaliya janabad, handed over Khukuries to their cadres, they have launched not only education among the special core of cadres either to kill or to beat the Maoist leaders and cadres but also distributed weapons to some of the sharp shooters and hired killers. This could easily be refuted, but this is the fact, the fact proved several times.

Then, the Prime Minister of the stooge government spoke out in an occasion Constituent Assembly was not his agenda, which was adopted simply to appease Maoist Party. In one hand, CA election was adopted to appease, that means, to lure the Maoist into a parliamentary cretinism, on the other, the defence minister advocated that the CPA is no longer relevant, so, either new agreement has to be reached or the old one should be abrogated. She had begun to import weapons from India violating the CPA and the interim Constitution while she started speaking against peace process.

And, how does the feudal autocracy evaporate over the hypocrisy of "democracy" can be seen in one example. The president's unconstitutional move was hatched under the conspiracy designed and backed by the Indian government. This case plunged the nation towards the crisis over national sovereignty.

Our Party constantly demanded and struggled to make the Nepalese people realise sovereignty which could be done only taking constitutional action against the President and the unconstitutional government that stood over it be dismissed. But the parliamentary parties were not only reluctant to discuss over this move, they were reluctant even to hear sounds on this issue. Furthermore, the hypocrisy of democracy of the Nepali Congress turned to a farce and necked Feudal Autocracy at the moment as it bared the Maoist to resist ordinance for discussion in the Parliament. This is one case.

In the another case, the deputy Prime Minister Sujata Koirala handed national security to India in the machine-readable passport MRP. Once the questions were raised why competition quotation cancelled from third countries and why the parliament was not consulted, the answer was very simple: that is it was not necessary to consult parliament while the security question comes to the case of "beloved neighbour" India.

We will see how "beloved" this neighbour is. It has been stationing army into the Nepalese territory since four decades. It has encroached Nepali lands over 65 places. It has grabbed Nepalese resources – Koshi, Gandaki, Karnali and Mahakali leaving suffering to the Nepalese people. It has tied Nepal under semi-colonial stage through 1950,

In the another case, the deputy Prime Minister Sujata Koirala handed national security to India in the machine-readable passport MRP. Once the questions were raised why competition quotation cancelled from third countries and why the parliament was not consulted, the answer was very simple: that is it was not necessary to consult parliament while the security question comes to the case of "beloved neighbour" India.





1960 treaties and hidden understandings. It has constantly been supporting to the regressive forces that are against the Nepalese people. And the Indian government had persuaded the Nepali stooge government to grab Nepalese sovereignty and national confidential security through MRP case. This democracy, the democracy of the NC, allows the intruders collect booty from home as if it were a matter of fact that rubbing one is a democratic right of the rubbers. This is how the feudal autocracy comes from hypocrisy of democracy.

Nepalese people have been struggling against this hypocrisy. Needless to say, this struggle is tough and sensitive. The Nepalese people have time and again

demanding why does the party compromise over struggle while the genuine demands are raised and the struggle takes momentum? This is very, very tough question. Without any hesitation it is necessary to tell the truth that this is a question of power balance. Why is it necessary to tell the truth? It is because; the social fascist and the feudal autocrats are shining their knife to dab on the back the moment they get chance. Why are they storing weapons while the peace process is going on? Are they going to worship in Chappel? Are they going to feed these weapons to the hungry people of Humala, Mugu and Bajura? Or, weapons are related to war, to kill or to be killed? Of course, this is related

to the war. And with whom they are going to fight? With Chin or India? Of course, not! Still they have been storing weapons bringing from India. Why? It is because; they consider that they will have to fight against the people to impose social fascism and feudal autocracy.

Here is the point. In the backdrop of their firepower, and Indian backing, they tried to mobilise security forces. Since the UNMIN came up an obstacle, they tried to chase it away denying extension of time. Then the government provoked one section of people to fight against the masses and create holocaust. The pernicious idea of the government against Constituent Assembly, against writing peo-



Again was it completely wrong to have CA, and was it absolutely impossible to have the people's constitution written? Again, this is a tough question. But there was possibility to have Constitution written from this CA provided the revolutionary force that brought the country to this point of historical transition seated on power.

ple's constitution, against peace process had to be shattered. In this case it was necessary to halt struggle for some time to come. It was an obligation for the Party keep the CA alive at least to the hope and expectation that the people's constitution be written. But whether it can be written depends how the power balance develop. Thus even if the main agenda is to write constitution, yet people need to develop strength to overthrow these reactionaries from the power. This is the first question. The strength of the masses develop from quantitative to qualitative, this is the second question. The third question is the masses of people should get united having been ready to overthrow these ele-

ments. These are the things that persuade party to compromise time and again.

The tenure of the CA is extended for one year. Different people from different positions and different angle wanted it dismissed. The UML, the Congress and other parliamentary parties wanted the CA dismissed, for it has been political obstacle in order to impose their fascistic agenda. So was the case to the masses of people for there was no guarantee having constitution written. It is true that if the CA was dismissed, all the organs that stood over the base of the CA, the President, the Speaker, the government and the parliament would have dismissed. The extension of tenure keeps the CA

alive, but the potentiality of having constitution written is dead. The potentiality is dead because one constitution cannot represent two classes. Any Constitution written in the world cannot be a compromised document, as some people opine. One constitution represents one class. And while we have two classes in our society that are who favour national capitulationism on one side and fight for independence and sovereignty on the other, who want the country push into slavery on one side and who want liberation on the other, who want the country put into status quo on one side and who want to develop Nepal a modern society on the other, one constitution cannot represent both these tendencies. Thus there is rare possibility or no possibility to have a constitution written from this Constituent Assembly.

Again was it completely wrong to have CA, and was it absolutely impossible to have the people's constitution written? Again, this is a tough question. But there was possibility to have Constitution written from this CA provided the revolutionary force that brought the country to this point of historical transition seated on power. As the Maoist government just reached to nine months, a political coup de tat staged by the President, a stooge government was put on power, and the Constituent Assembly was seized by the reactionary class – that class which was defeated in the people's war, which

was defeated in the election and which has laid itself in the hands of the expansionist power. In this condition there is no possibility to have constitution written, and no possibility to have agreements materialised.

This class – the class of the parliamentary forces – is making resounding hue and cry through medias that Maoist is not ex-

close. Two-party agreement includes scientific land reform and providing land to all the land less peasant, to the tiller through this land reform. Maoist had agreed and returned confiscated land to materialise this agreement. Has a single attempt been made in that direction in the past years since this agreement had been made? Instead, these reactionary ele-

After the abolition of monarchy, the Congress and the UML have turned to real representatives of the Nepali feudal and comprador capitalist. Because of this position and because of national capitulationist and comprador character, the Congress and the UML have turned to be real puppet of the Indian expansionism, and together with this alliance



ecuting the agreements reached between two parties – the Maoist and the parliamentary forces – time and again. In fact are the parliamentary parties applying the agreements? Where are hundreds of disappeared citizens during people's war? Who were the people killed and buried in mass graves? As per the agreement the parliamentary parties have to dis-

ments have always been seeking opportunity how all these agreements turned out defunct.

In fact, the problems are in different place. In order to identify real problem one has to correctly analyse the class alliances. In last three years in general and tight after the abolition of monarchy in particular, power alliances have changed in tremendous way.

they come offensive against the national sovereignty and civilian supremacy. They come against new constitution and peace and political stability. In this real condition the Indian expansionism has come hand-in-hand with the handful national capitulationist element of the UML and the Congress. Hence, the Indian expansionism and its handful na-

tional capitulationist, autocratic and social fascist puppets the UML and Congress leaders in one side and entire nationalist, patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces along with the entire Nepalese people to the other side do stand vis a vis.

Practice has proved that all the UNL and the Congress leaders are not the flunkeys of



the Indian government as some handful leaders are. For example, sixty-four members of the UML under the leadership of Bamadev Gautam attempted to register new Party, revelling against Madhab kumar Nepal's Social fascism. Few members of the Nepali Congress under the leadership of Narahari Acharya publicised constitution revelling

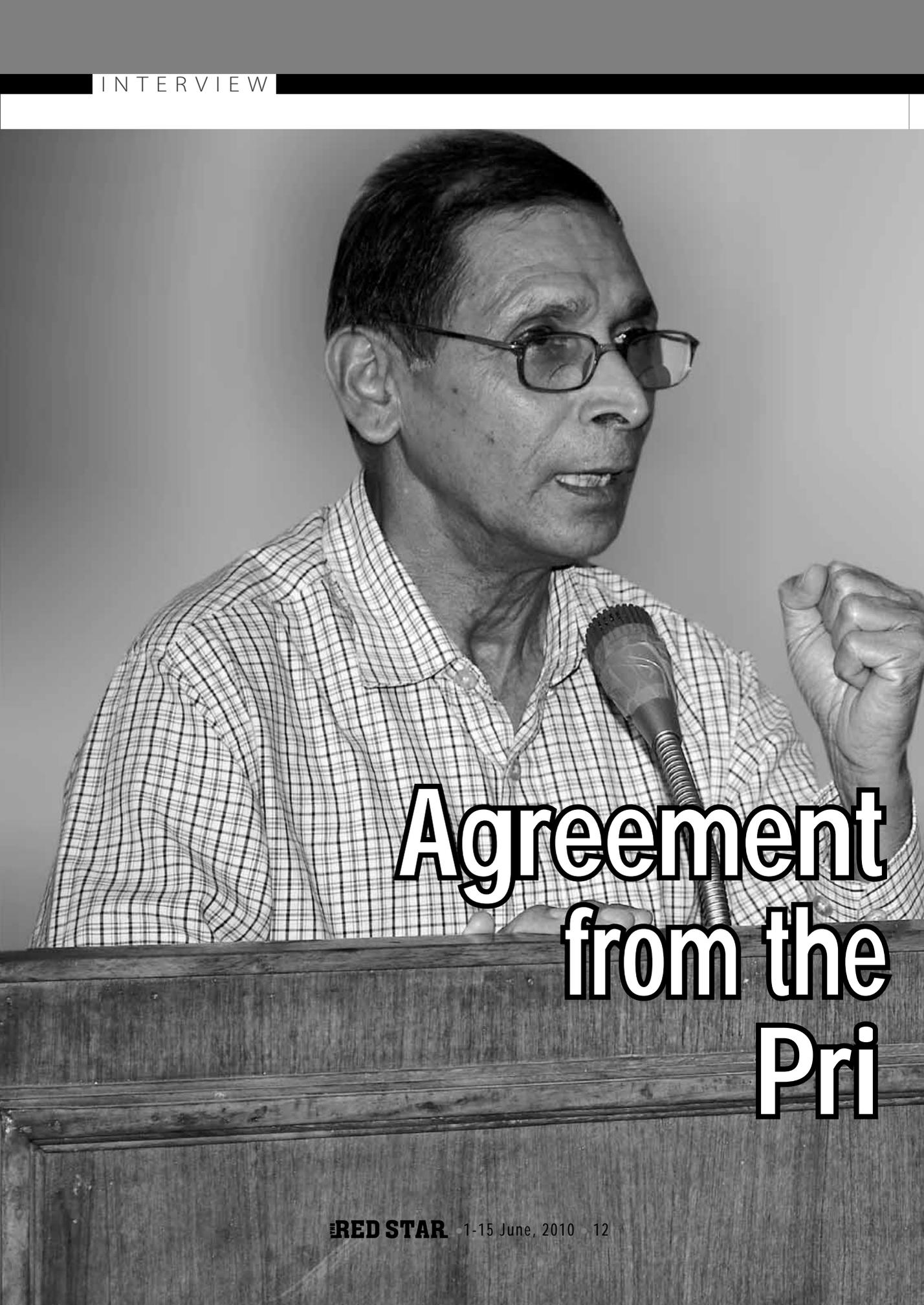
against the feudal autocracy of the Congress establishment.

