

THE RED STAR

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PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION FROM STREET

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Patriotic-progressive front should be made

During the period of general mass strike, hundred thousands of the common people actively participated in continuous strike. By seeing the militant type of formation and chain of command, few people assumed that they all were well trained warriors. However, they were common people except the volunteers from Young Communist League (YCL). They were in the formation because they had come in a new place and the busy city where there they had to follow some certain norms and the values that is made by the team for their security and for its struggle.

Maoist is in the rehearsal of peaceful struggle. Maoist has efficiently fulfilled its task in the period of People's War and even in the People's Movement. Therefore, it is in practice of peaceful struggle.

Maoist should make a broader plan to address all the oppressed, exploited, marginalized, regions, caste and the gender as well as the locals and the native people according to its vision and slogan of federal republic of Nepal. Maoist should think about the initiative it should have taken in the mass movement as accordance with the mandate and the aspiration of the people proper to the changing situation of the country.

So far as the question of united front is concerned while talking about the struggle, the party is open and it can lead the movement because it is not the period of underground. However, the formation of the united front is necessary. It is the struggle for nationality and the national

independence. Though there is still difference in social and economic status, there are some common interests among the Nepalese people. We are living in the same country and we are suffering from the same common problems. Nepalese people can fight collectively against their common enemies. For that, the front of patriotic-progressive should be made on time.

Himal Rai
Panchthar

'Emperor's new clothes'

The so called intelligentsia and journalists of Nepal have distorted chairman Prachanda's view. He had fired the salvo to the handful of reactionaries ,anti secular anti-federal, anti-republican elements of kathmandu who are against the peace and constitution. Prachanda's intention was not to hurt the 99% middle class of kathmandu, which he has already clarified in may 12 interaction .

This puppet government has been naked as in 'Emperor's new clothes'. In one hindu literature it is said - " one will be conquerer everywhere if he/she wins over the remaining last shame'. Not only one shame has been remained for this govt. It would be better if the patriotic forces within UML shun their status quoist coterie and UML be merged within NC.

Expanssionist India and USA always try to fish in Nepal's troubled water , instead of pouring oil into it. They have no right to intervene in a sovereign nation's internal affair.It is a matter of shame and irony for all of us that the key of Nepal's current crisis is in New Delhi's hand. let's unite against such big brother attitude.

Prakash Baral
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

Paper Tigers !

Nepalese people are in the streets. They are expecting newness. That is social transformation; which is obviously expected according to the political change brought in Nepal. However, the expectations and aspirations of the people are being ridiculed by the comprador class that has been stored in the government by the foreigners.

People were in belief that the war has been ended in some extent and the nation will advance ahead through peace process and constitution. The election of the Constitution Assembly was successfully held and legislative parliament, the Constitution Assembly, came into existence. Peace, constitution and progress became the prime tasks to be fulfilled on time.

But these days, the people have felt to be deceived and they have to fight again for the protection of the achievements they got through dedication, sacrifice and the incessant struggle for right and freedom. Even after the end of 240 year old monarchy, the comprador capitalists and their puppets have made alliance and formed government that works under the direction of foreign powers.

The elected and victorious parties are made oppositions. The defeated are in the government. The steps of the peace process have been derailed. The stipulated date of drafting a constitution is being end soon. But no constitution is going to be declared among the people on the May 28. Rather, the anti-people forces, comprador class and the foreign powers are going to abort the peace process and they are going to declare the presidential rule instead.

The ethical norms and the question of morality have been worthless before them. No issue related to peace and constitution is in practice. The anti-people government is exercising what is against the people and the nation. People, the real history makers, are in the street.

They know that they have fought time and again against feudalists rulers and feudalism. And, now, they have to fight against for peace, democracy and independence. People have been victorious in each and every fight and their enemies are defeated one by one. This time too, people have to defeat comprador class and their representative puppet government. The people have to get victory over them and certainly they will. The rulers are mere paper tigers!

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A black and white photograph of a massive crowd of people, likely at a protest or rally. The crowd is dense and fills the entire frame. Many people are looking towards the camera, and some are holding up their phones to take pictures. The overall atmosphere appears to be one of a significant public gathering.

COVER STORY

CHANG FORM STRUG



ING OF GLE

While the general mass strike was in its peak, UCPN-Maoist has ended it and has announced to apply the different form of struggle. It has aroused some curiosity and the dilemma among the masses and even in some of the classes of the society. The question 'why changing form of struggle' is needed? It has been the burning question raised after the end of 6-day general mass strike. The question is serious not only in its form it carries but also in its essence. That is what does the 'changing form of the struggle' mean?

For the analysis of the question in search of its answer, we should have to go to the general mass strike and explore the reality. We have to read both the sides: the agitators and the government closely. That is to study the situation created during the period of the general strike.

The prime concern of the general mass strike as declared by the UCPN-Maoist has been to form the national united government by dissolving the present government and to draft a new federal constitution on stipulated time. The people from every corner of the country arrived Kathmandu for central mass rally and the strike.

The street struggle began from the May Day Resistance. And, indefinite general mass strike was declared to be started the following day of May Day. The people took part actively and hopefully. The struggle created a harmonious environment among the people and the security forces; which were mobilized by the government. A popular slogan was chanted during the period of struggle that was 'police-army, our brother! Support to the people!!' Though they were standing side by side in an alert position, they were communicating with their heart. That was the security of the nation and its people.

For seven days from May Day demonstration, the people as the protestors and the police-army as the security personnel stood communicating with their emotional attachment, the songs and the gestures they made for harmonious relationship. The Ministers of the

Plan for Political Outlet

The schedule for the integration of army was made at that time when I was Prime Minister. Since then, I am giving emphasis in fusing army. I am talking about the fusing of army very seriously technical committee was formed in my period. However, the message are publicized and broadcasted in a bad sense through the media.

When Girija Prasad was alive, we used to talk in a very informal way. Girija Prasad used to tell

- Wounded and disables will go back home with package programmes.
- This process will help to fix the number of PLA for integrations.
- The tenure of UMMIN has been added.
- We are ready to conclude the process of integration within 4 months.
- We are ready to solve the problem of confiscated



me to integrate only 5-6 thousand PLA commanders and members. I used to say six-seven with him. In my mind, I had thought that 5-7 thousands are integrated in army and others are integrated in police, industrial force. And, some others will go back home. Now, the complexity has been created in army integration. Maoist is ready to bring the cantonment under special committee.

The plan for Solution:

- We are ready to go for integration.
- We ready to make separation in PLA into two groups: those who want to go for integration and those who do not want to go for integration or those who want to go back home.
- We can put those into two different groups in the cantonment separately.

land by making a commission.

- The barrack-system of YCL will be end.
- Form a commission about disappears and publicize their where about.

Where Is the Real Fight?

- Fight between status quo and forward-going.
- Between those who want federalism and those who do not want.
- Between those who are in favour of independent and those who are in favour of dependent.
- Between those who accept secularism and who do not.
- Between who want to make people ruler and who do not.

government made unnatural decisions to create confrontation between the deployed security forces and the demonstrators. They sent the vigilantes and the intruders to attack both the sides: the demonstrators and the security forces to drag them into tussle. However, they were captured and the short weapons they carried were seized and handed over to the deployed security forces presented there.

After 'Katwal incident', there was wide spread suspicion that the security force of Nepal is against the Maoist and the puppets, comprador and the anti-Maoist political forces can utilize them maximum to fulfill their interest.

The cabinet meeting of the government took an intentional decision in a planned way to deploy even army for the massacre of the demonstrators in the streets of the capital city Kathmandu in a broad day light. They sent the teams of well trained vigilantes inside the masses to make the people and the security forces provoke. But the people, who were demonstrating, and the security forces helped each other to capture and expose them. The peak gathering of the retaliation was under the banner of 'peace rally' that was held in Basantpur Durbar square, where the real organizers were hidden behind the rally and the fake faces in the name of the traders and the



one or two cine-activists were exposed. The participants of the 'peace rally' had knives and the short weapons in their bags with them. They were ordered to attack over the people; who were peacefully taking part in the street struggle.

As the armed demonstrators of 'peace rally' advanced towards the people's rally and the possibility of the tussle seemed near to come, the police force charged tear cells both the sides and the 'peace rally' armed vigilantes ran away in a dispersed way from there. But the real fact was that the armed 'peace rally' participants were taught and ordered that the police would help them and their duty at that time would be to cut the throat of the people who were would have been injured by the tear cell and the bullets. This plot failed as the people and the po-

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‘The movement continues’

Kathmandu / Despite the suspension of the general strike, Maoist leadership has reiterated that the Third people’s movement continues. Maoist Standing committee meeting held on the late evening of May 7 had decided to suspend the general strike after smelling the conspiracy of the establishment and foreign elements trying to initiate civil war.

The standing committee meeting held on 10 May at the central office has decided to launch mass demonstration and assembly throughout the nation. As per the declared programs, there will be huge demonstrations in major cities of Nepal including capital city Kathmandu on May 25.

Prior to that, Maoist will hold party level political schooling in the regional and district level along with the mass mobilization between May 15 to 24. The party rank and file had been busy in the internal preparation for these programs.

