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Nepal's National Magazine

Overwhelming support for Maoist proposal

Red Star Reporter

The election of the Constituent Assembly (CA), to decide the fate and future of Nepal, is quite different from a traditional parliamentary election. The election is an answer to the question of a new Nepal. The election is to defeat the monarchy through a united front of revolutionaries, progressives and republicans. There are many things to accomplish, and the times will not wait.

The hectic environment of the election is increasing day by day. But the political parties are faced with the question: why have they failed to stand candidates in common with the progressive and republican forces? The Nepalese people want to abolish the monarchy and institute a federal republic in the country.

For the objective solution, the CPN-Maoist had proposed an agenda of common candidates before filing the candidacy. But the parliamentary parties were not sympathetic to this proposal. In spite of this last effort at



Maoist vision for a New Nepal : rational, progressive and practical. The CPN-Maoist has proposed for eleven autonomous republic state powers and three other sub-states in the federal Republic.

working together, the CPN-Maoist publicized its manifesto as a commitment paper to build New Nepal, through the election of the Constituent Assembly.

The CPN Maoist presents a clear vision of New Nepal; a fed-

eral structure with new leadership. Clear and firm alternatives are given in the manifesto to replace the old ruling system. A federal structure will replace the feudal unitary form of the state. The presidential system will

replace the monarchical system. It is the scientific solution for the new Nepal.

The election manifesto states that the new constitution will be an Independent and People's Federal Democratic Republic.

The aim of the CPN-Maoist is to establish a prosperous new Republican Nepal. There will be a Presidential system where the President will be elected through the first- past- the- post system, and the Prime Minister through the legislature. Eleven autonomous republic state powers and the three other sub-states will be federal. It proposes a clear policy and plan for restructuring the state and integrating the armies.

People from all walks of life express their optimism and support for the Maoist proposals in creating a New Nepal. Many Nepalese believe that only the CPN Maoist is capable of leading the country in the future. The status-quo tendency of the CPN-UML, which poses as a Communist Party, has once again distressed and upset the people who had a little trust in the party. After publicizing their manifesto, many of their supporters believe that the UML is little different to the Nepali Congress. This has caused a nationwide dissatisfaction with

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By a Red Star Representative

All the major political parties including CPN-Maoist, CPN-UML and Nepali Congress (NC) have made their election manifestos public with a common agenda for institutionalising a Federal Democratic Republic in this country. The manifestos are not only about the kind of constitution the parties wish to make but also about the future they envision for a new Nepal.

Except on a few points of agreement, the manifestos are quite different. The parties agree on declaring the nation an FDR, adopting a multi-party polity, a guarantee of Press Freedom, Human Rights, the number of legislature in the center and in the regions, right of the union and the federal states. On other issue the parties have great differences on the executive head, the economic system, foreign policy and programmes for building a new Nepal.

The CPN-Maoist's manifesto (Commitment Paper) is far ahead of others in terms of specific target plans and programmes for political revolution and social-economic cum cultural transformation of the country. It gives a clear picture of the New Nepal. The NC and UML have also forwarded some programmes, but they are abstract and a vague. The CPN-M has focused on founding true nationality by vowing to annul 1950 Nepal-India treaty, managing boundary and regulating border points with India, and to receive only unconditional foreign aid that serves the national interest. NC has accepted the treaty, is silent about regulating borders and wants more Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) or foreign debts, whatever their effect

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A comparison of election Manifestos

CPN Maoist



Eleven states and three sub-states, Integration of PLA and NA, Judiciary, Constitutional Wings, Administrative Mechanism.

Secularism, untouchability free country, Women, children, familial court. Youth commission, Proportionate participation of women in state mechanism. Privilege for Dalits on state mechanism. Relief and focused programmes for families of PW Martyrs, disappeared, wounded, Allowance for the old and helpless, Special programmes for the disabled, National Muslim commission. Unemployment allowance.

Socialism oriented national industrial capitalism, transitional economic policy, public private partnership, campaign for co-operative farming, revolutionary land reform, high priority to tourism, Policy for self-reliant economy, FDI for national interest, On one's own plan, condition and initiation.

Principles of *Panchaseel* as basis, Annulment of 1950 treaty with India, Managing and controlling of Nepal-India boarder; Initiation to conclude encroachment of Nepali land at India boarder; End of Gorkha recruitment centre, Effort at the international level for repatriation of Bhutanese refugee.

UML



No. of federal states not specified, Judiciary, Constitutional Wings, Administrative Mechanism, Integration and management of Maoist Combatants.

Secularism, Eradication of Jhuma, Deuki, Kamlari system, Special programmes to ensure women's access to educational employment, untouchability free country, Special program for backward regions and communities, Youth ministry, Allowance for the aged special program for the disabled, special program for preserving Muslim and their culture.

Mixed economy, Policy to develop public, co-operative, private sector as basis of economy encouragement to joint venture investment of private, public and co-operative on tourism, trade and industries as well as infrastructure and development, Policy for attracting foreign capital. Scientific arrangement and distribution of land.

UN charter, Principle of *Panchaseel*, non-aligned, Management of boarder-point, Effort for-Bhutanese to return home, Review of un-equal treaties, mobilise Nepalese embassies for economic diplomacy.

Nepali Congress



No. of federal states not specified, Judiciary, constitutional wings, Administrative mechanism. Nothing about PLA integration.

Secularism, recognition to socio-cultural diversity, care for the old and their social security as state's responsibility, Rehabilitation of all conflict-hit people, compensation and social security, Inclusive and proportionate participation of women in state apparatus, End of untouchability.

Liberal and market-oriented economy, Co-operatives movement, Foreign direct investment on sectors of national priority, encouragement to private investment.

UN Charter, *Panchaseel*, Non-aligned, Support to the right of Bhutanese refugees to return home, Mobilisation of embassies to promote FDI in Nepal tourism, trade, No specification about Nepal-India border.

Restructuring
Socio-cultural transformation
Economy
Foreign Policy

UML : serving the reaction!

For the upcoming Constituent Assembly election the Communist Party of Nepal -United Marxist Leninist (UML) has no real progressive agendas. There is little difference between UML and Nepali Congress. The UML had seemed quite progressive in the elections of 1991 and 1995. At that time it received popular vote. But the UML leadership betrayed the people; they always tried to reach the government and stick there at any cost. In 1995, the UML leadership played vital role to pass the traitorous Mahakali treaty. This alienated the people from the UML.

People voted for the UML although it had been infamous at the elections in 1991 and 1995, as there were no any better alternatives. The CPN-Maoist had boycotted the election at that times. But this time the CPN-Maoist, the party which raised the agenda of Constituent Assembly, Republic and Federalism has emerged as a major revolutionary force and a leading political party. This has been a big problem for the



After the massacre of king Birendra Shah in 2001, Madhav Kumar Nepal, General Secretary of UML, was seen bowing to Gyanendra Shah.

UML, the party which pretends to be a Communist Party. So the UML is trying its best to defeat the Maoists in the CA election by forging an undeclared alliance

with Nepali Congress or other reactionary parties.

During the past 15 years the UML leadership has been responsible as the Nepali Congress

in wrecking the country. So a lot of middle-level leaders and grass-root level cadres have left the UML and joined the Maoist. But concealing this fact, UML

has demonstrated its contempt towards the decade old mandate. In this period, UML has not only degraded politically, its organization status has also weakened. Many of the revolutionary and progressive leaders and cadres have joined the Maoist.

