

# THE RED STAR

Vol-I, No-10, June 19-31, 2008 Rs. 10/-

www.krishnasenonline.org

Nepal's National Magazine

## Break the deadlock

### Red Star Reporter

The delay in forming a new government according to the mandate of the election of Constituent Assembly (CA) is a bad omen. However, the Federal Democratic Republic (FDR) has been implemented and monarchy has been abolished from the first meeting of CA. All these historic decisions have been taken on the basis of agreement among the political parties.

But even after the new mandate was secured in the election of CA, the Nepali Congress (NC), the third party of the country, is putting hurdles in the way of political progress. The NC is not ready to give way to the CPN (Maoist), the largest party of the country. This is because of its class interests. Therefore, it is breaching the norms and values of democracy. Instead of making the process easier, the NC, together with the CPN (UML), has put a seven point pre-conditions not to leave power. Now, they are insisting on taking state power by demanding the presidency though



Koirala trying to repalce Gyanendra?

they have already been rejected by the people in the election of CA.

The CPN (Maoist), taking these concerns seriously and responsibly, publicised the names of five prestigious candidate leaders not from the party but from civil society for the post

of president. But the parliamentary parties are not ready to accept it, and they claim that the list is designed: 'to create illusion over the Terai and take benefit from the other political parties.' But the CPN (Maoist) does not have this interest because it has not named any party leaders on the list. Therefore, the claim of the parliamentary parties is ridiculous.

The NC is intentionally trying to prolong the transitional period rather than to find a logical solution for present impasse. The reason is that the vestiges of the feudal order have transferred to the NC. Another cause for prolonging the impasse is to build annual budget in favour of NC because it will be the commencement of a new economic year. In spite of all these efforts, the NC is producing falsehoods in the fascist style of Goebbels, lying and lying until people believe the lie is the truth; that the CPN (Maoist) has stepped down to accept the terms and conditions put forward by NC. Dispelling this illusion, the Chairman of

CPN (Maoist), Prachanda, said, 'It is 100 percent false that we have abandoned our political stand on the presidency. This is propaganda used to check the pulse of the people.' Chairman Prachanda further stated: "Nepalese people are looking for a change, a new ideology and a new leadership. Therefore, we are not ready to accept the old leadership because accepting it will be to disrespect the mandate of the people."

The CPN-Maoist ministers have resigned from the NC led government a few days ago and given an ultimatum to Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala to resign and to smooth the way to form a new government under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist). The leaders of the major political parties are holding meetings to form consensus. But the NC seems to remain rigid by repeating the old and stale demands which are against the peace accord and the agreements made before.

The CPN-Maoist has said the GP Koirala is too old and feeble to lead the country and

it has already announced that a honourable position will be given to GP Koirala after his resignation from the post of Prime Minister. The CPN (Maoist) has proposed him to be a leader of an all-party mechanism. But GP Koirala, who refused the same proposal to be the first President in the past, by Maoist, is now dying for Presidency.

After the abolition of the monarchy and implementation of the FDR, the class equation of Nepalese society has changed. The antagonism has shifted in the last month. So the progressive force and the representative of the feudal and bureaucratic capitalism - the NC cannot carry on together. The NC and the CPN (Maoist) are at logger heads because of the new antagonism. As this is a transitional period, the NC should understand the situation and not try to create conflict. If the NC really adopts 'democratic' norms and values, it must show them in practice.

Their old and meaningless ideology and outlook cannot

Continued on page 2

## Establishment of republic and the direction of revolution



■ Mohan Baidya 'Kiran'

To say in the essence, this period is the political, economical and cultural transitional period. The old power has not disappeared entirely and new one is not established yet. Therefore, the present period is very sensitive and critical period.

Nepal, a multi-caste, multi-lingual, multi-religious country, exists in semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions. The people have been struggling for a long time for the establishment of a People's Democracy, protection of national independence, and the guarantee of livelihood. To achieve these goals, the People's Movement, People's struggle, class struggle and armed struggle took place in different forms. The great People's War advanced to its climax. Under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist), the process of abolishing feudalism in the political, economic and cultural spheres was driven ahead. Proceeding this way, our party adopted the tactics of roundtable conference, Interim government and the election of the Constitution Assembly (CA), participated in negotiations and cease-fire. This allowed the People's War to move ahead effectively against the tyrannous 'coup' of King Gyanendra, and the 12 point understanding was made with parliamentary parties. The fusion of a decade long People's

War and the 19 day People's Movement brought the monarchy to its knees. Then, the country advanced by the peaceful development of the revolution and the election of the Constituent Assembly was accomplished, despite so many obstacles and complexities. The CA election made the CPN (Maoist) the largest party in the country. From the first meeting of the CA on 28 May 2008, the declaration was given to establish and implement the Federal Democratic Republic.

At the conclusion of the entire process, we can say that the Federal Democratic Republic has been established. The country has been declared secular. Along with it, the process of forming a new constitution is being formed addressing the issues of class, caste, religion, gender; to restructure of the state on a new basis; the guarantee of the right to education, health, food-sovereignty

Continued on page 3

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# Shah vacates, converted into museum

Apparently, Gyanendra Shah has read the history of Britain well. So he didn't dare to disobey the decision of Constituent Assembly and obeyed the 'order' to vacate the palace within 15 days of the decision made on May 28. Charles I was beheaded in 1649 for not obeying the decisions of the Parliament.

Many people have spoken of Gyanendra Shah's steps as surprising. Some people, even the leaders of some parliamentary political parties, feared that he might disobey the CA's decision; that is he may not have vacated the palace and accepted the Republic. But he didn't have any choice other than to leave the palace.

Four days after the king left the palace, Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala, hoisted the national flag over Narayanhiti Palace. (Unfortunately, GP Koirala has not learnt much from Gyanendra and is unwilling to vacate the post of Prime Minister.) Hence the Narayanhiti Palace has been converted into National Museum. Because the Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML leaders are sentimental over the 'Palace' they prefer to call it the 'Narayanhiti Palace Museum' breaching the proposal passed in CA to convert Narayanhiti into a 'National Museum'. GP Koirala and the same old political leaders presided over the whole ceremony, distressing the Nepali people. People would have felt a real change if the leadership appointed by the CA had done this. The lack of norms and disobedience of the people's mandate by NC leaders made the people feel that another 'King' has been substituted in 'Narayanhiti'.

But before vacating the palace, Gyanendra Shah talked to the media and tried defending his previous actions and denied his involvement in the 2001 palace massacre. The CA decision obviously was the most tragic incident of Gyanendra and his family,



but in such a moment of grief, he appeared with his mockery smiles. It was reported from the sources that there was also a critical atmosphere inside the palace where his wife Komal and daughter-in-law Himani were desperately bewildering for this tragic detachment with Royal Palace. It was their ancestral palace where they were grown up and spend lots of hay day here. Now, all they have lost if any thing was remain with them are only the sweet memory of this palace.

At a very cosy hall where more than three hundred journalists had gathered, he read a statement and tried to win the sympathy of the common people. He clearly said that he would not leave the country and even he doesn't have any property abroad. Expecting the right to maintain his private property according to the laws of Nepal, he suggested he would be involved with business in the future.

He clearly accepted that his previous actions failed although they were taken 'with good intentions and tried without his will. Furthermore he asked the people to understand his mistakes as 'that had done on-behalf of saving the people and the sovereignty of the nation.'

But while leaving the palace and seeking sympathy from the people, Gyanendra displayed his greed. Being one of the richest people in Nepal, with billions of rupees, he begged a house for shelter from the Nepal government. Furthermore, he emotionally blackmailed the government and asked two buildings for his grandmother and mother within the Narayanhiti premise. The Nepal government granted him the Nagarjuna palace and two buildings he had asked for. This has angered a large section of the Nepali people.

After Gyanendra vacated the palace, many have a curiosity on what he would do next. Some believe that he might be active in politics in some form, whereas, others think that he might work as a businessman. Many are trying to figure out what Gyanendra meant by being 'dedicated to the independence and territorial integrity of the nation of Nepal.'

## PLA had defeated RNA

The integration of the People's Liberation Army and the Nepal Army is being a highly contentious issue. During the signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement, it was agreed that the PLA will be professionalized and the NA will be democratized in order to integrate the armies together to build a new national army for the new Nepal.

Without entering into the current debate over the integration, let us briefly look at the roles played by the respective forces in the Nepal's polity during the last few decades.

