

# THE RED STAR

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## Red Star reporter

The political situation in Nepal is polarising. There are debates and discussions about issues that have already been agreed upon. The debate ignores the important issues of writing the new constitution, army integration, and economic development. However, the political parties are creating conflict instead of helping to write the new constitution. The political parties are polarising according to their class interests.

The President of the Nepali Congress, Girija Prasad Koirala, former Panchayat era ministers, Surya Bahadur Thapa and Pashupati Samsher Rana, are trying to form a rightist front, although they are calling it a 'democratic' front. Furthermore, the Indian ambassador Rakesh Sood and the former King Gyanendra frequently visit and conspire with this rightist 'democratic' alliance. These parties are trying to topple the government. They are trying to tie the hands of the government, to make the government fail, and are spreading lies about the government. Even in the Maoist base areas, the people have not benefited from the new government because of the hurdles created by

the reactionary opposition.

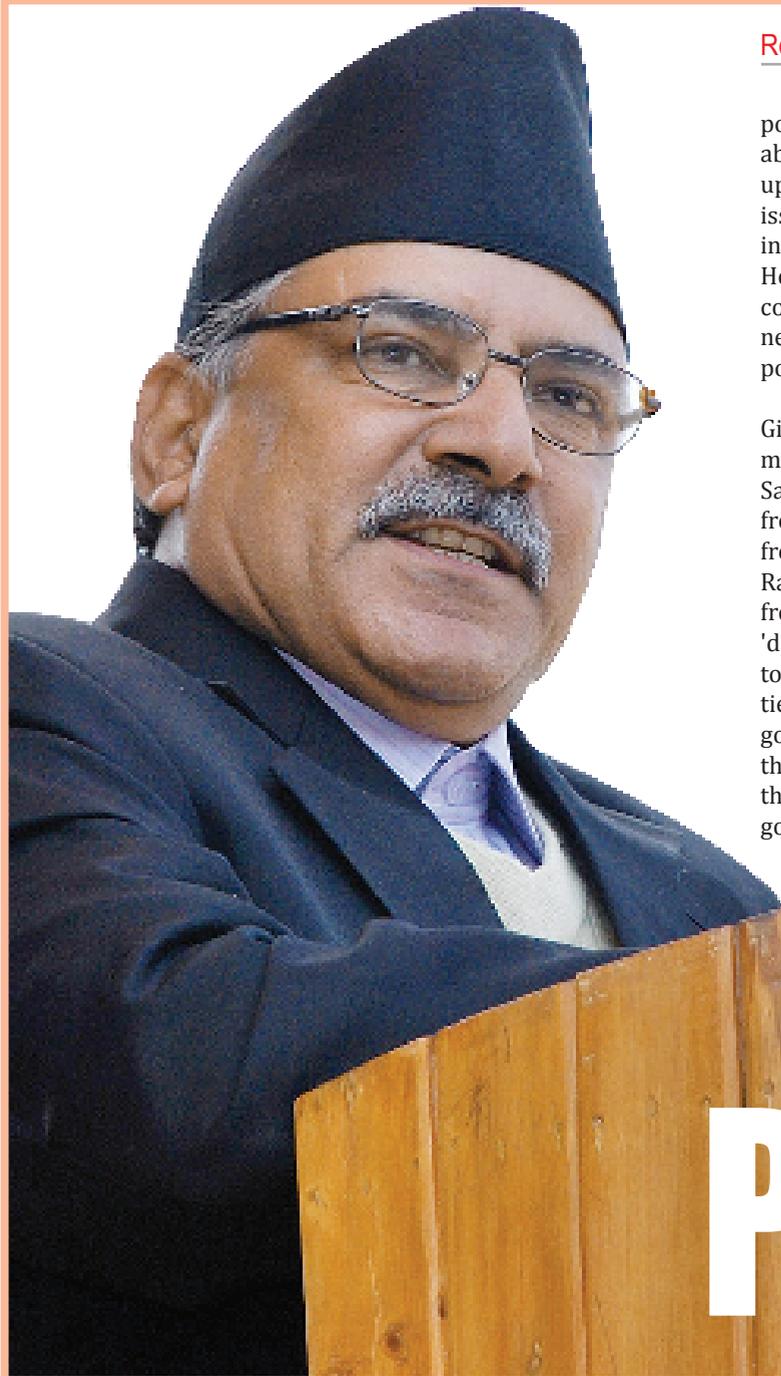
The situation is critical and the transition to a Federal Democratic Republic is being unnecessarily prolonged. The international powers are trying to establish military camps on Nepalese soil. In particular, India is pressuring Nepal to establish a security mechanism inside Nepalese territory. The intervention of Indian expansionism has been the major obstacle in the ongoing peace process.