This fact also correctly implies among the old Panchas who had vigorously struggled against Indian domination in the fronts of ousting Indian army from the Himalayan checkpoints and in the front of embargo that India imposed aiming at to grab Nepali land in Mahakali belt and Tanakpur barrage. Now this is the time to forge national unity among these nationalist, patriotic democratic and revolutionary forces against Indian expansionism and its Nepali flunkeys.

It has time and again been proved in the history that if we dare to struggle hard we can drop down the crown from the horseback! The relentless struggle of the people against social fascism of the UML and feudal autocracy of the Congress has not only forced them to declare resignation, but also changed in power alliances. Hence the national unity should be forged among the nationalist, patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces, that will bring the sovereign Nepal into being, only then will the environment be created to have a new constitution for the nation, then will the real peace and stability brought into being, then will the gates to have a sovereign, a prosperous and prestigious Nepal emerged up. These are the high stakes and great challenges we have ahead. The road is torturous but the future is bright. ●

End Note

1. a. We are committed to moving ahead with consensus and cooperation to take the peace process to the meaningful conclusion, to carryout all the remaining works related to the peace process, and to accomplish the historic responsibility of completing the task for writing the new constitution.
 - b. Though the significant progress has been made in the constitution writing process it has not been completed yet. Therefore we have agreed to extend the tenure of the constituent assembly by one year.
 - c. Based on the agreement to fulfil these responsibilities and work as soon as possible, we are ready to form a national consensus government and for that, the prime minister of the incumbent government coalition government is ready to resign without delay.
2. The parliamentary parties have been repeatedly advocating that the Maoist must agree on six-point agreement. This so called six-point agreement comprises following points. 1. The houses and land confiscated in the war period from the feudal landlords, anti-people criminals and looters should be returned back. 2. Organisation of the YCL should be dismissed. 3. PLA should evacuate cantonments and the number of the PLA should be shorted out as three or five thousands for integrating with the Nepal Army. 4. UCPNM should turn to a civilian party. 5. The Maoist Party should stop raising issue of unconstitutional move of the President. And 6. Power sharing agreement with the UML and the Congress should be reached.



Agreement from the Pri

The term of CA has been extended. The process of drafting a new constitution has been advancing ahead. In this situation, we should give our attention to draft a new constitution that ensures the right of the people that is the constitution of federal republic of the people, that ends the class, caste, regional, gender and the other discrimination, that gives the solution of the national independency, people's democracy and people's livelihood. In the essence, the constitution will be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in essence. We have drafted and publicized the constitution we want to make. We go ahead in this way if possible. If not, we will make the decisions of struggle in new form. Third, we are talking about to form the government of the national consensus. For this, Prime Minister should resign from the post. We have signed in 3-point agreement.

implements resignation of me Minister

Mohan Baidya 'Kiran'

How are you analyzing the current political situation after the extension of the term of Constituent Assembly?

In course of drafting a new constitution, we came to realize that the process could not go ahead smoothly. We felt a massive intervention of the foreign powers in our internal affairs. A fresh debate and discussion among the national political forces could not go on in a harmonious way. Second, the process of drafting new constitution was made stagnate intentionally by the government side. Third, the sharp contradiction between status quo and the progressive forces has been clearly come over the ground.

Has UCPN-Maoist determined about the principal contradiction?

Since before sometime the contradiction between Nepalese people and the comprador-bureaucratic capitalist class and likewise Nepalese people and the Indian expansionist power has been sharp. And, these two contradictions are being fused together. The process is being intense.

Old front with parliamentary parties is still in existence. And you have prolonged it for one year. Isn't there any possibility to build front among the nationalist, progressive and the revolutionary forces?

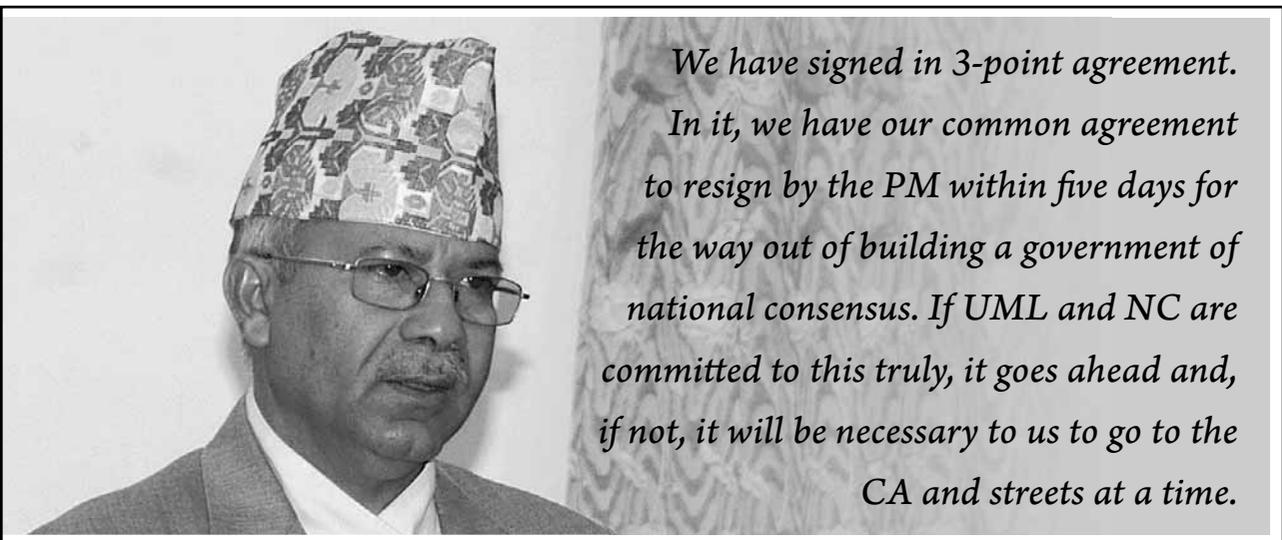
We have taken the issue very seriously. The old front is not enough to go ahead. In the situation of rapid change

in principal contradiction, we should give special emphasis on the united front with the patriotic, progressive, republic and the leftist-revolutionary forces. For this, we should give our attention in republic, federalism, drafting of a new constitution, secularism etc. Which forces are eager to follow these points, we will make front with them. We are thinking that we should make a new front within the Constituent Assembly too. We are making our efforts on it.

independency, people's democracy and people's livelihood. In the essence, the constitution will be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in essence. We have drafted and publicized the constitution we want to make. We go ahead in this way if possible. If not, we will make the decisions of struggle in new form. Third, we are talking about to form the government of the national consensus. For this, Prime Minister should resign from the post. We have signed in 3-point agreement. In it, we

the solution of the problems in wholesale. However, you agreed in only 3-point agreement, why?

Seek solution in package is good. We also had talked about it. But there was no time to discuss and make a package programme. It does not mean that we did not talk and try to make it. We gave our major focus in extending the term of CA and the others were seemed minor before it. We made our effort to make CA alive at first. The agreement to make Ca alive is good.



We have signed in 3-point agreement. In it, we have our common agreement to resign by the PM within five days for the way out of building a government of national consensus. If UML and NC are committed to this truly, it goes ahead and, if not, it will be necessary to us to go to the CA and streets at a time.

How are you thinking that the struggle will go ahead in the new developing situation?

The term of CA has been extended. The process of drafting a new constitution has been advancing ahead. In this situation, we should give our attention to draft a new constitution that ensures the right of the people that is the constitution of federal republic of the people, that ends the class, caste, regional, gender and the other discrimination, that gives the solution of the national

have our common agreement to resign by the PM within five days for the way out of building a government of national consensus. If UML and NC are committed to this truly, it goes ahead and, if not, it will be necessary to us to go to the CA and streets at a time. We think that all these things will be fulfilled only through the strength of the struggle. The form of the struggle will be materialized according to the situation that develops.

You were talking about the Package for

If so, is there any possibility to reduce the foreign intervention and make the common effort of the national political powers?

We should advance. But, it is still unclear. If we analyze the situation, we can not reduce the intervention of the foreign power. The problem seen in making the recent agreement is by the foreign intervention. We ran the struggle of strike, general strike and the people gathered historically in Kathmandu and we carried the struggle into nits climax.

The international communities have clearly understood that UCPN-Maoist is committed to peace process.

