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Nepal's National Magazine

Accept the People's Verdict

Red Star Reporter

Nepal is now in the republican era. The anti people and feudal-ist monarchy has finished, and the republic has been implemented at the first meeting of Constituent Assembly. With the ending of this black chapter starting in the 18th century, the people have become rulers of the nation through their representatives.

The sons and the daughters of the people are going to be the heads of the state, the ones in power. The representatives of the people occupy the places of decision making. The People have become sovereign. There is no fear of aristocratic interference or so-called institute that claims to be the incarnation of God to control the people of the nation with absolute power. The representatives of the people are in the position to make the national policies and plans.

After the implementation of the Republic, the other agendas to declare a presidential system of government and to make a new constitution through the CA are still left to be done. The political parties under the leadership of the CPN-Maoist have taken the decision for a presidential system of the government. Therefore, after forming the new government, the gateway to creating a new Federal Democratic Republican (FDR) constitution will be opened.

Nevertheless, the parliamentary political parties: the Nepali Congress and CPN-UML are creating obstacles on the way. There is political impasse due to their arrogance and undemocratic nature.



Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

FINALLY A REPUBLIC : Maoist Chairman Prachanda and other leaders applauding after the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly that declared Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic.

The people have given the mandate for CPN-Maoist to lead the new government after the election of CA. It is basic democratic norms and values that the largest party lead the government. However, the NC and UML are trying to follow the feudal parliamentary legacy of the past. This has indicated the dangerous repetition of Kot parva, Bhandarkhal parva, including forming and dissolving the government, buying and selling the members of the legislature, and hiding the representatives at voting time. The parliamentary parties should correct themselves by following the mandate of the people and cre-

ating a democratic culture within their parties. After correcting the differences of ideology and practice, it will be easier for them to understand and accept the new reality, the new mainstream of multi-party competition. The transitional mainstream is neither the parliamentary nor the People's Republic.

In the course of celebrating the Republican victory on May 30 in Kathmandu, Maoist chairman Com. Prachanda said, "All the reactionaries and the traditional forces inside and outside of the country thought that the CPN-M and the Nepalese people would be defeated in the election

of the CA and the old forces would come into the power. But the Nepalese people again showed the other miracle and they elected the CPN-M for their leadership. They supported the CPN-M as the leaders of the new Nepal and for writing the FDR constitution. It has been hard to accept and to digest for the reactionary forces. Therefore, the defeated ones are acting out a drama, shamelessly, against the aspirations of the interim constitution and the agreements made before." In the occasion, Baburam Bhattarai said, "The defeated are begging for the post of president. A Presidentship is not the thing to be gained by begging. The people have finalized the issue of president. The total seats of the two parties are not equal to our single party."

Among the parliamentary parties, there is no other option than to hand over the leadership to the CPN-Maoist. They must accept the mandate of the people. They must cooperate with the CPN-M to drive the nation ahead and to consolidate the FDR. It means that they must forsake the status quo tendency for the benefit of the people and the nation. They were farsighted in the era of feudalism. Now, they are lagging far behind the situation. They must try to understand the truth; that the people do not see any future at all in their traditional political line. Their political line is still close to the monarchy and the institution of monarchism. It would be better for them if they leave their monarchist mindset.

Because of these reasons, the people have elected the CPN-M as their leader and the leader of the new Nepal. They have chosen the

Continued on page 2

Intn'l greetings to the Republic of Nepal

Various international institutions and governments have congratulated the people of Nepal for the declaration of Federal Democratic Republic by the historic first meeting of constituent assembly.

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon conveyed his message through a statement that read "The people of Nepal have clearly spoken for peace and change through the 10 April Assembly election." He encouraged all parties to continue cooperating and to form a new government as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, China has stated its happiness over the successful conduct of the first CA meeting and declaration of a Republic. Spokesperson of Foreign Ministry of China Qin Gang welcomed the declaration of republic in Nepal

and also expressed confidence that the peace process will move in the right direction and the country will achieve political stability and economic prosperity.

Nepal's southern neighbour India has greeted Nepali People for declaring Nepal as Republic. Indian Ambassador Rakesh Sood congratulated Maoist Chairman Prachanda on the formation of the Constituent Assembly and on declaration of Nepal a federal democratic republic.

In a statement expressing its readiness to extend support by Embassy of France in Katmandu on behalf of the EU Heads of Mission in Nepal anticipated that the CA members would work together to draft a new constitution. It read that "The CA will face the challenge of creating a new constitution that secures peace,

democracy, respect for human rights and development". Similarly, United Kingdom welcomed the announcement also and hoped that the political parties will work together and move ahead to form a new government.

On the contrary, The United States withheld comments on Nepal's political transition on Wednesday by ambiguously calling for political developments in the country.

"There's been a political transition. There have been elections. The new government is in place and moving forward. We have had some conversations with those officials, in part to verify that some of the efforts that we can make, in terms of being able to provide humanitarian assistance and other programs, are going to be

Continued on page 2



Solidarity with Communist Party of Nepal- Maoist from France.

The fall of a 240 year old Dynasty

Dipak Sapkota

The 240 year rule of the Shah Dynasty has ended. The dynasty of mad and fraudulent kings existed on pools of blood, debauchery, treacherous court conspiracies, brutal oppression and subjugation of the Nepali people. The Dynasty survived under the cover of feudal nationalism (patriotism), but in essence, they committed all kinds of treachery and debauchery to save their crown.

An 18th-century king from the Shah Dynasty of the Gorkha principality, Prithvi Narayan Shah, conquered the existing small states and created a unified Nepal in 1768. It was seven years before the creation of the United States of America.

With the conquest of Kathmandu by Shah in March 1768, the rule of the Shah dynasty began in Nepal. Before this, there were many independent states in existence that were ruled by various kings. After capturing Kathmandu, Shah expanded his rule to east and west. He completed the expansion eastward but died before completing the westward expansion. After the death of Shah the unification of Nepal was taken on by Bahadur Shah and Bhimsen Thapa. With this, Nepal was stretched from Tista in the east to Kashmir in north western India.

As a result of rivalry and betrayal in the palace after the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Jang Bahadur Kunwar finally took over as prime minister in 1846, and established the hereditary rule of the Ranas as Prime Ministers. For the next 104 years, the Shah Kings were reduced to figureheads. Jung Ba-

hadur massacred (known as Kotparwa) most men from rival clans and rose to power to rule Nepal.

Since the independence of India and growing consciousness of the Nepali youth, movements emerged against the despotic rule of the Ranas. The antagonism between the Ranas and Shahs reached its peak in 1950; King Tribhuvan escaped from the Ranas to seek asylum in India, by slipping into the Indian embassy in Kathmandu. The Ranas had installed Gyanendra, just an infant then, as the king. At that time, various political parties like Communist Party of Nepal, Nepali Congress and Praja Parishad were fighting against the rule of the Ranas.

In 1950, a tripartite agreement between the Shahs, the Ranas and India was reached in Delhi, resulting in the re-emergence of Shah Dynasty. After he was reinstated, King Tribhuvan promised to hold a Constituent Assembly election to write a new constitution. However, his predecessors failed to fulfil this agreement. In 1960, King Mahendra sacked the elected government and imposed an autocratic Panchayat system that lasted for next 30 years.