After the Mumbai attacks, American imperialism is trying to push India to war. The US ruling class are backing Indian rulers for an excuse to intervene in south Asia. Therefore, the CPN-Maoist led government should declare its plan for the new Nepal. Only the CPN-Maoist is fighting for nationality and national sovereignty. Therefore, it has the right to fight against all types of foreign and domestic reactionary interference.

Because of the intervention of India and the increasing anti-Chinese activities in Nepal, China is deeply concerned with foreign intervention in Nepal.

The CPN-Maoist must form a revolutionary nationalist alliance to

*Continued on page 2*



## Left / Right Polarisation

### | in brief |

#### appointment of Nepali priests raises regional eyebrows

A row has started over the appointment of Nepali priests in the 'Pashupathinath' temple. Issuing a statement to the media on Saturday, the leader of the BJP, India's main opposition, chairman Rajnath Singh declared "the Maoist forces have not only dealt a body blow to the centuries old tradition of the temple but also tried to undermine the inherent Indian-Nepalese cultural ties."

#### Row over new recruitment to the Nepal army

Minister of defense, Ram Bhadur Thapa 'Badal', today claimed that the recent drive for recruitment of 2400 new soldiers for vacant posts is against the CPA. The chief of Army Staff, R. Katwal is against the terms and conditions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and doesn't have any mandate to indulge in political discourse.

Meanwhile, the CPN (UML) are supporting the Nepal army's drive for recruitment, according to their General Secretary Jal Nath Khanal.

## Opening of a new Front

### Red Star reporter

After the election of Constituent Assembly and the formation of the elected government, the suitability of the 12-point understanding has ended. The political parties are divided into establishment and the opposition. However, the mandate of the people is to institutionalize the Federalism in place of unitary monarchy.

Nepali Congress and other parliamentary parties are trying to reestablish the dirty parliamentary culture through its continuous hurdles before the government. The government has not been able to implement even minimum programmes of reform and relief. Reactionaries are trying to encircle CPN-Maoist.

The opposite activities and the division of the parties into establishment and opposition has polarized the parties into two antagonistic poles. Instead of helping the government in a creative way, the opposition is trying to lead the situation into confrontation. The foreign powers,

mainly India and America, are backing them to push the country into civil war. These reactionaries want to declare Nepal as a failure country and interfere in the internal affairs of the country. These imperialist powers are in a master plan to encircle China and make Nepal an international playground.

The regressive and the reactionaries are reacting in every ordinary step that the government starts. The struggle has been started in another form. To resist against these reactionary steps, CPN-Maoist has opened a new front for struggle, which includes the fronts of government, Constituent Assembly and the Street. The party will handle these fronts in a united way.

This type of new front was not opened in the history of communist movement. Explaining the suitability of the front, Com. Prachanda says, "The front has been opened according to the aspiration and the mandate of the people." In the party classes organized in the various parts of the country, Chairman Com. Prachanda gave directives to the cadres to involve in the struggle

and carry it to the level of the people.

The cadre will be mobilised in an awareness programme for nationality, people's republic and their livelihood. The cadre will help the people to implement the budget programme in local areas. For this, a broader united front among leftist, progressive, nationalist and the democratic forces will be formed for local level to the central level.

The budget will be provided in local level till the second week of January. The programme, which will cause to feel something new among the people, will start then. After the implementation of budget in the local level, the conspiracies of the reactionaries will be smashed. CPN-Maoist has announced that the implementation of budget will defeat the domestic reactionaries and the street front will defeat the foreign invaders.

In charge of the organization bureau Com. Kiran claimed that the front of the street will be the main. This street front will be a strong support and help to the other two fronts of the government and the front of the Constituent Assembly.