After the suspension of the general strike, Maoist has intensified talks with other political parties to forge an alliance against the ruling parties. Nine other parties have agreed with the Maoist to ask PM Nepal to immediately resign to clear the way to form a national united government. Leaders of the civil society, professional and dignified personnel have also stand in the same row asking pm Nepal to step down.



After suspending the strike, the Maoist standing committee had decided to form a front of the parties who stand in favor of Federal Republic constitution, national sovereignty and secularism.

Likewise, the Maoist has evaluated one week–long general political strike. It has said that the strike had been overwhelmingly successful, peaceful and disciplined. The party has condemned the attacks made by the sister organizations of ruling parties, Hindu extremist and police administrations. The Maoist leaders have vowed to continue the movement until the national united government formed under the leadership of Maoist to ensure peace and constitution,

The standing committee also turned down a request made by Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal to immediately come for dialogue to end the political deadlock. The meeting thought that it was not even necessary to reply the letter. UCPN (Maoist) has termed this government as the puppet government and has not recognized yet. The prime minister had on Sunday sent a letter to the Maoist Party requesting it to come for talks.

lice knew about the conspiracy of the 'government' of handful comprador and the puppets under the grand-design of the foreign power.

This incident has shown that the fight between police-army and Maoist has been ended in some extent. And, there is need of a new unity into a new height between the patriotic forces. The police-army has no option than to accept Maoist as the main patriotic political force of the country and UCPN-Maoist has no misconception about the military force of Nepal. This will be the meeting point for a strong foundation for the nation building.

This incident, in reality, helped to make the relation among the nationalist and the republican forces stronger and closer. As the grand design exposed before its successful implementation, the master designers extremely terrified and they cried for help with European Union and the other nations. The diplomatic talk with EU was already in continuity by the Maoist. Probably the barbarous massacre after Chile and Indonesia has been stopped in a dramatic way. This has made a psychological and undeclared united front among the revolutionary, progressive, leftist and the nationalist forces in the country. One the one hand, Maoist is in the street and at the same time, it has to bear its patronage of the country and its people. It



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has to take serious consideration about the every day life of the people and, at the same time, it has to be worried about the being deteriorating situation of the country.

Therefore, the cause of the postponement of the general mass strike in the peak hour of the struggle is seen disclosed. This has been open secret. However, it has been day today reality for the patriotic people and the forces in our country Nepal. The new forms of struggle and the protest have to be developed because we can not find the ready made formulae that were written by Marx, Lenin and Mao. The society has been changed a lot due to the unimagined development in science and technology. The vision on revolution and the guiding principles have to be developed more to address the developed new situation.

These all things are closely related with the revolution of Nepal in the present context even though the above mentioned unanswered questions are seemed to be related only with the world communist revolution. This complexity has made Nepalese Maoist to think about the new and new ways and the forms of struggle to guarantee not only the future of the Nepalese revolution, but also the future of world revolution. •



How have you evaluated 6-day general mass strike after its postponement?

The indefinite general strike was held as the second programme of our climax struggle. We have evaluated the second programme of the struggle in our standing committee meeting. The strike has achieved its grand success. Our conclusion is that this struggle has laid a strong foundation for further struggle. We have self-exploration about the indefinite general strike. It was not an objective plan to declare it in this form. However, the struggle gave a big blow to the anti-people and the reactionary forces.

Your party has declared to introduce a

We are Centr

new form of struggle. How will be the new forms of struggle to be carried in near future?

It is necessary to introduce a new form of struggle. We have declared third programme of the centralized struggle. From the point of view of the programme, we have divided it into three sub-phases. First, we will accomplish the evaluation of the strike till 16th of May. And, then, we will consolidate our organization for our preparation. We will synthesize the experiences politically. We have called it internal preparation.

After it, from 14 May to 24 May, we are taking political classes among the cadres and the people with these synthesized experiences. The people, who have been mobilized in the general mass strike, they have their own experiences and we have to take some synthesized experiences from them and mobilize them and give class to them. And, around 25 May, we have thought to make third highest centralization. Thus, we have divided our third programme into three-sub phases.

How will you deal with the political parties and the government in this process of struggle?

In this period, we will put open the door of diplomatic and

the political talk with the other political parties and there will be no talk with this puppet government. The talk with the political forces will be focused on to find the solution of the political crisis. The process in the continuity and we will pay our enough attention to it in coming days.

How will you deal with them because they have put forwarded the terms and the condition before you like the dissolution of YCL, reduce maximum number of PLA and give the confiscated land back etc?

Some, who have put forwarded the terms and the conditions before us, are in critical conditions and the crisis within

going to hold Third alized Programme

Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal'

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them is deepening day by day. To be safe from this internal crisis, they seem to be offensive in form, but they are defensive in essence. The terms and the conditions show this clearly. They are putting the terms and the conditions as the Maoist is in power and they are in opposition. This expresses their crisis. Therefore, it is not a surprise and unnatural rather, it is natural and necessary. This has exposed them in nudity.

A few analysts have said that Maoist could not isolate the government from other political forces. Therefore, it was forced to postpone its programmes of struggle. Is it correct?

We are focusing our programmes against the puppet government. We welcome these suggestions and we have done our self-evaluation that the general strike, as a form of the struggle, was incorrect at that time because we should have reduced the circle to isolate the puppet government from the people. The general strike in itself was not incorrect. However, it made the circle of the puppet government wide, than to reduce it. Therefore, the focus on



Our movement has been centered only against the puppet government. Puppet means the puppet of the expansionism. The struggle will be against the external intervention. Therefore, the slogan of national independency has connected with the dissolution of the puppet government and its end.

the blow became decentralized. We have corrected it and we will focus our spear towards the reactionaries and the puppets. We will bring changes in the forms of struggle according to the changed situation.

Maoist party is struggling for peace and constitution. If the constitution is not written on stipulated time, what will happen in the country?

A constitutional crisis will emerge there, if the constitution is not made on stipulated time. And, the solution of that constitutional crisis should be searched in politics. The puppet government should be dissolved and only the national united government will be able to solve the crisis. It will lead the process of peace and the constitution to its logical end. This is why, we

can solve the problem in an objective way. If the problem will not be solved in that way, the situation will be shaped in the form of a massive people's movement. At that time, either the regressive forces will take initiative for counter-revolution and try to solve the problem or the people will come down to the streets and take initiative to solve the political crisis through a decisive mass movement and advance the process of writing a new constitution ahead.

Fight between UCN-Maoist has already been ended and the monarchy has been abolished. Therefore, to fight with police and armies again in the streets will be counter-productive to the UCPN-Maoist. Is it true?

We consider that the Nepalese people, police and the security forces supported the party in the abolition of monarchy. And, we hope that Nepal Army and security mechanism will play a positive role for peace and writing constitution. The movement which is running under the leadership of UCPN-Maoist is for peace, constitution, national independence and for the civilian su-

premacry. We, therefore, consider that there will be cooperation between Nepal Army, security mechanism and Maoist in the movement.

If so, the form of the struggle will be to lead the movement towards national liberation movement?

Our movement has been centered only against the puppet government. Puppet means the puppet of the expansionism. The struggle will be against the external intervention. Therefore, the slogan of national independency has connected with the dissolution of the puppet government and its end. Simultaneously, it is centralized towards the unequal treaties and the encroachments along with against the reactionary activities. We want to establish the supremacy of the people and we want to give completion to the democracy and republic. For the sake of democracy and nationality, the dissolution of the puppet government and the end of the puppets has been necessary. These are inseparable and it has been necessary to understand this in this way. Nationality has played a main role and the democracy has been its secondary.

The international communities have their own criticism about the class struggle of Nepal. And, RCP America has commented that Maoists are revolutionary in their struggle; however, they are not clear about question of the state power. How the Maoist party has analyzed this criticism?

We have some important debates with RCP America related to the ideological and the

political issues and there are some differences also. We have understood Marxism as the synthesis of the past experiences. We understand the policies of Marxism in the supreme form of the knowledge that has gained by the human race in its long history. On the other, we understand Marxism as a live synthesis and conclusion of the live inner and class struggle. It is necessary to understand Marxism into two ways: one is that it is the synthesis of the past experiences collected as a bookish ideology earned by our forefathers and on the other hand, the present alive synthesis of the class struggle in the present, a live principle. Therefore, we should understand the ideology as the fusion of the bookish knowledge and the live experiences. RCP is far away from the class struggle of Nepal. The Nepalese class struggle is in a certain phase and the struggle of Nepal can not be understood through the eyes of universal principle synthesized in a bookish knowledge. It is necessary to understand our ideology in a specific form too. We are developing our sovereign and universal ideology in the specificities of Nepal. In this sense, it is specific too. Therefore, the debate between RCP America and us should be in the present context by stepping on the strong foundation of the past. We want to develop the principle scientifically. However, RCP wants to remain in those already found principles in the name of the

protection of the ideology, not for its development. Our contradictions, probably, lie on these debates. We are in war. But any ideas that are proved wrong in its implementation, we should improve them. The process of improving is possible only in the process of its implementation. If not, we can not improve our wrong ideas. We will remain idealist.

Along with the ideological debate with our comrades and friends, we want to implement the class struggle in our practice. We want to check those ideas in the field of class struggle. We can protect and develop ideas only through the dialectical process.