However, the progress has not been as we have expected. There is intervention of the foreign power behind it. And, coming to the end of the agreement, Madhav Nepal does not seem to be ready to resign from the post. He is distorting all the points of the agreement that is due to the foreign reaction. Therefore, the intervention of the foreign reaction is not being limited rather, it is being increased. We are thinking about the struggle against the puppets, comprador capitalist and the feudal land lords. Along with it, we are thinking about how the patriotic, leftist and the revolutionary-progressive forces can be brought together. If we do not become united, the process of drafting constitution does not go ahead.

Is the 3-point agreement sufficient to advance or another agreement is necessary in coming days for consensus?

We are in consensus but the things are not being done according to it. The agreement we have done is of 6-point. We have minimized it into three points. The first point is related with peace process. The second is related with constitution and the third is related with the power sharing in the government. We advance ahead by stepping on this agreement. It starts from its implementation that is the resignation of the Prime Minister. ●

Draft of People's Constitution Unveiled

Dipak Sapkota

Kathmandu, May 30 ■ Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has unveiled its draft of the constitution. The party unveiled the draft in a mass rally organised on May 29, the 2nd Republic day. The constitution has 19 parts and 274 articles.

The Party unveiled the preliminary draft the very next day the political parties agreed to extend the tenure of the Constituent Assembly by one year. The program was called two weeks before at the time when the tension between the parties was at a height.

The constitution draft has shown the commitment in building a foundation for socialism while embracing democratic norms and values including people's democracy, multi party democracy, periodic election, inclusive and participatory governance system, economic, civil and human rights, press freedom, efficient, free and people-oriented judiciary and rule of law.

The draft constitution has given space to all classes of society such as proletariat, bourgeois, capitalist and the middle class. But, feudals and agents of regressive and foreign forces are not allowed to operate. The party has proposed 12 federal states. The states are : Limbuwan, Kirat, Sher]a, Tamshaling, Mithila-Bhojpura-Koch-Madhesh, Newa, Tamuwan, Magarat, Lumbini-Abadh-Tharuwan, Karnali, Jadan and Khaptad.

Maoist is the party among the three major parties to put forward a clear proposal of the restructure of the state. Nepali Congress and UML have not yet done so. They have shown their unwillingness to the state restructuring.

The Maoist have proposed that there will be an executive President at the centre elected directly by the people and his tenure will be five years. Nepali Congress and UML are opposing the Maoist proposal stating that the executive president may turn authoritarian. NC has proposed an executive prime minister elected from the parliament while UML wants an executive Prime Minister elected directly by the people.

According to the draft, the position of President of Nepal constitutes the head of state, Premier of the government, supreme commander of the National Army and the symbol of the unity of Nepali nationality and people.

Maoist has proposed that the President can be called back before

the tenure expires if a two-third of majority of the central legislature passes a proposal for this after a petition with signatures of at least ten percent of the people from all the federal states to the election commission.

Maoist proposal of a directly elected executive president has given hope to the Nepali people that there will be political stabil-

The Maoists have proposed a consensual system. A unity government participated by all the parties represented in the unicameral central parliament of 245 members at the centre hinting at a government without the opposition. Likewise, state structure has been divided into three tiers as union, province and local. Three-tier judiciary and 11 constitution-

drafted constitution is a document of compromise between the capitalist and proletariat class that exist in the society.

The Maoist leadership has the draft was unveiled for public discussions and suggestions about the new constitution.

"Our party has brought out this preliminary draft of a new constitution with a view to gen-



ity in coming days. The Parliamentary system failed in Nepal and that created political instability in Nepal. The unconstitutional move of the president last year has shown that dangers of parallel power centers looms with a executive Prime Minister and consitutional President.

Fundamental rights have been divided into 31 categories including rights to respectful life, property, expression, privacy, information, free secondary level education, equal lineage rights to woman, rights against exploitation and rights to free basic health facilities. The maoist had even included the provision of unemployment allowances.

al bodies have been proposed in the draft constitution.

The Party has proposed new constitutional commissions such as Madhesi, women, worker, farmer and Muslim. The draft of the constitution includes a separate article on protection of national and international interests. This kind of provision is rare in the constitutions.

The unveiled constitution has not aim to establish one-party or traditional communist regime but multiparty democracy in the country. But, the preamble has clearly symbolised that it is the basis of establishing socialism. Maoist Vice Chairman Baburam Bhattarai said that the

erating discussions on and garnering suggestions for a new constitution," Maoist vice-chairman Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, also the chairman of the Constitution Draft Preparation Committee of the party.

The step to unveil the draft is a responsible commencement of the positive discussion about the new constitution. It has shown Maoist's seriousness on making a new constitution in the extended period of constituent Assembly. It is also their commitment to the Republic and to institutionalise the infant republic. It is a a testimony that Maoist want a constitution that favors the majority section of the Nepali people. ●



Question of United Front, People's Revolt & Tactical Line

The weakness of the communist movement of Nepal is to seek the united front without making an independent current of the proletarian class. However; CPN-Maoist, at that time in 1996, developed it's ideological line by fighting against the tides of time.

Friend Mao has defined party, people's army and united front to be the three magic weapons for revolution. In the process of developing these three magical weapons in Nepal, the Nepalese communist movement has been victim of 'tailism' instead of developing its proletarian policy and slogans in its independent way to uplift the class struggle in a new way. An obligatory situation is created before the proletarian class to centralize its target against the main enemy for the protection of class interest and its achievements on account of development of revolution. For this, the tactical unity becomes necessary to fulfill the task and there remains no option than to make alliance with the relatively friend forces and elements at that time. At this time, the conscious efforts can less or accelerate the speed of the objective situation. However; it can not play a decisive role. The weakness of the communist movement of Nepal is to seek the united front without making an independent current of the proletarian class. However; CPN-Maoist, at that time in 1996, developed its ideological line by fighting against the tides of time.

The parliamentary parties were the main enemies of the People's War. It does not mean that there was not palace; however, the task of palace at that time had to pretend to be in favor of the people to be established and to fight against Singdurbar (parliament); which had confiscated the authority of the palace, and diplomatically it had to fight against Indian intervention. At the same time, for the then

CPN-Maoist the main responsibility was to protect people's war by fighting against main enemy and naturalizing the secondary antagonistic forces. In this situation, the effective efforts were taken to make access to the then King Birendra through his junior brother prince Dhirendra for neutralizing the palace and the elements around it.

This surprising task was not developed in a day and this undeclared tactical unity protected the people war from being crushed in its childhood. When King Gyandendra, after the massacre of the family of King Birendra, took reign in his hand and acted against parliamentary parties. And, at that time, Maoist analyzed the situation and finalized the changing main contradiction. Then, Maoist party made tactical unity with parliamentary forces. They were eager to come with Maoist because they themselves

had no existence without forming the tactical unity with us. United front between Maoist and parliamentary parties was formed to advance ahead. The achievement of the forming of united front was to abolish monarchy and build Constituent Assembly through the election of CA.

Now the stipulated date CA has been ended and new debates are going on about its legality, and the achievements it has gained. Constituent Assembly itself is the united front of Maoist and the parliamentary parties. This made republic of Nepal to be declared. It established the progressive issues and slogans to carry the nation ahead. Simultaneously, it established Maoist party inside and outside the country. In the situation of the defeat of feudalism, the contradiction has been changed and the main contradiction is between Nepalese people and the comprador capitalist. This clearly shows that no possibilities have been remained for continuing or making united front between Maoist and parliamentary parties. It is not even necessary because the base for co-work has been ended. That's why; Nepali Congress and UML are insisting not to withdraw the majority system.

The base, in principle, for conducting united front is the system of consensus started from the 12-point understanding. Therefore, the application of majority system, instead of the system of consensus, is its death. The united front has become dead when the parties agreed to go into the majority system. Maoist and parliamentary parties were in the united front that is constituent assembly. However; the vital posts like Chairman of CA, Prime Minister and President of the nation, all were elected on the basis of majority system.

The parliamentary parties were scared when the Maoist agendas were passed in the subjective committees of Constituent Assembly like State Restructuring Committee, Natural Resources Allocation Committee and others. They vasectomized the subjective committees by demanding to form the commission out of constituent assembly. That was to limit the scope of CA. The suitability of the CA has been ended when the parliamentary parties were not ready to allow discussing over the resolution paper which was against the unconstitutional step of President Ram Baran Yadav.

The comprador capitalist class has its majority in constituent assembly. It has its own leadership, which is the continuation in practice of old state power. Therefore, it is clear that the constituent assembly has been usurped by the comprador capitalist class. If we go back to international communist movement, the election of the constituent assembly was held after the success of October Revolution in the then USSR; however; the reactionary and revisionist classes got majority in the CA Lenin dissolved and carried the revolutionary process ahead.

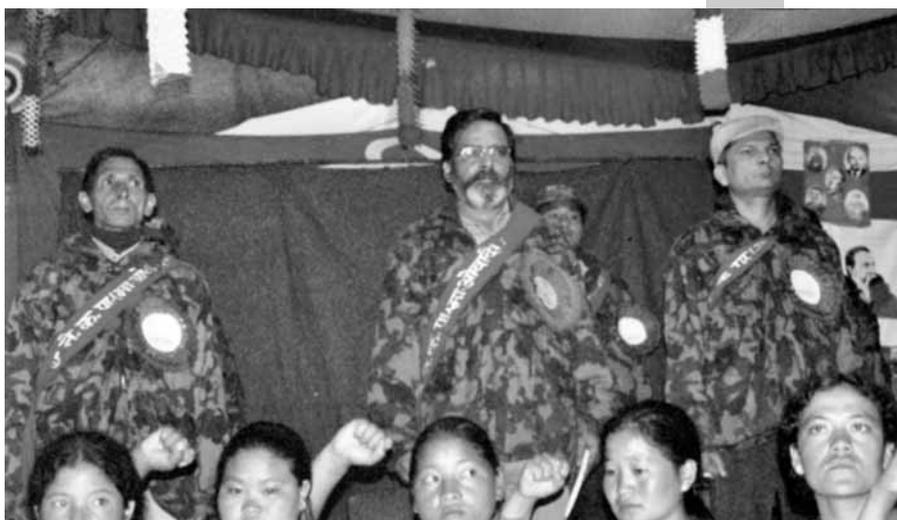
In Nepal, republic has been declared through the constituent assembly. It helped to establish the policies and programmes of Maoist party. However; it has ended its possibility to advance ahead from there. Hereafter, the CA has been only a safeguard for status quo. Therefore, it is



necessary to build a new type of united front against comprador capitalist by dissolving the old united front.