Yet, the Nepali people kept on struggling against the Panchayat regime. In 1979, students rose up against the Panchayat system; this compelled King Birendra to announce a referendum. But the Panchayat regime conspired to mislead the democratic aspirations of the Nepali people. In 1990, the people led a major people's movement (Janandolan) that led to the fall of the thirty year Panchayat regime.

Multi-party democracy was reinstated with politi-

Chronology of Shah Dynasty



The first king of Nepal Prithvi Narayan Shah

1768 - Shah King Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered the Kathmandu valley and created a single state of Nepali Kingdom.

1846 - Jang Bahadur Kunwar took over as Prime Minister and established the hereditary rule of the Ranas as Prime Ministers.

1950 - King Tribhuvan, descendant of Shah Dynasty fled to India as a protest against the Rana administration, which ruled the country for 104 years.

1951 - King Tribhuvan returned to homeland as Nepal's new ruler, terminating Rana hegemony in the kingdom. Promised to hold Constituent Assembly election to write a constitution.

1959 - King Mahendra issued a new constitution, and the first general election for a national assembly was held.

1962 - King Mahendra declared a partyless panchayat system dismissing the elected government.

1979 - King Birendra called for a national referendum after the nationwide student protest.

1990 - After a popular people's Movement, King Birendra lifted ban on political parties and ushered in constitutional monarchy.

1996 - Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launched the People's War, for a New Democratic Republic.

2001 - King Birendra along with his whole family assassinated in a royal massacre. Gyanendra Shah was crowned.

2005 - Gyanendra Shah dismissed the government and assumed full executive powers. CPN-Maoist and seven political parties reached in a 12-point historical understanding to overthrow the Monarchy.

2006 - Gyanendra Shah reinstated the parliament and end his direct rule after a popular movement compels him to step down.

2007 - The Interim Parliament formed and Interim Constitution was promulgated. In April, the Interim Government, joined by CPN-M ministers, was set up. On December the interim parliament passed an amendment bill with the provision to declare the country a federal democratic republic by the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

2008 April 10, the Constituent Assembly elections were held across the country. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) emerged as the single largest party in the Constituent Assembly.

2008 May 28 - Nepal declared as a Federal Democratic Republic by the Constituent Assembly.

The last king of Nepal Gyanendra Shah



cal parties under the rule of the Shahs. But at this crucial juncture, political leaders were dictated by the King. Gradually, the King and his followers expanded their power. In 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist initiated a People's War to overthrow the Monarchy and establish a New-People's Democracy.

On June 1, 2001 King Birendra and his entire family were killed in an infamous royal massacre. Some Nepali political parties and many Nepali people blamed Gyanendra Shah and his son for the massacre. After the royal massacre, the CPN-Maoist declared the end of Monarchy in Nepal and urged other political parties to come forward to establish the Republic. But the other political parties didn't dare to stand against the Monarchy. After coming to the throne, Gyanendra Shah took every possibility to usurp absolute power. On February 1, 2005, he sacked the elected government and formally took power and formed a government under his leadership. The Parliamentary parties continued to protest but were not strong enough to control Gyanendra.

Tired of unsuccessful movements, the political parties decided to join hands with the Maoist who had been waging a People's War for 10 years. The CPN-Maoist and seven political parties reached an agreement (widely known as 12-point understanding) on November 22, 2005; this was the basis of abolishing the 240 years of Monarchy. The alliance between the Maoist and parliamentary parties resulted in a huge People's

movement (Janandolan). Consequently, on April 2006, Gyanendra Shah abdicated.

On December 2007, the then ruling alliance agreed to the Maoist's demand to abolish the monarchy after the elections were held. After five months, on April 2008, the historic Constituent Assembly elections were held; the Maoists emerged as the single largest political party. The first CA meeting held on May 28, 2008 declared the abolishment of 240 years of the Shah monarchy.

The Shah Dynasty, after Prithvi Narayan Shah, was made up of Kings that were inept, insane, profligate and promiscuous. The palace became the centre for conspiracy, bloodshed and profligacy. Some believe that Trailokya was a courageous person who dared to fight against the Ranas. A few take Mahendra as feudal nationalist who attempted land reform, initiated industrialisation, and King Birendra as liberal who chose to compromise with the people in 1990 rather than massacre them.

The Shah Dynasty was born with bloodshed, but the death of the Shah's rule ended peacefully. The last king had come to power with the massacre of king Birendra's entire family on June 1st 2001. Almost exactly seven years after the enthronement of Gyanendra, he not only lost his throne but also brought to an end to the Shah Dynasty. This is the first monarchy to end in the 21st century. The Maoist Chairman Prachanda has said that Nepal can give a message to the World. With the peaceful end of a Monarchy; it will be a strong message for the rest of the world.

Utilise Narayanhity for the People

As Nepal enters into the Republic abolishing the Monarchy, the Narayanhity that has been used as royal palace has been the centre of debate. The Constituent Assembly has passed the proposal to turn the Narayanhity into a national museum.

According to the instructions of Constituent Assembly, the government has send a letter to former King Gyanendra to vacate it before June 13. Sources say that Gyanendra is packing his bags to leave the Palace. Although it is not clear



whether Narayanhity will be the National Museum with President's office or just a Museum; Nepali people are impatiently waiting to visit it.

Many Nepali are happy that the income shall be utilized in the benefit of people and the country, but majority of the people opine that the revenue must be spent on the rehabilitation of the people who are hit by the conflict, especially those who have been oppressed by the state. They think that Monarchy had killed or disappeared many Nepali people, so why not utilise the revenue of Narayanhity be utilized for the victims of Monarchy?

Accept

visionary party, the party leadership, and they have been victorious in the struggle led by the party. The Nepali people are victorious, and they will never desire defeat. Therefore, they have already ratified the agenda of presidential system and federal democratic republic in the CA election.

The rational solution of this political hurdle is for the NC and the CPN UML to accept the role of assistants, a cooperative role. If they try to assist the dead monarchy instead of cooperating with the Maoist, their future will only be in the history books. The people will punish them without a pity. The people are stronger and will be victorious. The monarchy and the pro-monarchy tendency have already been defeated.

Greetings

able to move forward," State Department deputy spokesman Tom Casey said.

"Certainly, it's a situation we continue to watch. And we continue to urge forward political developments in that country," he added.

Similarly, the Carter Centre that observed the April 10 polls has said that the May 28 declaration is a testament to the commitment and dedication of the Nepali people and their political leadership to sustainable peace and multi-party democracy.

Monarchy has been abolished and Federal democratic has been established. But why does it seem that political process is not going ahead?

Political process is not going ahead smoothly, though political process is going ahead anyway. You see how the process going ahead, that from 12-point understanding to the date of CA election and aftermath to the date of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly to implement the Federal Democratic Republic, the political process has remained really painful. It has advanced ahead, but not smoothly. The character of the parliamentary parties was to drag the history back to the monarchical system and the character of our party has always remained to smash it. Similarly, in the present context, the parlia-

demands are pretty interesting. There is one provision along with others to change prime minister in the interim constitution that it requires two third majority. They felt no problem with this provision as long as they were in power. Rather they were very comfortable. And they were so myopic that they could never realise that they would be defeated in the election. Once they got defeated in the election, now they are saying that the provision should be changed. The primary norms of the ongoing bourgeoisie democracy are to resign immediately after the defeat in the election and to allow the largest party to form government. But the parliamentary parties though defeated yet behave like victorious. This is despotic and autocratic character of these parties. Our Party does not agree with any

to provide leadership. So there is no point to compromise. Rather, compromising on this issue with the parliamentary parties on this issue at this very context will be a theoretical and political mistake. These are the reasons why the Nepalese people can not accept two posts divided between two parties and our party cannot do that either.