How would you like to address the revolutionary parties, organizations and the independent institutions of the world in the context of proclaiming the third climax struggle against the puppet government and for peace and constitution?

Nepalese revolution is an inseparable form of the world revolution. The revolutionary parties, organizations and the institutions should take it as the form of their own movement and the body of the world revolution. They should understand it and support it because in the success of the Nepalese revolution, their success is interrelated with it. Therefore, we hope that the movement that is going on in Nepal is their own. They make solidarity to it as they were doing before. They will play a historic role in the going on movement of Nepal. •

Policies of Diplomacy and Politics for Conspiracy



This comes to be much sharper with the southern neighbour than any other. If we see the history, this policy of diplomacy of the Nepali feudal autocrats with the south neighbour, the Indian government, has been turning out to a shameful politics of conspiracy.

Whoever has made a deeply watching the political developments in Nepal in last few months must have sensed well that the UML and the Congress robustly tried to persuade diplomats to push the UNMIN out of job. The outcome of this move must have expected nothing but to avert entire peace process. That would do not only push the UNMIN away from the monitoring the peace process but also would create environment to use force against the masses of people who want a new constitution that could address present political challenges and fit for federal people's democratic republic of Nepal. Needless to say that these are major government parties, who by all means would like to stake on government chairs no matter if the peace process goes to the logical conclusion or averts on its way. And these are the parties that represent feudal autocrat and comprador bureaucrat capitalist element in this semi-feudal semi-colonial country, who by all means wanted use this diplomacy under which a notorious conspiracy was to be hatched. These elements were in a bid to protect old and obsolete political powers in favour to the status quo, to the bourgeoisie dic-

tatorship and to the interest of the feudal autocracy.

There would be a question whether the policy of diplomacy of the Nepalese autocrats is to persuade the diplomats to fulfil their class interest or the diplomats do this to persuade Nepalese autocrats! This comes to be much sharper with the southern neighbour than any other. If we see the history, this policy of diplomacy of the Nepali feudal autocrats with the south neighbour, the Indian government, has been turning out to a shameful politics of conspiracy. This is quite true to this event, as the struggle between the Maoist and the parliamentary parties is going on, that the Maoist is trying hard to take the peace process to logical conclusion and parliamentary parties are making hard efforts to derail it. Thus the desire of the parliamentary parties comes to push the UNMIN away. The basic reason they wanted to push UNMIN



out of Nepal was because this institution has become obstacle to the Indian ruling class, and as because it is obstacle to the Indian ruling class, it is also logically and automatically obstacle to its Nepalese stooges the UML and the Congress Parties, in order to impose ongoing Indian hegemony over this sovereign country.

That conspiracy was very clear. This government that stands on unconstitutional move of the President, that stands on political coup d'etat of the Nepalese feudal autocrats against the elected government, wanted to mobilise army against the peaceful indefinite general strike. Perhaps, this was the best time for them to commit this blunder. For them, the masses of one million in Kathmandu city alone were just chanting slogan. The

As long as the UNMIN is not returned back from the job, both of the armies will remain under their observation. And, according to the CPA, the UNMIN will return back having accomplished mission of building new national army through the integration of the PLA and the Nepal Army.

ministers of the stooge government were threatening the masses having said that should the demonstration turned out violent army would be mobilised. And this was not merely in the words but they wanted to materialise in deed. UNMIN has been obstacle for this mission. It is because, according

to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, CPA, the People's Liberation Army and the Nepal army are stationed into cantonment and the barracks respectively. As long as the UNMIN is not returned back from the job, both of the armies will remain under their observation. And, according to the CPA, the UNMIN will return back having accomplished mission of building new national army through the integration of the PLA and the Nepal Army. That will be done under the framework of the new constitution. But the parliamentary parties especially the UML and the Congress wanted the UNMIN driven out of the peace process, so that the peace process is averted by all means, and Nepal army could be freed of the CPA compulsion. The ministers of this stooge government have



But the parliamentary parties especially the UML and the Congress wanted the UNMIN driven out of the peace process, so that the peace process is averted by all means, and Nepal army could be freed of the CPA compulsion. The ministers of this stooge government have time and again mentioned that the CPA has got outdated and have time and again demanded that it must be nullified.

time and again mentioned that the CPA has got outdated and have time and again demanded that it must be nullified.

The crux of matter is: the Indian ruling class is very sensitive with the liberty of Nepalese people. Our glorious party the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has made it clear while in the struggle as well as while in the government that we would never kneel down and would never compromise on fundamental interest of the Nepalese people. This was enough to convey an entire policy of our party and the perspective government. Thus India has difficulty to digest this position of our party and the future sovereign country.

The policy of diplomacy of the Nepalese ruling class essentially turns out politics of conspiracy against the future of the country. Some of the Nepali Congress prominent figures have recently visited India. No matter what kind of visit it is, whether this is health checking or family meeting, it is necessarily linked to the policy of diplomacy. Alike in the past practice, comments made upon

their returning back to country are very interesting: either the Congress must stand violently against Maoist or Hindu fundamentalist will be brought to fight them. This position is as shameful as Madhab Nepal's comments he made while he returned back from the SARC Summit and put his first remark that India has backing for his government and Indian Prime Minister wants him continue on chair. Despite the original understanding that the SARC is a diplomatic platform of the South Asian Countries to exchange problems and shooting troubles of the nations, the SARC summit for Madhab Nepal stands nothing like that but a filthy brothel where the conspiracy could be sexed up.

Since the riding of reformist and reactionaries in power,



writing of new constitution, taking the peace process to the logical conclusion totally halted. In this context instead of reigning from the post, throwing away even all the parliamentary norms and values, the government had come out with the statement that it was thankful to the protester as being peaceful. It was a sheer mockery against the post and the protest. While the vigilantes were brought to the forefront and blood began to spill down the government says, "Thanks for the peaceful movement". Again this mockery is in one hand a diplomacy and in the other a politics of conspiracy to defuse the movement as well as to sideline the major agendas.

How the policy of diplomacy works and persuades the diplomats for the parliamenta-

ry politics of conspiracy comes to get exposed in every agenda. In the eve of indefinite strike, the stooge government openly announced that it would resign and clear the way for forging new government provided the indefinite strike is stopped. Even on the sixth day of general strike, this stooge government did not show up with mere responsibility in addressing the problem. Finally, having shown responsibility, our Party took decision to postpone general strike. The next day, this government began to put forward further demands as usual that the house and properties should be returned back, the YCL should be disband and the party should come to be a civilian party. The international community that has been watching over the situation asked the stooge gov-

ernment to remain committed what it had announced. But, this stooge government on the backing of the India began to convince other diplomats that in order to have government on the Maoist leadership, there should few more demands that should be fulfilled. Finally, alike Indian diplomats, another one also queued up in parroting the same demands that were advocated by the government or the members of the government.

It is true that the international community likes to see peace, progress and stability flourished in this country. It is also true that as per its class character, the community would like the nation remain peace without any disturbances in the superstructure. But it is fact that as the feudal autocrats and the comprador bureaucrat

capitalist class hide itself in a peaceful corner like a bug and comes out to shock blood of the nation when there is dark, the nation must stand and pour hot water in those dark corners and these bugs be destroyed. These Nepalese feudal and the comprador bureaucrats did nothing in the past decades but shocking blood of the nation in the peaceful dark. Under the shadow of political turmoil, these elements purchased guns both for commission and killing the masses, corruption mounted in such a way that the identity of the Nepalese government and its bureaucracy defamed worldwide as a corrupted government, furthermore, pieces of nation had been sold bit by

stability in this country. That should be welcomed. But it is equally true that the kind of peace the Nepalese people want as well as the kind of progress the nation is to develop this is not possible under these tested flunkeys and tested corrupted leaders of the parliamentary parties. To develop a



Our Party took decision to postpone general strike. The next day, this government began to put forward further demands as usual that the house and properties should be returned back, the YCL should be disband and the party should come to be a civilian party. The international community that has been watching over the situation asked the stooge government to remain committed what it had announced.

bit either that is Mahakali or Koshi and Gandaki. Let alone in the peaceful dark days, even in the glowing days of struggle where the political consciousness of the masses is at the pick, the policy of diplomacy of the stooge government sold out Pancheshowr overnight having shined in Pokhara city. In this condition the nation can never remain silent and peacefully laid down, laying the stooges and the blood shockers shocking whenever they want.

It is good for the Nepalese people that the international community want peace and

civilised Nepalese society, the stooge government must quit post immediately, the national coalition government must be forged under the leadership of the Maoist party, the people's constitution should be written, the army integration must be accomplished and new national army should be developed. While the Congress and the UML are using their policy of diplomacy to avert all these historical mission, the diplomats and the international community will definitely remain alert of being infected of these pernicious mission of the stooge government. •

Preparation for new Shake-up



They must make evaluation and self criticism from twelve point understanding till now. The process of building constitution should be guaranteed by forming a national united government under UCPN (Maoist), making a new unity into a new height. Otherwise, there is no meaning to prolong tenure of constituent assembly under satus quo leadership.