It's four o'clock in the morning. We hear the sound of the sound of boagle was the sign of the preparation of the morning physical training. We hear the same sound of whistling of beagle night at 9 o'clock to keep the camp silent for night rest. Then, all types of activities were closed except the duty and the silent activities for camp security. However, the morning beagle brought the cheer and jollity with the golden rays of the sun in the morning. All the PLA soldiers are in the work of daily-routine.

Fire is burning in all the stoves of the mess house. All the members of the PLA are busy including Brigade commander Kuber to the vice commander Darshan and the secretary of the office Bishwajit. This is the 5th stage of the brigade-level training held in brigade camp. There are 21 instructors and trainers. The trainer is from the same brigade and they are commanders. The responsibility is divided among them.

It's five o'clock. It is time to run in the

field. The PLA soldiers are in military dress. All the trainees are in the field now. They are in a prepared position in groups. The team commander is leading the team. The number of women soldiers is less than the male soldiers. The race started with the blowing of the whistle. The instructors and the trainers are in their own preparation for the next activities after running.

The race continued till 6.30 in the morning. The PLA soldiers came back to their camps. There was no less eagerness and smartness in them. They took rest and served their breakfast within 15 minutes. Their breakfast was simple although it was the period of training. The brigade secretary Bishwajit said, "We are unable to provide balanced diet to our trainees due to the lack of the budget. The government has not provided us the budget for our training." At 8.30 AM, the trainees took pens and the note-books in their hands and sat for their theoretical class. The commanders gave class to them.

The trainees often requested the trainers to repeat the class when they do not understand. I remembered my childhood when I had been at school. All the PLA soldiers and the commanders teach and learn each other like teacher and the student. After 10.30, they postponed theoretical training. All of them went to the mess. Then, they went to their rooms for rest. Right at 12.30, they again went to the field and again started their theoretical class. The class ran in a conventional way.

This theoretical class provides them out knowledge along with the military efficiency. This continued till 2.0 PM. They went for their lunch at 2.45. After lunch, the training started again. It was a practical class. The instructors had taken one item to instruct to the trainees. Some other trainers were checking their trainees' activities. The report reaches up to the brigade commander Kuber. He gives the additional direction for the coming practice. The practical training ends at

4.0 PM and begins Physical training. The PT ends at 5.30 PM.

According to the instructor, the exam will be of 540 full marks and one of them, 240 will be theoretical and 300 will be practical. The pass-mark will be 40%. The exam is held in the mid-terms also.

The relationship between the trainers and the trainees is harmonious and bold. Though they were bounded in a certain rules and the norms in a certain time, they treated as friends after the end of the formal training. There is no relation of chief or the officer and the servants. The brigade commander Kuber said, "We are like teacher and the pupils at the training time, but we are friends in most of the time." The trainees also expressed the same experience.

The commanders and the soldiers are always busy in their daily routine work. They are always conscious in their duty.

■ Deependra Rawal.



## The Daily Routine in PLA CAMP

### Left...

struggle against the rightist front under the leadership of Nepali Congress. The CPN-Maoist can implement its plan and programme only through a People's Movement. The Maoist should not hesitate to open three fronts of struggle together: the government, Constituent Assembly and the street. Struggling in the street with the masses will help the other two fronts of struggle. The proper handling of the struggle on 3 fronts will decide the fate and future of Nepal and the Nepalese people. It will lead the people towards the People's Federal Democratic National Republic.

The CPN-Maoist will lead and initiate the polarisation of the revolutionary forces against the rightist alliance. The party will create a united front with

revolutionaries and nationalists. The unification of the party with the CPN-Unity Centre-Masal is a concrete step toward the unity of revolutionary forces against the rightist alliance.

Anti-people reactionaries are bringing up many trivial issues, one after another. They want to make an issue over the non-issue of Pashupatinath temple priests.

The army, the religious temples, and the bureaucracy are the main pillars of the old reactionary state. Now that the Federal Democratic Republic is being institutionalised, the US, Indian as well as domestic reactionaries are trying to use these sectors as tools to revive the feudal and anti-people forces, to oppose and reject even the first steps of the government towards progress. The people will utterly defeat the reactionary forces.

### 'Save Susta' delegation meets PM

The 'Save Susta Campaign' representatives met Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' last week in Kathmandu. They demanded for the return of Susta, a part of land in southern Nepal's Nawalparasi district bordering the tumultuous state of Bihar, that was encroached by Indian side.