Nepali Congress and UML, after the logical defeat are still not willing to honour people's verdict. How does your party evaluate their character?

Had they ever honoured people's verdict in the history? Never! So there is no agony for they are not willing to honour the people's verdict. From 12-point agreement to the date of implementation of the Federal Republic, they have violated people's verdict. Come on,

These achievements are gained through People's War

- Dharmendra Bastola, Central Committee Member, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist



mentary parties want to amend constitution, so that obstacle could be created in writing a new constitution that has to usher the way forward towards New Democratic Revolution. The parliamentary parties want to keep semi-feudal semi-colonial mode of production at any cost. Our Party has been struggling to smash them. These are reasons why it seems that the political process is not going ahead. **Nepali Congress and UML are demanding amendment of the some certain article of the interim constitution. It will obviously be like changing the rule of a game after loosing it? Will your party agree on it?**

Absolutely not! If they demand to change articles to facilitate putting President with executive power, of course yes, in that case! But if they demand to change article to push the country into the mire of majority/minority, selling and buying parliament members, lock up into the hotel rooms with elite prostitutes as they did in the past and as the only filthy game they know to do, our party will not agree. Furthermore, the demand of the NC and UML to amend articles is simply aimed at to withhold writing constitution, so it can never be acceptable to our party. Their

kind of autocracy and despotism. **Is the CPN-M thinking of compromising the post of President and Prime Minister?**

No. Absolutely not! First of all, the present situation does not represent political stability, so the principal duty of the Assembly is to write constitution. Second, if the major post of the government President and Prime Minister is divided between two parties, the country will bug down into the mire of parliamentary cretinism where instead of writing constitution the parties will keep on fighting each other. Third, in the present context of political reality, if the posts of President and Prime Minister are divided between two parties, there will be room left for the reactionaries and feudal autocrats to play between two parties and that will weaken the process of writing constitution. Fourth, there are still forces that are looking forward to find a place where they can wage divides in the Nepalese society and create fissures to bring fragmentations by hyping up national and communal cretinism. Fifth, in this situation, the nation demands a disciplined, devoted and responsible government to the nation and people. In this context, it is only our Party that deserves the capacity

they violated 12-point agreement, 8 point agreement, 5-point agreement, 23-point agreement, interim constitution and people's mandate expressed in the CA election. This has happened in the course of peace process. But before that, they have certain political characteristics. Having evaluating their political line and nature, our party does characterise the parliamentary parties that both the NC and the UML represent feudal autocrats and the comprador bureaucrat capitalist. Though there are certainly differences between these two parties that the congress is a right wing feudal and bureaucrat capitalist bourgeoisie and the UML is a revisionist rot yet under the signboard of communism. Still, because of this class character, the Congress had fallen into feudal fascism and the UML had fallen into social fascism. In spite of all these characteristics, these parties were forced to come to the 12-point agreement because of the combination that the monarchy kicked them out and our party laid palms to enter in. From the 12-point agreement and aftermath, our party had tried to develop them to a patriotic, nationalist and democratic elements. But they are constantly failing to be so because of their class character.

Does the behaviour show that they have not been rectified?

Yes. Absolutely right! Their behaviour shows that they are not changed. For instance, they have put forward seven point agenda. These agendas represent very backward, status quoist and reactionary nature. For example, they demand the PLA be dismissed, the weapons be destroyed, the land be handed over to the feudal, the local Maoist governments be abolished. The essence of these demands are that both of these parties are not ready to bring progressive land reform, let alone introducing a revolutionary production system, that they are not ready to develop national army, that they are not ready to restructure the Nepalese society as the union of national and regional autonomous republics. These stands of the NC and the UML shows that they are not changed yet. We hope that they will change themselves along with the changing of the society and changing of the Nepalese history.

NC, UML are putting forward some unnatural terms. Do you think they are backed by any foreign powers?

This is obvious. This is the reality. But which foreign power is backing and what manoeuvring

goes on, all Nepalese people are accustomed with these realities very well. Not needed to term categorically. This is a serious misfortune to the Nepalese people that the nation never remained independent after the Sugauli treaty of 1816. The parliamentary system could not separate itself from that shameful legacy. And, because of the submissive characteristics of the parliamentary parties to the foreign powers, the Republic has now implemented after seven years, since it was introduced right after the palace massacre. The parliamentary parties could decide something important in favour of the nation and the people that happened very often while coming to agreement with our party, but when they go out they get immediately corrupted because they are infected by the foreign powers. This has been the general tendency of the parliamentary parties.

So do you think these parties are proving as saying that 'reactionaries do not hand over power until they are pulled down'?

No bourgeoisie in the history had ever handed over power to the people voluntarily, so Nepal could not be immune of that reality. Further, whatever politi-

Continued on page 7

Krishna Sen's legend remembered



Six years ago Krishna Sen, a revolutionary journalist and a poet of the people, was killed by the armed forces during the Nepali Congress government. Sen, who was the chief editor of Janadisha National Daily, was taken into custody and beaten to death on May 28, 2008. He was killed in the heart of Capital city. His legend is remembered across the nation by Nepalese journalists.

For the first time, six years after his martyrdom, Sen has been honoured by the state. He was honoured by the National Journalism Prize. The Nepal government established the prize of 20 million Nepalese Rupees that will be given every year to a journalist who contributes to the nation through journalism. Furthermore, an 'Ichhuk Cultural Academy' was established in his honour.

Moreover, the People's Liberation Army

has named one of its brigades after Krishna Sen and a publication house has been named after him - Krishna Sen Publication Pvt. Ltd. A website, www.krishnasenonline.org has been online since 2003. The paper THE RED STAR is also available at this website.

Furthermore, the 'All Nepal People's Cultural Federation' organised a joint programme in the capital city to commemorate the scribe. On this occasion, the Chairman of the CPN-Maoist, Com. Prachanda, was present. He recalled Sen's contribution to the Communist movement of Nepal, and his contribution in the field of progressive culture and revolutionary journalism. Leading a simple life with revolutionary audacity, Krishna Sen is a great hero to all Nepali revolutionaries as well as progressive writers and activists.

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EDITORIAL

A victory for the people

The Nepalese People have passed a historic milestone. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly (CA) has abolished the monarchy and implemented a Federal Democratic Republic (FDR). A dark chapter of feudal history has ended, and a new chapter of Nepalese history has begun, a bright future into a Federal Democratic Republic.

The 240 years of the Shah dynasty, including the Ranas, represented an extremely centralised, absolutist and cruel era in Nepalese history. During this long tyrannous rule, the Nepalese people spent their lives in conditions of scarcity, poverty, misery, repression and exploitation; while at that time; big historical changes were taking place in the international political arena. The changes in foreign countries and the development of mass consciousness inspired the Nepalese people to struggle against the feudal order.