CPN-Maoist tried its best to forge an alliance between the left forces to guarantee their victory in the CA election. The victory of the left forces would mean the country could enter into the progressive agendas that are to be met through CA. But playing into the hands of retrogressive forces, the UML leadership dismissed the need of left alliance. Rather it tried to ridicule the Maoist who has proposed for it. The UML move will help the plans of retrogressive forces and foreign powers who don't want to see a progressive win the CA election. After all these adversities the CPN-Maoist may have to fight alone against the undeclared alliance of retrogressive, status-quoist force and foreign powers to lead the country in a progressive direction.

US trying to foil poll

Since Friday, Maoist Chairman Prachanda has been busy visiting his other constituency in Rolpa. He addressed a mass rally in Liwang on Saturday. On the occasion he said that US is trying to foil the election as they fear the victory of CPN-Maoist. He informed the huge gathering that his party has got some information about the American Conspiracy. He also said that the royalists in UML and NC have compelled them to propose to a ceremonial president.

At the meeting, Prachanda said "The strength of the unity of the Nepali people will definitely defeat all the conspiracies against CA poll and Nepal will be an example of a new nation for the rest of the world." In order to derail any plots or conspiracies to stop the election, Comrade Prachanda suggested the CPN UML and the Maoists work together. However, the CPN UML was not keen on this proposal.

He reminded people that the upcoming election will be an occasion to change the history of Nepal.

Likewise, senior Maoist leaders Baburam Bhattarai, Ram Bahadur Thapa, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, CP Gajurel, Post Bahadur Bogati and other leaders are busy in their own constituencies. The overwhelming wave of support from the masses has energized the Maoist leaders. Most people want a new force to lead the country. From East to West, from the Terai to the Himalayas, the CPN Maoist has been the most active in its election campaign, its canvassing, and its mass rallies.

For the upcoming election, the CPN-Maoist has been canvassing door to door and organising mass rallies in Kathmandu valley and throughout Nepal.

The people are disgusted by the past behaviour of the 'mainstream' parties and candidates, and have expressed their anger in some places. The people chased out the candidates who had betrayed them in the past. This week, a UML candidate was chased away by local residents in the Ramechhap district, and a Nepali Congress candidate was chased away by cadres from his own party.

The rising tide of protests by the people has deeply worried the 'mainstream' parties. Fearing the people and loss in the election, these parties are blaming the CPN-Maoist. These parties won previous elections through buying out the vote and capturing the booth. These parties are now accusing the Young Communist League (YCL) of trying to capture the booth. The 'mainstream' parties are surprised at the level of support for CPN Maoist. So, it would not be surprising for the 'mainstream' parties to try and stall the election. The CPN Maoist is on the verge of a sweeping election victory, as they have the overwhelming support of the masses.

Journalists in Campaign A comparison

The organization of revolutionary and progressive journalists, the Revolutionary Journalist Association (RJA) has decided to initiate pro-people's communication campaign to succeed the Constituent Assembly election. The RJA central committee meeting held in the capital city last Sunday under the chair of Maheswor Dahal decided to launch a campaign to persuade the voters voting in favor of peace, press freedom and pro-people federal republic.

According to its decision it will establish nine information bureaus in different parts of the country including Kathmandu. Likewise, the meeting finalized seven different places to hold interaction program on 'role of media persons in the CA election'. Similarly it passed a 31-point



proposal for the future works including the campaign for the upcoming election.

Maoist Chairman Prachanda and minister for information and communication Krishna Bahadur Mahara were present as special guests. Chairman Prachanda on the occasion stressed the important role of revolutionary and progressive journalists to guarantee the victory of revolutionary and republican forces in the upcoming election.

In addition, RJA has decided to send a team under the leadership of vice president to compete in the central level election of Federation of Nepalese Journalists which is going to be held just after the CA election. Likewise, General Secretary Om Sharma is nominated to lead a team for the necessary talk with other organization, and media personals to forge an alliance if needed.

on national politics and economy. Although UML has voiced for annulment of the 1950 treaty, it has said nothing new about strengthening nationality and about receiving FDI. Obviously, they have failed to answer why the country has become poorer despite the fact that the country received FDI and foreign aid during the parliamentary period.

On the economy, the Maoist party wants to make a socialist-oriented national industrial capitalist economy, whereas UML is for mixed economy; NC is, as always, for a neo-liberal and market oriented economy. Ironically, both NC and UML want to make a new Nepal with the same obsolete and failed economic policy and programmes.

The most obvious difference among the manifestos is found on who will be the executive head: the President or Prime minister of the New Nepal. The CPN-M is for an executive president, whereas NC and UML are advocating for a PM with executive power. Undoubtedly, proposing a ceremonial president, these two parties are once again proving their status quoism. Their proposals are for keeping the 'king' as a ceremonial president, in the name of maintaining peace in the country when the monarchists begin criminal activities to obstruct the CA, or once the CA declares the country a republic.

CPN-M is for revolutionary land reform whereas UML dismisses this issue, stating that only scientific land distribution is necessary. And NC, the bourgeois party, has no such agenda. NC has ignored the issue of a Nepali National Army by integrating the Nepal Army with People's Liberation Army. This is against the Comprehensive Peace Accord and suggests a treachery.

Both NC and UML have ignored the historic role played by the People's War (PW) to establish issues like CA, socio-economic transformation and state restructuring as national agenda. They have only focused on April Movement-2006 as the impetus for the present political changes. This is a sheer distortion of history. By condemning the Peoples War as Maoist 'violence', they have shown themselves muddle headed.

The bankruptcy of vision and lack of concrete proposals for building a new Nepal by addressing the chronic problems of the nation is clear from reading the NC and UML manifestos. By contrast, the CPN-M has given a clear picture of a New Nepal with a clear vision and concrete proposals as well as a target program for economic, industrial infrastructure development with socio-cultural transformation.

CPN-M has vowed to provide telephone facilities to all VDC's within this year, eradicate illiteracy, provide pure drinking water in five years with free basic education upto class 12; it has a plan to generate ten thousand megawatts of electricity within 10 years and complete electrification of the country. It has planned to build an east-west railway in the Terai, a highway through the hills in the middle of the country - these are just a few among its infrastructure development program.

The originality and creativity of the Maoist party manifesto and development program is seen in its plan to use cable car as means of transportation in 13 places including Bidur-Kerung (Nepal China border point) and Dharan-Kimathanka.

Why a presidential system?



■ Khimlal Devkota

We are in a historical juncture. After a six decade struggle, the Nepali people are able to have an election of the Constituent Assembly. The issues of the Constituent Assembly are not like that of a general election or a parliamentary election. The CA election is related to the demands of the decade long People's War and the 19 day People's Movement: restructuring the state, declaration of a Republic and Social economic transformation.

Apart from state restructuring and socio-economic transformation, we must choose a system of government. The Maoist took up arms and led the revolt against the parliamentary system, which was reinstated after the 1990 movement. The parliamentary system had completely failed. The Parliamentary system is unable to address the problems of the people and the nation. It has been proven that Nepal needs another system other than the parliamentary one.

Nowadays, all the parties are engaged in election and they have publicized their Election Manifestos. They have mentioned their own system of government. What sort of system of government do they want and what is the logic behind their proposal? It should convince the people.

In this context, the CPN-Mao-

ist has proposed presidential system. For this, they have proposed Chairman Com. Prachanda as the president. After this formal statement by the CPN-M, many questions were raised. Some of them are asking: Is it an election for President of the Constituent Assembly? Others are totally against Presidential form of government. It means they want to retain status-quo; the old failed and discredited parliamentary system. We know the meaning of a presidential system and why it is far better than the parliamentary system. And, we know this is the need of the nation to address its present situation.

Firstly, CPN-M has full knowledge of the Constituent Assembly because it is the main and only champion of the CA. There is no doubt that the CA will create a new constitution. It will execute federal republic from the first meeting. In the context of execution of republic, we need a president. So, it is necessary to propose a candidate for president, which has been done by the CPN-M.