How the new type of united front can be made? For that, we should put forward our ideological line and the programmes according to it. Along with it, the class struggle should be uplifted. Along with the progress of struggle, the representatives of the Indian ruling class will be defeated. And, Indian rulers may interfere directly in the internal affairs of Nepal. In that situation, the international communities may make their decision to free Nepal from the direct intervention of India at first. A serious but objective question will rise whether accept Maoist as the leadership or to accept Indian colonial rule. The debate will spread all walks of life. At that time, handful elements may be against Maoist and they will follow the root of capitulation. However; the majority circle will be ready to make alliance with Maoist. Therefore, the possibility of forming a new type of united front against comprador capitalist will approach only after this type of objective situation is made.

In the present context, the international communities are not preferring the increasing intervention if India ruling class in Nepal. But the intervention of Indian rulers over Nepal has not given bad impact in their interest till now. In this sense, they can support Maoist so long as it follows the bourgeois republic but they will not support to go ahead



from there. Likewise, if the interest and ambition of the old army lies in the status quo constitution, there is no objective cause to come them in the united front of Maoist.

Organizationally, there won't be any preparation if the obligatory situation won't occur for rectification within organization due to the need of struggle. The way of forming a new type of united front is possible only after the breakthrough in old continuous process of struggle. Therefore, to talk to extend the term of CA by showing the un-preparation of organizational, international and material force is only deception. The preparation we have made in the present situation is enough to us. It will develop along with the development of class struggle. There is a type of debate that, so long as, there are questions related to CA, proletarian class in Nepal. Some say that Maoists should go ahead by using CA as a curtain for the preparation of the struggle. If so, why there has been no preparation in this period because there is CA. We should evaluate it objectively and correctly. Actually, the preparation will be done in the class struggle when Maoist comes out of the circle of parliamentary legality. Other new process can not be started if the running process is not broken down. The tendency to see suitability of CA is the tendency to maintain united front with comprador capitalist and Indian expansionism for a long time. That is to say that the tactical series of the Chunwang meeting is still to be implemented.

In our Kharipati meeting, the party had decided to go into insurrection by making a conclusion that comprador capitalist class has become main enemy and tactical series of Chunwang meeting has ended. The main problem in this era is to try to see the possibility of revolution through the



There is still a debate why Maoist came into peace process? We are questioning why we came to the peace process? How we come to peace process?

eye of reformism and parliamentarism. The new constitution has not been proclaimed due to the lack of time but due to the disagreement among comprador capitalist and proletarian class. Like this, the decisive movement has not taken its root due to the dualistic view of the party either to go ahead for insurrection or to go to the way for writing constitution of consensus. This is happening due to the lack of ideological preparation.

So far the question to use CA as safeguard for the preparation of insurrection is concerned, the CA will be an ambush instead of safeguard for proletarian class, in which, proletarian class may be ambushed. The attack and counter attack between two antagonistic forces will not be held within the boundary of law and legal bondage, rather it will happen on the basis of power balance. The enemy will take any step and will crush any of the legal safeguard if the balance of power will be in favor of its class. Therefore, the proletarian class should pay its attention to look and study on the situation of power balance instead of searching a legal safeguard. The ideological concept is wrong that the enemy may attack over the revolutionary party and people at once if there will be no CA and it can not attack over people if there is CA. This concept is against the synthesis of dialectical materialism.

The question of CA is a tactical. However, it is not a simple tactical question. Some of the tactical questions have strategic importance. This same question was seriously discussed in the period of 50th decade. There was a historic

conclusion that to take part in election or not to take part in election in the communist movement will have its far reaching effect even in its strategy. Therefore, the question of CA in Nepal is very serious type of tactical question. At the moment, some of the people say that the process of extending the term of CA or not to extend it is the same. This is apolitical logic. Expanding the tenure of CA is to prolong the united front with comprador capitalists. Class unionism continues. The parliamentary form of struggle continues which makes the danger of reformism more dominant. Anti-parliamentary way will be its option which will have its deep influence in the politics of Nepal.

The next term and condition for people's revolt is the organizational preparation. A favorable physical environment is needed for its preparation. Maoist party was inactive and slow before the initiation of people's war (1996). The party organization became active and warrior after the initiation of PW. The active and combatant party organization can lead the people's revolution. It is impossible for the party to go ahead in the revolution without un-uplifting its essence. Therefore, to prolong the period of CA is capitulationism politically, ideologically parliamentarism and organizationally dissolution.

Which one is the suitable from the point of view of programme? One sector of the people are in expectation to prolong

the term of constituent assembly. The other big sector of the masses has understood that CA has no more suitability. It is very necessary to be the same reflection within party organization. Therefore, there are two different opinions. One to prolong tenure without terms and condition; and the other is not to prolong the period at any cost. If the term is added without terms and conditions, it will be capitulation; which will bring dissolution within party. That will be the political death.

On the other hand, the international communities, middle class and one sector within our party will be disappointed and distressed if the tenure is not added in this situation. The tactics to add tenure of CA with the fulfillment of the two aforementioned conditions will be more correct relatively. Both of the options are justifiable.

What is the contemporary problem with proletarian class? In the context of Nepal, the co-working with the representatives of comprador bourgeois class like Nepali Congress and UML has been ended objectively. However, there is still search for the possibility for union with them subjectively. This is the main problem of Nepalese revolution. The tendency that claims the suitability of CA has been divided into two. One fraction wants to drag the party into an extreme rightist and reformist way and the other wants to go to revolution by preparing through CA. If we analyze politically, one

fraction has its bad intention and other has reached to the wrong conclusion.

There is still a debate why Maoist came into peace process? We are questioning why we came to the peace process? How we come to peace process? - For the safe landing of people's war. The comprador class and some of the revolutionary sectors have understood the arrival into peace process is surrendering



before exploiting class. Actually, the revolutionaries had come to the peace process to accumulate strength and make a united front inside and outside of the country for further revolution. That task has been fulfilled in a certain level and there is no possibility left to advance ahead. Therefore, to take hold independent decision is in favor of the proletarian class.

The main contradiction is between Nepalese people and Nepali Congress. Making front

with Nepali Congress is to make unity with which we have to fight. To prolong the period of CA is to prolong the unity with Nepali Congress. This type of tactical line will end the independent current of proletarian class. It will carry the party organization to its dissolution.

The present situation shows that Nepali Congress will form a united front against proletarian and UCPN Maoist will

make a front against comprador bourgeois class from the different poles. The united front can not be formed without fighting against congress. The other reformist bourgeois forces are only tail of NC.

Some others are trying to create rumor and horror by propagating that conflict and chaos occurs if CA remains no more. The reformists have their typical character; which creates horror and terror in this way during PW. After May 28, party



should declare people's constitution from the street. That will prepare a base for people's revolt. At the time, our tactics will have more influence over the tactics applied by the bourgeois. Then, we will be able to bring enemies within our tactics and fight and defeat them.

So far as the question of leadership is concerned the agents of Indian expansionism have proposed the option of Com Prachanda. There is a hidden conspiracy to spoil the independent division making efficiency of Maoist party and make Delhi as

the centre of the political parties. Therefore, we should be very much aware that the division of responsibility is the internal affairs of the party. However, it is non proletarian tendency to show dualistic mentality and change the version frequently. It is necessary to protect own class and leadership. If it does not happen, it is to be a subservient pimp of Indian ruling class. It is to be a plaything of the enemy to take support, blessing and trust from the out side of the party to make its own position dominant and influential in the internal af-

fairs of party.

Imperialism is always exploiting through its agents and puppets. Imperialism attacks not like a tiger but like a wolf from back side and applies strategy to murder by making tired and harassed. Therefore, the principal contradiction is between Indian ruler (its expansionism) and Nepalese people. NC and UML are working as their agents and puppets. This situation will continue until and unless the puppets and agents of Indian ruling class are defeated.

Therefore, the present political outlets lies in the objective analysis of the present situation and fight and defeat the agents of Indian ruling class by targeting Indian expansionism itself. For it, the authority should be given to the party standing committee to take concrete decision. Hence, we can make the contemporary action plan by lifting the tactical line of Peoples Revolt in its level of implementation from the level of ultimatum. ●

धुम्रपान र सुर्ति सेवन गर्नु भनेको मृत्युलाई निम्ता दिनु हो

चुरोट, बिडी र स्वैनी जस्ता सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन गर्नाले दम, खोकी, फोक्सोको क्यान्सर र मुटुका रोगहरू लाग्न सक्छन् । संसारमा हरेक वर्ष करिब ५१ लाख मानिसहरू धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवनका कारणबाट मर्दछन् । त्यसैगरी नेपालमा बाषिक करिब १५००० मानिसहरूको धुम्रपान तथा सुर्ति सेवनका कारणबाट दम, खोकी, फोक्सोको क्यान्सर र मुटुका रोगहरू लागेर मृत्यु हुने कुराको अनुमान गरिएको छ । यसर्थमा हामी हरेक खिल्ली चुरोट, बिडी, स्वैनी, सुर्ति किन्दा पैसा तिरेर मृत्युलाई किनी रहेका हुन्छौं । यसकारण धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन सम्बन्धमा निम्न लिखित कुराहरूमा ध्यान दिनु जरूरी छ ।