The representatives of the 'Save Susta Campaign' are inhabitants of Susta. In the memorandum given to Prime Minister, they have demanded to return the encroached Nepalese territory like Susta, Kalapani and many other places from east to west along the Nepal border. Susta has been a burning issue of Nepalese nationality and territorial

integrity. 'Save Susta Campaign' established before 3 years, has been struggling continuously since its establishment.

Before Susta was encroached, it was a whole single local administrative unit or village development committee. However, after the encroachment by India, the then His Majesty's Government had named it Triveni-Susta by combining the little left area of Susta with Triveni VDC. The delegation team, with the involvement of boarder specialists and historians, have demanded to declare Susta as a single VDC. Prime Minister Prachanda assured the team to carry the agendas to the council of Ministers.

### Celebrating 8th PLA Day

General staff meeting of PLA has taken important decisions on the integration of PLA. The general staff meeting of the People's Liberation Army was concluded on January forth in Katmandu. In line with the developing political situation, the decisions taken in the meeting were flexible. Prime Minister and the CPN-Maoist Party Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' directed the PLA commanders to carry out a campaign of national awareness and development to the people. The meeting also decided to celebrate 8th PLA anniversary at divisional head-quarter of 4th division in Jhyaltung Danda in Nawalparasi district.

In the meeting, all commanders had given emphasis for the integration of army.

# Request for Solidarity with Nepalese Workers movement

Shalikram jamkattel (President of ANTUF)

on first december the workers in Nepal got a wage revision, with the Labour Advisory Committee supporting the agreement between industry owners and workers on the question of increasing the minimum wages. A meeting of the committee chaired by Mr Lekh Raj Bhatia, Minister for Labour and Transport endorsed the proposal. A task force was set up to give their recommendations of whether, the news standards of wages should be applicable to the jute industry, since it has to stand up to competition from the Indian jute industry. Another committee would recommend on likely measures expected from the government to help the labour intensive carpet and garment industry as the impact would be widely felt in these industries too. But, ten days after endorsing the agreement between entrepreneurs and trade unions, workers shut down over 70 industries in Birgunj industrial corridor on 11th December. They demanded that all employees get salary as they are entitled to as the government announced increment of 1300/- in their basic salary.

Multi national companies like Surya Nepal, Sriram suger mills, Triveni Textiles remained closed as the management of these companies remained adamant that the agreement reached earlier didn't mean all workers get the increment, but only those who are earning less than 4600/- by december 1st.

But workers affiliated to CPN (Maoist), CPN (UML) and Nepali Congress collectively argued that all workers are entitled to 1300/- increment in their basic salary, even if it exceeds 4600/-.

in the mean time on 20th december The Maoist cadres belonging to the ANTUF were blamed for vandalising the Himal Media office at Hattiban in Lalitpur and attacked the staffers including Publisher Kunda Dixit. We asked the president of ANTUF regarding this:



## What is the essence of contradiction between workers and management in Himal media?

the management has continuously published anti workers news. They talked about the attack over media and intervention in free press. However, the real issue is that many workers of Himal media were struggling against management because the management had expelled 18 workers from their media house due to being members in All Nepal Trade Union Federation (ANTUF). Information Department and labour office made a decision to resettle them in their previous positions. The management did not implement these decisions.

We sat for negotiation twice before. However, the latest incident happened in 21st December. The management call for the workers for negotiations. Management and workers sat for negotiations in the media house. After two hours negotiations, misunderstandings developed and the incident happened. It was pre-planned by the management side because the workers had come for negotiations held by the boss. It was not that workers had attacked them for writing any news against them.

There is no apparent contradiction between Nepali journalist federation and our all Nepal trade union federation. Nevertheless, the journalist federation is an informer of a capitalist or the owner. Its activities are against toiling workers and are in favour of proprietors/capitalists. **The journalists claim themselves to be the toiling workers. What is the difference between the contradiction between journalists and workers?**

It is the struggle between the two parties, if we deeply study the issues of contradiction. Labour Act was drafted

in Nepal only in 1995. However, only 6% of the workers have been employed according to the act. Only 6% workers have been able to utilize the facility given by the act. Therefore, the laws and acts that government has made are not complete and they cannot address all the professions and employment.