On one hand, The Nepal Army, popularly known as the 'Royal' Nepalese Army, was the sole property of the Royals who ruled Nepal for 240 years. It was designed and managed solely by them, as all royalty all over the world have done, for the protection and unhindered continuation of Royal decree all over Nepal.

Consequently, all democratic movements to empower people, beginning with the one scrapped by the then monarch in 1959 to the famous Jana Andolan-II, where the feudal power structure and the monarchies existence were seriously endangered, the 'Royal' Nepalese Army was used to destroy these democratic experiments. Serious allegations of war crimes and human rights abuses have been levelled by the media against current and former members of the high command, especially former royalist army chiefs like Prajwalla Shumsher Rana and Pyar Jung Thapa. Even the current Army Chief, Rookmangad Katwal, was borne and brought up in the royal family and has been named as a culprit by the Rayamaji Commission that probes the killings done during the Jana Andolan.

On the other hand, the PLA was formed and guided by the CPN (Maoist) to fight against the centuries old archaic political system and all forms of repression. It was organized with an understanding of not only that the political power comes from the barrel of the gun, but most importantly, the hand that holds the gun should be led and controlled by a politically conscious being.

Therefore, while the RNA has been blindly using their arms, against innocent people who fight for their own rights that rightfully belongs to them, the PLA has always stood by the people, as they are a

guerrilla army constituted from the most patriotic of men and women of Nepal, to fight for their own rights. Even according to a biased analyst like Ed Douglas of National Geographic, (p. 54, November 2005), the number killed by Maoists from 1996 to 2005: 4,500. People killed by government in same period: 8,200!

Hence all this fuss about 'politically indoctrinated' forces is just pure hypocrisy. It is the Nepalese Army soldier that has been indoctrinated that their king is a reincarnation of Lord Shiva and they will only be doing a favour for him by killing others who go against him!

Furthermore, there is another group who makes a loud fuss over the qualifications and experiences of PLA combatants. They should know that, as far as modern armies are concerned, there are roughly about fifteen types of forces that constitute an army. There are varieties of units that use missiles, tanks, fighter jets etc. As a matter of fact, the NA is only an infantry force and they have none of them. As an infantry army, they use only light weapons. So where does the question of special qualifications? Anybody with proper health could master how to use them safely.

Moreover, it was the PLA that fought bravely against their enemies and emerged victorious by capturing 80% of Nepal. The special units of RNA that were handpicked to fight and crush PLA failed miserably. Despite their sophisticated automatic weaponry they were unable to destroy or contain the PLA and were defeated by them bears witness to the fact that PLA are more talented and qualified as than the RNA.

As the old security policy came to a miserable failure at the hands of past leaders, it would be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to formalise a new one in accordance with the material requirements and realities of Nepal. The restructuring of the security sector, not by integrating Maoist combatants to NA, as popularly believed but by restructuring both the armies to build a single Nepal army, will have to be an essential and most important part of restructuring Nepal to face the challenges of the 21st century. Anyone who conspires to jeopardise the process and destroy the PLA will be going against the people's mandate and endangering the CPA.

## Peace prize to Prachanda

The Dilli Raman Regmi Foundation (DRRF) has given its annual international peace award to Prachanda, the Chairman of the CPN Maoist for implementing the Federal Democratic Republic and bringing peace to Nepal.

The DRRF has also given an award to the former US President Jimmy Carter for his part in the peace process in Nepal. DR Regmi took part in India's freedom struggle against the British, and struggled against the autocratic rule of the Ranas. He was a respected politician, a patriot, as well as a celebrated historian and intellectual.

## Growing popularity of Chinese language

Many Nepalese people learn English, French, and Japanese. But for the past few years, many Nepalese are also learning Chinese.

In the past, some public and private institutions used to run limited Chinese language classes. But with the increasing interest of many Nepalese in learning Chinese, some institutions have begun teaching Chinese. The Confucius Institute, affiliated to Kathmandu University, has been teaching Chinese for about a year to many different levels.

The institute runs basic, intermediate, Diploma and Degree levels. The institute teaches Chinese through English, so Nepali students can sharpen their English while learning Chinese. Writing, speaking, audio and visual aids are used in the classes.

With the increasing number of Nepali people learning Chinese, it is playing an important role in developing a good relationship between the two countries.

The Confucius institute celebrated its first anniversary on 13th June.

## Break the .....

create a New Nepal. The NC was progressive in comparison with the Ranas and the Shahs, but now the NC has become a status quo force that cannot lead New Nepal. The responsibility of the NC, in this new context, is to help the CPN (Maoist) to lead the country ahead. Jealousy and arrogance does not serve the people but angers them further. If so, the Nepalese people will be obliged to launch the struggle against their rotten and ruinous ideology and practices. Only a movement will be left as an alternative to clear away the obstacles in the way of the country's progress.

# Real struggle has just begun

Stephen Mikesell is an Anthropologist who has lived and worked for many years in Nepal. His book 'Class, State, and Struggle in Nepal' is an interesting and creative application of Marxism to Anthropology.

**Can you tell us a little bit about your work in Nepal, and your views on the role of an intellectual?**

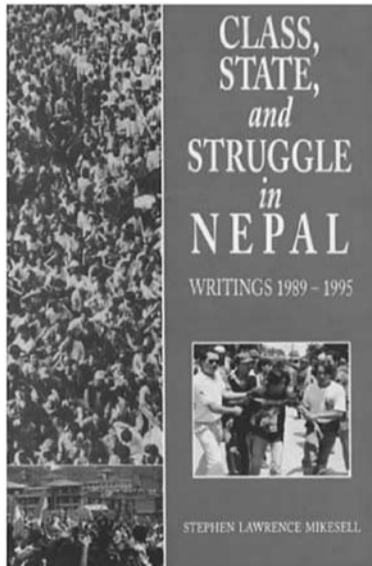
My work in Nepal started back in 1985 when I did a study in Western Nepal looking at the rise of merchant communities, and how they participated in the expansion of British capitalism from colonial India and extended that into Nepal, in terms of relationships and communities. Also, how the merchants expanded as a class in the countryside, and how they got control over land and other productive assets, by the means of the institution of the merchants bazaar. I have also worked on other things such as radio, and I was one of the news editors of the Everest Herald when it first started, for about six months or so. I have also been looking at the development of struggle in the movements in Nepal.

Regarding the role of the intellectual, I am a great believer in intellectuals getting their hands dirty, in my personal life I do gardening and construct houses, and I have been learning how to build natural houses out of clay or mud and straw, which are much more comfortable than cement houses and even the mass produced houses that they put up in the United States. I have been involved with different agricultural movements. I have ridden my bicycle around the US looking at intentional communities, which are communes which people have designed, I guess its another word for socialism, although these are very small and isolated, and not related to struggles for state power, at least not in the short run. I feel that intellectuals should be very closely tied to productive activities and not just keep a pen in their hand.

**Could you tell us a little about your understanding and approach to Marxism?**

In my own studies, I entered into Marxism through Anthropology, so I already had training in dealing with

people empirically, and the whole approach of Anthropological work is to live with people for months and months before you even start doing any kind of formal analysis, and doing research in which you develop close relationships with people. So, when I entered into Marxism it was a Marxism informed by Anthropology, and I really entered into it by reading Marx's own works. I didn't go through interpreters or other people, and so I started reading the Grundrisse, because there he was grappling with anthropological ideas, and then I read Kapital, and developed from there. I returned to Anthropology with a more informed view; anyway that's how I got into Marxism. For me the most important part of Marxism is the dialectical perspective, in which you look very closely at how the world is, that you are looking at the world as a constant creation, so its very open



ended, both where its going and also in terms on how you interpret where it came from.