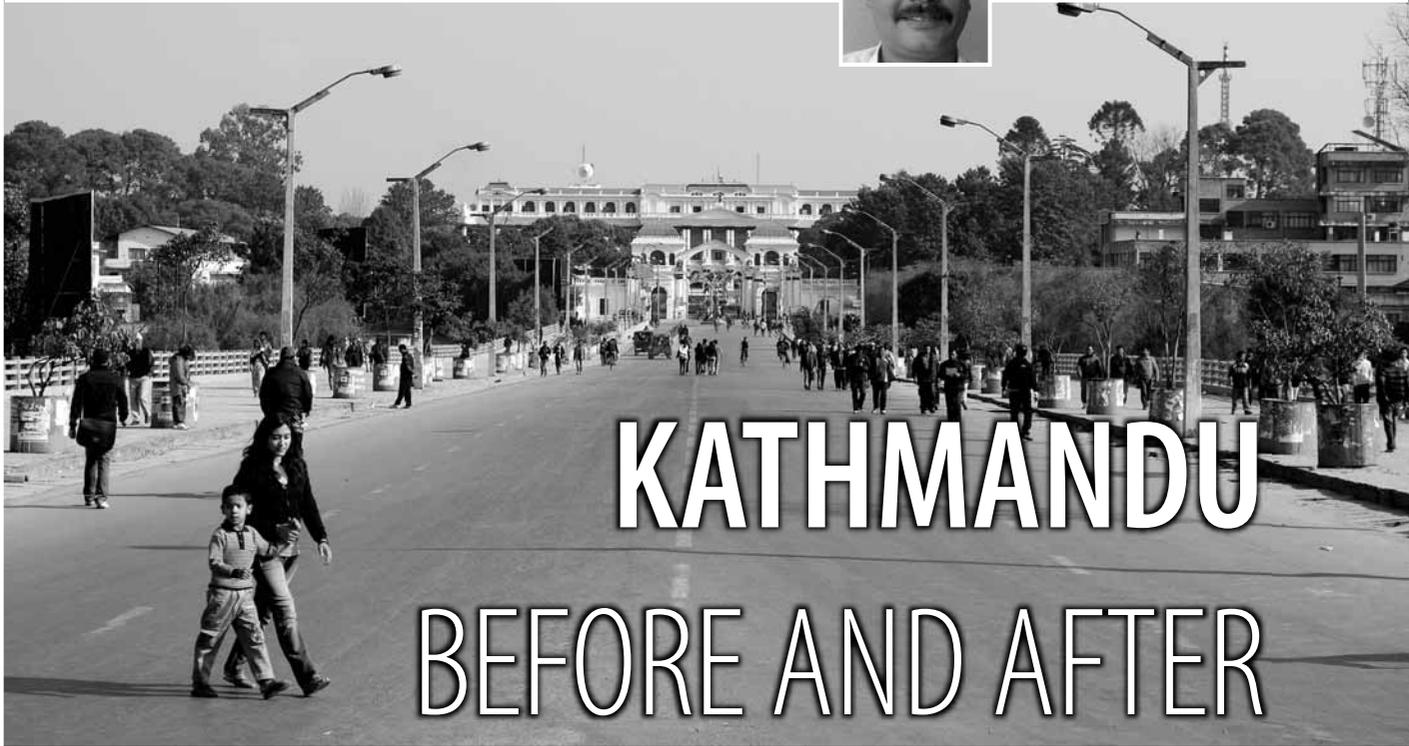
- धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन गर्नाले स्वास्थ्य र आर्थिक अवस्था बिग्रन्छ ।
- धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन गर्ने पैसाले छोराछोरी पढाउन र विहान बेलुकाको छाक टार्न सकिन्छ ।
- चुरोट सुर्ति प्रयोग गर्ने २ जना मध्ये १ जनाको सुर्ति सेवनका कारण

मृत्यु हुने कुरा विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठनले जनाएको छ । यसर्थ धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवनको कारणले मरिन्छ नै अनि आफ्ना सन्तानको विचल्ली हुन्छ । यसरी मर्ने कि धुम्रपान छाडेर निरोगी भएर बाँच्ने ? रोजाई तपाईं हाम्रै हो ।

- धुम्रपान तथा सुर्ति सेवन गर्ने आमाको गर्भ तुहिने डर हुन्छ । कम तौलको बच्चा जन्मन सक्छ । बच्चा गर्भमै मर्न सक्छ । जन्मे पनि बच्चा रोगी हुन सक्छ । धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन गरेर गर्भको शिशुलाई पनि सताउन रूचाउनु हुन्छ ? त्यसैले धुम्रपान तथा सुर्तिजन्य पदार्थ सेवन नगरौं । स्वस्थ रही सफल जीवनयापन गरौं ।



स्वास्थ्य तथा जनसंख्या मन्त्रालय
राष्ट्रिय स्वास्थ्य शिक्षा, सूचना तथा सञ्चारकेन्द्र
टेकु, काठमाडौं



KATHMANDU

BEFORE AND AFTER

GENERAL STRIKE

The intellectuals were primarily broadcasting their assumptions from media that the movement will be violent. This scenario created by the propaganda showed that Maoist would enter into the valley with their violent activities from Thankot blockade. Like wise, some other group of Maoist would enter into Katmandu valley through Banepa blockade with naked big knives in their hands.

Just before starting the general strike, UCPN Maoist organized all party gathering at a hotel Yak and Yeti. Writers, journalists, traders and businessman and workers of civil society were present in the gathering. These all expressed their opinion on the starting phase of the programme. Then, UCPN Maoist Chairman Prachanda gave a short cut speech on the basis of the expressed opinion. The opinion of all the participators was that the movement should be run in a peaceful manner. However; there was a suspicion that Maoist will not hold the movement peacefully; rather it will somehow be violent. This means that the essence of the opinion of the participators was that UCPN Maoist would not hold the peaceful movement. They thought that Maoist has not such type of efficiency, tactics and belief in some extent. The intellectuals were primarily broadcasting their assumptions from media that the movement will be violent. This scenario created by the propaganda showed that Maoist would enter into the valley with their violent activities from Thankot blockade. Like wise, some other group of Maoist would enter into Katmandu valley through Banepa blockade with naked big knives in their hands. And,



some other had propagated that Maoist would enter Kathmandu by beating all the street walking people and porters through Nuwakot blockade. Extreme chaos would be created in Kathmandu. This was the traditional forecasting of the fortune tellers of Nepalese politics.

Frequent failure analysts, but fortunate still having licensed to analyze, became failure once again. Maoist with the people came to Katmandu with small

bags on their backs and slippers on their feet. They entered in a very common and usual dress of the country men whom the urban elites often dislike. They stayed in different places of Katmandu peacefully. They sang songs, danced and claimed their rights from the streets peacefully. Katmandu then embarrassed. Katmandu began to be perplexed. The elites waited one, two, three, ... days for violent actions from Maoist side but in

vain. Movement ran peacefully. The movement was gentle and ocean like. Then, different conspiracies were hatched.

First of all, the public media initiated an incident. The media started to take and broadcast the interviews of those who roast and burn corns on the open street. The media started talking with cart-drivers and porters. The lower class people who had never been in touch with media began to appear in media. The



media got a very important issue to show that even the poor worker is against the movement run by Maoists. This idea of divide and rule or poor against poor was clearly understood by most of the people; however, the media showed it shamelessly. Neither there was happiness on the past nor in the present to those corn roasters. However, the expression of the media was such provocative that there was socialism for the corn roasters and

the porters and their class before starting the movement. At this time, the intension of the media was quite different. It is crystal clear. The elites, intellectuals and wealthy class people were not only against the movement, but also came to street with weapons for retaliation under the banner of peace.

Nevertheless, it is a different topic to be discussed whether Maoist postponed the indefinite general strike due to the fore mentioned reasons or any other causes. But Maoist chose a different way by postponing the long prepared general strike within six days. Maoist showed its public support without creating social conflict. Many analysts and intellectuals put forwarded their logic that 'Maoist went back', 'Maoist opened the way for argument' etc. These were the logics expressed according to their own convenience. This logic will get their verdict in coming days.

The demonstration was grand. Some other criticized it as a grand demonstration for a little game. Some other said that it was organized only for the change of Prime Minister. However, nobody yet has any answer why Madhav Nepal should remain for the post of Prime Minister. Nobody has its logical answer and even Madhav Nepal has only cowardice logics which are meaningless in themselves. The formation of national united government has no option. This has been justified by the 9 month Prachanda government and Madhav Nepal's government. It

was misfortune to all to go into majority system. This mistake should be realized all and there is no other alternative than to go into the system of consensus by amending the constitution again. The other way than that is encounter and war.

However, the present complexity is not only linked with the change of the government. The background of the complexity is far deeper, the contemporary day today political events have provided no leisure time to dig out the deep. Power sharing in the government is not a main key rather it is the struggle of power. In the past, UCPN Maoist was exercising power that was advancing ahead. It had People's Liberation Army, people's court, contemporary reformatories and local government. Through they were not well managed. It was exercising as a bold alternative power. Singhadurbar was being compressed that time.

In this period, the local government was talking its own shape. In this process a different politics of 12-point understanding and peace process started. Now, Maoist has felt that the party has been kept excluded from all the bodies of the state power. On the other hand, the government side thinks that the Maoist is in the process of seizing central power. The essence of complexity lies in it. The question when the constitution is made will remain unanswered until and unless the suspicion among them is not made clear because the constitution has not

been built in the stipulated date. so far as UCPN Maoist does not agree to swim in the traditional pond and government alliance does not want to make a modern pond to swim. The political outlet of the complexity is clearly too far.

The hope with the expectation of starting of a new or fresh debate or positive reaction, in political arena after the postponement of general strike, has been changed into pessimism. The old dilapidated and random issues did not invite a fresh debate. Those issues were continued which were not taken to the conclusions and same style and processes went on. Negotiation and consensus were held in a big number formally and informally that even wealthy and businessman also held negotiation. After Prachanda's popular speech of Baneshwor; where no word was left to ridicule and satire the present government that day they held negotiation celebrating feasts. In fact, it was flexibility. However, no achievement was gained even after the wholesale negotiation. The negotiation has not been freed from the trifle debates. The subjects of the debates have become army integration and give the seized land in war period back to the owners.