Secondly, the CA should design a new system of government. The CA will create a new constitution. What sort of state system would be there? It should be mentioned in the constitution. For this purpose, all political parties should have taken consent with the people and voters. Without any proposal of the system of the state, how can you go to the people and how can the people trust you? Without people's approval or consent, how can you write a new constitution in the name of CA? So, those political parties who have proposed the

presidential system have done well; those who have failed to do so, they are trying to cheat people again.

Thirdly, the presidential system of government is a good alternative to the past parliamentary system, a failed, ineffective, and anti-people system. The virtue of the parliamentary system is ruling and opposition. Rulers always rule and the opposition always opposes it. It means the nation is always divided. It's like a show match without result. One of the oldest parliamentary systems, that of India, functions very badly. We know this very well. How does it function and how has it been able to uplift the quality of life of the general people? Instead of this nonsense system, we should follow the consensus model of government rather than majority model. In the consensus model we need strong president accepted by all forces.

Fourthly, we are in transitional period, at this time the state is weak. Regressive forces may conspire against change. So, it is appropriate to follow a consensus model with a strong president. At the same time, we have to give the people a new hope in the system to get the confidence of the masses.

Fifth, because of weak and transitional situation, we need a strong and responsible leadership. All authority is unified in one centre and the head of the state has executive power.

Sixth, unity of control, swiftness in decision is another feature of the presidential system. The executive president is responsible towards the nation and people if any emergency or problem arises,

the president can decide quickly and firmly. The Presidential system is able to face risk and emergency in that period.

Seventh, in the presidential system, the president would be a chief foreign policy maker and at the same time s/he would be the supreme commander of the army and the armed forces. So the president can take decisions about peace and war without any parliamentary hesitating process and bureaucratic zigzags.

Eighth, the Presidential system is able to appoint experts for the sake of the nation without petty party and parliamentary politics.

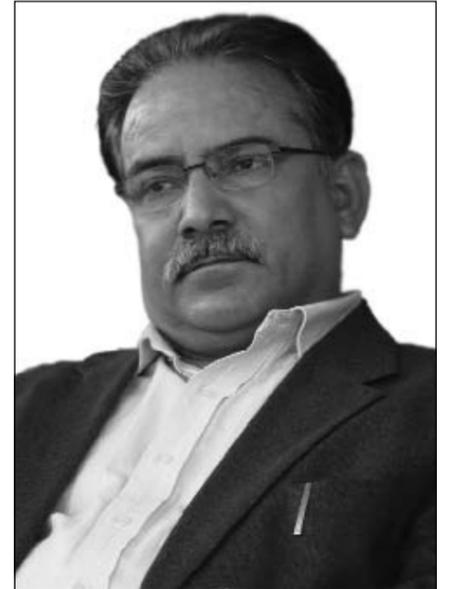
In our context, it is an appropriate system because more and more experts feel discouraged. Such problems also can be solved.

Ninth, the President shall be stable at least during his tenure. So, within his tenure, the president can fully devote himself or herself to the nation without any parliamentary control.

Tenth, the Presidential system is suitable for nation of diversity like Nepal, in this system all classes, castes, genders and qualifications can contribute fully. All the experts can use their qualifications and their ability appropriately.

Conclusion

Nepal is searching for her system in the new constitution through the election of the Constituent Assembly. We faced the parliamentary system and became frustrated by the system. The system itself created conflict



CPN-Maoist has proposed its Chairman as the first President of Nepal

and became unable to resolve it. So, we need peace, democracy, forward looking change and stability with an active system which will be able to address the problems of the society by restructuring the society. Socio-economic transformation, forward looking change and rapid transformation of the society is needed. At this time, some of the political parties want to retain the old parliamentary system in a new dress by calling for a ceremonial president, meaning ceremonial king, and an executive Prime Minister like in Sri-Lanka. So, we believe that the presidential system will serve the purpose. Let us bid goodbye to the parliamentary system and welcome the new and effective presidential system. Red salute to Com. Prachanda, the future president of Nepal!

Writer is a member of interim legislature.

Question on nationalism and international relations

In the age of globalization, while preserving National Sovereignty, Independence and Territorial Integrity, tactfully maintaining international relations to achieve rapid economic growth to build a New Nepal is a must. In this background, the Nepal Communist Party-Maoist forwards the following commitments:

1. On unequal agreements & treaties

The non-reciprocal relations existing between Nepal and India since the days of the British-India must be re-evaluated in order to make the existing relations reciprocal. For this, mainly, the treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950 signed between India and Nepal must be annulled in order to develop relationship between the two countries based on the principles of Panchasheel and mutual benefit. Similarly, other treaties and agreements between the two sides must be re-evaluated, if need be enacting changes or be annulled. Diplomatic efforts shall be taken in this regard.

2. On border management

The existing open border between India and Nepal must be regulated and con-

trolled. The issues of border encroachment by the Indian side in Susta, Mahakali and other areas shall be solved after digging out the facts which would be accomplished through mutual understanding. This issue shall be accorded top priority.

3. On Gorkha recruitment centre

Recruitment centres such as Gorkha Recruitment for the Nepali nationals, an insulting phenomenon, must come to an end. The Nepali nationals must be internally absorbed with respect and shall be provided with opportunities for employment and engaged in productive activities. The necessary shall be taken by creating public opinion and suitable environment in the country.

4. On relations with India and China

Relations with both the countries shall be maintained based on the principles of Panchasheel. Balanced and improved relations shall be maintained with both the giant neighbours. The idea of Nepal as a "buffer state" between the two emerging economies must be dropped. Nepal should act as a dynamic link between two countries. China would be new engine of world

economy and India with rapid economic development

5. Foreign employment

The situation wherein Nepali Youths are forced to go abroad in search of employment shall be stopped by creating ample job opportunities right inside the country. For the time being, efforts shall be taken to safeguard the rights of Nepali citizens currently working outside the country and concrete steps shall be taken to end the exploitation and abuse of Nepali workers.

6. On migrants and non-resident Nepalese

Special tasks shall be carried out through Nepali Embassies to preserve the rights of Nepalese migrants living in India and in the other parts of the world. Provision for Dual Citizenship shall be accorded to the Non-Resident-Nepalese promoting them to invest their skills and finance in the country.

7. On ratification of treaties & agreements

The provision for the requirement of the ratification by 2/3rd majority votes from the parliament to all past agreements signed with foreign countries regarding the sharing of Water and other important

Natural resources and the treaties, agreements, written documents which may have serious bearing on the country, shall be brought into force. The provision shall be executed with strong dedication.

8. On foreign loan

Phase wise planning shall be executed to make Nepal free from the evil of foreign debt and to develop independent national economy. There shall be an end to the process of yielding to foreign conditions (Strings attached) and plan forwarded by the International Financing companies and Foreign Projects while accepting loans and supports. Instead the system of taking loan (aid or debt) it shall be maintained according to the necessity, interest, plan and condition of the state.

9. On Bhutanese refugees

While strongly supporting the right of the Bhutanese refugees to return home, efforts at the international level shall be taken for their dignified return to their homeland.

Unofficial translation from the Maoist Commitment for the Constituent Assembly Election-2008.

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EDITORIAL

Manifesto of New Nepal

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has publicized its election manifesto. The manifesto is the first of its kind for institutionalizing a Federal Democratic Republic (FDR) through the election of the Constituent Assembly (CA) with fresh mandate. The party has named the manifesto as a commitment paper.