Because of the incompleteness of the acts and laws by the government and breach of the rules by owner has caused the worker's (labour) sector in an ambiguous situation. This is why it is a struggle between workers and owners. The struggle will continue until the workers get their full rights.

Even in the Nepali Journalists Federation (NJF), we see two different opinions: one opinion has openly supported the capitalists or the owners and they are against labourers and workers. Even C. K. Lal, the well known intellectual, has signed in the decision for the cancellation of our union in Himal media. He has signed as he is a civil servant of Himal media. This is an example of the poverty of intellect.

However, the other opinion in NJF is in favour of real toiling people and workers. The government has just made a new labour act. If the journalists of NJF stand against the labour act, they will be weaker in coming days because they themselves claim to be workers. We have discussed and come to the conclusion to harmonise relationship between workers and the journalists.

**Does it mean the journalists are not independent and free as they have claimed?**

Yes, they are not independent and free though they themselves claim to be so. They are under the pressure of some power, the individuals or owners.

The journalists can not write freely. Nepalese journalists are forced to write to fulfil the mission of their owner. They are obliged to do this for their bread and butter. Journalists are repressed by their owners. The mission of owner is the mission of the journalists.

The owners are concealing themselves under the cover of journalism to fulfil a particular goal. They attack a certain class for their profit and at the same time they serve a certain class. The mission of the owner has been the mission of the journalists they have employed. They are not free and press is not independent in Nepal

**The decision by the government of Nepal is not followed and implemented by the owners. What is your opinion about it?**

The workers who were accused went to the administration because of the accusation by owner Kunda Dixit of Himal media. Now they have been released. We were about to make the issue straightforward but the owners wanted to prolong it.

Some of the 'professional' Medias tried to de-politicise the character of the worker. Their mission was to attack workers by creating false impression against them. All the Nepalese people and the workers have understood it clearly. It was the misuse of media.

**Have you been able to make any preliminary agreements with Nepali Journalists Federation?**

Recently, we have discussed in the office of NJF. The federation invited us for discussion. We discussed and shared some common points. The president of NJF assured that NJF is not against the toiling people and the workers. After discussion we came to the conclusion that we will advance our programme

harmoniously at least on the issues of the workers. We have agreed to narrow down the gaps by continuous discussion and the agreement.

**How can you ensure the workers that the decision of the government on the workers facilities will be implemented by the owners?**

The movement of the workers is spreading all over the country. Factory workers are in the street. The issues of the workers employed in Himal, Kantipur and Annapurna Media Houses are not still solved. The decisions and the agreements are not yet implemented. The problem will be easily solved if the owners or the management is eager to implement the agreements and the decision of the government. If they do not take any step to solve the problem, there will remain no option but to struggle for workers because the workers can not live in scarcity and hunger.

**What do you expect from the revolutionary and pro-people parties, organizations, institutions and individuals from international arena?**

In Nepal, we have to complete the workers movement. Nepalese workers have not got even the minimum facilities that most of the international workers have in similar working conditions. Still, even the workers in the international scenario are repressed and exploited. They are facing the same problem as the Nepalese workers.

I would like to request all the workers and the parties and the organizations of the workers in the world for solidarity with Nepalese workers movement. I request pro-people institutions and individuals to put hand in hand in the incessant struggle of the workers.

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 Office Address : Anamnagar, Kathmandu  
 Phone : 016914630  
 Email : trs.nepal@gmail.com

## EDITORIAL

## Single Pole of revolutionaries

The time is drawing near to write a new constitution, and the transitional political situation is going to be concretized. The contradictions and antagonisms among the political forces are sharpening. Nepal is again being increasingly polarised under class terms. There will be difficult times in the implementation of agreements and understandings made before.

The Prime Minister and Chairman of CPN-Maoist, Com. Prachanda, has publicly announced the obstacles of the ongoing peace process. The political parties with the support of the status-quo, the regressive forces, the foreign powers, comprador capitalists and bureaucratic capitalists are creating hurdles. They do not see their future in a New Nepal because the New Nepal will be sovereign and independent. The political power will be in the hand of people and only the people will have the power of sovereignty in their hands.