Nripesh Shreshtha (26), of Asan in Kathmandu had a big hope that the people's movement at this time would be success. He actively participated visiting sometimes Bhotahity, sometimes Sundhara and sometimes Keshar Mahal during the movement. He wanted to enrich the experience by assimilating himself with the demonstrators in surroundings by interacting and demonstrating.

During People's movement, 18 centers were made declared for the maintenance of the valley centralized People's Movement territorially. Along with it, the work was divided according to the centers for information, communication and first aid treatment. A five member committee was formed under the leadership of party General Secretary Ram Bahadur Thapa "Badal" for the mobilization of valley people's movement. The members of the committee were Netra Bikram Chanda "Biplab", Barsaman Pun "Ananta", political Bureau member Agni Prasad Sapkota "Kanchan" and Hitman Sakya "Suman".

Maoist party political members and the central committee members were leading the people's movement in some centers and they were taking initiative directly on the field. A 13 member principal committee was formed under the leadership of Chairman of the party com. Prachanda for the mobilization of people's movement all over the country. Party

executive body and some of the standing committee members were there in the main team. The movement of this time became very successful and well maintained in spite of the scarcities.

Maoist objective was to search for the guarantee of peace, new constitution and national united government. The question of national independence was in priority. The non-communist forces; which were very much suffered from the bullying of Indian Expansionism, were attracted towards the slogans of the people's movement.

The wish of the demonstrators, like Nripesh Shreshtha, would not be addressed through the peaceful movement. It would need the role of using force against it because anti-people forces do not hear the peaceful voice.

The mass gathering on May Day was historic and unprecedented. The 6-day long general strike, with a big participation,



peaceful and grandeur, was a new experience for Kathmanduites. Demonstrators made the city clean by cleaning the garbage. In course of the movement, the demonstrators made chain blocks on both the sides of the 27.8 km. long ring road in Kathmandu. This was a new style of demonstration. It was an ocean of the people that was flowing as water fall, stream and river in Kathmandu valley.

Self confidence was boosting up day by day. The anti-people forces were going to be split. The senior vice-chairman and some of the senior leaders of ruling party UML requested

Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal for resignation to open the way to agreement. Thousands of the cadres, supports and the voters of UML and other parties rebelled and entered into Maoist party during the period. The psychology of the security forces seemed to be divided. They were clear about Maoists, Indian Ruling class and the supporters of the palace.

The anti-people forces became very terrified because of the probability of forming political and military front. This is why; they made a plan for retaliation. They attacked

over the demonstrators in the capital city Kathmandu, tourist city Pokhara and in the other big cities of the country. They brought some traders and some intellectual on the street against the people. The demands of the demonstrators were not heard. Due to indefinite general strike, the condition of the labouring people became worse. Therefore, Maoist postponed its programme of struggle for accumulation of power for the shift of struggle in a new form.

The postponement of general strike created despair to the demonstrators like Nripesh Shreshtha, who were full of



dedication, sacrifice and optimism. They had taken it as a last shake-up programme. They were saying, "These leaders can do nothing. They meet American and Indian Ambassadors early in the morning and postpone the struggle due to the pressure of tip-tops of the cities." In their understanding, the movement can not go ahead in this way. Most of the cadres and demonstrators, whom he had met, found despair.

Of course, some differences had appeared in between the leaders and the cadres in terms of understanding the movement. The cadres and the

people were fighting for the republic of the people and they wanted to develop the movement in that level. However, the leadership had a purpose only to dissolve the government. Though the objective of the movement was to form the government, the anti-people forces made their preparation as the Maoist was going to dissolve the state power. Maoist has moved in a curved way as there was no preparation to cross it. If the party had materialized the issues of principal contradiction and the formation of united front, the movement would have advanced ahead relatively.

Simultaneously, the issue of national independence would have been more stressed.

The stipulated date of proclamation of the constitution is May 28. If the tenure is not added, the constituent assembly; where there is a strong presence of Maoist, is going to be expired. The period of constituent assembly for two years is going to be finished within two weeks and, simultaneously, the constitutional crisis is going to be emerged. After it, the struggle between the two antagonistic classes is going to enter into an intensive form due to their antagonistic interest.

However, if the tenure is added the probability of a new struggle is going to be pushed a little bit far and peaceful struggle is taking its place. They must make evaluation and self criticism from twelve point understanding till now. The process of building constitution should

be guaranteed by forming a national united government under UCPN (Maoist), making a new unity into a new height. Otherwise, there is no meaning to prolong tenure of constituent assembly under status quo leadership.

The situation is very complex. Class conflict has been scattered. Revolutionaries and the counter revolutionaries are side by side in the surface. Blood suckers are waiting for the proper time to push the nation into butchering house. They are trying to kill the energetic dreams. They are guided and directed by the foreign



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forces. Therefore, they are defeated and people on the other have been victorious. The plans and conspiracies of the anti-people forces will be aborted like in the past.

No doubt that the second phase struggle of the third people's movement has taught lessons to us. It has made a reliable ground for the political and military front along with united front. It has opened the way for the struggle run against comprador, bureaucrat and capitalist class. There should not be delay to form the united front among patriots, republicans and leftist forces. If the struggle is not changed, according to the changing situation, the achievement will be lost by accepting capitulationism. A broader united front should be made under the leadership of UCPN-Maoist. The liberation of the nation and the people is possible only after the creation of clear plan and programme. Only after that, the rebellious and courageous journey makers, with the hope of changing beautiful dreams into reality, have always become successful to reach the peak of success. ●

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We have set a new record in the history of Nepal since May Day resistance. We set new record in the sense that the mass strike has comprehensive, disciplined and peaceful. The general mass strike continued for 6 days. It was unprecedented and it really was different from all the strikes that were held before. No tires were burnt, no environment was polluted. In this sense, it was unprecedented. No railings were break down and hundred of the thousands of people peacefully took part in the general strike sitting in the open street in a different style. The general mass strike got support from the people all over the country.

Our objective is to carry the peace process into logical end according to the necessity of the people and their ambition. The objective was to write a new constitution through the Constituent Assembly. Peace and constitution is our prime objective. Certainly, we have completed our political general mass strike under the slogan of peace and constitution with historical mass participation. We want that the historical mass rally and mass strike would bring a political outlet for the advancement of the country. However, misfortune! I came to hear that the ministers of the present government have said it is ok for them if this peaceful mass strike prolongs for 365 days. What can be more irresponsible and deception to the people than that.

We communists know the policy of tit for tat. We conduct mass strike when they do not want it to be run and we postpone the struggle or

New Form of Resistance



mass strike when they want it to be continued. Therefore, we postponed general mass strike. We have paid our attention over two main things. The first is the sentiment and aspiration of the people. It is our responsibility that we should address the sentiment of the people as a responsible party even though the government does not have any concern to the people. We have come untily the complexities and the impasses from the past. And, at this time, we have paid our attention much

Maoist has not gone back and it has not kneeled down. Maoist is going ahead with it own independent ideology, strategy, tactics and right of self-determination. This has made the epoch making change possible in Nepal. We have our own tradition that we are advancing with our own independent decisions that are taken on the correct analysis of the objective situation.

spiracy of the reactionary failure. We have postponed the general mass strike to up lift the struggle into a new form. We would like to centralize the other forms of struggle. We should not misunderstand that changing the form of struggle does not mean that the struggle of mass strike has been left. In course of changing the form of struggle by postponing the general mass strike, once again in the process of preparation of movement, we would like to say that this 6 day general mass



towards the request and the urges from the different walks of life. The other is there were some complexities created due to the general strike and the reactionaries tried to utilize these created problems by bringing mass against the political mass strike. They made plots to use people against people; therefore, we realized to change the form of struggle.

As the government and the parties that are in the government can not be responsible to

the nation and the people, we should be responsible to the people as a party that is dedicated to people and the nation at that time. We took that responsibility and we have taken the responsibility from its new height by changing the form of struggle. However, we haven't abandoned the front of struggle. We have only changed the form of struggle. The form of mass strike has been changed. The other new form has been applied which makes the con-

strike will be rehearsal for the another struggle if the peace and constitution will not be made on time by forming the national united government. After that the real struggle will begin and there will be the real form of rehearsal before 28 May. I would like to convince all the comrades and the respected people that only the form of struggle has been postponed but the struggle has not been with drain. This postponement has given an envi-

ronment for the preparation of another struggle by providing relief to the people. If the government does not want to create the favourable environment for peace and constitution according to the aspiration of the people even after the struggle, we will be forced to launch another type of struggle or rebel.

Maoist has not gone back and it has not kneeled down. Maoist is going ahead with its own independent ideology, strategy, tactics and right of self-determination. This has made the epoch making change possible in Nepal. We have our own tradition that we are advancing with our own independent decisions that are taken on the correct analysis of the objective situation. At this time also, we have changed our form of struggle by evaluating the total objective situation. The third People's movement has been started. It will not stop until and unless it achieves its goal. The general mass strike has not been postponed due to the peace rally. If someone claims so, it is false and we are not postponing struggle under the pressure of anyone.

A peace rally was organized and some intellectuals took part and lead the rally. The rally was held by those who are worried about the peace and the constitution and those, who have many unanswered questions in their mind. There is no doubt. However, at that time, we had made the rally holders conscious that their worry has

been understood; but the reactionaries and the anti-people forces were hatching conspiracies against the movement of the people. The situation was very critical and reactive. Therefore, we requested to postpone the rally. It was favourable situation for the anti-people forces, though the intension of the intellectuals and the artists were good.