There are so many limitations in the effort to address the above mentioned two questions. Maoist can not give the seized land back to their owners. Maoist could not put the reality clearly at the time when 12-point understanding was made. The landless



people; who are inhabited there in the seized land in war period, can not go anywhere from there without any package programme or without any management. Whether Prachanda would give order or police would be mobilized to chase them away. Therefore, it is worthless to repeat the demand by coalition government to Maoist because it can not implement the demand practically though it is positive towards it. It needs integrated plan for its solution. The ownership of the demand should be transformed to the government from Maoist. Otherwise, it will be only a trifle thing and obstacle for advancement. Maoist can not go anywhere by avoiding and dishonouring the People's Liberation Army which UCPN-Maoist fought war relying upon. So long as the question of the integration of army is considered to be the only concerned to Maoist, the knot of the political problem does not untie. The ownership of solving the question should be transferred under the ownership of the government because the problem does not solve by blaming UCPN-Maoist to be the civilian party. To talk only about the number of PLA, without taking the decision on the process, procedures and the principles, is not to understand the seriousness of Nepalese politics. The task of the government and the political parties is to create a favourable situation for army integration even if Maoist does not want.

In the condition of not being prepared to make principal decision on national united government, PLA integration and the seized land back, a quite different aspect will be the way out of Nepalese politics. Madhav Kumar Nepal, a leader without stand, is taking his stand. Probably he might have been preached in Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan. It would better to take the vote of trust to Madhav Nepal, if he does not want to resign from the post. But he is not so courageous person who is ready to take the vote of trust in CA. Many



parties have withdrawn their vote for trust from 22 party coalition. Some of the constituent assembly members of the UML are demanding Madhav Nepal's resignation. If we do not concern all these things, we will go then. Logic can be put forward that it is not necessary to take the vote of trust, which is clearly in minority.

But misfortune! The talk about process and procedure in the contemporary political field of Nepal is being interpreted differently. People coming down to the street is being expressed as a crime even in the period of democratic republic. The peaceful struggles are being defined differently. Is democratic republic only a game to be played by the defeated and cowards to ban the civil demonstration on the street? In normal situation, all these activities could have been limited within CA. But in the period, of drafting a new constitution and the necessity of build-

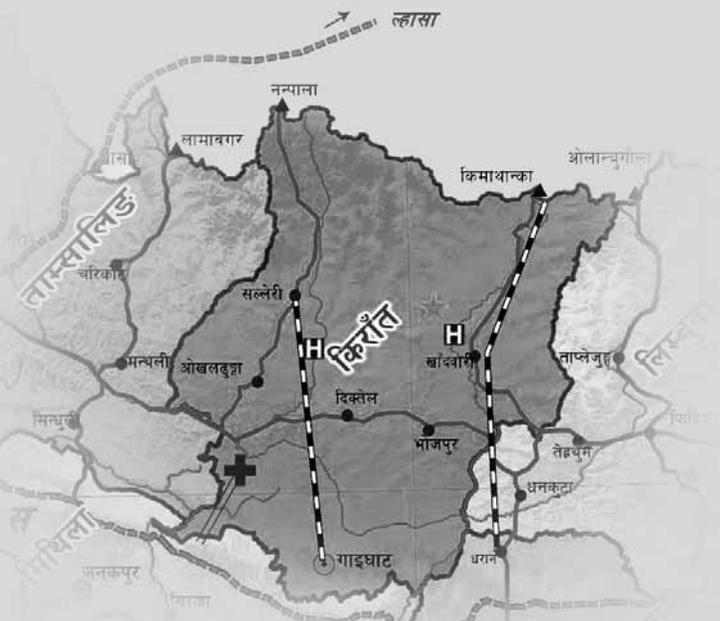
ing national united commitment, these activities could not be limited within the CA. However, the peaceful demonstration in the street has been considered to be illegal. But, at the same time, the cunning conspiracies hatched in the CA have been considered to be correct and legal. At the same time, the essence of the democracy has been forgotten in the way that to come to the street peacefully for building a national commitment is to accept the democracy at all.

The reality has not hidden from our eyes that the demonstrators have gone back with their bare hands singing, dancing and reciting slogans in the streets though some of the analysts have presented them as the trained troops of knives, chains, sticks and spears. The team or gathering that demonstrates peacefully with bare hands has different mentality though the rebellious heart can not be

cooled down with small efforts. To come to the street is a hard work. However, one can not go away from the street without being satisfied in his or her mission. Now Kathmandu seems to be peaceful and pleased and it has forgotten the demonstrators. But the demonstrators probably have not forgotten Kathmandu. It is still left to see what type of strategy will be made by the leadership of UCPN-Maoist in coming days under the pressure of grass root level cadres and the people. Maoist can not go flexibly ahead then we the flexibility of Maoist does not work till 28 May, the stipulated date of writing constitution. We can not even imagine how will be the obligatory steps of Maoist be in future. A clear scenario of revolt fusing rural and urban has been seen before our eyes if no agreement is made to open the way by the government till May 28. •



In the current mess of educational system in Nepal, the idea of a Kirat University (KU) in the eastern hilly region of Nepal is stirring a public debate about what kind of educational system new Nepal should adopt and what difference a Maoist-led government will make.



KIRAT UNIVERSITY

A DREAM or A REALITY?

In the current mess of educational system in Nepal, the idea of a Kirat University (KU) in the eastern hilly region of Nepal is stirring a public debate about what kind of educational system new Nepal should adopt and what difference a Maoist-led government will make. This idea was first generated and the initiative first taken by Gopal Kirati (Sainla), In-Charge of Kirat State Committee, together with Comrade Matrika Timsina. That idea has now become a private bill in the Legislative-Parliament. The Kirat University Bill, 2067 (2010) was registered at the Parliamentary Secretariat on

14 April 2010 by Comrade Ram Bahadur Thapa Magar, UCPNM member of the Constituent Assembly.

Once the KU Bill is approved by the Legislative-Parliament it will be the first community-based public university in Nepal established under the initiative of a political party in which peoples from all strata of life are involved in its decision-making from investment to management. A Kirat University Development Trust (KUDDT) has already been established to take forward this undertaking of which Com. Gopal Kirati is the

Chairperson and this author as its Executive Director.

The idea of KU is different in many respects from the existing universities prevailing in Nepal. First, its management will be undertaken by people living in the Kirat region. For now, the Kirat state or region includes the current districts of Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldhunga, Sankhuwasabha, Solukhumbu and Udaypur, and/or any other territory as to be determined under the new Constitution-in-the-making. Even if the name of the proposed Kirat region or state remains changed, it will not affect the name KU.

However, the option will be open that the KU can always be recognised as a state university which could then be renamed Kirat State University, depending on the restructuring of the current unitary state. Until such an opportunity comes, KU will function as a community-based and community-led university of international scale and standard in which all the peoples from within and outside the Kirat region will become the shareholders and financiers. In any case, profit from shares and investment will not be distributed among them but will remain with KU as conceived by the KUDT. The KUDT has already received donations of land and offered for non-profit shares for the purpose of establishment of a model university in Nepal.

The second characteristic of KU is its unique structure and curriculum. Its institutional structure will be more democratic, decentralised and participatory. It will not be led or dominated by a centralised bureaucracy or only those holding 'big degrees' with their 'name' and 'fame'. Even an ordinary teacher could be the head of KU as long as he or she fulfills the minimum academic degree and has the experience required for its management and operation. Furthermore, faculty and other research bodies could be located in any district, village or municipality of the Kirat

region and could have their own local and autonomous management and operation. For now, a foundation stone has been laid down by Comrade C.P. Gajurel (Gaurav) in Panchdhare, Bhojpur as the starting point of its administrative operation.

As regards the curriculum, the whole spirit of KU is to have its own curriculum and syllabus suitable for the regional history, culture, geography, agriculture, tourism, science, technology, public health, law, sociology, anthropology and other practical and vocational courses. In this sense, KU will not be confined to one or a few particular subject matters of teaching and research. As one of its main

goals is to produce highly skilled and relevant human resources for the overall development of the Kirat region in particular, and the proposed new Nepali states in general, the use and application of indigenous skills and knowledge in consistent with the current needs of modern education is going to be its priority.

KU aims that all people of this region will have equal right and equal access to higher education within their own locality and region and that they will not have to leave their area for the sake of employment in big cities or foreign countries. What KU promotes at the end is a system of easy, scientific and democrat-





ic education of which we have been talking for several decades but with no clear definition and implementation that leads to the cherished goal of 'Janabadi Sikchhya' or 'Democratic Education'. Now this is on the verge of becoming a reality. The same concept and idea could also be replicated in other federal states and regions of Nepal under the initiative of other State Committees of the UCPNM or even independently and collectively. The most important aspect is the concept, framework, accessibility and utility of our new educational system.

Now, the KU initiative raises various issues for local, national and international debates regarding what kind of higher education systems is

most suitable, relevant and scientific for the reconstruction of new Nepal. Some of these issues will be raised below for further discussion and debate regarding our new educational system:

a) Why has our higher education system been restricted to the monopoly of Tribhuvan University? Despite huge wealth of its own, the huge amount of grants from the government from our tax money and the enormous amount of foreign aid and loan it has received, why has TU failed to achieve its or our goals of quality educational as per our requirement of development? The answer is simple. It was established mainly for the rich, elites living in cities. It was meant to indoctrinate the values and principles of feudal-

ism, high caste and high class nepotism, bureaucratic centralism and vested foreign interests against the progressive forces of Nepal. Its surrender today to the forces of imperialism, globalisation and privatisation through the international aid and loan regime is a clear example of it. TU these days is run not by those sitting in the Parliament or ministries but by those sitting in various aid agencies and the national offices of international financial institutions (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank, etc.) who dictate our overall policies of governance, finance, economy as well as other public sectors such as education, health, water, electricity and communications.

b) Why should we, all the people of Nepal through our government have to support the management and operation of the Sanskrit University when majority of us are not even Brahmins and Hindus? If Sanskrit is to be taught as part of history, culture and religion then it could always be done under the existing TU faculties of history, sociology, anthropology or culture. But if Hindus want it as a separate university then let those over a billion Hindus of the world fund and run this and many other universities of the same type as they want with their vast money and resources which they are now throwing into building temples for their individual pride or gift ('daan') to many other unproductive activities. The KU model is what they can adopt right away and spare us the burden of running the Sanskrit University as a state or public university when people are dying from hunger and lack of primary health care around the country.