The election to the Constituent Assembly (CA) is not just a competition among political parties. Obviously, the election is for securing a people's fresh mandate to build a new constitution and thereby executing sovereign and people's FDR Nepal. In this sense, the election is part of the struggle between progressive republican forces, status-quoists, and feudal monarchists. The fresh mandate will decide the fate of the nation and the Nepali people. It is an epoch making mandate that is keenly expected for eliminating the old feudal system and building a new independent, sovereign and federal republican system.

The manifesto is a dream based on the facts. It is a worldly dream of a New Nepal with objective contents of independency and federalism. Corresponding to this content and public aspiration as expressed during decade-long People's War and People's Movement, the commitment paper in the beginning states, "A Nearly sixty year-long Nepali dream is going to be reality. We are making a new history. The old Nepali history is going to be changed. The dark era of feudalism and the monarchy will definitely be smashed. We are entering into the era of capitalist democracy and republic. We are going to the election to prepare a written document of an epoch making constitution."

A clear outline of the federal structure of the state is expressed in it. It gives a clear picture of federalist system. The basis of the federalism is the recognition of nationality and region. Under the structure of the federal democratic republic, there will be central power and autonomous state powers including the right of self-determination.

The manifesto speaks about the leadership of new Nepal plainly. According to it, the executive power will be in the hand of President elected by first- past- the- post system. There will be a presidential election system. The Prime Minister will be elected by legislature. In the context of Nepal, only the a Presidential system is an alternative to replace monarchy. The manifestos of Nepali Congress and CPN-UML carry the line of 'ceremonial king' in reality.

A clear plan for a new transitional economic policy has been given to make the country economically robust. For this, resources like water, jungle, land, bio-diversity, herbs and manpower will be utilized.

The manifesto has given emphasis on human rights, civil liberty, fundamental rights and the freedom of speech. Likewise, it has given emphasis on the proportional representation of all the oppressed women, dalits, caste/nationalities, regions/remote areas, Madhesh and minorities (including Muslims) to guarantee their rights to the state power. A clear conception of building a national army in the process of restructuring all the sectors of the state is explained concretely. In short, it's a landmark of new Nepal that leads the country into the 21st century.

Constituent Assembly poll : Maoist's political agenda



■ Bhim Regmi

The present election that is going to be held historically on 10th April is not a parliamentary election. Fundamentally present interim constitution-2007 is a temporary state law and now Nepali people want to participate in making a new constitution via the election of constituent assembly. However, all most all the so called parliamentary parties are unwillingly ready to admit this fact and are trying to make the people fool.

For the first time, Nepali congress raised this demand in Nepali soil and king Mahendra squeezed the throat of the demand of constituent assembly and it became the single political agenda of left parties though it was a capitalist's slogan. Hence, almost 60 years back the election of constituent assembly (ECA) became a thin political issue, but after 2001 CPN-Maoist revived the same agenda in Nepali political scenario through the dialogue with the then government of Nepal. CPN-Maoist leader Krishna Bahadur Mahara attended the talks on the table and legally proposed ECA program but the government turned a deaf ear on it. It is a historical fact. Nepali Congress and even CPN-UML denied that single agenda and chose the path of blood and killed thousands of people inhumanly. Perhaps, during that time, every Nepali wanted the tussle between the Maoist and government would solve. The opposition party of that time CPN-UML could play a crucial role in solving the political debate, but even that

party hatched a conspiracy against ECA. These two parties have no any moral right to claim CA poll is their own demand. It's a fact and we have to accept this reality and only a person with open heart can accept ECA is Maoist's political agenda even feudalists, imperialist and some other international forces know this fact hence they intend to make it unsuccessful. Republican set up, federalism; right to minorities/backward area/marginalized caste and right to women are the Maoist's political agendas. It is Maoist who really wants to fulfill these issues through ECA. For it, almost thousands of people sacrificed their lives, many more got wounded and some of them are still disappeared. Many Nepali parents lost their children and the number of martyr's got increased alarmingly. Besides these even the urban babies couldn't utter a word father/mother and failed to see this glories world. So, why do these so called giant parties forget this reality? Here are so many Yakshya questions and people demand answers. But they want to veil the sun with their palm.

After 12 points agreement Nepali politics is moving towards this agenda. The ten years protracted people's war and its reconciliation with the nineteen days people's movement made a new platform for seven parties. Only it curtailed the power of king and now he's marginalized. Frankly speaking, law makers who would come after CA polls will decide on king's issues though the fate of the king is already declared on the interim constitution of Nepal, but some reactionaries are making a loud voice in King's support. Even the cabinet minister is fueling to such conspiracy. Right now, Nepali people want Nepal's present state mechanism would be changed and new constitution would be written which really sketches the destiny of Nepali

people. For it almost all republican supporters would get victory in the election path. Instead of talking to empower the people through ECA some parties are willing to make their national and international bosses smile. Even at present they want to make a rift to let the king enjoy his political right. In the past, parliamentary parties had claimed the recently dead constitution as the best constitution of the world and unfortunately Nepali people rejected that through the movement but the parties forgot this historical fact very soon.

The doctrine of CA poll is a political property of CPN-Maoist and other parties ought to be honest in this regard. In the past the parliamentary system failed which had imposed the dictatorship of majority. Knowingly or unknowingly the rulers exploited people's rights and suppressed the poor people. Nepali people got deprived of using basic fundamental rights and CPN-Maoist raised weapons to change the nation. But now some parties are still trying to make a plot against ECA and CPN-Maoist is dismissing the every apple cart. In the past many things happened in the name of parliamentary decisions and unequal treaties were made affected the nation for a long time. The unequal treaty, management of Nepali boundary with India etc were quite inhuman. Politically and economically that made the nation empty and still they are walking like a blind bull amid the people. Don't you think you ought to get excuse on these issues in front of the people? For many years Nepali people will ask you many fundamental questions on these queries and dark ghost will follow you all the time.

FROM THE HISTORY

'Please shoot us'

To, The Punjab Governor
 Sir,

With due respect we beg to bring to your kind notice the following:

That we were sentenced to death on 7th October 1930 by a British Court, L.C.C Tribunal, constituted under the Sp. Lahore Conspiracy Case Ordinance, promulgated by the H.E. The Viceroy, the Head of the British Government of India, and that the main charge against us was that of having waged war against H.M. King George, the King of England.

The above-mentioned finding of the Court pre-supposed two things:

Firstly, that there exists a state of war between the British Nation and the Indian Nation and, secondly, that we had actually participated in that war and were therefore war prisoners.

The second pre-supposition seems to

be a little bit flattering, but nevertheless it is too tempting to resist the desire of acquiescing in it.

As regards the first, we are constrained to go into some detail. Apparently there seems to be no such war as the phrase indicates. Nevertheless, please allow us to accept the validity of the pre-supposition taking it at its face value. But in order to be correctly understood we must explain it further. Let us declare that the state of war does exist and shall exist so long as the Indian toiling masses and the natural resources are being exploited by a handful of parasites. They may be purely British Capitalist or mixed British and Indian or even purely Indian. They may be carrying on

their insidious exploitation through mixed or even on purely Indian bureaucratic apparatus. All these things make no difference. No matter, if your Government tries and succeeds in winning over the leaders of the upper strata of the Indian Society through petty concessions and compromises and thereby cause a temporary demoralization in the main body of the forces. No matter, if once again the vanguard of the Indian movement, the Revolutionary Party, finds itself deserted in the thick of the war. No matter if the leaders to whom personally we are much indebted for the sympathy and feelings they expressed for us, but nevertheless we cannot overlook the fact that they did become so callous as

to ignore and not to make a mention in the peace negotiation of even the homeless, friendless and penniless of female workers who are alleged to be belonging to the vanguard and whom the leaders consider to be enemies of their utopian non-violent cult which has already become a thing of the past; the heroines who had ungrudgingly sacrificed or offered for sacrifice their husbands, brothers, and all that were nearest and dearest to them, including themselves, whom your government has declared to be outlaws. No matter, if your agents stoop so low as to fabricate baseless calumnies against their spotless characters to damage their and their party's reputation. The war shall continue.