I saw the rally in TV. The rally was so called peace rally. The participators were chanting the slogans like 'Maoist terrorist -Down with! 'Hang- Prachanda!' Was that peace rally? Does the peace come when Prachanda is hanged? Does peace come after telling Maoist terrorist? The language used there is the language; which was used in the past at the time of the state of emergency. How the vigilantes could chant those slogans entering in the peace rally? Therefore, it is only the conspiracy to abort the ongoing peace process by bullying and purchasing vigilantes.

Then, where is the present fight now? The present fight is in between those who want to institutionalize the process of change for advancement and those who do not. In Nepal, federalism has been necessary to all the people from Himalaya to the Terai region. Federal System is necessary in Nepal. However, the leaders and the parties which are in the government, they do not want federal Nepal at all. Therefore, the struggle is in between the two opposite forces that want to go in federalism and that do not want. All the parties that are involved in the government are not in favour of secularism; rather they are in search of occasion to impose the religious extremity instead. In short, the fight has been in the question of federalism, secularism, peace and constitution because they all are developed along with the epoch making change that has been possible only through the war and movements. These all came into the existence due to the dedication and sacrifice of the oppressed, exploited and the marginalized people. These agendas were not preferred by those people who have accumulated millions of wealth, tip top and

We know well that who invited tussle and encounter, who fired bullet against the mass. The hundreds of the thousands of people did not create the environment of encounter. The goons who were brought up by the government showed their ill behaviour against the people. They made retaliation in the name of local people. They were armed with knives and short weapons. The media made propaganda that the Maoists were retaliated by the local people. It was total false.

elite. The fight has been centered coming here.

After 'peace rally', the media have continuously showing and publicizing it unnecessarily. They made me remind the past. In 19-day People's Movement, we were in war. We had brought hundred thousands of the ragged people in valley at that time. They had not put their slippers at that time and they had not got time to bath and wash. The streets of the valley were full of bare feet people at that time. It had been possible because the history making people were there on the black topped streets with their bare feet because they had already set historical and unprecedented records. Those ragged people made the election of the constituent assembly possible. But surprise! no body said, at that time, that the outer people came into the valley. Those ragged and the bare feet people made the federalism possible in Nepal.

But, at this time, when those people came to the valley for the protection of peace, constitution and the federalism in a grand and excellent manner, they were called outer. What is more disgusting thing than this! The peace process of Nepal was not born in Baluwatar, Narayanhity and Singhdurbar. That was born in the villages and in the sweat, blood and the sacrifice of the exploited people. Therefore the right for its protection is with them. However, the tip top

and the elite class intellectuals dishonoured them while they came here in Kathmandu for its protection. Does this tendency can maintain peace? Can those people be intellectual in reality, who dishonour the conscious people gathered in the streets for the maintenance of peace, institutionalization of federalism and writing a new constitution? Are they peace loving? Are they the writers who are in favour of nation and nationality?

We know well that who invited tussle and encounter, who fired bullet against the mass. The hundreds of the thousands of people did not create the environment of encounter. The goons who were brought up by the government showed their ill behaviour against the people. They made retaliation in the name of local people. They were armed with knives and short weapons. The media made propaganda that the Maoists were retaliated by the local people. It was total false.

The people want to recite slogans on the pride of the nation, on independence and on the right to self determination. However, the deployment of the goons and the criminals against the people is dishonesty and deception.

The gangs; which showed their bullying under the banner of peace rally, are now being congratulated by the government. But, if the nation becomes worse, the 6-day mass

strike will be only trailer and the real film will begin from that point. If the tip top intellectuals can not understand the grand and excellent demonstration of the conscious people, they will have to polarize themselves in the opposite poles whether they are in favour of peace or of war. You will be besieged within the circle of crores of the people if you do not understand the grand demonstration of the people.

Its only for peace and constitution whether we picket Singhdurbar or hold mass strikes. We have nothing to do than that. Still, there are lots of small kings/lords in capital city Kathmandu. We have kicked out the King of Narayanhity. There are still lots of small kings in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. They talk about democracy. They are corrupt and criminal.

The suggestions of the representatives of the diplomatic institutions are positive and we have taken them positively. However, the right of taking decision always remains with us. This right to self determination has not been digested to some of the men. We have taken decisions by ourselves when we resigned from the government and initiated the struggle. •

[Unofficial translation of some of the important excerpts from the speech given by Com. Prachanda in a historic mass assembly at Khulamanch of Kathmandu, on 8 May, 2010].

Our Prime Concern

PEACE AND CONSTITUTION

The historic tasks for advancing the peace process into a logical end, institutionalizing federal republic of the people and drafting new constitution through Constituent Assembly (CA); which are the achievements obtained from the 12-point understanding and the 19-day peoples movement on the strong base of a decade long People's War (PW), are now in serious crisis. The anti-revolutionary and the reactionary status quo forces are continuously hatching conspiracies against transformation since after Unified Communist Party of Nepal Maoist (UCPN-Maoist) has been elected as the largest popular party in the country. Forming the government through majority system in CA has appeared as the first and the foremost step of that conspiracy; which is against the aspiration and the essence of interim constitution and the agreements. There after, creating obstacles against UCPN-Maoist from forming government, they are encroaching the aspiration and essence of interim constitution and agreements by creating tricks against the obvious initiative to address

and institutionalize the change and the process of drafting a new constitution by the first republican government formed under the leadership of UCPN-Maoist and the anti-people activities were run by ridiculing the mandate of the people expressed through the election of CA and by forming unnatural alliance against the national independence and the democratic norms in order to promote national capitulationism and to maintain the extreme rightist government. By rejecting all these conspiracies and the tricks, our party at the moment had clearly said in the CA meeting that the intension hidden behind these activities were under the strategy to disrupt the peace process and dissolve CA at last. At that moment, we had clearly stated that the strategy of the unnatural alliance was to create and spread the rumours and the propagandas to deceive people by saying that UCPN-Maoist is going to seize state power; which is totally hypothetical, and they are trying to push the country into conflict again.

The political occurrences and the situation, created now, are justifying all these

objectively that the synthesis and the conclusion of our party at that time were correct. Falsifying the strategies of the reactionaries, UCPN-Maoist has continuously holding its phase-wise struggles remaining within the republican norms and the values without any excitement, rather in a peaceful manner due to be responsible party committed to peace and constitution. It is well known to all that the slogans like: 'Form the united national government to ensure the peace and constitution' is in centre.

It is not a hidden fact that the party is continuously working among the people by formulating the slogans into national independence, civilian supremacy, peace, constitution and the united national government. Along with this, our party is very serious in search of political outlet through continuous talk with the other political parties in a flexible way being too much conscious about not to interrupt in the daily lives of the people and the process of peace and drafting a new constitution. Therefore, it has concentrated its programmes of struggles in picketing,

demonstration, gatherings and mass meetings.

Coming to the later period, our party has played a positive role in the especial urge of Girija Prasad Koirala, one of the main initiators of making peace and constitution, a high level political mechanism was organized with the aim to end the political impasse and to help for making peace and constitution. A negative tendency which considered the high level political mechanism to be a 'high level conspiracy' is still alive in the status quo government aligned parties; which was clearly seen when Girija Prasad Koirala was alive. It is clear fact that the government aligned parties have rejected the meeting of mechanism frequently, which we called, pushed it farther and rejected the implementation of the agreements and understandings from the 12-point understandings and to form the national united government with the intension to make the mechanism paralyze objectively.

It is clear like the broad day light that the government of the defeated ones, not elected, is the most corrupted, unworthy, anti-people and traitor in the history of the nation. The life of the people in the country is full of fear because of price hike, corruption, murder and the uncontrolled series of terror. The trade, commerce and industries are

being perished and capital is being destroyed which have caused the nation push into the serious economic crisis. The government has scorned the peace and democracy by institutionalizing the corruption as a single formula for the safety of chair and they are pretending not to be informed about the serious problems of the people. The latest remarkable issue is on the decision by the government on printing of Machine Readable Passport (MRP); which was against the sensitivity of national security, international norms and the directives of the CA. At last, that has been withdrawn because of the oppose of the people and the judiciary. However, it is not a less harmful act to try making intrigues for implementing the decision on MRP in place of resigning from the government. Taking into account the whole political scenario and its background, our party has reached to a conclusion that a massive pressure the masses of the people and their interference has been compulsory to safeguard national independence and civilian supremacy for peace and writing constitution. A year experience has proved that the puppet government, conducted by the remote controller, will not pay its attention in a simple protest and normal talk. Therefore, our party has taken the decision to demonstrate mass protest in the capital city Kathmandu and other cities of the

country on the international May Day with the confirmation to form a comprehensive united front with all the true democratic, republican and patriotic forces for peace, national independence and constitution. We want to state especially on the May Day mass demonstration that it will be peacefully run according to the democratic norms. Thousands of youth are made prepare to run the demonstration properly. We dismiss all types of rumors and propogandas given military training b t o youth rather it was a simple training of volunteers to help the mass in its control.