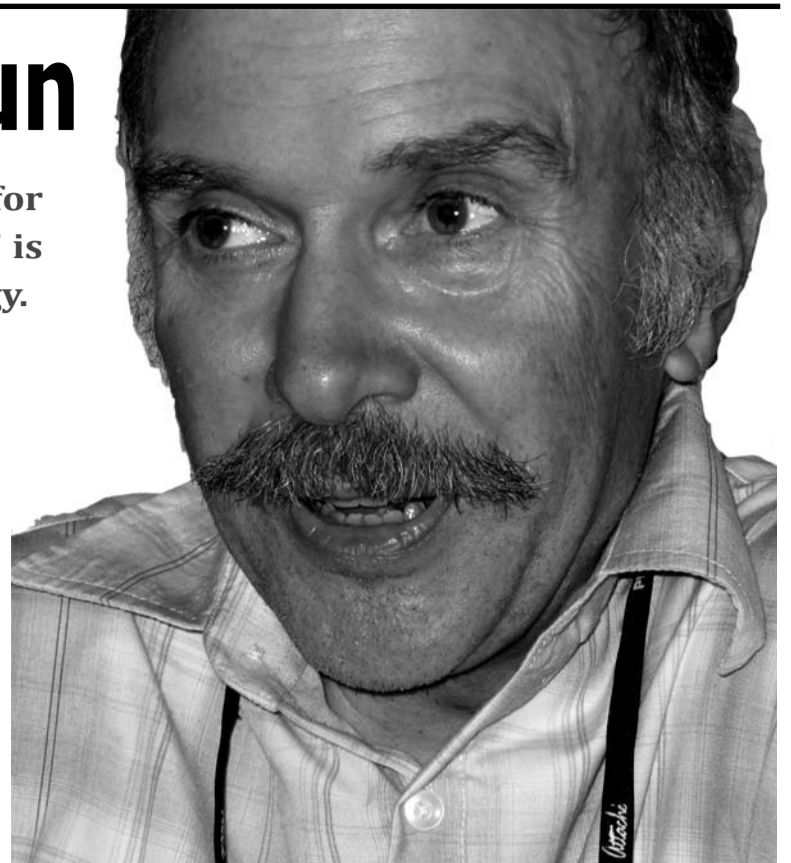
**When did you get involved politically?**

I was swept into things back in the 1960s when all young men had the prospect of the draft into the US military hanging over their heads, and in the 1960s the US

was involved in a big colonial war in which they were drafting all the young men, so I had that prospect over my head. Since my family was anti war, and I was anti war, and I was from a Quaker background, even our religious outlook was anti war, we were often on anti war marches and demonstrations. After the war ended, many people lost touch with the struggle and got into other things. When I studied Anthropology I got swept up with a group of Marxist anthropologists, and when I got to Nepal, since there had been a long struggle here already, it helped my interest develop further.

**From your work, have you any thing you think that people in Nepal should know or think about?**

My question for Nepal is that there is lots of talk about development, but how much of that has really been thought through? In my own work I have come to the conclusion that what we call 'developed' societies are those that are running on petroleum as opposed to societies that are running on more renewable sources such as solar energy. So instead of saying societies are developed or underdeveloped, I feel that there are societies that are solar based or petroleum based, and unfortunately in this world the solar based societies have been undervalued, even though they have tremendous complexity and also tremendous knowledge from thousands of years; whereas industrial society has reduced all human activity down to being powered by petroleum energy, which itself is peaking right now, and the next forty years we will probably see a decline that takes us back to the pre petroleum stage. In my mind, a society that is looking to the future would be looking towards at how to intensify solar processes, and there is a lot of knowledge already in Nepal, and knowledge throughout the world. So



maybe that is one issue that kind of overarches everything that I do.

**What do you see as prospects, possibilities and dangers in the future?**

I think one of the biggest dangers for Nepal, which we should look at as a challenge, is that Nepal is not isolated from the world political economy, and to extract out of that takes a tremendous independence and independent activity of people in which they need to give up a lot of things. So, in my mind, a danger is that people may need to give up things and pursue an independent life. Another danger is the bureaucratisation of parties; if the new Nepal is framed in terms of being led by parties; is the development of parties the objective and is working struggle subordinated to them? Or does the working struggle always relate to the parties as a tool of the struggle but not the essential aspect itself? Parties are themselves from the 19th century, and they carry a lot of baggage with them. So, these are two things.

**You emphasise the term independent working class struggle, could you say something about 'struggle'?**

I think sometimes struggle is looked at as a immediate thing, but, returning to the dialectical perspective; that there is always a process

of creating the world, and so historically the class struggle has been framed in terms of groups in society who, as they developed within society, started harnessing the different processes of society to their own purposes and gradually got more and more control over it.

The most important thing about struggle is that we have to be creating the world that we are struggling for, and not think to fight for democracy or communism, and that one day we will control the state and then we'll get communism. I don't think it works that way, if your fight does not have what you want within it, once you get control of the state it is very easy to end up somewhere quite different, which is common to various working class revolutions. Like China now is very capitalist, and in the Soviet Union we saw a tremendous bureaucratisation of the social movement. So, within the communities, we already need to be creating the means in order to take direct power, so for me the struggle is much more about the process that we have to be constantly working for; what we have to be constantly working for is in the process itself.

**Any message for Red Star readers;**  
My message is that the real struggle has just begun.

*Interviewed By Roshan Kissoon*

## Establish...

and fundamental rights. These all are the special achievements of a decade long People's War led by the CPN (Maoist).

The party adopted the election of the Constituent Assembly and Federal Democratic Republic as principal tactics in the great People's War and the peace process. The suitability of such tactics has come to an end after the election of the CA and the establishment of FDR. Along with it, there has been a change in the political situation of the country. In this context, it is necessary to pay special attention to the development of new tactics and its implementation by establishing the FDR because the country is still in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition. Feudalism

has not been completely abolished, although the main representative of the feudalism, the monarchy, has ceased to exist. Feudalist repression still exists. The revolutionary land reform has not been implemented yet. The questions on caste, region, class and gender are remained unsolved. These things are all clear. However, some changes have taken place in the political situation, and it is necessary to pay attention and develop new tactics according to the changed situation.

The first thing is that the three partite struggle between the monarchy, the parliamentary parties and the progressive forces has come to an end. A new force is emerging as the main representative of feudalism within the parliamentary parties. The representative, on the one hand, is

representing the interests of the feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist in the form of regressive and status quo tendency and, on the other hand, it is kneeling down to serve the interests of imperialism and expansionism. In this condition, the question of national sovereignty and independence is becoming more serious. In this new situation, a thorough class analysis, the identification of the contradictions, the targets of the revolution, and a united front or working unity in a new manner is necessary. The forthcoming central committee meeting of the CPN (Maoist) will take the necessary decisions.

After the 12-point understanding, we are advancing ahead on the basis of agreement and working with the parliamentary parties. Agreement and co-work-

ing have been necessary for forming a new government and writing a new constitution even after the election of CA. It is noteworthy to realize that there has been a fierce ideological struggle going on between the status quo tendency and the progressive tendency in this entire process, and the synthesis of this struggle still remains.

In the Nepalese revolution, in the People's Movement and in the history of the Communist movement, wrong ideas and tendencies for ending the movement in compromise, betrayal and surrender before the domestic and foreign reactionary forces are usually seen, such as in 1950, 1980 and in 1990. The true Marxists and the public should be aware and alert to protect the gains of the decade long People's War and the 19 day

People's Movement from the dead weight of the past and the revival of reactionary tendencies.

To say, in essence, this period is a period of political, economic and cultural transitional. The old power has not disappeared entirely and new one has not been established yet. Therefore, the present period is a very sensitive and critical period. We see in the present situation that the old ideology, thinking and tendencies are still strong and are trying to drag the country into the past. The masses of people and the progressive political powers are in favour of a drastic revolution and transformation. In this context, patriotic, democratic and leftist forces should unite and advance effectively forward to build a New Nepal.

*- Kiran is a senior leader of CPN (Maoist).*

Published By : Krishnasen Memorial Publication Pvt. Ltd.  
 Advisors : Suresh Ale Magar, Maheshwar Dahal  
 Editor : Kumar Shah  
 Assistant Editor : Dipak Sapkota  
 Office Address : Anamnagar, Kathmandu  
 Phone : 016914630, Email : trs.nepal@gmail.com

## EDITORIAL

# The New Antagonism

The implementation of the Republic and the abolition of the monarchy have brought great changes to this country. The change in the ideological superstructure of the nation, mainly in the government, can be seen clearly. The removal of the monarchy as a political force has changed the antagonism in Nepali politics.