It may assume different shapes at different times. It may become now open, now hidden, now purely agitational, now fierce life and death struggle. The choice

Continued on page 6

Maoist commitment for new constitution

We are committed to build new constitution with the following contents through the election of the constituent assembly.

1. National independency and territorial integrity: By eliminating all sorts of semi-colonial and unequal relations, the sovereignty, national independency and territorial integrity will be fully protected and consolidated.

2. Federal state system: Nepal is a multi-caste, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious country with geographical diversity. Hence, on the basis of caste, regional self-determination and autonomous right, the state power would be restructured into federal structure the unitary form of the state will be ended paying attention to the concrete special-

free press and civil society over the state and its sectors.

5. Human right: Human rights of international standard will be guaranteed.

6. Civil liberty and fundamental right: Every citizen will be guaranteed of full freedom of expression, freedom of gathering peacefully, freedom to open political party or institution/organization, freedom for operating occupation or business, freedom for migration, tour or settlement.

7. Fundamental Right: The fundamental right of every one will be guaranteed including the right of equality, the right against the exploitation, the right of confidentiality, the right against social and caste discrimination, the right against torture, the right for information and

warded and repressed regions will have the authority for equal opportunity of development, proportional participation in the entire sector of the state and honor.

- Dalits will have the right against untouchables and social discriminations.

- The third gender will have the right to obtain citizenship with their identity, honour and employment.

8. Secularity and Religious Freedom- The state will be fully secular. Every citizen will have freedom to follow religion or not, according to their faith. No discrimination will be taken over anyone on the basis of religion.

9. Citizenship: The common citizenship policy will be applied all over the country after the implementation of federal system. All the Nep-

police and the department of investigation will be maintained harmoniously to the federal structuring.

13. The restructure of judicial system: Fully committing on the conception related to the independent judiciary, the justice system will be made responsible to the people according the new democratic norms and values. According to the federal restructure of the state, the judicial system will be restructured setting the Supreme Court in the centre, High Court in the federal states and District Courts in the districts.

14. **The restructure of constitutional bodies:** The constitutional bodies like Commission of Investigation on the Abuse of Right, Election Commission, Commission of Public Service, Auditing General and Na-

policy loaded by global imperialism. However, the foreign direct investment will be allowed corresponding the national plans and the necessities of national interest.

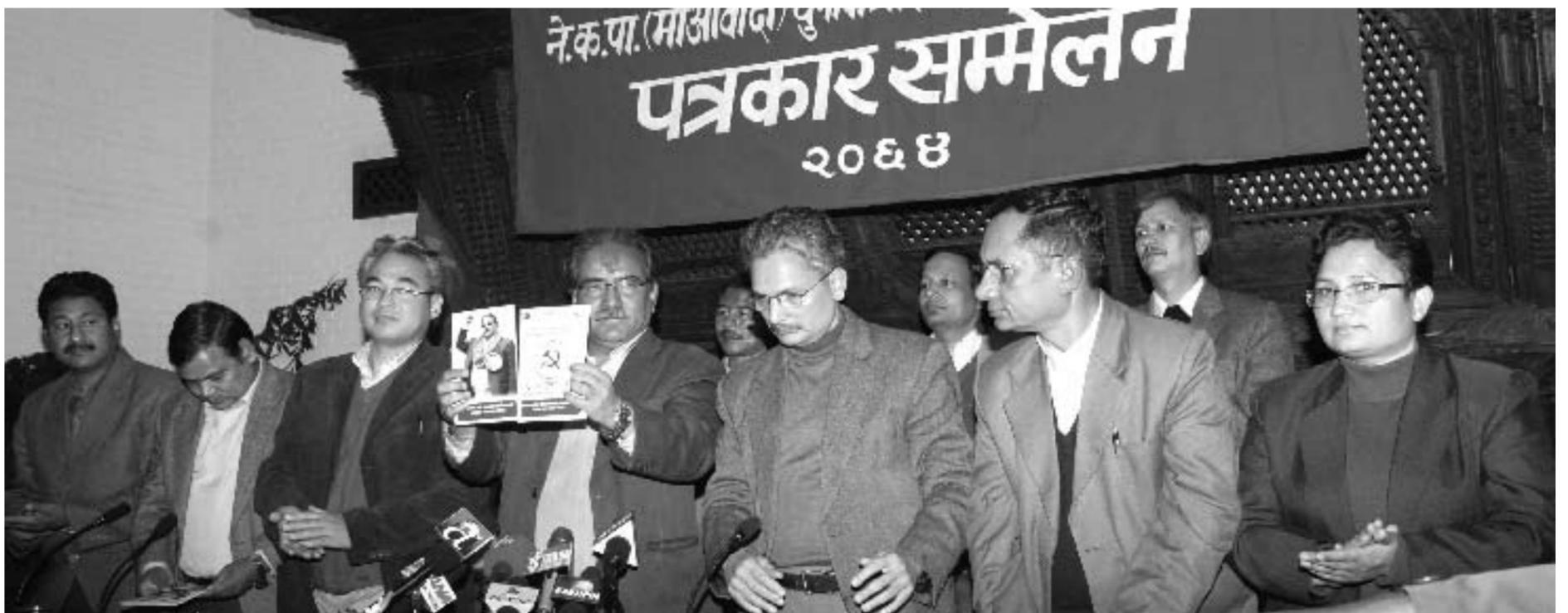
- Public-private partnership (PPP) will be prioritized in the sector of investment.

- Co-operative tradition will be enhanced and prioritized in all the areas by cleansing it.

- Except the certain special areas to take responsibilities by the state, the private sector will be encouraged in the rest of the areas.

- The main character of the economic development policy will be to develop national industrial capitalism oriented to socialism.

17. Practical democracy & referendum: To live the principle of the



Our commitment : CM Prachanda publicising his party manifesto in Kathmandu on March 7.

ties'. The sovereignty, freedom, independency and geographical integrity will be further consolidated.

3. Republican ruling system: The republican ruling system will be established by abolishing all forms of feudalism and monarchy. Federal democratic republic will be implemented from the first meeting of constituent assembly as it is adopted from the third amendment of the interim constitution 2007 AD. The president elected from the first- past-the- post election and the Prime minister elected by the members of the Legislature will be systematized. The president and the Prime Minister will have two-terms at the maximum.

4. People's Democratic System: The sovereignty and the state power will be fully in the hand of the people, which they will use through their elected representatives. The full democratic system with the supremacy of constitution, rule of law, multiparty competition, voting right, periodical election system, free press etc. will be adopted. The Necessary legal maintenance will be adopted to guarantee the democracy in the majority of the laborious and poor classes of the society to change democracy in reality without restricting it into formality. The civil society will be encouraged to take the ceaseless supervision of

the right for property.

- The fundamental right of citizen will be established in education, health, employment, housing and food sovereignty.

- The tiller will get the right over the land s/he tills.

- The laborer and the working class will have the right for demand against any kind of discrimination and exploitation, collective bargaining and the right for strike.

- Women will have the equal right to men in all the sectors including paternal property. The right to reproduction and divorce will be kept in the hand of women.

- All the children will have the right to nutrition, education, health and social security.

- Youth will have the right of assistance and protection, physical, mental and the development for the entire personality from the state.

- All the disables will have the authority for their identification, honour, representation and protection.

- The senior citizen and helpless citizen will have authority for the support and protection from the state.