The present government which terrified from the opinions and the voice of people is preparing itself to suppress the mass protest. Our party has unmasked the false publicity and has crossed the rumours through the commitment that are implemented in practice. If the effort will be taken to cross the peaceful demonstration forcefully or violently by the government, the government will be responsible for the consequences it produces.

Our party has decided to run nation-wide indefinite mass strike from April 2 if the government does not make any effort to make agreement to ensure peace and constitution till May Day demonstration. We want to make clear that this general political strike is not our preference rather it is obligatory option for

peace and constitution writing to fulfill historic need. Our general political strike will go ahead in a peaceful way as the part of peoples struggle. If the government dares to suppress over these peaceful movement, the government itself will be responsible about the consequences of suppression. Here, we further want to make clear that the space for talk and agreement will remain open even in the period of resistance and strike. We would like to heartily request to all walks of the life to support and participate for the success of general strike (Shut down Bazaar, transportation, educational institutes and factories); which has been the historic necessity for peace and constitution building. We would like to request especially to all the masses of the people to adapt the movement as the third peoples movement for building peace and constitution by being free from the illusions and the deliberate propaganda of the government. Now, the centers of demonstration and strike will be the cities of country including the capital city Kathmandu. Therefore, we would like to appeal Newar community and the masses of the people to participate actively in the historic demonstration and mass strike. •

(Unofficial Translation)

prachanda

Chairman UCPN MAO-IST 26 Apr. 2010

New Constitution from the Street

The largest party in the Constituent Assembly UCPN-Maoist has declared its third centralized programme of the on going struggle. Before it, the party has implemented its first and the second centralized programmes. According to the declared schedule, it is going to celebrate the Republican Day in a grand manner on 29 May. On that day, the party will declare the new constitution from the street. However, it is making its best efforts for the agreement according to the aspiration and the mandate of the people.



Maoist has proposed that the false decisions taken before should be corrected and a new agreement should be made for the political outlet.

The 6-point terms and conditions put forwarded by the parliamentary parties are unacceptable for the Maoists, the spokes person of the party says.

Maoist party is going to seek a new form of struggle. It is going to take its struggle into the climax only after the stipulated date of writing new constitution is ended. •

Nepali Media

WAITING FOR
CHANGE

Media has a big role whether it was in the change in 1949, or the rebel of Jhapa in 1970 or the students' movement of 1979. Media openly stood against monarchy in the historic people's movement in 1990.

Nepalese media, which has played an effective role in the Nepalese political movement and social change, has not got change in itself in a mentionable scale. Media is in the frontier of all the forward going movements and struggles whether they are big or small if we revise its 60 year old history of the past. But, the media itself has no feeling of change in itself even after the political change in the country.

Media has a big role whether it was in the change in 1949, or the rebel of Jhapa in 1970 or the students' movement of 1979. Media openly stood against monarchy in the historic people's movement in 1990. After a climax of people's movement, a tripartite agreement was made among Nepali Congress, CPN-UML and the king. The king declared the constitution of 1991 to the nation. However, the laws and the provisions; which were against the freedom of speech and media, were not cancelled. Press did not get chance to be independent. That is why the press could not get to be restructured.

Though the constitution of 1990-91 gave assurances not to attack over the freedom of the press, the intervention over the media did not leave to be occurred. In this period, there has been mentionable development in print media, electronic and online; however, a concrete policy for the guarantee of the freedom of press and its the long term development has not been made yet. The criticism of the press could not be digestible for the parliamentary parties that are in the power.

Then after the initiation People's War (PW) with the aim to abolish the monarchy and the establishment of the republic, the journalists were arrested, given torture and disappeared and killed due to writing in favour of the constitution and the republic.

The government of Nepali



Congress declared state of emergency in 2002. The article of press freedom was suspended. Hundreds of journalists were arrested. Dozens of the journalists including Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk', chief editor of Janadisha Daily were murdered. Other dozens were made disappeared. More than three dozens of journalists had to lose their lives in the period of conflict. Five journalists are still in the state of unknown.

After the day, the joint government of UML and NC was formed. However, the attack over the press had been continued at that time. In the later period, the military chiefs began to censor the papers sitting on the chair of the editors. The line of internet and the telephone were cut off. Hundreds of the journalists were arrested and released time and again. The journalist were not permitted

even to go here and there. This made the journalism weak. This period was marked as a black period in the history of journalism. Nepalese journalists advanced ahead for the freedom of press despite all these problems. Revolutionary journalists published news papers and broad casting FM radios from corners of the country living among the masses. Almost 500 journalists went among the rural people in the villages and they ran the publicities as their mission journalism in favour of republic. The journalists in the cities also get together for the establishment of real democratic republic for the guarantee of the press freedom. Thus, with the efforts of the journalists, the tyrannous power forced to step down.

After the success of the peoples movement, the election of the CA has been

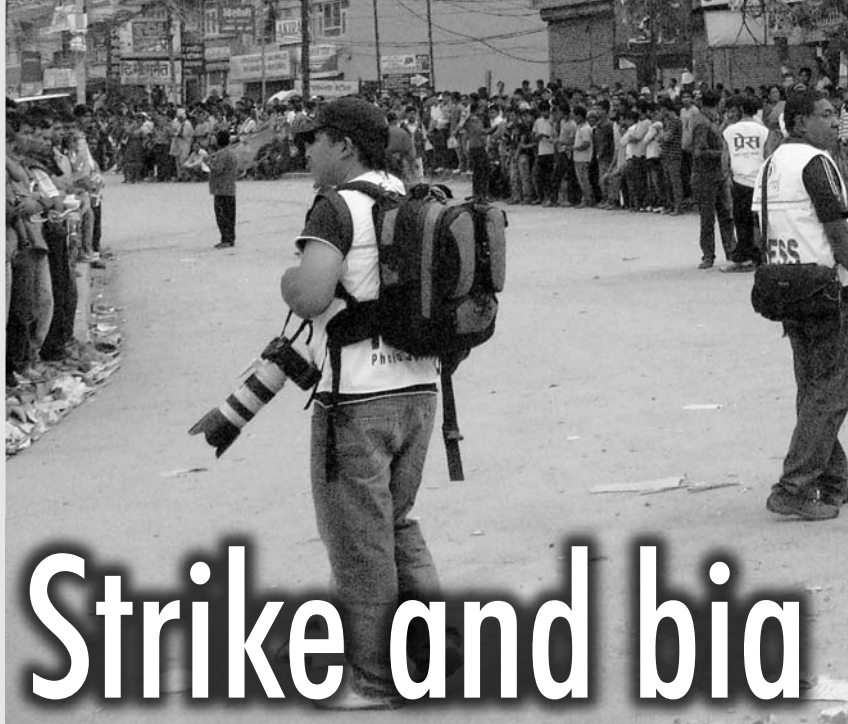
completed and federal republic has been established. These are the great achievements of the Nepalese peoples movement and the wars. However, the weakness in the protection of these achievements and their institutionalization has been a challenge for media persons.

Media is one of the sectors, which has been remained untouched even after the latest political change in the country. We still have the same problem of physical and the professional security of the journalists. No action has been taken over the murderers of the journalists including Krishna Sen 'Ichchhuk'. The families of the journalists murdered in the period of the conflict still have no relief and compensation. The old and outdated laws and the acts are still in existence. The problems that are raised from the past are still remained same.

In the republican period, the government has its own press, radio, television and printing-press although it has accepted that it is not suitable to run the media by government itself like in Panchayat system. In these government media, there is no allow of criticizing the government. The tradition is still in existence to recruit party cadres and kick out the working professional journalists from those media. There is no proportionate policy in the distribution of advertisement and there is willfulness and the only supporters are permitted to take advertisement.

Likewise, the bakers, man power companies and the traders of the private sectors are investing and running media according to their own interest. On the one hand, they claim themselves to be professional but they are running 'missions' more by crossing the mission media where there is no suitability of editorial freedom. The labourer journalists are getting out at any time. Their profession is insecure. The media is not inclusive. There is a big discrimination over repressed people, caste, region, gender and community.