c) Why is it that the only private university we have today, the Kathmandu University, is also failing to fulfill our local and national requirements of human resources in the educational field? The answer to this question is also very simple. It is financed and managed by corporate interests and foreign donors. It has no links with

the communities in financing, decision-making and management. And, most importantly, its aim is to produce high class, high caste and high standard human resources needed for the global market. The way that its curriculum and syllabus are designed and the way that they are taught and trained makes it clear that its targets are not the mountains, hills and rural areas of Nepal, but big cities, big corporations, big international agencies and big foreign capital.

d) What additional benefits have the so called universities known as Purbanchal University and Pokhara University brought for Nepal? Although, they were supposed to be developing, running and functioning according to the needs of their respective geographic region, they have basically become the wholesalers of licences like the District Administration Offices issuing registrations for NGOs (non-governmental organisations) and the Office of the Company Registrar issuing company certificates. Sadly, these regional universities have limited their utility and scope to issues of affiliations from east to the west and doing virtually nothing in the region even though they have the full authority to develop their own curriculum and syllabus. Purbanchal and Pokhara universities should perhaps be dismantled or trans-

formed into the model of KU we are promoting today.

e) As far as the other private schools, colleges and proposed universities are concerned, they have been established as private profit-making corporations, industries and family businesses. They have become the main instruments of our public education systems when they should have remained only supplementing institutions. They pay no or low tax. They raise fees the way they want. They kill the poor through humiliation. They look after the elites. They import text books from India, sing 'Bande-Mataram' and teach of Gautam Buddha as if he was born in India. They teach foreign histories and cultures. At the most they teach subjects that are salable in the global market. There could be some exceptions but they are largely viruses destroying our dream and need of a people-centric educational system.

For these reasons, we have taken this initiative of establishing a Kirat University in our Kirat region which I think deserves wide support and inspirations from everyone concerned! ●

(Chintan is advisor of Kirat State Committee and member of Gurkha Movement Special Committee formed under the International Bureau of the UCPNM)



QUESTION BEFORE WOMEN MOVEMENT

Rape is the other aspect for women to feel insecure. The number of rape has been increased day by day. Suntali Dhami, a women police, is raped by her male mates and officers in a broad day light.



Nature has created male and female as two different casts. They should get equal right according to the law of nature; however, human law has created lots of discrimination in the society. In the context of Nepal, the women are the most exploited sector of the society. The women in the Terai are more exploited than that of hills and mountains. In Nepal, there are many traditions even to sacrifice babies in some religious celebrations and give them torture by blaming being witches. This has created the violent actions over women along with the discrimination.

Women have taken part actively in each and every movements of liberation in Nepal. However, the achievements gained through the movements and wars have not still been institutionalized. It is a regrettable thing that the women are far from getting their rights even through a big political change has occurred in Nepal.

The women even in the 21st century are being treated as beats. A few months ago the villagers and the neighbors mistreated Kalli Kumari BK in Lalitpur and fed her urine and stool by declaring her a witch. Most of the women are being victim of this superstition. The tradition of mistreating began from the starting of feudalism still exists. It is a surprise to talk about witchery and spell bound even in the 21st century. All these practices have been prevailing norms of the society. These practices have made women dishonoring all through their lives. It has been inhuman behavior and cruel violence over women.

These events become only the messages for a short period and they are put down under the piles of the other new message. However, inhuman behaviors over women happen repeatedly in the society. Human right commission, political parties and the institutions release their statements and their responsibility completes. The government publicly commits to take action over the guilty and repeatedly announces to be aware on the happenings before they occur. But the guilty person moves freely in the society boast fully. Kalli Kumari and Ramanidevi are beaten and fed urine and stool and they are burnt alive. This happens as a cycle. The criminals are protected by the elite middle class and government.

Rape is the other aspect for women to feel insecure. The number of rape has been increased day by day. Suntali Dhami, a women police, is raped by her male mates and officers in a broad day light. Like wise, the child of 16 month is brutally raped by the rapists in the country. The dalit women who were picking the herbs Kaulo in the jungle for their livelihood are collectively raped by the security forces and brutally killed and are made false propaganda that they had guns with them and had encountered with army before gunned down. The guests arrived in the holy place at Janakpur in a marriage ceremony are seduced by the police officers in the police posts. These criminals and rapists are being protected by the security mechanism. The talk about disable, dumb, deaf and blind is far from hearing.

Through the government and state security mechanism are not concerned with these inhuman brutal deeds, the representatives of the people, the women members of constituent assembly are concerned with the happenings. The women organizations are sleeping. There is no voice, no concern and no unity. The movements and resistance against the brutalities are not continued. The Defense Minister Bidhya Bhandary always pleads in favour of the rapists and the culprits instead of taking action over them. She is ridiculing the provision of the interim consti-

tution to end discrimination and violence over women.

The government has declared to celebrate year 2010 as the Year of Emancipation Women from Violence. The people do not believe on what the government declares. It is only a stupidity to expect relief from the government that is degenerated and antipeople. The declaration is only pretension. The protection and negligence of the government is the main cause of women violence and exploitation.

Women in Nepal are suffered from the old social traditions and ill concepts like dowry system, witchery and others. Even women commission has not taken effective steps on it. Though there are so many struggles and the resistant and the provisions in the constitution, the series of the events of the violence over women has not stopped. Laws are made only for laws. The notorious culprits are wandering here and there freely as they have done a great work. The crime has not been limited within the periphery of the notorious one; rather it is gradually expanding among those who talk about the equality and the emancipation of women. Even the supporters and the guiders of change in the society are spending their dual life of the polygamy and illegal relationships. Due to this, the women are forced to live in a very oppressed and tortured life. The political parties should take

proper steps on it. The woman organization should take initiative to decrease the number of the exploitation and to take action over the guilty persons.

Women got the right to vote in 1948 due to the movement of women. The movement, after it, advanced taking the slogans like paternal property to women, end of the discrimination and exploitation over women, however, the women movement took its clear way ahead only after the initiation of the People's War since 1996. The majority of the women were united themselves in PW and set a historic unprecedented record.

At that time, they took independent initiative under their leadership in every corner of the remote villages to the cities. They took action from the rapists to the land lords who had mistreated women physically and mentally. The just was established in the society and the social system was more responsible.

The achievements of the women movement are not being institutionalized. The misdeeds and the discriminations are not taken seriously and responsibly. The women organizations are now been less effective. The activities of the organizations are cooled down.

Therefore, the women should rise again to ensure their rights in the time of writing a new constitution. The achievements gained through the struggle should be institutionalized. ●



 A black and white photograph showing a large crowd of people marching on a city street. They are holding a long banner with Nepali text. The text on the banner reads "नवाः राष्ट्रिय मुक्ति मोर्चा नेपाल" and "जिल्ला कमिटी गल:". The background shows buildings and other people in the crowd.

Role of Newars in Insurrection

Many parties and forces wished Newars had come to road in active participant in the insurrection. They appealed Newars to agitate against the government but couldn't address their actual contradictions. De facto, if Newars are necessary for a accomplishment of any movement and for the insurrection, there token of confidence should be achieved.

Newars, the indigenous inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley 'Nepal Mandal', the capital of Nepal, are rebellious in nature. Newars, the only opposition all over the world against the authority of Nepal. Though, are the native of the capital? They aren't favour of the government. In the World, the permanent dwells of the capital are the supporter of the government and the authority.

Why do Newars go against the government anytime? It is the question which should be answered who needs them. Basically, it ought to response by the political parties. Is the prime contradiction between Newars and the government? The class standard and the actual facts about Newars should be known, and then only there contradiction should be solved. Some political parties had approached it. But, De facto neither they wanted nor they solve it. Because they were unable to identify their contradiction and the actual problems faced by Newars.

Newars, the indigenous natives of the capital, are very civilized people all over the world. In the 16th and 17th centuries, they were the challenger to the civilization of Greece, Mesopotamia, Persia, China and Egypt. The period of Malla is known as called the golden Era. In this Era, Newars had developed in every aspects of the government. Not only had they enriched culture, language arts, monumental heritage but also in the management of the natural resources, water irrigation. They had formed cities in planned manner and were rich in every field. In the context of Nepal they were supposed to be developed nation living in the commune 'Guthi' which is a social organization. The life standard was similar to the standard of Greek, Persian,

Roman, and Egyptian.

But, after the so called unification of Gorkha king, Prithi Narayan Shah, Newars has been displacing since his unification. Not only executive power of Newars had been looted but also their peaceful life. The ousted Queen Kritilaxmi who was the commander in chief and the ruler there was forced to marry king Prithi Narayan Shah. But she refused to be Shah's queen. She didn't intend to misguide her people but went to sacrifice and did suicide. In Kritipur, after unification he cut off 40 kilogram noses, ears and tongue in barbaric manner to take revenge of shameful two defeat. His Prime minister and army chief Kali Pandey had been killed and his younger brother's eye was damaged. In the battle, Shah had been captive but because of war policy of Kirtipur, he was freed.

Since then, the Shah regime had suppressed local Newars, displaced them from army, administration, legislation, judiciary. Their ethnic laws and norms

had been misguided, reformed and collapsed. Their land, arts, religion, language, culture were gradually transformed. A 'one state, one language, one custom and one culture' of the Shah regime made Newars feel dominated. Because of valor of Newars, they weren't taken to army and other security, fearing possible insurrection. But they were psychological treated as coward. During Shah and autocratic Rana regime, many poets and scholars like Chitta Dhar Hridaya, had been forced to leave Kathmandu and their assets had been confiscated. Ganga Lal Shrestha, Shukra Raj Shastri and Dharma Bhakta Mathema, the Bengal champion in wrestling, were given the capital punishment during revolution in 1950 AD. To topple the Panchayat in 1990 AD and to kneel down active monarchy in 2005 AD, Newars played decisive role and given blood to the country.