- The endangered and marginalized caste and community will have the authority for necessary assistance to protect their own language, culture and tradition.

- The people of remote area, back-

lese citizens will have the right to get citizenship in an easy manner without discrimination.

10. Language: All the languages will be established as the national language due to the multilingual nation. The right to decide the state and link language will be to the concerned state legislature.

11. Proportional representation and special right: To end the class, caste, regional, gender and other discrimination and inequality existed in the society and to make it more people oriented and effective. The proportional representation of women, Dalit, oppressed caste/nationalities, oppressed region/remote area, Madhesi, minority community (including Muslims) will be maintained in every sector of the state and the institutions of people's representation. The special right will be guaranteed to the most repressed women, dalit and muslim community as the compensation of historical repression for a certain period.

12. Restructure of Security sector: Legally existed two armies in the country, Nepal Army (NA) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) will be fused in a proper way after democratizing NA and professionalizing PLA. According to the new democratic system, the total restructuring of security sector- army, Police and armed

tional Human Rights Commission etc. will be restructured to make them free, powerful and effective. Specially, the county and the society will be liberated from the cancer of corruption existing in all the sectors and the more effective alternative bodies will be established in place of this.

15. The restructure of Administrative Mechanism: The restructure of the administrative mechanism will be implemented as according to the restructure of new democratic system and the federal restructure of the state. The administration will be drastically changed to make it result-oriented, responsible to the people, efficient and transparent than process oriented.

16. New transitional economic-policy: The basis of federal democratic Republic Nepal's Economic policy will be the New Transitional economic policy that is against imperialism and feudalism and suitable to the Nepalese specialties. The main characteristics will be as follows:

- All the forms of feudalism will be eliminated in the economy. The revolutionary land reform will be implemented on the basis of the principle of 'Land to the Tiller' by exterminating feudal land ownership mainly.

- The economy will be liberated from the effect of neo-liberalist economic

supremacy of the people, there will be constitutional maintenance for institutionalizing the direct democratic exercise as far as it is practicable. The questions related to the strategy of nation will be decided through national referendum.

18. Ratification of treaties and compromises: The constitutional validity of ratifying by the two third majority of central legislature shall be maintained to all kinds of international treaty, compromises and written documents that are related to sharing the national resources and to affecting the national interest seriously.

19. Responsibility of the State, Guiding Principles and Policies: In addition to the responsibility of the state, guiding principles and the policies mentioned in the interim constitution, the state shall have the responsibility to build policies and programmes for institutionalization and implementation of the independent and people's federal democratic republic.

20. People's participation in building constitution: The appropriate methods shall be applied to guarantee for the active participation of mass people's communities, various concerned groups and specialists in the process to build a new constitution by the constituent assembly.

Stop the hands behind the terror

By Xinhua writer Wang Jiaquan
BEIJING, March 15 (Xinhua)
-- The Nobel laurel was tainted, and the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal proved nothing but a fig leaf of the Dalai Lama when on Friday rioters, backed by the self-proclaimed peace preacher, turned the tranquil holy city of Lhasa into a land of terror.

And the intention harbored behind the monk's claim of seeking "real or greater autonomy" of Tibet also proved hypocritical when hundreds of his followers yelled independence, attacked police, smashed windows, robbed shops, and set cars and a mosque ablaze.

Yet, this impudent politician did not show any sign of shame when he disassociated himself from the conspiracy as an innocent monk, leaving his followers standing as cat's paws by persuading them, in a canting manner, "not to resort to violence" reportedly in a statement after the serene abode of the gods was disturbed.

At least 10 people were confirmed dead in the rioting, while the number of injured and other losses kept rising.

When a woman who dared not to step out of her office near a looted and burnt supermarket told me through mobile phone short messages that Lhasa was cloaked in an atmosphere of horror, I believed the hand behind the cat's paws was a master terror maker.

But the monk in a crimson cassock has many tools for disguise to survive the international criticism against violence and terror: his preaching of peace, tolerance and benevolence to the Nobel honor and U.S. medal which added to his undeserved aura.

Now the blaze and blood in Lhasa has unclad the nature of the Dalai Lama, and it's time for the international community to recheck their stance toward the group under the camouflage of non-violence, if they do not want to be willingly misled.

The Dalai Lama and his clique have never for a day refrained from violence and terror. His childhood teacher, an Austrian, was a Nazi, and it's no secret that for quite a long time after he fled to India, he kept a force, armed by his western patron,

for separatist activities. The peace advocator had also shown no interest in the global campaigns against U.S. wars on Afghanistan and Iraq.

The international community, however, seems to have neglected, or, be unwilling, to face the facts. Continuous tolerance to violence undoubtedly means appeasement to terror, while offering platforms for the rhetoric lama to sell his deceitful philosophy will only encourage him to drift further away from the negotiation framework on the Tibet issue that the Chinese government has repeatedly promised to keep open.

There are always countries, organizations and individuals who would like to act as moral defenders when anything they don't like to see happens. Now it's time again for them to stand out, but on whom their whip falls is a test to justice.

As for the Dalai Lama, I never disbelieve the ability and power of the so-called "His Holiness" in praying for peace, but the violent scene in Lhasa has given me the very reason to doubt the always-smiling monk's sincerity.

www.xinhuanet.com/english

US to deploy another radar system

The US administration has been conducting secret talks on the deployment of a mobile radar of its missile defense system in another European country – Turkey. The USA may start official negotiations on the matter during the NATO summit. For the time being it is known that US Defense Secretary Robert Gates touched upon the issue during his recent visit to Turkey. The new plans of the US administration may seriously aggravate its relations with Moscow.

The fact of USA's negotiations with Turkey has been officially confirmed only on March 13, 2008. Pentagon Press Secretary Geoff Morrell told reporters of Gates's recent visit to Ankara, the capital of Turkey. US and Turkish officials discussed the military operation of the Turkish Army in Iraq. In addition, Morrell said, the parties discussed plans on the establishment of the missile defense system in Turkey.

John Rood, acting Undersecretary of State, previously rejected the fact of the negotiations. Rood particularly stated in Washington that the USA was not planning any missile defense talks with any countries other than Poland and the Czech Republic.

As it turns out, Robert Gates urged Turkey to cooperate in the creation of the third center of the missile defense system. The Pentagon head promised to render financial help to Turkey in terms of army modernization. According to Gates, investments in Turkey's defense sector may reach one billion dollars.

The US-based Missile Defense Agency intends to deploy a mobile radar system in Turkey, the Austrian newspaper Die Presse wrote. For the time being, the USA uses only one such radar, which is located in California.

Apparently, the systems, which the USA intends to build in Poland and the Czech Republic, will not be able to protect all allies. Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey may suffer from a possible missile attack from Iran, US officials believe. The NATO summit is to discuss the problem at a meeting in Bucharest, in April.

www.english.pravda.ru

Overwhelming

the UML, and many traditional UML supporters are now for the Maoist.

Moreover, Maoist have raised the agenda of making a better Nepal. The UML and NC are crawling behind the Maoist agenda. So their unwillingness to go forward cannot hide in their programmes. The UML is playing with words to confuse and trick the people, but their shortcomings are evident in their manifesto. People do not have any trust in the NC, and it is acting in the same way it used to in the past.

The objective policies and plans of social and economic transformation of the country are explained briefly. The question of land reform, development of the infra-structure, foreign policy based on Panchsheel, the phase-wise economic plan are concretized. For economic progress, the resources available in Nepal; water, land, jungle, herbs, bio-diversity and man power will be fully utilized. The manifesto has stated firmly on human rights, civil liberty, fundamental rights on education, health, employment, freedom of speech and others. The People's Front, Nepal has proposed a manifesto similar to CPN-Maoist.