Thus, the media is waiting for change like the other bodies of the government judiciary and military. If the change is brought in media, there will remain no more time to bring changes in other bodies. •



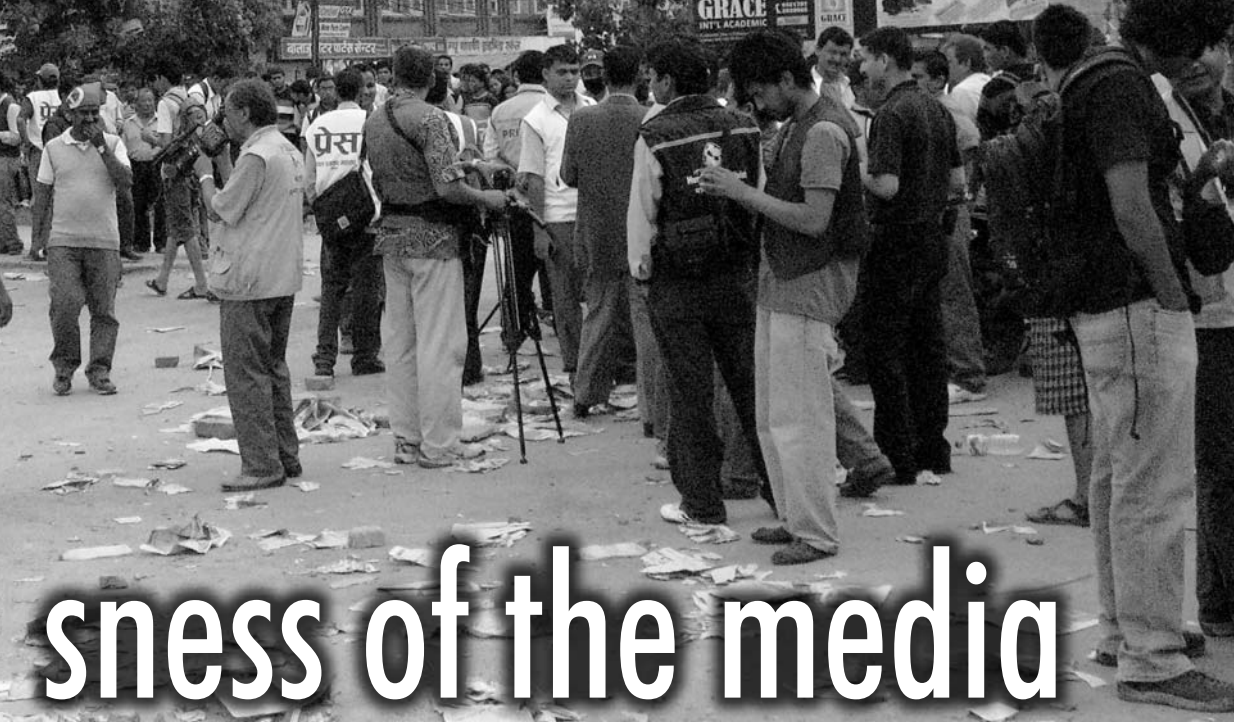
Strike and bia

Nandalal Tiwari

After Maoist chairman Prachanda apologized on May 12 for the unintended hurt his speech on Saturday had caused to the intellectuals and the middle class people of the Capital, this scribe turned the pages of the news papers to see how they had reported on Friday's 'peace rally'. I also tried to recollect the reporting on various TV channels about the peace assembly and the 'spontaneous' rally because the Maoist chief had made the 'hurting' criticism in connection to the rally, and not the assembly. Rereading of the papers was also important to grasp Prachanda's lamentation over the role of the media during the 6-day long indefinite general strike. The Maoist chief had criticised some of the intellectuals, the media and the middle class people (Sukilamukila) for looking down upon the rural people who were here to participate in the May Day rally and the subsequent strike.

Alas! Not a single newspaper of the 'mainstream' had made a report on the rally, rather they were focused on the assembly, let alone the news reports on who were leading the rally, in which route and what sloganeering had gone during the rally. The assembly organisers at Basantapur had said the rally would not take place and those who did go for the rally were the defiant.

However, there was a photo in a very minimised form on the fourth page of The Kantipur, May 8, that had a caption - Sloganeering against the Maoists at Sundhara. The photo shows just a person shouting while standing before a policeman and the caption gives no information about who the person is and whether he is one among the rally goers and so on. Now comes the question, what made the editor of the paper hide the necessary information and crop the



ness of the media

photo size into almost nothing because the photo must have been that of the rally as it is almost impossible for a person to go sloganeering against the demonstrators in a group. And the Kantipur and its photo journalist Shruti Shrestha should be thanked for this small photo that somehow carried the truth because no other mainstream papers had given even this much hint that the 'peace rally' goers had sloganeering against the Maoists in peaceful demonstrations.

Anyone can watch the reporting of the rally on the TVs. The TV reporting is even more one sided and hurting to the peaceful demonstrators. I hope every reporter knows that the unannounced rally was taken to Bhotahiti, to Padmodaya and then to Sundhara. Why the rally could not take a different route and instead visited the places where the Maoist demonstrators were sitting, dancing and singing in their arcs? Why people like Ram Kumari Jhakri, chairperson of the ruling UML's student organisation, indirectly led the rally? Why there was sloganeering against the Maoists and the party head Prachanda if the rally was for peace? Against all these proofs, most TV channels reported that the Maoists attacked the peace rally. Had the Maoists gone to the places where the rally was going or the rally was brought to the place where the Maoists were demonstrating? And there is reporting that the Maoists attacked the rally! My goodness, can there be anything as distorted as this one?

Mahesh Basnet, head of ruling UML's youth organisation, had hand in shooting at Bhaktapur. The TVs showed him addressing a group of people urging them to defy the strike. Basnet had some youths with him who tried to chase away the demonstrators and there was a clash. But, the TVs reported that the locals resisted the strike. This kind

of reporting applies to the most cases of strike resistance.

One more case, in Birgunj, more than 100 Maoist leaders and activists sustained injuries including the CA members Prabhu Shah and Anjana Bishankhe because of the police baton charge. It was the police that destroyed the camp of the demonstrators and burned down the entire foodstuff. But the mainstream media reported the so-called Hindu extremists burned down the camp. Moreover, the media never reported that most of the Hindu youths were Muslims and had come from the other side of the border, Raxaul. It is not that the media did not know the fact or the reporter did not report as such.

Given all this, how can the big media claim that they were fair, independent and reported on events as they were? •



People's Movement and its Cultural Aspect



People's movement is going on for civilian supremacy and the national independency since a long time. The movement is handled by UCN-Maoist for the logical end of the peace process. The question of civilian supremacy and the national independency have been the burning issues since

the resignation first republican government under the leadership of UCPN-Maoist party and the formation of a puppet government. This has been happened in Nepal as the ceremonial President started to exercise in an executive way. The application of the parliamentary parties to urge for taking coup was not only a coincidence. Rather, it deliberate plan to do so.

After the formation of a government under the interest of Indian Expansionism, the issues of civilian supremacy along with the national independence took their rise. Along with it, the peace process and the process of writing a new constitution is in crisis.

This has pushed the nation into national crisis. Therefore, the gradual development of the struggle has taken its way towards its peak that is climax.

Even after the declaration of republic, the people did not get any change; rather the comprador class came into power. The national agendas left to get even a small place in political scenario. Therefore, the thousands of the people

In the mobilization of the masses of the community, new forms and the procedures are being used and developed. There is break through in the traditional and the old use and the style of culture. The differences from the other movements are the originalities of its own.

came down to the street for the protection of the nationality.

Movement is the political action take for the fulfillment of the necessities or the agendas that are raised according to the socio-political change of the society. However, one of the tendencies is defining the movement always in the

terms of violence, destruction and loss. Such type of legacy and the tradition has been crossed by the UCPN-Maoist and it has given a good answer to those who were the victim of that type of thinking. It is a truth that the rulers always interpret the movement in this way; which is not according to their interest.

The violent form of the struggle, rather, has been used by the rulers in the name of so called people. The government tried to retaliate against the people in the name of peace rally. The people are forced to resist if the government force fully suppresses or tries to suppress over them. However, the agitators did not do what was used to be done in the previous street struggles. The people protested peacefully. There was no violence.

UCPN-Maoist is the party that handled People's War for a decade long time. It has its skill to mobilize the power militarily. It knows very well about the strategy of attack and defense. However, it has brought change in its form of struggle and has made peaceful. Because it is the largest party in CA and the nation, Maoist has run its struggle peacefully.

The peace process has begun in reality as the Maoists came in to the peace by making 12-point understanding with the then parliamentary parties.

The peace has taken its birth from the struggle, but not from peace. Therefore, the agitators have shown their tolerance in the streets when the struggle was running. Really, the Maoist is peace loving and the people want peace. If people want peace, what for the struggle, then? The struggle is for peace. Therefore, the struggle became peace to teach the other violent status quo powers in the government.

Many of the analysts had assumed that there will be a big loss of the property. Their assumption has failed once again. Ad the people have been victorious. It has been an example for the world to learn. Probably, the Nepalese people are coming to the street for the nation like in Cuba and Brazil and Venezuela.

It is universal fact that the people come down to the street when they get their interest, aspiration and ambition to be submitted or addressed in the slogans. The people are really ready to sacrifice by fighting in the street because they want federalism; they want republic and a proportionate representative system. In this context, every one should be very cautious about the fact that the achievements; which are gained through the struggle, can be protect only from the struggle because the anti-people forces

to be contd. 42

The Origin and Concept of Human Rights



The expression “human rights” had its origin in international law, appertaining to the development of the status of an individual in the international legal system which was originally confined to the relation between sovereign states, who were regarded as the only persons in international law for all practical proposes. The genesis of this international aspect of human rights is not older than the World War-II. Though the concept of an individual having certain inalienable rights as against a sovereign state had its origin in the dim past, in the somewhat nebulous doctrine of natural law and natural rights.

Human rights literally mean the rights of man. Human rights were typically called the rights of man or as stated earlier, natural rights. Thomas Paine may have been the first to use the term human rights in his English translation of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man adopted by the National Assembly of France in 1789 which prefaced the Constitution of 1791. Later in accordance with the suggestion of Eleanor Roosevelt, the term human rights has been used in English text of the Universal Declaration adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948.