The armed struggle and the people's movement of 2007, 2013, 2028, 2036 and 2046 BS ended with the monarchy making compromises. The aims and aspirations of the people and the movement were unfulfilled because of the class character and the inefficiency of the parliamentary parties. People felt that the bourgeois parliamentary parties would not be able to accomplish the struggle to end the monarchy. Therefore, the People were in search of a revolutionary party that could abolish the monarchy.

After the initiation of People's War (PW), the people had the golden opportunity to contribute to the decisive struggle. The revolutionary, progressive, patriotic and forward leaning forces united under the leadership of CPN-Maoist and Com. Prachanda. The People's War developed in leaps and bounds, taking the struggle ahead to a decisive and logical end.

After a decade long People's War and the second Peoples Movement (janandolan), the CPN-M was able to form a broad United Front with the parliamentary parties after the 12-point understanding. Though the parliamentary parties tried to end the struggle in a compromise with the monarchy, the CPN-M took the flexible but scientific initiative to fight a political struggle, a 'table war'. The mandate of the PW and the People's Movement was to finish off feudalism and the monarchy. This aspiration and mandate had the grand support of the people. With this large support, the Maoist moved victoriously forward. The table-war went on smoothly towards a peaceful political outlet. The parliamentary parties were actually pro-monarchist. They could not even imagine eradicating the feudal reign of Nepal. The CPN-M fought unceasingly against the pro-monarchist and status-quo tendencies of the parliamentary parties.

In the recently held CA election, the CPN-M gave a clear picture of the FDR by proposing a presidential system in its commitment paper. The majority of the people heartily accepted the commitment of the Party; the people voted for the Maoist to implement the FDR and to bring in the new Nepal; this is why they were elected as the largest party in the CA. The people have proved victorious and have created history. They are now creating a new future. The people and only the people are the creators of the history.



■ Pampha Bhusal

The Monarchy has been abolished and the Federal Democratic Republic has been implemented from the first meeting of Constituent Assembly. This is the climax of the Nepalese people's struggle against absolute autocracy and monarchy. Viewing the development of world political history, the capitalist countries have created prosperity through industrial development after they ended feudalism and monarchy.

The Americans were able to change and develop their country to the level of the most advanced after the rebellion against British colonialism and the abolishment of slavery. France entered into the industrial revolution after the execution of the king. Similarly, in Britain, the people cut off the head of George-5th in order to eliminate absolute monarchy. If we study deeply, the process taking place in Nepal today is the history of two to three hundred years before. How unfortunate! During the time of the struggle against feudalism in Europe, Prithvi Narayan Shah was conquering and expanding the feudal state power in Nepal. This very state power was deepening and institutionalizing the contradictions between the castes, nationalities, different communities, religions and gender. It was creating a domestic colonialism over the different regions of the country.

As time passed, since the beginning of 2000 BS, people raised many effective movements against feudalism. The war and the people's movements of 2007, 2013, 2036 and 2046 BS struggled against feudalism, but all those movements ended in compromise. Learning lessons from history, the CPN-Maoist initiated an armed People's War (PW)

based on the principle of MLM. Only through the People's War were the roots of feudalism in rural areas rooted out, and the people had the power to intervene in the central state power. Therefore, the decisive factor in the ending of the monarchy is the People's War.

During the PW; women, dalits, nationalities, the marginalized, and the minorities were empowered; they all participated actively in the People's Power exercised in 80 % of rural areas. In the exercise to empower them, 20 thousand sacrificed their lives, 50 thousand were injured and hundred of thousands contributed collectively. Now the representatives of these oppressed and exploited people have been elected to the Constituent Assembly. It was possible only by the People's War and by the leadership of Com. Prachanda.

The participation of women in the CA is both historic and heroic. Behind the women's participation, there is the unprecedented sacrifice and participation of women in the ideology and plan of the CPN-Maoist. The exceptional presence of the different linguistic, regional, caste, women, Dalit, and marginalized candidates has given a diverse and fuller representation of the entirety of Nepal. Twenty three women candidates of the CPN-Maoist defeated veteran parliamentary leaders by vast margins.

The role and contribution of women in building the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic will be a very important and historic occasion. Half of the oppressed population is women. Constitution is the mother law of the country. The constitution will be for hundreds of years, so the role and participation of women will have historical importance. The presence of women representatives will have a decisive role in the solution of the class, region and gender contradictions by creating a policy of proportional management in all the sectors of government, with a special right for women. The women belonging to the oppressed class will try their best to struggle

against all kinds of exploitation.

The question of education, health and employment will have a priority to address the rights and benefits of women. The free and compulsory education of up to class 12, the opportunity to get the same standard of education to all, and the fundamental question of health will give direct benefits to women. Women suffer from many kinds of diseases due to biology and patriarchal norms and values. Employment will free women from feudal and patriarchal repression. The special right of women will ensure the chance to develop their capacity and efficiency, which will provide the opportunity to fulfill their responsibility effectively. The opportunity will be provided in all sectors of the state. This means equal participation of women in the political, economic, social and cultural sectors of life in Nepal.

The remnants of the feudal order, such as the class contradictions, the unequal distribution of economic sources and means, unequal utilization, unequal work division in all the sectors of state will be changed so all will be in the reach of women. It will provide equal opportunity that will help to develop equal qualification and competence.

The huge presence of women in the CA has raised many debates. Some are arguing from a patriarchal point of view and talking about qualifications; others argue from a feminist point of view but ignore the political factors. Professional efficiency is necessary, but the main thing is politics; the meaning of 'red'! Questions of all types of repression, including the question of women, children and marginalized, the making of an independent and prosperous nation will be discussed and debated in the process of writing the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic. The two year period of creating the constitution will develop the logical efficiency of women in a new way. Women will inspire the process and create pressure also.

(As told to Red Star Reporter)

FROM THE HISTORY

The fall of Romanov Dynasty in Russia

The Romanov dynasty had clocked up 300 years of autocratic rule in Russia by the time Nicholas-II inherited the crown. He met all the job criteria — vicious opposition to democracy ("alien to the Russian soul") and hatred of reformers, socialists and Jews.

He had spilled the blood of millions of Russians in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and World War I. Nicholas ran a repressive police state ("don't spare the bullets") in which jail, torture, exile, pogroms and massacres were staples for dealing with peasant unrest or workers' strikes. Five per cent of the population

owned nearly everything, while 150 million peasants and workers toiled, starved and froze to death.

Alexandra had enormous influence over her husband and was even more reactionary — exhorting Nicholas to "be more autocratic", and finding in the charlatan monk, Rasputin, mystical support for her extremism. "Russia loves to be caressed with a horse-whip — such is the nature of these people", she wrote.

Their world ended in February 1917 when the Tsar was forced to abdicate by a revolution which took power from the monarchy and shared it between a bour-

geois parliament and the workers' soviets. Fearing a monarchist counter-revolution, the provisional government arrested the Tsar and his family, beginning 481 days of house imprisonment.

After the Bolshevik-led socialist revolution in October 1917, Lenin and Trotsky prepared to bring the Tsar to trial in Moscow.

The Ural Bolsheviks, however, did not trust Vassili Yakovlev, who was despatched to bring the Romanovs to Moscow, and they hijacked the Romanovs. Detained in Ekaterinburg, the Romanovs brought along with them four servants,

and three million rubles worth (US\$14 million today) of smuggled diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires and pearls concealed in the belts, hats, buttons and clothes of the four duchesses.