After the abolition of the monarchy, the three way antagonism or contradiction between the progressive, the parliamentary and the royalist forces has now changed into a dualistic antagonism. However, this doesn't mean that feudalism has ended completely; rather, the struggle has changed form. In the new form of the antagonism, the representatives of feudalism have also taken a new guise. Therefore, the struggle must continue against feudalism even though the monarchy has ended. Let us be clear, the class composition of the politics of the country has changed; the vestiges of feudalism are now represented by the extreme reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie, the comprador-bureaucratic capitalists. Therefore, the progressive forces must unite against the new representatives of feudalism; the comprador capitalists. The struggle between the CPN-Maoist and the parliamentary parties, mainly the Nepali Congress, represents this struggle at the political level.

Feudalism has not eradicated entirely, and the Federal Democratic Republic has not been implemented fully. This type of transitional period is extremely sensitive and critical. The change in contradiction may seem confusing. But this is a period of polarization.

Agreement, understanding and working with the bourgeoisie is proving very difficult. Because of the changing political situation, the extreme reactionary right will fight against the interests of the masses. Why? Quite simply, the people will continue the campaign to abolishing feudalism. After the political victory, there must be economic progress and socio-cultural transformation. This type of progressive transformation is against the extreme reactionary bourgeois interests. So, it is necessary to work with the progressive liberal bourgeoisie to struggle against the extremist bourgeois reactionaries. In the present context of Nepal, the struggle against the extreme bourgeois reactionaries is the struggle against the last vestiges of feudalism and the comprador-bureaucratic capitalists.



■ Khimlal Devkota

The Constituent Assembly (CA) has fulfilled its historical duty, given by the people, through the election of the Constituent Assembly. There are many challenges ahead.

The Constituent Assembly is the supreme body of the state. It is a product of direct democracy; it was directly elected by the people. The People's sovereignty is represented by the members of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly is not only a general elected body; it is also an important part of the peace process. The Peace process is not just for a new constitution. The New constitution must address the problems of Nepalese society. The Problems of Nepalese society focus around class, region, gender, and nationality. To this end, socio economic transformation is another major agenda that can be implemented by a scientific land reform programme.

The expectation of the people is very high; we must fulfil them. People from all walks of life are closely watching the CA. Can the CA fulfil the expectations of the people? Is it able to address the problems of Nepalese society? Is it able to implement a scientific land reform program? Is it able to initiate socio economic transformation through a federal state structure? Is it able to fulfil the demands of the People's War and the April Movement? These are the vital questions. The CA must give a positive answer; this is its first and foremost role.

The New Nepal is the main objective that the CA must achieve.

# The role of the Constituent Assembly

The consolidation of the Republic is another objective of the CA. The feudal monarchy corrupts Nepalese society. It is time to correct and overturn this culture by honouring the people's aspirations. The Dismantling of the feudal culture and creating a new peoples culture is an important agenda of the CA.

Socio economic transformation of Nepal is also an important agenda of the CA; it should play a vital role as a legislative body. The CA urgently needs to implement a Revolutionary land reform program.

The demand for a Federal state structure was a popular demand of the People's War. Because of the call for federalism, the People's War and the April Movement received mass support from the people. So a rational, scientific and pragmatic model of a federal structure is a necessity of this time.

The type of political system is another burning issue. The political parties are divided on this. Some of them favour a Westminster style system with a Prime Minister, while other parties favour a Presidential system. Nepal has a lot of experience with the parliamentary system; it has been largely a failure. So we need to change from this failed system and adopt a Presidential system. For a smooth transition it is necessary to have an executive President. The Presidential system is the only way for a smooth transition to the New Nepal, and to respect the confidence of the people in the CA and its historic duties.

Every political party should remember that it is because of the Peoples War that there is progress and change; it is because of the People's War and the struggle against feudal and reactionary culture and habits. Now, it is not possible to resurrect the old feudalism, the right way is towards change and transformation. The CA should proceed along this path. If the CA is able to do

it, people will praise it; if not, the people have the right to rebel. The future is bright; the next step for the people is to bring about a historical change.

Regarding the new constitution making process, the national interest must be protected from external influences. Several foreign powers are interested in trying to sell their model. Some of the money makers will try to sell the new constitution. Some of the experts may try to move this movement towards their interests. So, whoever they are, they must remember firstly the national interest and the Peoples interests. Without compromising the national interest and the Peoples interest, we must welcome all. We need their experience and knowledge. The new constitution should reflect the feelings of the people, the wisdom of the experienced, and the knowledge of the experts.

The CA is a historical achievement. It is very serious and it was not achieved painlessly. The Federal Democratic Republic is a product of the hard and continuous efforts of the Nepalese people. The CA must properly address the aspirations of the people. The CA must take into account the Peoples War, the April Movement, and all the movements related the New Nepal, as a republic and a prosperous country. Lastly, the main issues of Nepalese politics are the problems of nationality and democracy. In the past, the demands for nationality and for democracy were not unified. Now, it is time to make a proper balance between the demands of nationality and those of democracy. Therefore, the CA must develop it in a proper, rational, and balanced way. Within this broader line, the new constitution must be an ideal document that will be possessed by all the people of whatever class, race, gender or region. Then the New Nepal will be created.

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## FROM THE HISTORY

# The execution of the tyrant

The head of the tyrant has just fallen under the sword of the law; the same blow has overturned the foundations of monarchy among us. I finally believe in the republic.

In order to wrest him from his execution, the despot's henchmen sought to inspire fear in us of the affects of his death. How vain these fears were. The precautions taken to maintain tranquility were imposing, without a doubt; they were dictated by prudence, but they nevertheless proved to be superfluous: one could have confidence in public indignation from the Temple to the scaffold; not one voice cried out for grace during the execution, not one voice was raised in favor of the man who once decided the destiny of France. A profound

silence reigned all around him, and when his head was shown to the people, from all around there arose the cries of Vive la nation! Vive la république!

The rest of the day was perfectly calm; for the first time since the federation the people seemed animated by a serene joy: one would have thought they had just participated in a religious celebration, delivered from the weight of oppression that had weighed on them for so long; and, penetrated by the sentiment of fraternity, all hearts gave themselves over to the hope for a happier future.

This sweet satisfaction was only troubled by the sorrow caused by the horrible attack on the person of a representative of the nation[1], for having voted for the

death of the tyrant.

The execution of Louis XVI is one of those memorable events that mark an epoch in the history of nations. It will have a prodigious influence on the fate of the despots of Europe, and on those peoples who have not yet broken their chains.

In pronouncing the death penalty on the tyrant of the French, the National Convention no doubt showed itself to be great, but it was the wish of the nation, and the manner in which the people watched the punishment of its former master, that raised them far beyond their representatives for, have no doubt, the same sentiments that animated the citizens of Paris and the fédérés animate the citizens of all departments.

The execution of Louis XVI, far from troubling the peace of the state, will only serve to strengthen it, not only by containing the internal enemies through terror, but also the external enemies. It will also give the nation new strength to push back the ferocious hordes of foreign henchmen who would dare bear arms against it. For there is no way of going back, and this is the position in which we find ourselves today: we must win or perish, a palpable truth that Cambon rendered in a sublime image when he said at the tribune the day before yesterday: "We have finally docked on the isle of freedom, and we have burned the vessel that brought us there."

*Jean-Paul Marat 1793,*  
*www.marxist.org*

# Revolution and compromise



■ Netrabikram Chand 'Biplap'

Our revolution is in the stage of negotiation and our party sees compromise as another aspect of the class struggle. The question has not yet been finalised whether the revolution will be accomplished through compromise or it will be pushed towards counter-revolution. There is an incessant and fierce struggle between two different world outlooks that is attracting attention nationally and internationally.

Marxism accepts the possibility of making compromises; however, it considers impossible to accomplish a revolution through too many compromises. Compromise can be useful at a point in the revolution to obtain state power, but it is impossible to secure state power for the proletarian class only through compromise. On the contrary, opportunist and reformist tendencies not only consider compromise as necessary, but consider compromise as everything. They believe that society and state power can be changed and transformed through compromise rather than through revolution, through 'negotiationism'. These two tendencies are gradually coming to a head in our country.

Our party, the CPN (Maoist), and the Nepali Congress (NC) are at logger heads over the issue of negotiation. From the

point of view of class struggle, the NC doesn't see or believe in the necessity of a revolution in Nepal. The NC, according to its viewpoint, wants to negotiate with the CPN (M), the CPN (UML) and other parties by dividing the ministries. According to the NC's outlook, it is enough to progress economically. Political revolution is not necessary.