The other parties have publicised their manifestos later on. They have emphasised the system of a Prime Minister with state power and a Ceremonial President. In this way, CPN-UML and Nepali Congress are aimed at protecting the monarchy. In this sense, they are against the mandate of the People's War, the People's Movement and the wishes of the Nepalese people. They have shown their unwilling to have a real change in the future.

Due to the clarity of the manifesto, the masses are behind the CPN-Maoist. The leaders of the parliamentary parties and foreign forces are terrified by the increasing support to the Maoist. The political parties must understand that the support of the people for the CPN-Maoist is for a republic. Therefore, they should make an alliance with the Maoist on time. The constitution and the implementation towards a Federal Democratic Republic will be under the leadership of the CPN-Maoist.

China issues human rights record of US in 2007

China issued on Thursday the Human Rights Record of the United States in 2007 in response to the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 issued by the U.S. Department of State on Tuesday.

Released by the Information Office of China's State Council, the Chinese report listed a multitude of cases to show the human rights situation in the United States and its violation of human rights in other countries.

The report says the United States attacks more than 190 countries and regions including China on their human rights issues, but mentions nothing about its own human rights problems.

By publishing the Human Rights Record of the United States in 2007, the report says it aims to "help the people have a better understanding of the real situation in the United States and as a reminder for the United States to reflect upon its own issues".

The report reviewed the human rights record of the United States in 2007 from seven perspectives:

on life and personal security, on human rights violations by law enforcement and judicial departments, on civil and political rights, on economic, social and cultural rights, on racial discrimination, on rights of women and children and on the United States' violation of human rights in other countries.

The report says the increase of violent crimes in the United States poses a serious threat to its people's lives, liberty and personal security.

According to a FBI report on crime statistics released in September 2007, 1.41 million violent crimes were reported nationwide in 2006, an increase of 1.9 percent over 2005.

Of the violent crimes, the estimated number of murders and no negligent manslaughters increased 1.8 percent, and that of robberies increased 7.2 percent

Throughout 2006, U.S. residents age 12 or above experienced an estimated 25 million crimes of violence and theft, according to the FBI report.

-english.people.com.cn

Please.....

of the course, whether bloody or comparatively peaceful, which it should adopt rests with you. Choose whichever you like. But that war shall be incessantly waged without taking into consideration the petty (illegible) and the meaningless ethical ideologies. It shall be waged ever with new vigour, greater audacity and unflinching determination till the Socialist Republic is established and the present social order is completely replaced by a new social order, based on social prosperity and thus every sort of exploitation is put an end to and the humanity is ushered into the era of genuine and permanent peace. In the very near future the final battle shall be fought and final settlement arrived at.

The days of capitalist and imperialist exploitation are numbered. The war neither began with us nor is it going to end with our lives. It is the inevitable consequence of the historic events and the existing environments. Our humble sacrifices shall be only a link in the chain that has very accurately been beautified by the unparalleled sacrifice of Mr. Das and most tragic but noblest sacrifice of Comrade Bhagawati Charan and the glorious death of our dear warrior Azad.

As to the question of our fates, please allow us to say that when you have decided to put us to death, you will certainly do it. You have got the power in your hands and the power is the greatest justification in this world. We know that the maxim "Might is right" serves as your guiding motto. The whole of our trial was just a proof of that. We wanted to point out that according to the verdict of your court we had waged war and were therefore war prisoners. And we claim to be treated as such, i.e., we claim to be shot dead instead of to be hanged. It rests with you to prove that you really meant what your court has said.

We request and hope that you will very kindly order the military department to send its detachment to perform our execution.

Yours'
BHAGAT SINGH

(Bhagat Singh was a revolutionary fighter of India who was executed in March 23, 1931. This is his last petition where he has demanded to be shoot down instead of hanging.)

Reflections on the Nepali Elections

- An Internationalist perspective



■ Roshan Kissoon

The mere fact that a Maoist Communist party is standing for elections is a great success. It is also an indication of the decline of US power around the world. This decline will open up many possibilities, possibilities that may be progressive or reactionary.

Let us be clear, the US and its allies have lost in both Afghanistan and Iraq, and they have made themselves hated all over the world. They have failed to 'stabilise' Afghanistan, but have rather succeeded in 'destabilising' Pakistan. If they attack Iran, they will surely lose; and the Middle East will be the graveyard of US imperialism. Despite considerable US help, Israel cannot defeat the Palestinians; it is surely only a matter of time before Israel disappears from the map of nations. Despite all their hi-tech weaponry, when Israel tried to invade Lebanon, they lost to the Hezbollah guerrillas. If any Indian general or politician should read this article, let him reflect on the destruction of the Indian army in Sri Lanka.

The decline of American power will give chances for Leftist Revolutionary movements around the world. In Latin America, the Left is rising; leaders such as Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Eva Morales of Bolivia have come to power through elections. In Colombia, the Marxist Leninist FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) is gaining support. In America's backyard, in Mexico, there are two powerful Leftist guerrilla groups, the Autonomist Zapatistas and the Marxist Leninist EPR. Cuba defiantly resists US domination. Throughout much of India and in Bhutan, Revolutionary Maoist parties are growing and coming forward to challenge the state, inspired by the success of the Nepalese People's War.

It is privately acknowledged by all political parties and players, of the Left and the Right, by Royalists and Maoists, that there is US and Indian intervention in Nepal. This intervention takes the form of 'Contras', whose main

purpose is to attack Maoist cadres. Most of the Terai and Madhesi groups may be regarded as 'Contras'. These Contra groups have no clear political ideology or beliefs, but they have money and weapons to cause trouble in the Terai and in Kathmandu. It is in the nature of secret operations to work in darkness, to cover all traces, to leave no evidence. I shall not accuse but rather I propose the following *hypothesis*, a *hypothesis* that further evidence in the coming months and years will either verify or falsify; a working hypothesis that sheds light on hidden causes, and will help people understand what is happening in Nepal. The *hypothesis*: The US and India are funding and training Contras

to buy off a large section of their own working class. In the world, Western workers form a veritable aristocracy of labour. However, people in Nepal should know that millions in Western countries hate their governments. Millions in the West detest the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. Millions in the West do not believe the West is democratic, and do not vote in elections. However, due to the relatively high quality of life of workers in the West, Revolution does not appear as a possibility. This quality of life will not last, and Revolution will become a necessity. In 2005, starting in the suburbs of Paris, riots by the children of immigrant Arab and African workers rocked the French state. Huge

of imperialism that the West is able to buy off many intellectuals and political activists in poor countries like Nepal, through so called NGOs, or Non Governmental Organizations. I propose that NGOs should be called FGOs or *Foreign Government Organizations*, as this would be more accurate. In Nepal, it is no secret that the CPN UML has been corrupted by NGO money. These NGOs corrupt Nepalese politics through cash, and manipulate public opinion in the West by their doctrine of 'human rights'.

During the French Revolution of 1789, an earlier form of the 'human rights' doctrine had a progressive role in the life of the people. This doctrine has since decomposed and

Democracy, from the Greek, means 'rule by the people'. This does not exist in the West, as the West is ruled by big business. The highest experience of democracy in the West, in its true sense, was during the Paris Commune of 1871.



The red flag flies high in Kathmandu, Nepal

to destroy the Maoists, and derail the elections if necessary.