Monarchists and counter-revolutionaries, and Western and Russian anti-communist historians, have portrayed the last 78 days of captivity in Ekaterinberg as a period of humiliations, abuse, torture and rape by the Bolshevik guards. Newly released archival documents, however, as well as the Tsar and Tsarina's own diaries, shatter the lurid propaganda tales.

From Green Left Weekly, March '04.

'People have created the Republic'

Now at the beginning of the 21st century, the Nepalese people are taking an unprecedented initiative by their political consciousness and their struggle against feudalism. Nobody was ready to believe that the 12 point agreement would be made and that the People's War (PW) and the People's Movement (Janandolan) would forge ahead together. They didn't believe that the 250 year old feudal state power would be abolished after the fusion of the PW and the People's Movement. Many people doubted if the election of the constituent assembly would be held on time or not. All the reactionaries and the traditional forces inside and outside of the country had thought that the CPN-M and the Nepalese people would be defeated in the election of the CA, and the old forces would come into the power again. But the Nepalese people again displayed another miracle, and they elected the CPN-M as their leadership. They brought the CPN-M for the leadership of the new Nepal and for writing the FDR constitution. It has been hard to adopt and digest for the reactionary forces. Therefore, the defeated ones are acting out a drama, shamelessly, against the aspirations of the interim constitution and the agreements made before. But, we the Nepalese people are patiently waiting for the peaceful outlet through a table discussion.

We had to work very hard to implement the republic on May 28. The traditional parties were looking for an excuse to avoid the day of declaration. It had been possible only through heavy struggle and initiative.

You, the people, have made us not only the biggest party, but also the tallest one, because even Nepali Congress and CPN-UML put together cannot be as tall as us, even if one stands on the head of the other.

Now, months have passed. The new government, according to the mandate of CA election, has not yet been formed. The parliamentary parties are still in the government instead of seeking the peaceful exit. They are conducting a struggle

against the CPN-M, and they imagine that they were the ones victorious in the election! They have put forward 7 point demands! This foolishness has driven the country backward.

Instead of following the mandate, they try to encircle the CPN-Maoist! Let's see, who will encircle whom?! So far, as we are honest with the people and the nation, no power in the world can encircle us. Don't dare to reverse the correct verdict! The friends of the NC and the CPN-UML should timely remember; that it will be against the people and the nation to overturn the correct verdict. It would be suicidal.

We have repeated time and again that we, the parties, should follow what is mentioned in the interim constitution because it is the time of transitional liquidity. Let's apply the method of agreement and cooperation. But they have no knowledge other than to buy, to hide and to lure the members of the parliament; and form and then fail the government. This rotten knowledge does not serve the country.

Before the election of CA, those parliamentary parties did not want even to hear and pronounce the word of president. They have mentioned the word rarely in their election manifestos, as a ceremonial president, because actually they are monarchists. The people pushed them to the republic, but they have monarchism in their veins. Therefore, they are in a hurry to be the new king after Gyanendra falls.

The Maoist entered the election with the agenda of a presidential system and won. The republic has been implemented. After that, the parliamentary parties slowly heard the word 'president'. We are still requesting them to follow the mandate of the people. But, at the same time, we should lead the government because we have the responsibility of the largest party. We told them that, we agreed on the same proposal that you had written in your election manifesto. Let's make the same person prime minister and president, we told. But the surprise! They insisted on the same demand to put the president repeatedly.



Otherwise, they began to indicate to put Gyanendra as the king.

In the course of discussion, I said: "OK, thanks to you all! You accepted presidential system; but the republic should be declared today." Then, the Federal Democratic Republic was implemented. It is a bitter truth of the history. The investigation and solution of this event will be an issue for the coming 50 years. We agreed on the presidential system. But, we have not made an agreement to make any particular person or party president. No agreement has been taken in the division of the key posts of state power. We are not ready to give the presidency to any party whom the Nepalese people have defeated.

We are ready to debate on the question of the president. There is an agreement in the document of implementing republic, "The other necessary contents including the election of the president will be put on the other amendment." The republic was implemented with this patience, wisdom and responsibility. We made the monarchists declare republic in Nepal. This is the victory of the Nepalese people.

Thanks to those monarchists and ex-monarchists.

We were very proud as the republic was being declared. I remembered back to the formation of inclusive people's power in the remote village of Rolpa district, where there were madheshis, women, dalits, nationalities, Bherikarnali, Seti-Mahakali, and the representatives of all the oppressed people. Right now, the presence of the representatives but in a much larger scale, in the Birendra International Conference Centre hall! I felt the new Nepal formed in Rolpa has developed into something much bigger.

The CPN-M was not out of the people, it is not now and it won't be in the future either. We have no other alternative than to accomplish the dream of the martyrs and the Nepalese people. We have sometimes been to left, right, before and behind in the struggle, and that only for the Nepali people and the nation.

The inclusive structure of Nepal today is quite different from other countries. The dream of all the martyrs, wounded, disabled and all the Nepalese people is going to be

accomplished. But the parliamentary parties seem to be against the mandate of the people.

The rotten thinking of Gyanendra brought about the republic. Now, if the Congress and the UML do not understand the thing we have achieved, the People's Republic will come! We do not leave Nepalese people and the Nepalese people do not leave us. For us, it will take no more than two years to make a constitution. After that, we want to maintain political stability. We can be more and more flexible and we can also be harder and harder.

The People have understood the thing. The People have made history. But the big men and the big intellectuals have failed. Their mind has been damaged. Their documents of investigation and their thesis' were only bundles of papers. Those thesis writers are obliged to accept history made by the people. The Nepalese people were very much stronger. They have created the republic.

A speech delivered on at a mass meeting organised by CPN-Maoist central committee to celebrate the declaration of Federal Republic on May 30 in Kathmandu.

'Proposal to implement the Republic' These achievements

Honouring the People's mandate that has been expressed through revolutions and people's movements since 1950 and to honour the achievements that has been gained, following amendment in the interim constitution-2007, article 159 (2), is presented according to the agreements among the political parties :

1. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly declares Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic, sovereign and state power rests on the Nepalese people and meeting declares Nepal as an independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular and inclusive state.
2. As democratic republic is implemented all constitutional provisions, law and administrative system that contravene with it will be void from today. All the rights, facilities, status, titles given to the ex-king and his family according to prevalent law, tradition, customs and culture have

- been automatically ended.
3. As Nepal has been declared Federal Democratic Republic; to institutionalise the necessary provisions including post of President constitutionally, a necessary amendment bill will be presented to amend the Interim Constitution-2007.
4. In this historic occasion when the country enters officially to the Federal Democratic Republic, this meeting pays tribute to all the

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known-unknown martyrs. On this auspicious occasion, this meetings congratulating all the Nepali people, urges to all the Nepali people in the country and outside to celebrate 15 of Jestha (May 28) as National Republic Day.

5. In the pretext that the country has been declared a Republic, the Nepal government will take the necessary steps to preserve the heritage inside the Narayanhity royal palace.

- The proposal passed by the first meeting of the historic Constituent Assembly on May 28, 2008.

cal achievements are gained to date, such as the implementation of the Federal Democratic Republic and so forth, these are the achievements gained through great People's War. That is, there was a process of armed struggle for a decade where the Party got victory and again there has been a process of vigorous political struggle on the table on which also Party got victory. So it is important to note that the feudal autocrats have never given the Federal Democratic Republic voluntarily, rather it has been gained forcefully.