Despite they were active in any movement; they were biased and bypassed in the mainstream politics. Not giving equal rights,

they were misguided and their credit had been forgotten by the political parties. Not only their credit had been remembered but also the new government continues to dominate and create problems. They were treated as vote bank by the think tankers. Thus, the political parties are disgrace to Newars. Many non-political organizations working for Newars were also unable to address the problems. So, these are some distinctive contradiction between the authority and Newars.

Many parties and forces wished Newars had come to road in active participant in the insurrection. They appealed Newars to agitate against the government but couldn't address their actual contradictions. De facto, if Newars are necessary for accomplishment of any movement and for the insurrection, there token of confidence should be achieved. Unlike political parties and some organizations, the party who wants federalism, autonomous, secularism should insured Newars about their demands. Only then, they will get support from them. Theoretically and practically their demands should be met. 'Concrete analysis of the concrete situation' of Newars is the pre-condition. If and if Newars come down to the street and 'right to rebel' is fully practically applied in the field then any movement as well as insurrection is conquered. ●

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Remembering Thawang

I look at the MP3-cellphone, confused. The young student tells me to wait and, after a moment, the cellphone plays a simple folk melody and then a crooning voice, "Comrades, do not forget Thawang." A leader of one of Kathmandu's colleges in the All-Nepal National Independent Students' Union (Revolutionary), he repeats those words to me again, slowly, just in case I didn't understand. We both take a sip of chai in the dhaba adjoining the ANNISU(R) central-office in Baghbazar, Kathmandu. A few weeks ago, I had been sipping tea in Toronto with my mentor, a leader in the Canadian student movement. "The problem is that we have no institutional memory, so we repeat all of the same mistakes and do not learn," he said. Remembering Thawang (the village from which the people's war started) must mean to learn from it.

What can we learn from the people of Nepal? There are those in the international communist movement, especially in the advanced imperialist countries, who have a simple answer to this: "Nothing, the conditions are far too different and what worked in Nepal will never work here. Our only duty is to publicize and support their movement." I have to disagree and in this article I will elaborate on the three lessons the Nepali revolutionaries have to teach their North American and European counterparts.

Being a Fish in Water

Chairman Mao once famously said, "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Some people, however, have interpreted this to mean that once we have the correct ideological and political line our task is simply to take this line to the masses and the people, upon hearing this line, will automatically follow. Yet the Nepali comrades, through their mass organizations, party and actions have reminded us that we must serve the people as well. Indeed, the secret behind the Nepali revolution is that the Nepali comrades have been able to successfully organize the masses around their issues. It is first through their ideology-in-action, rather than their ideology in of itself, that they are able to win the trust, respect and love of the people they serve. When working with the masses on the everyday challenges they face, they are able to explain the need for the next step and the underlying and initial causes of their

problems (feudalism, capitalism and imperialism). Thus, the All-Nepal Trade Union Federation (Revolutionary) will mobilize workers around issues like wage raises, guaranteed employment for those willing to work and the formation of a labour commission. At the same time, the Maoist union has also engaged in ideological dialogue with workers so that they can gradually break through their earlier



cultural methods of thinking and grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this way, the workers can realize their historic role in leading the revolution. Being a fish in the water means that one cannot simply fight against the currents. Rather, one must gradually work for the time when a leap is possible; otherwise, one will be like a fish out of water, dead.

Creativity In Theory and Practice

One thing that is remarkable about the Nepali comrades is their attention to the lessons from the past and their desire to rehash those lessons and develop new theories and new meth-

ods to creatively apply them. One such original contribution is the idea of multi-party competition, which has been hotly debated inside and outside Nepal. Comrade Basanta of the International Bureau was clear that this was not being proposed as a universal theory, but as a possible solution to the problem of counter-revolution in Nepal. Thus, having correctly identified Marxism-Leninism, and subsequently Maoism, as having successfully guided revolutions, they also recognize limits to the theory and practice. With the full knowledge that classes will continue to persist in the post-

revolutionary period as the class struggle will continue under socialism until the final development of communism, the Nepali comrades have proposed that those forces with an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character, and are in an alliance under the leadership of the Communist Party, will be allowed to engage in multi-party competition in the post-New Democratic Revolution Nepal. Indeed, a major failure of Stalin was to not recognize this fact and assume that all enemies were external, and that the class struggle had ceased. Recognizing that people will have their own perspectives, the





Nepali comrades suggest these forces can compete with one another through elections and jointly exercise a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie through the use of the constitution. Thus, the constitution writing process is part of the NDR process.

Remembering Thawang

One cannot enter any major office of the UCPN (Maoist) and their affiliated organizations—whether it be trade unions, student's or women's associations—and not see the framed pictures of those martyred and disappeared during the struggle for a new, free and socialist Nepal. Indeed, Thawang is everywhere. The Nepali comrades, even their leaders, are remarkable in their humility as they do not possess any airs of self importance. Indeed, the sacrifices that their comrades, family members and friends have made in the course of their decades-long struggle weighs heavily on all of them and ensures that their actions are undertaken in the spirit of this sacrifice. It also ensures that they do no rest on the laurels of their successes, as glorious as these successes may be. It is difficult to meet any Nepali comrade who

has not spent time in jail (often for just being a member of a mass organization), lost a family member to the brutal violence of the State, not experienced personal hardships and is unwilling to sacrifice their lives once again for their revolution. This is something that should inspire us, and should humble us, as it has the

Nepalese comrades

There is a fire in these mountains and valleys, and we can take refuge around this fire—believe me the Nepali comrades would welcome us with open arms and cups of tea—be warmed by it, take courage from it, and then create our own sparks. And we must always remember Thawang. ●

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Being Arrested !

Most often, it is already 10:00 pm when I come out of the office. It is my daily routine. It was 6 May, half past 10 at night. I was just coming out of the office completing my work of reporting. My friend Deepesh Pun was with me. He is a member of Free Students Union in Amrit Science College, Kathmandu.

As I tried to go out, somebody came to notice near the gate. And, he ran towards us. "He's here, he's here!" he was screaming in a loud voice. "Ran away, ran away!" another was crying. A team of 5 or 6 persons ran to me with weapons in their hands. They were in police dress. The police began to charge sticks and blow over us. I felt confused. We were unknown why they were attacking over us.

They were police. The police wearing dress for the security of the nation and its people. Their responsibility is to maintain peace and security. I knew only this about them. However, I could not even imagine why they were attacking over me when I was going to my quarter after completing my work.

They beat me with what they had. The butts of the rifles were fallen on my back and over my body; boots were fallen over my buttock, blows over my face and sticks everywhere my body. They incessantly hit in the different parts of

my body. 'Sale!' They repeated the word frequently. I can not even pronounce the other words what they spoke at that time.

"Basters! Seize power, bit the people! You haven't recognized police yet but you know today!" They continuously expressed these words.

"Why are you arresting me? I am a journalist; I am just coming out of my office, why are you beating me!" I told them time and again. "Speak no more! You will get more blow." They beat me more and more as I used to give my identity. "I have a camera in my hand and identity card with me, I am a journalist!" They not only prohibited me to pull out my ID card from my pocket but beat me continuously.

They carried us to the cross road of Anamnagar chowk. Police van was there and they pushed us inside the van. "Where are you carrying us, and why?" We asked questions, but they did not answer. They beat us without stopping with boots, butts, blows and paws. I was crying due to the heavy and continuous blows of there all. "You, beasts, run the movement!" they used to scold us before beating.

Which world is it, where an innocent journalist is mercilessly beaten when he is returning to his quarter from his office? He is arrested and

beaten. Innumerable unanswered questions were rising within me. The truth is that I am a journalist by profession and my moral support to the Maoist party, which is calling strike for the peace and constitution. I am independent Nepalese citizen. I have my individual but fundamental right to take decision about my nation.

The police van driven ahead but to where? It was unknown for some time. But boots and butts were continuously falling over us. "You will see how the police are!" I thought as it was the duty of police to beat, arrest and give sufferings.



The van stopped reaching to the department of municipality police situated at Singh Durbar Baidyakhana at 11:00 pm night. "Get off you baster! They carried us dragging to the Police Inspector, Bir Bahadur Budha Magar.

Our mobile phones were seized. Nobody was in our contact there. Imagine, big criminals are in trap and they are made stand for clarification. We put our matters, my friend Deepesh said, "I am Maoist and I am son of Pasang, PLA chief. Is it crime to be Maoist?" "Wait a little bit," inspector tried to console us.

We put forward our words. But the police did not assure us why we were arrested. They gave no reason. And, they took no clarification with us. He did not ask about our quarter, location and job. Inspector summoned us in a room. However, he did not give us the cause of arrest and torture. Rather, we spoke and made clear them about us.

Then we asked inspector, "Tell us, should we stay here our leave!" Inspector said, "Better to go." We told them to allow us to call our relatives and patrons. They provided mobile. I called Deependra Rokaya, the editor of Janadisha Daily and Chetan Kunwar, (with whom I stay together). They arrived but the police did not give any reason for out arrest and torture. We returned to our quarter at 12:00 mid-night.

My whole body was painning. It was very difficult even to move left hand and right hand also. No part of my body was untouched. The whole body was painning. I felt pain all during night. There are marks in my whole body. I



am really feeling how cruel the police can be. The police, who should took care about nation and people and maintain peace and security, arrested us and mercilessly tortured without any cause. I was arrested from the main gate of my office.

I am a citizen. The cruel treatment of police would rarely be deleted form my mind. I am thinking, how I can be positive towards police if they behave in their way! Is this the negative or unordered work done by some individuals who work in police office as personnel? The answer is easy that it has been done by institution because when we were arrested by the police team. The marks in my body would recover, the wounds would be recovered, but how would the wounds inside my memory be

recovered? I am within these questions. I will be seeing who will take lawful action over them? I will be convinced only when it is proved that all these things were happened due to the irresponsibility of the individual personnel and they would be taken action. Either the police institution should give clarification that the personnel had drink wine at that time or the institution should take responsibility. It was due to political biasness. It was preplanned because we had been arrested from the door of our paper office. We were given torture without any faults. If they have thought to make pen down, the pens will be sharper. If it was the effort to fall ideology down, the ideology will reach into another new height. ●

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