In defining what we mean by human rights, we may emphasize on three most fundamental categories of human rights. Firstly, the rights to be free from governmental violation of the integrity of the person such as torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, denial of fair public trial. Secondly, there are rights for the fulfillment of such



basic needs as food, work, shelter, health-care and education. Thirdly, the right to enjoy civil and political liberties, freedom of thought, of religion, of assembly, of speech, of the press and freedom of movement both within and outside one's own country.

The rights of every human being to life, liberty and freedom from cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment and torture and to immunity from arbitrary arrest are now a days recognized by the civilized world through different international conventions and also by incorporating such rights in the political framing of the constitutions of the countries.

The concept of human rights has always been derived from the relationship between the king and his subject, between the ruler and the ruled, between the governments and the people. The kings, rulers, and governments have always tried to curtail the rights of the citizens to a minimum so that they can live and enjoy their lives in peace and maximum comfort. On the other hand, the subjects, the ruled, the people, the citizens have always fought and struggled against the rulers to secure their fundamental rights as human beings, for their freedom and liberty.

The historic Magna Carta, 1215, the British Petition of Rights, 1628, the British Bill of Rights, 1689, the American Declaration of Independence, 1776, the American Bill of

Rights, 1789, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789, and many other such Bills, Treaties, Resolutions, Declarations, all were the results of the struggle of the people against the kings, rulers, states, and governments.

The Magna Carta, 1215, was described as "really a treaty between the king and his subject". The Magna Carta safe-

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guarded the liberties of the people by securing the supremacy of the law.

The British Petition of Rights, 1628, was described as "... the Petition of Right was in truth the first step in the transfer of sovereignty from the king to parliament" and was called the Glorious revolution, of all the revolutions the least violent and the most beneficent.

In the American Declaration of Independence, 1776, it was recognized that, "... all men

are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government,"

In the very Preamble of the UN Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948, it is written, "...Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,"

The UN Declaration on Human Rights is thus a document in which the nations of the world commit themselves to respect and guarantee human rights of their citizens by the rule of law in order to prevent wars which result from people's rebellion against the tyranny and oppression of the state or governments. The UN Declaration, like many other such documents on human rights, did not necessarily come because the world nations and their leaders were really concerned about the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of their citizens, but because they were concerned that if minimum rights of the people are not guaranteed by the state,

then the citizens will be forced to revolt against state tyranny and oppression.

From what has been said above, it becomes quite clear that the state is the prime violator of citizens' rights.

A person can violate law but can not violate human rights. If a person or a group of people violate the law or the constitution, the state has the power to punish them according to the provision in the law of the land. The state has the constitution, laws, the police,

and the law to which they have committed themselves.

Ms Asma Jahangir, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killing, in her statement to the Third Committee of the UN General assembly, rightly says, "Even where the perpetrators of violence are non-state actors, the blame in large part must lie with the government, which bears the responsibility for protecting the life of its people".

The incident of September 11, 2001 and the happenings in the aftermath of this tragic

rights community including the UN must apply same standard to every nation and/or ruler; who violate human rights of its citizens.

- Terrorism must be defined clearly to distinguish it from genuine People's Movements carried out in protest against state terrorism, oppression, repression, and tyranny, and with a definite political objective guided by a definite political ideology. The right of the people to rebel against state sponsored tyranny and oppression as stated in the preamble of the UDHR must be respected.

If the present form of human rights violations in the world continues, the political parties and governments of the world continue to be irresponsible and unaccountable to the people and work only for their own selfish gains, the basic norms of multi-party democracy are not respected, the needs and aspirations of the citizens continue to be neglected, and the international human rights community keeps its eye closed to the grave violations of human rights, then more and more people will, as the UN Declaration on Human Rights says in its Preamble, be "...compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression,..." In order to avoid such a tragic situation, the states and the governments of the world must protect the basic fundamental rights of their people by the rule of law. •



A fresh concept and definition of human rights violation must be worked out. What is human rights violation? What is the distinction between violation of human rights and violation of law?

army, administration, and other resources at its disposal and has the power to exercise authority and use these resources to maintain peace and order. An individual person or a group of people can act against the constitution and the law and they can be punished for doing so. But when the state or government violates the constitution and the law, who will punish the state or the authorities? It is here that the need for human rights organizations arises to act as a watch dog and warn the state, government and rulers when they violate the constitu-

event have presented the international community with a new challenge to have a fresh look at the very concept of human rights and the relevance of the content of the many international instruments of human rights developed so far.

- A fresh concept and definition of human rights violation must be worked out. What is human rights violation? What is the distinction between violation of human rights and violation of law? Who is the prime violator of human rights?
- The international human

Achievement of 3rd People's Movement Approaching



People's power in the street:

Leader of Nepali Congress Durga Subedi remembered energetic life of his past which was raised from the workers movement in Biratnagar. He remembered his courageous past by seeing the huge mass gathering in 121 May Day organized by the Maoist supporting workers and he said, "Till today, the poor are working for rich and gentles are serving to haves. However, they are not paying their attention towards understanding the sufferings of poor and have nots. Therefore, from Biratnagar where I am living the workers movement was raised. But, the leaders did not understand the aspiration of those movements and once again the movement has been declared on the May Day.

May Day is celebrated as the day in which the workers raised their agitation for change. On the day, UCPN Maoist chairman com. Prachanda reminded that big changes in the history have come through the street. He added, "I appeal the ocean of the people to advance ahead in a peaceful way with last commitment. This movement will not stop until it will be victorious. The main objective of the 3rd people's movement is to form the national united government by dissolving the present government for the guarantee of peace and constitution.

The experts say that the mass movement of 6-day general strike is the biggest movement in the history of Nepal. Along with it, the mass movement in 13 autonomous states and the head-quarts of the 75 districts are historic. The people of the whole country got chance to hear or to be instructed by the movement because some of the televisions and FM radios gave live board-cast.

The people of Biratnagar had stood up in the past. That was for change. But the change did not implement. Maoist today wants to join these turning points of the history and achievements for

revolutionary change.

Therefore, the wars and the movements are frequently happening in Nepal. There has been no mentionable change for peasants, workers and poor though there is republic, democracy or democratic republic. Till today, the rules and regulations made by the clever and cunning rulers are in existence. Therefore, the day should come when the poor people can feel that the day of their own came. The Maoist movement is the symbol of that. Durga Subedi again said, "The peasants and workers movement is not stopped by any body and should not be stopped, too."

Senior most women leader Shanta Sherstha says that the movement was never raised from the 75 districts at a time before it. This is not a simple thing. If the movement wants to bring change in the country it will.

Surya Prakash Nepal 'Yatri' says, "Worker's organization is

the world wide organization. The outer voice can not fulfill the demands of the workers. The owners can not understand that. What I have felt is that the problem of the worker will be only solved by the movement under the leader ship of Maoist."

Excited and encouraged people

General mass strike terrifies not only the Nepalese people but the people of the world. However, the UCPN Maoist started the general strike and postponed it as a responsible party. This is a new model presented by Maoist in Nepal. The general strike has many obligatory situations behind it. This can be easily understood by all.

The movement became very peaceful and the observers and journalists observed and publicized that no tires were burnt and no railing were broken down. The movement was and is being celebrated as festival that is closely related with the liberation.

A political analyst Anadaram Poudel says, "The demonstrators spoke no filthy word and strike was well maintained and disciplined. Not only we, but the international community has been surprised by noticing it.

The historic mass gathering shows that the days of those have gone, who do not respect people. The anti Maoist are also saying that the obligatory situation came only after the miss efforts to crush the opinion of the

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people by parliamentary political parties were made. Whether Lal Bahadur Budha of Khallawada of Jumla or Abiram shahi of Dandaphaya of Humla, they were saying in Chabhill and Thamel chowk, "We have not come to Kathmandu in vain." We could not see sadness over the faces of the demonstrators.

Hope of a big change

Jeevnath Timalisina was in the front of new Baneshwar, leaving his house hold work as it was. He was saying among his friends, "We have come to the movement thinking that our future generation would not have to fight." The rulers are the main cause for the lagging behind the situation of Nepal. Evaluating the movement Kristy, the citizen of Finland, told us, "I have thought that a great change is coming to Nepal soon." He was telling us that the strength of the Nepalese people is in the street. In his opinion, UML has not handled the nation. He added that there is no possibility of development until the change comes.

Ratna Bhandari, a campaigner of water resources, says how many days the government continues under in the guidance and direction of foreign power. The movement itself has seen the dream of a new Nepal.

The day left to look

Padma Ratna Tuladhar, a human right figure, had stressed to cross the foreign influence and its pressure. He pointed out that the danger of encounter and the break of peace process if the national united government is not formed. Tuladhar said, "Other wise, civil war breaks and we are very much worried on it." Senior radio journalists Navraj Lamsal says, "The age of the government has ended." He added that a package should be made and all the issues like resignation of the government, federalism, state restructuring, administrative structure, integration of army etc.

However PM Madhav Nepal returning from Bhutan has not been seen responsible. He says the government under his leadership can do everything. Where as the formation of the Madhav Nepal-government after the unconstitutional step of the President has actually created this political problem.

Now the people have come down to the street. If the government can not do anything, the people will declare a new constitution from the street because the 3rd people's movement is in progress. •