Do you think of another round of movement or struggle if NC and UML kept disobeying people's mandate and hand over power to your party?

The question is not of handing over power to our Party, but the question is to hand over power to the people. The role of our party is to lead these people to seize the political power if they are not handed over through the level of struggle so far performed. And, if the NC and the UML fail to comply to the people's verdict, the people will certainly come to the struggle of another level and force them to hand over the political power to the people. No force in the world can stop the people from taking power, once they get ideologically, politically equipped. This will be the case in Nepal too.

Redefining the tasks of the revolutionary cultural movement



■ Florentino A. Iniego, JR

At this historic moment, the Nepali people should be greatly proud of themselves rejoicing the end of monarchy and the birth of the New People's Democratic Republic of Nepal under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist. Democratic and patriotic organizations, national liberation and communist movements all over the world were in red salute hailing the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist offensive and looking forward for the establishment of a socialist state in South Asia.

The victory of the CPN-M was laid down by the mandate as expressed in a decade of people's war, its leadership in the nineteen days Jana Andolan, its commitment to the peace process and the result of the Constituent Assembly election. Still the revolution is not yet finished, and as Comrade Kiran, Senior Party Member confirmed that "...the struggle must move ahead to the direction of socialism and communism." (Red Star, February 16-29, 2008)

Urgently, the CPN-M under the coalition government shall carry on basic democratic reforms on the ailing economy, draft a popular and democratic constitution, proceed with the integration of the PLA and Nepali Army, implement land reform as the main substance of the democratic revolution, and put forward a national industrialization program. It shall also create an independent, peace-loving and development oriented-foreign policy while maintaining an anti-imperialist, anti-expansionist, and anti-globalization stand.

Problems and challenges on the long march to socialism will persist and probably will proliferate if not dealt and handled correctly. Why is it so? As a Marxist, we should bear in mind the primary reason that the foundation of the old economic base is still intact as a whole and the superstructure (state, army, law, and other political institutions, and their corresponding ideological forms in philosophy, arts and literature) that justifies the base does not disintegrate as well. Even though the reactionary state machinery has been defeated, it was not totally smashed. The rightist and revisionist parties do not willingly quit at

this stage of history. They are still there actively consolidating their forces. With the inauguration of the Republic, they will engage in a prolonged and desperate struggle against the proletariat, along with the progressive and democratic parties in the economic, political, ideological, and cultural spheres.

Since the base is not yet qualitatively and totally transformed, the struggle within the superstructure also remains. Thus, there is an urgent need to review and redefine the tasks, programs, plans of the Party in the whole arena of the revolutionary cultural movement. In this endeavor, it is important to take into account the laments and insights of some artist, writers, and critics in the cultural front.

In the past, the role of the "mainstream" literature in making the future of Nepali society had been undermined. The monarchy and dominant political parties have not given any importance to the writers, artists, and "continue to fill the pigeon holes made by the autocratic regime with their feeble party cadres" (www.kantipuronline.com, August 19, 2006). It was also observed that the (Royal) Nepal Academy was killing the creative environment by promoting nepotism and groupism. In addition, the Nepali government was giving much attention to literature to the extent that it was neglecting the arts, music and theater. (The Kathmandu Post, April 6, 2008)

Ninu Chapagain, President of Progressive Writers Association, reiterates these depressing insights of 'mainstream' artists and writers. He said, that the government has no "clear-cut policy" when it comes to literature. However, aside from the responsibility of the state, he also cited his reservations on some intellectuals who underestimate the importance of the progressive literature and treated them as "propaganda literature." He pointed out that, "They think that when we write about social problems, they think it was just slogans. They considered progressive writing not as a trend or a school, they neglect it. But what really exists is the 'poverty of thinking' among these intellectuals." (Interview with N. Chapagain, May 27, 2008)

Given these cultural maladies and disparities, progressive writers are conscious enough to affirm their rights. In a colloquium the "Role of Writers in the Beginning of the Republic" held last 17 May 2008, writers demand that they "should be given space in the new Constitution and their representation should be ensured

in the CA." In this occasion, Ram Prasad Gyawali urged the writers to use their pen for the establishment of the republic, its stability and consolidation. (The Himalayan Times, May 18, 2008)

In the field of criticism, there are feelers indicating the openness of Indian and Nepali intellectuals to study Maoist literature. Dr. Arun Gupto has posed this challenge: "During the last fifteen years, Marxism has been a significant methodology in higher education of English pedagogy in Nepal. Now that Maoism is an immediate political reality, its literary, philosophical and aesthetic contents need liberal discourse." We hope that this will end the cultural myopia of intellectuals to the Maoist literature. (The Kathmandu Post, April 20, 2008)

Meanwhile, Khagendra Sangraula maintains that the Maoist literature stands out as dynamic force in the existing literary mode of production in Nepal. He added that "If the Maoist politics remains radical in its attempt to transform the unjust feudal state into a democratic and inclusive state and thereby transforms society into a just and equitable society, then Maoist literature will be one of the distinct and challenging trends in Nepali literature." (E-mail correspondence, May 23, 2008)

In the present situation, the All-Nepal Cultural Federation (ANCF) and its affiliate organizations, writers in the People's Liberation Army, and other progressive cultural organization should review and redefine the tasks of the revolutionary cultural movement. It should consistently be based on the Common Minimum Policy and Programme, which serves as a guide in the struggle to complete the new democratic revolution: "The basic character of the New Democratic/People's Democratic Republic culture and education shall be national, democratic and scientific. In the field of culture and education, the main task of the people's government should be to promote, cultural standard of the people, produce red and expert manpower for social and national reconstruction, and develop progressive and scientific outlook that serves the people, in place of the feudal, comprador, and anti-people ones." (Some Important Documents of the CPN-M, 2004, p.170)

Ishwor Chandra Gyanwali, Chairperson of ANCF said that "in the present situation there is a need to align the cultural movement with the political movement in order to give it an immediate momentum and

unite all the scattered and small progressive cultural organizations to give them a definite direction. The feudalistic regime may have declined politically but culturally it still has its roots under the ground. In order to pull them out, we have to change the rules of the obsolete social norms and values. We have to train people to live with progressive cultural norms which stand for them not against them. We also have to change the present education system which preaches the feudal, bourgeoisie and decadent cultural norms. These are the present tasks of the revolutionary cultural movement." (E-mail correspondence, May 29, 2008)

At this stage of struggle, it is important for revolutionary writers and artists to band together and make a conscious effort to create and promote literature from the standpoint of the proletariat and the people. These literature should uphold and heighten the revolutionary class content and at the same time raising the aesthetic standards. They should go and live among the people, among the peasants and workers who constitute the majority of the people. Their artistic and literary works should unite, educate, and inspire the people to transform the old society and build up the new one.