According to the NC's outlook, the logical debate and planning of revolution is an activity of extremists. They suggest that the CPN (Maoist) should not do the revolution and be satisfied with a share in the government. But the ultimate goal of the CPN (M) is Communism through a People's Republic and through the stage of socialism. For that, the state must be under the leadership of a Communist party. Therefore, we, the Maoist, should oppose 'negotiationism', though we are not against making particular compromises per se.

Due to the impact of class struggle, different views on compromise and 'negotiationism' are surfacing within the party; this should not be a surprise. Frankly speaking, the tendency of 'negotiationism' is spreading like a viral disease within our party. This type of tendency developing within the party is hundred times more dangerous than the 'negotiationism' of the NC. This tendency, through the so called economic 'revolution' and power sharing seeks to end the political revolution here. We would consider that it is an extremity of 'negotiationism' to depend upon hostile elements by neglecting the compulsory foundations for securing state power.

The NC wants to push the

country into counter-revolution. The NC desires that a scientific communist party and the proletarian revolution should sink down into status-quo establishment and into the stagnant pool of the old state. Therefore, it has put forward a seven point demand that includes the dissolution of the YCL, the PLA and a rollback of all the gains made during the Peoples War.

If CPN (M) accepts these preconditions, it can be in the government, if it doesn't, then it cannot. The purpose of these preconditions is to push the country towards counter-revolution. To accept these conditions is to end the revolution.

We, Maoists, desire to change this compromise into revolution and strengthen the revolution against the counter-revolution. For this, we should expand the means and the foundations of the revolution. Let us consolidate the party, the PLA and the United Front and take them to a new level. Let us establish a clear political and economic outlook and take state power.

We have already dissolved our local people's power centres. We dissolved the people's courts and the peoples' militia. Our co-operatives, communes, health posts and educational institutions, established during the war, are now becoming weaker. In this situation, if we accept the seven-point demand of NC, directly or indirectly, we would declare that the revolution is over. A big debate has not taken place on it, but a tendency considers that it will make no difference if we accept the seven-point demand of the NC. The tendency to be liberal towards these demands is not a revolutionary tendency; it

helps the interests of the NC.

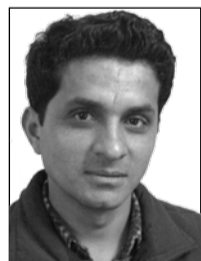
Compromise is an unusual condition for revolution. Things seem peaceful in the period of agreement and negotiation but it is just an illusion. Two rival thoughts, tendencies and forces are fighting terribly behind a thin curtain. They both are trying to win under the cover of compromise. Each wants to destroy the other; one becomes bigger than the other, a process of swallowing begins. When the one about to be swallowed isn't safe, then it breaches the norms of accord and begins to protect itself through struggle. If protecting itself becomes impossible by defending itself, it is obliged to start the confrontation between revolution and counter-revolution. Then the compromise will end and the balance of two opposed forces breaks down. This has happened previously in our country. Until now, the NC and the imperialists thought that they would be able to destroy the CPN (M) before the election. The masses and the fraternal parties and organisations of the world had thought that somewhere the CPN (M) would be swallowed! But in the election, the people protected the CPN (M) like their own children, and the NC and the imperialists failed in their mission. As a result, the NC has now put forward its seven point demand. We have defeated the NC in the election, but if we cannot protect the revolution, we will be ruined in no time. This conflict, indeed, is related to the series of compromises we have made. Now, we should direct our attention towards the defence of the revolution by ending the situation of compromise.

The issue of compromise is a

common issue related to the world revolution, if we accept that the Nepalese revolution is a part of the world revolution. If we want to learn the lessons from communist states of the past century, the issue of compromise must be a common topic for all the revolutionaries of the world. It means that we should think deeply and develop a new ideology and knowledge to solve the problems before us and for the protection of the Nepalese revolution. Even though it has not been enough to tackle, the present necessities and possibilities to this date, we have been encouraged by the suggestions and participation of the RIM committee, the RCP and the CPI (Maoist).

In short, compromise is possible in a revolution, but revolution is not possible only through compromise. The imperialists and reactionaries want to push the revolution towards counter-revolution, but revolutionary communists want to change the compromise into revolution. The conspiracy to change compromise into counter-revolution is vigorously going on in Nepal. We should make this conspiracy fail by uniting the revolutionary forces of the world. Fighting against the reactionary forces, we should defeat them. Any revolution in any part of the world is a part of the world revolution. Likewise, any compromise also a part of the world revolution. Therefore, the revolutionaries of the world should make a joint effort to change the compromise into revolution. Revolution is compulsory but the 'negotiationism' is impossible.

- Biplap is a member of secretariat, Central Committee, CPN (Maoist).



■ Bhim Regmi

The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly on May 28th ousted the King and declared Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic (FDR). This success has established an exemplary milestone in the 21st century. Following the peoples mandate, 560 members cast votes against any role for the King or monarchy in Nepal. Every Nepali hopes it will lead the peace process to a logical end and the new constitution will be drafted.

Behind this historical day, there are many visible and invisible factors. In 1950 CE, a peoples movement swept away the Rana regime who had ruled Nepal for 104 years. The first Janadolan finished off the Panchayat system in 1990 CE, although it couldn't fulfil the political and economic demands of the Nepali people. As a result, the CPN Maoist launched a protracted People's War in 1996 and, in ten years, overturned Nepali politics. Maoist leaders had periodically appealed the government to hold an election of the CA and involve people in how they are to be ruled.

## Nepal's democracy- a new revolution

For this, the CPN Maoist attended talks in 2002 and 2004 CE for fulfilling the demands of the Nepali people, but in vain.

The political scenario in Nepal worsened day by day because of the political dead lock between the feudal king and the parliamentary parties. Ultimately, it resulted in a 12 point understanding among the seven political parties in 2005. Then the second Janandolan put an end to the autocratic rule of King Gynendra Shah, and gradually curtailed his power. The first interim legislature-parliament marginalized the king. However, it approved the declaration of Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic to be implemented by simple majority of elected members of the Constituent Assembly. Before that, the first and second dates of the CA election had been postponed in June 2007 and then in November 2007 respectively.

The rift among the parties and the Nepali people didn't last for long, and the election was held in April 2008 CE. As many people wanted the leadership of Prachanda, the Chairman of the Maoist party, they cast their votes and made the CPN Maoist the largest party in CA, bagging 220 seats out of 575. The Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML failed to convince the Nepali voters. Before this time, the two parliamentary parties had ruled out

the demand for a Constituent Assembly that was proposed by the CPN Maoist in the peace talks in 2002 and 2004 CE.

Since the Nepalese people dethroned the king in the first decade of 21st century in a peaceful manner, Nepal has become a centre of attention in the world. The Maoist Chairman Prachanda said in his first open speech in Baluwatar that just as the Buddha had preached his vision from Nepal 2500 years ago, and his teachings spread around the world, so likewise Nepal would give a new political model for the rest of the world. Now this massive change has affected many national and international powers. Even India and America are not confident enough about this ground victory of the CPN-M.

This new wave that is taking place in Nepal through the fusion of the People's War with the Peoples Movement made people around the world wake up. Here, every political move had been possible due to understanding among the parties. For this, they declared and signed a Comprehensive Peace Accord between the then government of Nepal and CPN-Maoist in 2006 AD. Now, the national and international media, even the BBC and CNN, proclaimed the abolishment of 240 years old monarchy. Surely, it has

taught a new lesson to the rest of world about a political change.

Yet, we have to move forward. The long journey has just started and Nepali politics has many miles to go. The power hungry political leaders are conspiring against the peace process. As in the past, the ambitious leaders forgot the spirit of Nepali people and their demands. These power-crazed leaders are not ready to empower the people.

Now everyone should realise that the old feudalist monarchy is gone, it is now the 21st century. It is time to democratise all the organs of the government. The expectation of the Nepali people must be fulfilled in the near future. The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal has to be institutionalised, so the new republican system will be strong. The merger of Maoist combatants with the National Army has been a matter of debate that had already been solved in Comprehensive Peace Accord of 2006 and the 23 point agreement in case of misunderstanding. However, there are grave challenges regarding the formation of the government; the People's Liberation Army, the land issue, the condition of disappeared people, the wounded, the family of the martyrs and so on. Therefore we have to walk many more miles for the peaceful revolution.