The word 'democracy' is much discussed, used and abused, without a clear notion of what it is. Democracy, from the Greek, means 'rule by the people'. This does not exist in the West, as the West is ruled by big business. The highest experience of democracy in the West, in its true sense, was during the Paris Commune of 1871. The method by which Western countries have become wealthy, or 'developed', cannot be copied by Nepal. The wealth of the West comes from a complex form of robbery called imperialism. It is from this booty, from the super profits of imperialism, that Western countries are able

anti capitalist protests and violent clashes between police and protestors accompany every meeting of capitalist leaders, such as at the G8 summit in the German city of Rostock last year. Strikes by Greek workers are rattling the Greek state at the moment. As Nepalese journalists and graduates from business schools continue to parrot on about 'globalisation' and 'western style' democracy as a model for Nepal, they should realize that 'globalisation' and 'western style' democracy are intellectually and morally bankrupt in their homelands. The East and the West, the North and the South, all need a New Democracy.

It is from the super profits

now stinks. There is something rotten about NGOs and their talk of human rights. Consider the following; throughout Africa and Asia, children work because their families are poor, their societies are poor. There is no choice. All the conductors on Kathmandu's microbus and tempo system are children, they work from early in the morning till late at night, in packed vehicles arguing with passengers over one or two rupees. No mere chatter of human rights will ever get rid of this. No make pretend 'millenium development goals' are really ever going to make much difference. No rock concert will ever make poverty history. If there is child labour, there will also

be child soldiers... To end child labour and the phenomena of child soldiers and minor combatants, it would be necessary to end poverty. This is not possible under capitalism. So, human rights are and will remain forever empty chatter. The doctrine of 'human rights' can only accept the masses of the 'third world' as virtuous victims; and if the masses refuse to be victims, then they will be called terrorists - 'human rights' will be used against the masses.

Everybody is asking: "Will the international community accept a Maoist victory?" The 'international community' does not usually include countries like Bhutan or Bangladesh, Somalia or Senegal, Peru or Paraguay. The term 'international community' is merely a euphemism for the US and Europe, and sometimes Russia and China. The UN represents this 'international community' in Nepal, and so we should *not* expect the UN to be 'impartial' and 'objective'. It is rather tired and naïve to pretend to be shocked whenever we hear of injustices taking place under UN supervision, as there have been too many, from the murder of Patrice Lumumba in Congo, to Angola, Mozambique, the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in Lebanon, Haiti....

In 2006, the Islamicist Hamas party won the Palestinian elections. The US considers Hamas a 'terrorist' organisation. Ever at the ready, NGOs dutifully charged Hamas of violating 'human rights'. Their election victory was unacceptable to the 'international community', and they engineered a coup to return the corrupt Fatah party to power, and isolate Hamas in the Gaza strip. Elections are declared to be 'free and fair' only if the results are favourable to the 'international community'. The international 'free press', (another euphemism: BBC = British State Broadcasting Co. and CNN = Chicken Noodle Network) supported this coup, and dutifully portrayed Hamas as the villain and the aggressor. The US also considers the CPN Maoist a 'terrorist' organisation, and there is the possibility of a coup in Nepal. In the event of this possibility, the Maoists will do what is necessary.

- Kissoon is an international freelance journalist.



During the course of Nepal's history, brave men and women stepped forward, answering the nation's call to fight against feudalism, foreign intervention and imperialism. Photo- Nirmal Gyawali

Honouring Martyrs

Dipak Sapkota/Sindhupalchok

Tilak Shrestha lost his two children in course of 12-year long Maoist movement. His son Basanta Shrestha was killed by the police in 1999 and daughter Aasha Shrestha was killed in 2001. Aasha, a squad commander led an assault team to attack the barrack of the Royal Nepalese Army in Solukhumbu, and was shot dead by the army. Tilak Shrestha attended a program in Chautara (District headquarter) on 4th March where he was honoured as the family of martyrs. Every year CPN-Maoist organises Martyr's week from 26th February to 4th March, when the party honours the family of the martyrs and holds a program to visit home and family of each martyrs.

So, what shall be the real tribute to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for a cause? Obviously, to

committee arranged a formal program to honour the martyrs and their families on the 4th March at Chautara. 179 people from Sindhupalchok were martyred in the 10-year long armed struggle. Likewise 15 revolutionary fighters were disappeared by the state and three are detained in the jail in China. Maoist also honoured the families of those disappeared and detained.

The families of the 179 martyrs attended the program with tears in their eyes and fire in their hearts. They were furious that the government was not allocating the compensation agreed to in the 23-point high-level political agreement made three months ago. They have a question - 'Doesn't justice stand for all?' But Tilak Shrestha and every kin of the martyrs hope that one day the dreams of their beloved will turn into reality.

'We salute our brave kin who have made the supreme sacrifice of their lives for the progress of the nation'.

continue till victory. But what about remembering, honouring them and assisting their family and children? For the party whose members laid down their life; it's a duty to remember their sacrifice, and let others know about them, and look after their families.

CPN-Maoist has not forgotten its duty. Every year, the party organises Martyr's week. The date of Martyr's week also has symbolic importance. On 26th February 1996, for the first time after the launch of the Maoist armed struggle on Feb. 13, an eleven year old school boy was killed in Gorkha. On 4th March 1971 five revolutionaries of the CPN-ML were killed by the Pachayat regime in a staged encounter. In this way the martyr's week links two revolutionary sacrifices of our history. Continuing its duty, CPN-Maoist marked the martyr's week this year too.

The CPN-Maoist Sindhupalchok district

For their families and kins, the legend of the martyrs and their sacrifice is as affectionate and inspiring as their beloved ones.

Agniprasad Sapkota, Maoist central committee leader and candidate for Sindhupalchok-2, in the upcoming election, was the main guest in the program. He honoured the families with a felicitation-paper signed by Chairman Prachanda and a small amount of money. He repeated the commitment of the party; that the party will always follow in the footprints of the martyrs. He said that the blood spilled by the oppressed class in Nepal, the blood of the fallen martyrs will 'crystalise our vision, nourish our courage and

sharpen our determination'. The international community has also shared the grief with the Nepali revolutionaries and expressed proud of sacrifice of those shed their blood for the revolution in Nepal and the world.

On starting the revolution, the martyrs had promised their families they would soon return. But they never came

everywhere. Their sacrifice will not be in vain. With the rising and setting of the sun, they will be remembered. Nepali people give their regards and solemn tributes to those men and women who gave their lives for the cause of this country.

As the revolutionary journalist and progressive poet Krishna Sen "Icchhuk" who was also martyred during the

They were furious with the government for not allocating the compensation that was agreed in the 23-point high-level political agreement made three months ago.

They have a strong question- 'Doesn't justice stand for all?'

back. About 11 thousand have laid down their lives to bring progress to the country. They gave their lives to make our lives better. During the course of Nepal's history, brave men and women have stepped forward, answering the nation's call to struggle against feudalism, foreign intervention and imperialism. Many brave Nepalese men and women paid the ultimate price.

Those who never returned gave their lives for a new Nepal and a better world. The present change is dedicated to the revolutionary fighters

People's war had written-

*Let my blood flow for my country,
Mother!
Wherever I die,
I should die for the nation
In the holy fire of the liberation war
My life should be the sacred fuel
for the fire to flame -up
And Wherever I die,
I wish I would die for the nation.*

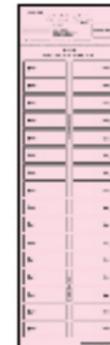
The Martyrs have fulfilled their commitment. And, they have left the remaining tasks for us.



निर्वाचन आयोग, नेपाल
ELECTION COMMISSION, NEPAL

**संविधान सभा सदस्य निर्वाचन
२०६४**

**ढुई किसिमका मतपत्र छन्
छुट्टाछुट्टै बाकस छन्
नीलो मतपत्र उम्मेदवारलाई
रातो मतपत्र दललाई**



**मतदान मिति : २०६४ चैत २८ गते बिहीबार
बिहान ७ बजेदेखि साँझ ५ बजेसम्म**

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