The long and tortuous march towards total victory is full of sacrifice. By remembering the lives of 11 thousands comrades and people martyred in the people's war, we should stand firm in attaining the historic mission of the proletariat towards the total liberation of humanity against any forms of exploitation and oppression. Krishna Sen Ichuck, our revolutionary martyr and poet, declared in his poem "Pratibandha" (Restriction) that nobody can stop the Party and the people from fulfilling this great mission:

*O, atyacharka paharedarharuo!
Antim jeet hamrai ho
Timro harmathi vijayako jhanda gaddai
Hamee bhane athak ra abichal
Antim yudhda ladirahanchhaun.*

*Oh, forces of aggression
Sure and certain
The final victory belongs to us
We keep on fighting the final war
Without fear and tired
By raising our flag of victory
Upon your defeat.*

(Translated by Bharat Rhodan Saud)

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'Faith in the younger generation'



The effort and dedication of new generation will soon make Nepal proud worldwide. Tremendous political and socio-economic changes are taking place right now in this beautiful country. The sacrifices and efforts, diligence, dedication and vision of our party have set a new landmark in the history of Nepal. The poor and marginalised are now empowered. Our success has set an exemplary milestone in the 21st century. We were very successful in the constituent assembly election. We feel a great responsibility towards the people of Nepal and the nation. The people have given us a mandate to lead the peace process to its logical conclusion and to write a new constitution. I would like to express the commitment of my party to create a better model for peace, economic development and a better model of democracy, from this poor but beautiful country with vast potential and great natural resources. We want to establish this as a fact.

We welcome all the parties to take active role in the meeting of constituent assembly to write a new constitution. All of us will work hard together to make the dream of New Nepal continue for decades to come.

We welcome co-operation with the international community in the development of Nepal. And, as I'm engaged in meetings with various diplomats and with the United Nations. We also welcome organizations that seem to have ideological differences with us for the betterment of the Nepalese people. I have faith in the younger generation of Nepal. After seeing the professionalism and ambition of young men and women I am convinced that our next generation will contribute to Nepal's progress and also will create an identity for us all over the world.

a speech delivered on the occasion of Everest Summit Award organised by Youth Asia on May 2008 in Kathmandu.

An alternate agent of change

■ Hira Bdr. Shrestha

There is a common saying regarding politics in Nepal; politics is a game played by politicians who are cunning, clever, crooked and able to cheat and corrupt the aspirations of the people by their sweet speeches and consolations. Politics is widely considered in such a way. In the pretext of this analysis on politics in Nepal, let us see what the Maoists will do for the betterment of the people under the prevalent political situation in the world.

The time has come for the Maoists to show that they are really doing good for people and the country as well. Thousands of people lost their lives during the People's War; they were either cadres or people caught in the cross fire. So, the Maoist must think on it seriously. We also expect them to work without intra party conflicts and innuendoes.

The results of the constituent assembly election, and the support to the Maoist party shows us that the people want to see a long peace and drastic changes in overall areas; primarily in the educational system and secondly in different sectors such as foreign affairs, socio-economics, cultures, practices, customs and manners etc. Most of the people who cast ballots for the Maoist hope for a New Nepal with a clear cut political vision and comprehensive national consensus. They also hope that they will go ahead to form the government by coordination, cooperation and networking with different political parties, civil society groups and foreign powers etc, so as to avoid other problems. It is widely known that this is the people's aspiration in Nepal. In fact, the Maoist party has been chosen as an alternate agent of change by the people because the other parties, such as the Nepali congress and the CPN-UML, have

failed to fulfil the aspirations of the people. They ruled the country for twelve years, and they could not do the concrete task of developing the country to tackle the people's grievances. They have nothing to show, no concrete actions for the people except massive corruption, embezzlement, torture, violence, irregularities and many other bad practices that emerged in Nepalese society during the regime of these two political parties, the CPN UML and the Nepali Congress.

If the people's mandate is misused this time too, the people of the Nepal will never believe in the present leaders. Now, the people have great faith in the Maoist party. The verdict of the people must be respected, as there is nothing above the people in a democratic system. Let's hope that Nepal will be led in a systematic way under the charismatic leadership of Pushpa Kamal Dahal aka Prachanda.

Most people believe that the New Nepal can only be made only with genuine effort and endeavour by the people. It is often echoed that it is time for the people to decide themselves what should be done in order to make New Nepal. It is not time to wait and see what the political leaders will do for the betterment of the country. It is the responsibility of all sectors of the state equally to bring peace and harmony to the country. Most political analysts have failed to give a genuine analysis of political situation of Nepal; they actually didn't know the lower level situation of Nepalese politics, and the practice of guessing the situation of far flung areas of Nepal from a room in Kathmandu by a handful of intellectuals is still common.

It is widely felt that during the decades of democratic political history of Nepal, most of the leaders of the political parties strived only for

their own prestige, of being a minister in the ministries. But the politicians have not shown any concern towards the needs and interests of the people. This is why the present situation has evolved. For all these reasons, nowadays, all the people of Nepal have to participate in the political process. Different political parties have their own political manifestos in which beautiful developmental words are mentioned to attract and garner the support of people. But, people want action, not words. So, words should be translated into action at any cost. What we can analyze about the situation is that there is a system less system in Nepal. That is why the movement has to create a system in Nepal.

This is the time to see what system the Maoist will set up in Nepal; either a Democratic Egalitarianism or Communism? In Democratic Egalitarianism, at least the following assumptions are involved:

- The ultimate justification for any distribution of benefits is to be given in terms of the rights of those receiving them.
- Distribution is always within political control, and so is always, by design or by neglect, the result of political activity.
- There is some common property in all people which is the single ground of whatever rights they possess. This common property is possessed to an equal extent by all people.

There are both challenges and opportunities for Maoist in the present context. People don't want disturbances and chaotic situations to return again through political fighting in the name of who will be the president of Nepal or who will lead the country. This is not the time to fight each other but to make a constitution together according to the will of the people.

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UML: trailing behind Congress Party?

After their shameful defeat in the Constituent Assembly elections, the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal, United Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML) has changed. Yet, the policy and the activities of the CPN-UML have shown that it has not changed essentially. The CPN-UML stands against the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist and tail the agenda of the Nepali Congress. It was clearly evident during the debate on the demarcation of power to the President. The CPN-UML is following the same old discredited policies. This raises many questions.

On May 28, Nepal became a Republic by abolishing 239 years of rule by Monarchy. At the same time, the political players of Nepal had agreed to create a presidential portfolio. But the major parties had not reached a consensus on the type of presidential system. In this 'table-war' the CPN-UML stood against the CPN-Maoist and backed the Congress agenda. The CPN-UML continues its policy of pretending not to align to either side; but is really following the agenda of the Nepali Congress.

Before the election, the CPN-Maoist published and publicized their Manifesto: a presidential system with executive powers and Chairman Prachanda as the future president of Republic of Nepal. This is normal for a Communist party, as all the Communist governments in the world have exercised this system. But the CPN-UML, pretending to be Communist, followed the Nepali Congress policy to centralise executive power in the chair of Prime Minister. This is a continuation of the

failed Westminster parliamentary model that has been copied from India and exercised in Nepal for about two decades.

In the CA election, the CPN-Maoist became the single largest party. In the assembly it holds more seats than the Nepali Congress and CPN-UML put together. But the leaders of those parties are behaving as though they were the ones victorious, and Nepal is their father's property. Some argue that the Congress, the CPN-UML and Madhesi Janadhikar Forum have more seats than CPN-Maoist; so the Maoist should follow them. After the election, the role of the CPN-UML is mainly as a tool for Congress and the MJF to attack the CPN-Maoist. This proves that the CPN-UML is serving the anti-communist reactionary forces of Nepal. In the serious debate to shape the country for the coming decades, the CPN-UML has clearly stood against the revolutionary forces and served the reactionaries. This proves that the new leadership of the CPN-UML is no different than the previous one. Many Nepali and international Communist leaders have said again and again that revisionism serves reaction. Isn't UML proving this to be true, again and again, in Nepal? Perhaps it is time that the CPN-UML changes its name. After all, they are not 'Communist', they are certainly not 'United', they are definitely not 'Marxists', and they are not in anyway 'Leninists'. By changing their name to something more suitable, they can at last be honest with the people of Nepal and the international community.