# Protest and revolutionary poetry an elegy to the monarchy

■ Florentino A. Iniego, JR

A great philosopher said that, "The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living." This passage reminds us that remnants of 240 years of monarchical rule is like an elegy (mournful song) clinging to the memories of the present generation. It lingers in the mind like bullet shrapnel piercing underneath the skin of the oppressors, victors, and survivors.

From a literary perspective, what does the "brains of the living" mourn from the past? We can perceive this from the poem "Kings in Nepal" of a Class 5 student from Pokhara:

.... ..

*There were kings for many years  
But people were living only in fears  
Some kings were drinking wine and beer  
But Nepalis were always in tears*

*Only a few kings love the people  
Most others damaged our Nepal  
Sometimes broken, sometimes one  
Nepal is my country, I'm his son.  
(The Kathmandu Post, April 26, 2008)*

The rhyming pattern of the poem demonstrates how the younger generation applies the forms of poetry writing as taught in a literature class. But let us dwell into the content, which is more important. The poem reflects the interaction of the socio-economic and political conditions of the consciousness of an individual who may not be ideologically bound but is certainly aware of what is going on in his country. It is a plea to the conscience of rulers who had broken Nepal's unity.

To shift our thought to another level of literary experience, let us trace the configuration of protest poetry among Kathmandu intellectuals in the 1980-1990s. Aware of the need to extend their voice beyond the concrete jungle, this poem called on to preach the struggle against the Panchayat system on a wider scale.

*Now feet should cross the passes,  
Now eyes should gaze on all the mountains,  
Now the birds of this generation  
Should fly towards fixed goals,  
Now the voices of this generation,  
Should erupt like volcanoes  
Now we have to move ahead,  
Feeling out way through the thorns,  
Now Kathmandu should spread  
Throughout the hills.*

(Khrisnabhushan Bal, "Now Kathmandu Alone Cannot Carry Kathmandu," in Michael Hutt (ed.), *Nepal in the Nineties*, 1993)

As a representative of protest poetry, it is "...a voice which searches the past, returns to the present and voices the heroic deeds of the oppressed in their bid for freedom" (Ananda Shrestha, CNAS Journal, July 2000). But the long and winding road to freedom is far from over at the time when writers failed to linked themselves with a movement that genuinely represents

the interests of the people. The street poetry revolution as an arena of struggle is a narrow zone, which led writers to "compromise with the old order" and were squeezed into a "precarious position" (Hutt, *ibid.*). Thus, the eruption of the "people's volcano" was aborted and the status quo was preserved.

The significance of a literature in searching for a liberating voice to some extent depends on the correct leadership of a political movement that it is linked to. If that political movement is lead by intellectuals from the progressive forces who cannot transcend their class origin and its basis of capital subsistence, it is like a bamboo tree swaying left and right, vacillating in times of a crisis. If it is lead by revolutionary forces that firmly uphold the leadership of the proletariat, and linked closely with the workers and peasants, subsisting on a life and death struggle, it can withstand and endure any crisis towards the attainment of victory.

Jose Maria Sison, a Communist leader and writer of the Revolutionary movement in the Philippines, said that truly committed writers should "always merge with the masses of the people as they constantly remould their own thinking and discard their petty bourgeois or individualistic prejudices and predilections."

"Bidroha" (Rebellion), a poem expressive of the revolutionary cause and adheres to the leadership of the proletariat is presented to us by Sushma Shrestha, a poet from the All-Nepal People's Cultural Federation. Written in the twilight years of the monarchy, the tone is a eulogy (tribute) to the people's movement struggling to achieve their ultimate goal -- the establishment of the people's republic.

*For a centuries I lay crushed  
My blood and sweat sucked off ...  
For a centuries I was always looted  
I was thirsty and hungry for liberty  
I grieved forever.  
To achieve my rights  
I tried to speak but  
My tongue was pull out  
I tried to raise my fist  
Against injustice  
But my hand was cut off  
As far as I could  
I tried to struggle over the feudal system  
But my legs were tied with chains  
For a century in the same way.*

...  
*Enough, its too much  
Now, a volcano is erupting ...  
Now see how I'll blaze  
How I'll burn "Narayanhi"  
How much I'll blast  
How I will blow monarchy off  
Now keep on seeing me,  
how I will drown out the dark night  
I'll raise a new morning  
Swallowing up the old,  
Now I will bring forth the  
New Republic of Nepal.  
(Translated from Nepali to English by Gaurav K.C.)*

In my appraisal, this is not a vocal propaganda or sloganeering literature (in the opinion of some bourgeois

critics). In this excerpt, the process of enlightenment towards liberation was logically concluded. The centuries-old oppression and exploitation was clearly expressed in the reaction/resistance of the mind/body politics. The historical formation of a volcano was in the making out to blast the monumental symbol of monarchy -- Narayanhi.

Tyrants and oppressors cannot suppress the desire of the people fighting for freedom and democracy. Historically, in the struggle against the monarchical-feudal rule to bourgeois republic and from semi-feudal/semi-colonial state towards socialism, the victorious people's movement had meted grave punishment on the dynastic rule of king, tsar and emperor. These were the case of Louis XVI (1754-1793) the last king of France, Nicholas II (1868-1918) the last Russian Tsar, and Henry P'u-i (1906-1967) the last Manchu Emperor of China.

But in Nepal, history has been kinder to the former king. After a tearful farewell from Narayanhi, his entourage was given a graceful exit, fully secured and escorted to stay at another palace. We are in the twenty-first century and in a country where people's democracy is alive and kicking -- the past situation cannot just be compelled to happen again. Chairman Prachanda, one week after their victory in the April 10 Constituent Assembly election kindly thought that: "Nepalis will forgive him (Gyanendra) no matter what he has done in the past. In history, monarchs have been beheaded and also has to flee. Let that not be repeated in Nepal." (The Himalayan Times, April 19, 2008).

History has judged the future of the monarchy. While it is true that Gyanendra's ancestors had unified the country, it cannot be denied that in his time he has shattered the nation, and suppressed the people's war led by the CPN-Maoist. History is always on the side of the people and the only way-out for self-preservation is to listen to the people's verdict. From emperor to citizen, the last emperor of China later worked in a mechanical repair shop of a botanical garden. From king to commoner, Gyanendra should do something great to the consolidation of the Federal Republic.

Literature and writers as the soul of the nation have always been active players in the unfolding of momentous events in history. By listening to the brave voice of a class V student, we should be reminded that the vestiges of the past still haunt the present generation. The protest poetry representing various political trends/movements and the revolutionary poetry of the CPN-Maoist serve as a eulogy to the people's movement. At the same time, an elegy bringing the monarchy to its final resting place in the graveyard of history.

Farewell to the Monarchy, Long live the People's Republic. ###

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## What is press freedom?

■ Roshan Kissoon

The struggle in Nepal is not only an economic, political and, at times, a military struggle. It is also an ideological struggle. That is to say, there is a battle of ideas, of world views, of what is good and what is evil, of what has value and what does not. All Marxists know that the 'dominant ideas of every epoch are the ideas of the ruling class'. Therefore, we must ask, what are the dominant ideas of the present epoch? It is clear enough; democracy, human rights, the rule of law, free press etc. In our epoch, it is through these notions that imperialism justifies itself and its existence on the level of ideas. Therefore, it is important to attack and discredit these ideas, and the way of thinking that goes along with it.

It is a particular feature of the bourgeois class, of the rule of big business, that when they speak, they claim to speak on behalf of the entire human race. So, we see that when the US and the UK talk about Iran disobeying the will of the 'international community', we know very well that Iran is only disobeying the will of the US and the Western powers. When the imperialists talk of democracy, we know very well that by 'democracy' they mean democracy for the rich to exploit the poor; by human rights they mean the right for imperialist front organisations (NGOs) to meddle in the affairs of other countries, by the rule of law they mean laws that favour business and the rich, by free press they mean the freedom of the big capitalist media houses to publish pro western propaganda and promote the worthless decadent celebrity culture of Hollywood and Bollywood etc.

Likewise, the dominant ideas in history, in our understanding of the past are also the ideas of the ruling class. What is the status of Lenin, Stalin and Mao according to the bourgeois? Clearly, for the bourgeois, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are terrorists, totalitarian dictators, mass murderers etc. Yet, for the oppressed people of the world, and for the Communist movement, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are great heroes and champions of the oppressed. The bourgeois and the Proletarian world views are necessarily contradictory and antagonistic, as what is good for the oppressed people of the world is not good for the ruling class and vice versa.