Why is the CPN-M on the US 'terrorist' List ?



■ Roshan Kissoon

Even after winning a landslide victory in the CA elections, even with democratic mandate to form a new government; nevertheless, the CPN Maoist is still on the US 'terrorist' list. The US state department is still shuffling around with various definitions of 'terrorism' that they can try and fit the CPN Maoist into. One may seek and find different definitions of terrorism, different criteria that enable one to distinguish a 'terrorist' group from a non 'terrorist' group; and then try to argue that the CPN Maoist should or should not be on such a terrorist list. This is worth doing, the ex US President Jimmy Carter has argued along these lines. One may argue that the US itself engages in terrorist activities, thus making some kind of moral equation between groups on the terrorist list and the US and its allies such as Israel. But it is better to ask, firstly; what is the US terrorist list, and secondly, what groups are on the US terrorist list. Firstly; to be on the US terrorist list, a group must threaten the interests of the US in some way, they must be a threat to US nationals and to US interests in business or politics. Secondly: other groups on the US terror list are predominantly Islamic resistance groups, such as Hezbollah and Hamas. The various armed Communist and Maoist parties around the world, such as Shining Path of Peru, the Turkish Maoist parties, FARC of Colombia are also on the terrorist list. A number of nationalist groups and parties such as the LTTE in Sri Lanka and the PKK in Turkey make their way on the list.

A curious thing has been started happening recently, and it is quite likely that this trend will continue. That is, groups on the US terrorist list are starting to win popular 'free and fair' elections. We have seen how much the US respects the 'free and fair' election; we have seen how a coup was engineered to stop Hamas becoming the government of Palestine. There is every reason to believe that the US is trying to plan something similar in Nepal. The difference is that the CPN Maoist and the Communist movement in general know very well the depths to which the US is willing to descend. There is nothing too low that the US has not or will not try. Here, the CPN Maoist has planned accordingly, and prepared for any necessity. The YCL can control the streets, and the PLA can stop any attempt at military coup. It is largely because of the YCL and the PLA that a military coup does not present itself as the best course of action for the US in Nepal. This should not be forgotten. This is why there is much confusion in the US camp, the contradictory statements regarding the CPN Maoist coming from the US embassy. The US will probably try another way to overthrow the CPN Maoist, but they are doing it from a position of weakness, and they know it.

When groups on the 'terrorist' list start winning elections, another curious thing takes place. The very term 'terrorist' becomes inverted, its utter falsity is seen through, and a kind of moral collapse of the US and what it represents take place. There is a kind of moral reversal. Good becomes bad and bad becomes good. That is to say; as the former US president Jimmy Carter suggests: the US is wrong about classifying the CPN Maoist as a terrorist organisation. The question that poses itself is this: If the US is wrong about the CPN-M, are they not also wrong about Shining Path, the Turkish Maoists, and the Naxalites of India? Is the US not wrong about Hamas and Hezbollah? In short, the one that calls everybody and everything terrorist becomes recognised as the one real terrorist, the very source of terror.

Kissoon is an international freelance journalist.

Everest day Awards

The first Mt. Everest day has been observed in Nepal with various programmes. The Government of Nepal had announced May 29 as International Sagarmatha (Everest) Day to commemorate the heroic achievement of late Tenzing Norgay Sherpa and Sir Edmund Hillary for their historic ascent of Sagarmatha (Mt. Everest) on May 29, 1953.

On the occasion, Trekking Agencies Association of Nepal (TAAN) distributed different awards. TAAN Sagarmatha Award worth Rs. 50,000 was conferred to Apa Sherpa, the 18th time Everest summiteers and TAAN Dr. Harka Gurung Award worth of Rs. 30,000 was conferred to Mr. Triple Gurung. Likewise Nepal Academy of Tourism and Hotel Management (NATHM) received the TAAN Pasang Lhamu Memorial Award worth Rs. 25,000 and Women Awareness Group, Lukla was awarded by TAAN Pemba Doma Award worth Rs. 15,000.

TAAN is organising 'Eco Trekking Workshop in the Destination 2008 for establishing Responsible Tourism' in Kakani from June 3-5, 2008. Likewise, TAAN is also organising '5th Thuraya-TAAN Mountain Bike Championship' on June 5, 2008. The championship will start from Lamabagar, Dharmasthali and will end at Kakani (Approximately 17 km).



Photo- Dayamidhi Bhatt

Republic Celebrations

On May 28th, thousands gathered on the streets of the capital and near the Constituent Assembly hall (known as International Convention Centre) in support of first ever "Republic Day". A three-day national holiday was declared on Wednesday to celebrate the country's new status. Even though the Kathmandu District Administration has declared restrictions on marches, rallies and assembling on the streets, around the convention centre, the palace and other places in the capital, there were already lots of marches and cultural programs.

People started to pour into the centre of Kathmandu from various places. The CPN (Maoist) organised seven rallies starting from various venues to converge at the centre of Kathmandu and marched towards the assembly hall. Thousands of Maoist supporters marched through the capital waving red hammer and sickle flags and pumping their fists in the air: "Down with the monarchy!" Near the conven-

tion centre, thousands of demonstrators gathered, many chanting "Long Live the Republic!"

The session was scheduled to be held at 11am but was delayed by several hours. The majority of the people were not disheartened by the delays. Even Though it took twelve more hours for Nepal to be declared a republic, at 11.30PM, people were already busy cheering around the assembly hall. On hearing the result of the vote, thousands of people danced in the streets of Kathmandu, waving various party flags and chanting "Welcome to the republic."

Many wore traditional clothing and sang folk songs for the occasion. These were Nepalese from across the social fabric: young and old, male and female, rich and poor, madhesi and pahadi; all as one. Many carried bright red Nepali flags with them or had their faces coloured with red or filled with slogans exhorting the declaration of republic.

The biggest of the celebrations were to be



Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

seen around midnight. Setting off firecrackers, people went wild in the streets of the capital as well as other major cities across Nepal after news of the assembly vote. The approved proposal states that Nepal is "an independent, indivisible, sovereign, and secular and an inclusive democratic republic nation". Crowds were seen swarming in vehicles and bikes. "Let's celebrate the dawn of a republic in a grand manner," one loudspeaker blared from the top of a taxi.

After the declaration of the Republic, the celebration continued the following days. Although government had not declared any programs, people came to the street and celebrate spontaneously. In the

excitement of republic declaration, people organizing various programs across the country. Many youth gathered in front of the Narayanhity on Thursday afternoon and demanded the immediate leave of former King from there. This caused chaos for few hours.

On May 30th Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist organised rallies and a huge mass-meeting in the Capital. Chairman of the party and various party leaders delivered speeches and congratulated the people for the great achievement. More than hundred thousand people participated the mass-meeting which was the largest after the declaration of Republic of Nepal.