The rise of Maoism in Nepal has already blown up many of the pretences of bourgeois ideology; as the Maoists won the elections despite a propaganda campaign by newspapers such as Kantipur. A struggle about to begin is the struggle over the 'free press'. Should the 'freedom' of the bourgeois media such as the Kantipur be curtailed? Yes, most certainly, because Kantipur functions as the voice and propaganda organ of the national and international ruling class in Nepal. (There are other publications that should be shut down, such as the US embassy mouthpiece 'News Front') Yet, at the same time, it is not good to have just state owned or party media, as different and contradictory voices in society must also have a chance to be heard, and it is through different views and opinions that we progress. A revolutionary struggle must curtail the rights of the bourgeois, and that includes the right of the bourgeois class to promote their ideas through the mass media. By curtailing bourgeois right, other long suppressed voices will have a chance to speak and be heard, and then it will be possible to have a truly 'free' press. This article is just a contribution to this debate, but it is a debate that all concerned must participate in, including the journalists of Kantipur. Perhaps by debate, Nepal will be able to develop a new model of press freedom for the 21st century.

- Kissoon is an international freelance journalist.

# The politics of privilege- sincerity or humanity?



■ Baburaja Maharjan

The Nepalese government have decided to allow Mrs Ratna Rajya Laxmi Shah and Mrs Sarala Shah to continue residing in Narayanhiti Palace; a place that has been nationalized by the state. The government said that the decision was made on 'humanitarian' grounds. If Gyanendra had asked to continue to stay inside Narayanhiti Palace, would he be allowed to live there on 'humanitarian' grounds? Or is there no human feeling for Gyanendra?

It has already been widely reported in the media that Gyanendra hasn't paid millions in debt to the Nepal Electricity Authority, Nepal Telecom, the Nepal Airlines Corporation and the Nepal Drinking Water Authority. Has he cleared his debts yet? Nobody knows. It is a serious crime to owe debt to the government and its institutions. If someone does not pay their debt to the state, he or she is usually considered a financial criminal and can be punished by the state, sometimes even with a jail sentence. In our

country, on the contrary, financial criminals receive rewards.

It is rather surprising that the government is not asking Gyanendra to pay all his debts before making commitments to provide him government accommodation and security. If we can't differentiate between crime and contribution, how on earth can we be proud of the government? How can we believe that the leaders and the system can make a new and prosperous nation? How can anyone be encouraged to devote their lives for the nation? Our nation has had a very bad record in terms of "Punishment and Reward" for a long time, and this culture still exists.

Everyone is aware that some of the freedom fighters are still struggling in hospital beds for proper treatment, thousand of martyrs' families are expecting some kind of help from the government, and thousands of people are struggling everyday for a piece of bread to survive; yet our democratic government doesn't have time to think about these people. The government only has time for the deposed king and his family members. This is a bad sign for the nation and the people of Nepal.

## The Sovereign People and the Constituent Assembly

According to the present constitution, the citizens of Nepal are sovereign. The Constituent As-

sembly passed a bill scrapping all the privileges of ex-king Gyanendra. His family was ordered to vacate Narayanhiti Palace within 15 days. The present government has no right to change this decision of the supreme body, except to speed its implementation.

The government decision to let Mrs Ratna Shah and Mrs Sarala Shah continue to live at Narayanhiti Palace is a clear violation of Constituent Assembly decision and of all the cabinet ministers responsible for that act. The first and foremost responsibility of the government is to respect the CA decisions, not the personal feelings of the ex King. It is crystal clear that the government has acted against all democratic rules and abused the 'rule of law' for the sake of not hurting the ex Kings 'feelings' - this is truly reprehensible. The personal feelings of Mrs Ratna Shah and Mrs Sarala are against the people's mandate - they must vacate the palace. The decision to respect the personal 'feelings' of the ex King and his family is not a sign of the sovereign will of the people. It is not clear yet whether this decision is the result of the feudal mentality in the mind of our leaders or the result of pressure from unknown sources. Undoubtedly, these types of actions will erode the people's confidence in democracy and the republican system in Nepal.

## The culture of begging

Everyone knows that Gyanendra Shah is a big businessman who has shares in dozens of businesses; he has more than a billion dollars worth of assets inside and outside the country. Gyanendra's demand for accommodation before leaving Narayanhiti Palace is a joke. Although he has his own property, 'Nirmal Niwas', he cannot live there because it is occupied by his son! Father and son cannot stay in the same building! About 7 million families in Nepal are living with their children, but he says he cannot do so. It was fine for him to live with his son inside Narayanhiti Palace for over 7 years. Why not now? It is likely that there are some very serious family tensions between them at this moment. It may be possible that Gyanendra knows all the veins and capillaries of present government, and he thinks he can get any facility he may care to ask for.

In Nepal, thousands of sovereign citizens are enjoying their lives in open streets, tens of thousands in temporary huts, and tens of thousands in unhealthy dwellings; yet they never ask government to provide accommodation for them. These people do not have capacity to build suitable homes for themselves because of severe poverty. But the case is different with Mr Gyanendra. He has more than enough money to buy or rent any type

of building in Nepal or abroad, but he is asking the government for accommodation. Why? It is because of the culture of begging. He is one of the richest and most dangerous beggars on earth, and he is even begging for accommodation. His malicious intent is to discredit the democratic government. Wittingly or unwittingly this government has been sincere with him. If this government possessed democratic values, it would have already resigned. The decision to provide Nagarjun Palace for Gyanendra, another state property, is shameful. It is against the decision of the CA and it is against the popular mandate.

## Sincerity or humanity?

Since the first meeting of the CA, all of the royal privileges have been scrapped. There are more than 27 million people in this part of globe who need proper accommodation, and Gyanendra can certainly afford any kind of accommodation. Our government may have thought that since Gyanendra had easily accepted their demands, he deserves a free bumper prize. This may be the most viable reason behind the government decision to provide him hundreds of security personnel as well as accommodation. However it is a gross violation of CA decision and peoples' aspirations.

- Maharjan lives in New Zealand.

# Oil price heats adversely on Nepalese economy

Basu De

## Price Hike

The oil price has gone from \$51 per barrel in 2007 to \$ 145 per barrel at the present time; a threefold increase in a short span of time. The price hike is likely to continue due to the constant fall of the purchasing power of the US dollar. As a result of this, developing countries in South Asia and Africa will hit the ground hard economically. This hike is also likely to affect the Indian economy, which is trying to become an industrial economy. The development report shows that India's GDP growth has been stable at 9 percent; equal to its competitor China. However, the oil hike has affected India's GDP growth by 2 percent. Indian economists speculate that India's GDP in 2008 will be stay at 7 percent.

## NRB's statement

A recent periodical report of Nepal Rashtraya Bank (NRB) forecast that Nepal's GDP will increase by four percent this year. From the economic evidence, industry and domestic business, the bank's periodical report seems merely hypothetical. Since, the NRB is the institution of economic indicator; we have no choice other than to believe in its report. But economic observers seldom express their doubt on such issues, and sometimes manipulate the facts and figures when necessary.

For example, six months ago, finance minister Dr. Ram Saran Mahat issued a statement that his government is capable of slowing down inflation to 5 percent from 7 percent. How is this possible with-

Moreover, the NRB's GDP forecast seems problematic due to following reasons:

## 1. Price hike in petroleum products.

The constant rise in the price

market, the Nepalese industrialists were forced to shut down their industries. Furthermore, agricultural growth is not increasing. The adverse environmental impact on agriculture, the higher rate of fertil-

ment has not shown its negative impact in economy; the economic indicator will show that immediate economic growth is not possible at the moment.

## 3. Inflation

Inflation is the worst enemy of economic development, since a price rise in petrol by 20/- in LP gas by 100/-, diesel by 13/- and kerosene by 14/- will cause a fall in the consumer goods and services in the coming days. The market price will be inflated. Since we still don't have a responsible government and a market mechanism scheme for all-the current inflation could start to gallop.

## Solution

The Nepal government has recently decided to privatize the petroleum industry by issuing licences to investors. The government has also reduced the taxes on importing petroleum products; not a wise step given the present economic situation. However, consumption reduction is the better solution than subsidizing petroleum products, since we are living under the poverty line, we must reduce and change the pattern of consumption in the coming days. The policy must be taken from parliamentarian leaders to the common man on the street to reduce the consumption of petroleum products; and to start to use alternative energy for our domestic use.



After the NOC failed to supply an adequate amount of oil, people had to queue-up by the petrol-pumps

out implementing economic tools? This is a problem in FM's statement. In order to check inflation, the government should adopt a monetary policy to supply adequate outputs. But this is not possible at the moment. Therefore the NRB will be compelled to amend the statement of the finance minister.

of petroleum products has deeply affected the supply in the country. Since there has been a three fold increase in consumer goods and services, the manufacturing industries were compelled to shut down. In the absence of raw materials, increasing labour price and lack of competitiveness in the international

izer and labour costs and interest paid to banks has aggravated the agricultural sector. In such circumstances, if NRB expects GDP growth, they are dreaming.

## 2. Election Assembly

The election assembly was completed at the cost of billions of rupees, yet the Nepal govern-

# Greek Solidarity

Dipak Sapkota

A large group from the Communist Organisation of Greece (KOE); including the General Secretary of KOE, Rudi Rinaldi, members of the secretariat, members and supporters of the KOE that included engineers, workers, company employees, students, teachers, and anthropologists came in the second week of June to show solidarity with and learn from the Nepalese revolution.

General Secretary Rudi said that after the Maoist victory in CA election, Nepal and the Maoist movement started getting media attention in the West: "Before the election, the Western Media didn't even mention Nepal, but when the Maoist won the election, they were obliged to state something."

The Greek delegation went to the Chitwan cantonment of the People's Liberation Army. All the visitors were very proud and happy to meet the PLA. The group were given a tour of the cantonment and had an interaction with members of the PLA. The PLA were also much enthused to meet Greek Communists, and the PLA soldiers were very happy to know that even as far away as Greece people respected their struggle. The KOE delegation presented some gifts from Greece, including a disc of Greek revolutionary songs. For the General Secretary it was very emo-

tional and he thinks that the 'Nepali people have a very strong weapon in the struggle against reactionaries, expansionist and imperialist.'

Before returning back to Greece, the Greek group met with Chairman Prachanda and other party central leaders. On the occasion, General Secretary Rudi presented a gift to Chairman Prachanda that symbolises the Greek civilisation. Expressing his happiness at meeting with the Maoist leadership, Rudi said it was an honour to meet the leaders of one of the successful revolutions in the world. Maoist Chairman Prachanda said the Nepali revolution had developed a new model after studying the experience of revolutions in 21st century.

Nikos Taviris was impressed in his first hour in Kathmandu. He saw Maoist posters and slogans on the walls. He found the Nepali people smiling and optimistic about the future, which he thinks is the result of Maoist revolution: "After the republic, people think they have a way out. If people think there is a future, they can do a lot of things."

Yannis Triantafillou, a computer programmer, was impressed at the unity and the relation between the Maoist party and the masses.

Yiota Tzani saw a Red Army for the first time in her life, which she found very impressive. She was



LALSALAM!: Greek delegation on the roof of ANNISU-Revolutionary central office in Kathmandu

also delighted to see red flags, posters, slogans on the wall everywhere in the city. She also found out that Nepali people had a strong connection with the party. Axhikkeas Stavrou, a student, was impressed that the CPN-M had done a great job to expand its work to the every level of the society. As the KOE is trying to organise people in Greece, the experiences of Nepal, the tactics of the party, are worth learning.

Merina Bresta, who works in a company in Greece, thinks that when she will go back she will tell the people of Greece and Europe that the first revolution in the 21st century is happening in Nepal. She said: "This is the best example how things can be changed for a better world. She also hopes that Nepali revolution will win soon."

Nepal and Greece are very different in terms many aspect. Giorgos Papatthanasiou, who is studying civil engineering, spoke

on the differences between the two countries. He thinks that Communists in Greece need to fight against capitalism, whereas Nepali Communists have to fight against feudalism.

Many Nepali people, especially youth, look towards the West. They think the solution to their problems lies there. Many youth have a dream to go to Europe and the US. But many people in the West are looking towards the East and towards the Himalayas. Isn't it strange? Why are the people who are aspiring for a better world looking towards the Himalayas? The student organization secretary of the KOE, Costas Costopoulos, thinks: 'the revolution of Nepal is very important for all the people all around the world.' He further said: 'I think it's a lot for us to see and hope from the struggle of Nepal.'

The journalist Stelios is impressed with friendliness of the Nepali people. He found Nepali

people very tolerant. Chris Katsoulas, a member of the KOE secretariat, said that although Nepal is far behind Greece economically, they had a desire to see the revolution of Nepal, and they were pleased to be in Nepal. He thinks that despite the differences between two countries, the international language of struggle is same.

After meeting the Greek delegation, a question came to my mind again and again. What do the people of developed countries like Greece have to learn from a very poor and backward country like Nepal? The Greek communists, after their second conference, are 'concentrating all their strength to create a Communist movement'. How does the Nepali revolution can help their movement; all the members of the delegation had the same feeling: "The Nepali revolution has not only given hope to Nepali people but to all the peoples of the world."

## Maoist communes set best example in Nepal



Children of Juni people's commune in Jajarkot.

Prakash Mahatara

While on the way to a wedding party in Dailekh, the police killed 12 people in the Daha Village Development Committee (VDC) of Jajarkot district, Jumla-Dailekh, on the border of western Nepal in 1998. The police looted food and other things. In the same year, the police killed 8 farmers working on their fields in the nearby Nipani village, and left their bodies in the jungle. After the murder of the men, dozens of kids became orphans and women became widows. It was very tough for these families to survive, even to find enough to eat. To help the people,

Nepal Army destroyed more than two dozen houses in Thabang, leaving hundreds of people homeless. They were forced to hide in the jungle for 22 days amidst air and land attacks by the Royal Nepal Army. After the Royal Nepal Army threat was repelled, the commune was established. There are 141 people from 38 families living there.

Based on the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need', the commune deals with finance, agriculture, education, arms, health, construction, elderly and child care among other things. The commune has members

the CPN-Maoist managed a common settlement for all the families of the slain. Later on, they set up the 'Juni Commune', where the families now live and where property is held in common.

At present, there are four communes in Nepal; the Juni commune in Jajarkot, Balidan in Rukum, and the Ajambari and Jaljala communes in Rolpa. The biggest commune is the Ajambari commune. Located in Thawang in Rolpa, it was also a front of struggle during the People's War. During the Peoples War, the Royal

who are illiterate and members who are university graduates. Though there are only four fully-fledged communes, there are more than 50 co-operative communes in Nepal. The commune members say commune settlement and production is a better and more rational system than the old feudalistic production system.

Nirman, the In-Charge of the Juni Commune, says that the feudal mode of production creates a decentralized labour system that reduces production while the Commune system helps labour and increases production. The commune does not waste money or resources.

Every year at the commune, the anniversary of the People's War is marked on 1st of the Nepali month of Falgun (February). Although there are Brahmins, Chettris, Dalits, and other nationalities and castes, yet there is no caste discrimination in the commune. There is likewise no gender discrimination, men and women work equally.

The Commune is putting into practice a cultural transformation, to create a more rational way of life. In the commune, for example, if a member dies, they don't fast or stop taking salt according to religious custom. Instead, they cover the dead body with the flag of the commune in tribute and they set up a dharmasala or a public guest house to their memory.

Soap, confectionary, shoes, pashmina shawls, and biscuits are among some of the things the commune produces. The

In-Charge of the Balidan Commune, Deepak Thapa, says: "We aim to convert these cooperatives into a production brigade". Besides these, some communes also have a hotel, restaurants, a cooperative bank, a hospital, a model school and other services for the commune.

'All the adults of our commune work with the soil since dawn to sunset, but we never suffer any lack as the adult division looks after us' - says eighty year old Mangal Rooka of the Jaljala commune. "Our commune has finished off the rumours that Communists kill people at the age of 60, but the reality is quite opposite. A group has been mobilized to serve the older people like us."

Last year, a national conference of the Communes stated that: 'we will be united until the last drop of blood remain in our body'.

There is a burning necessity in the world to find better and more rational ways to live, to not waste so much, to not be so dependent on petroleum, to not repeat the mistakes that have already destroyed so much of the environment in other parts of the world. The communes in Nepal are a very important experiment for a better way of life, especially for countries with similar conditions to Nepal. For example, in India, so many farmers are driven to suicide because of the feudal system and because of the ruthless exploitation of capitalism. The communes show that a better way of living is possible.