Regarding the future, the reactionary elements are raising the slogan of 'democratic alliance' against the people and the revolutionary and progressive forces. The slogan of 'democratic alliance' is a conspiracy to not handover power to the people. It is an anti-people alliance under the colourful name of democracy or 'democratic alliance'.

This critical situation demands the unity and alliance of revolutionaries and progressive forces. The disunited revolutionary forces should unite in a single organization or party. Obviously, a united front is made among the revolutionary, progressive, patriotic and pro-people individuals, institutions and parties or organizations.

According to the need of history, the CPN-Maoist and CPN (Unity Centre-Masal) will unite soon. This unity will bring a new hope to the people. The anti-people forces are raising the issue of a 'democratic alliance' mainly to check the flow of cadres and sympathisers towards revolutionaries and progressive parties and the alliance. They are spreading vicious rumours against the revolutionaries to maintain their social order and exuberant existence.

The people are waiting for a new constitution that will institutionalizes the Federal Democratic Republic and establish the authority of the sovereign people. The Nepalese people have understood the conspiracy against the creation of a New Nepal. For the people to be powerful means also to make the anti-people powers weak.

In this political situation, Nepal is going to be restructured into a federal structure. People are expecting a new Nepal that will guarantee the fundamental rights of the people. They are in favour of implementing the previous agreements and the understandings. They want to see the powerful and dominant role of revolutionary and pro-people forces.

The initiative of the CPN-Maoist, at this historical juncture, is objective, scientific and meets the aspirations of the people for their bright future. A Single pole of revolutionaries and a single united front of the pro-people forces is the historical necessity of this time.

# Gorkha recruitment : A colonial Chain



■ Deependra Rokaya

After the fall of *Kirtipur* to the hands of Prithvi Narayan Shah's Gorkha army, Jayaprakash Malla, the then king of Kantipur (Kathmandu) requested the 'Honorable' British East India Company Governor in Delhi for military assistance. Historians say that the British army entered the Eastern part of Nepal. However, as they were climbing the hills of *Sindhuligarhi*, the Gorkha army waged a surprise attack against them. They were defeated by the Gorkhas and suffered huge casualties. The British army, under the leadership of Captain Kinnock, went back to India with news of a great defeat. Six hundred British soldiers died then and there.

Likewise, many other battles were fought bravely and victoriously on different front of war. The Gorkha army was committed to fight against British intervention and for the protection of nationality and national sovereignty. One of the decisive fronts was *Nalapani* (October 1814), *Malau* (March 1815), *Deuthal* (April 1815) and *Almoda* (April 1815). The vigorous battle was fought in *Nalapani* under the leadership of belligerent Balbhadra Kunwar, where company army General Gillespie was killed. General Gillespie was the commander of many important fortified garrisons like *Deurain*, *Nahan* and *Shreenagar* Fort. Recognizing the valour of the Gorkha army, British Generals sent a message to their administrators about the bravery of Gorkha soldiers. In reality, Company generals and the administrators were frightened. They used to say, "The Company army cannot match a Gorkha army".

Therefore, they recruited Gorkha soldiers into their platoons, benefiting from the poverty in Nepal. The directors of the company took a decision to recruit a Gorkha Platoon. According to their plan, they recruited six hundred fifty Nepalese soldiers, except for the individual guards of the defeated Kaji, the army chiefs Amarsing Thapa and Ranjor Singh Thapa. Three Gorkha battalions were formed in *Malau*, *Nursery* and *Simor*.

Most of the people do not know that Balbhadra Kunwar, the victorious brave warrior, went to *Punjab* instead of being recruited into British Gorkha. At that time, Punjab was fighting against British intervention

in India. He worked in Khalsa army of *Punjab*. Although he was a victorious commander at *Nalapani* fort, he was badly hurt by the treaty of *Sugauli*. It was the acceptance of defeat of Nepal government and the Nepali people before British Company Administration. To avenge this, Balbhadra Kunwar went to Lahore in Punjab. He was the first Nepali who reached *Lahore* for the first time. So he is the first '*lahure*' of Nepal. '*Lahure*' tradition is a very popular tradition in Nepal. *Lahure*, in Nepali, is respectable term for a brave and valiant person. However, the respectable term later came to be used by people who fought for bread and money under the British colonial interest instead of independence and national sovereignty.

The beginning of the Gorkha recruitment went from 650 Nepali people up to two hundred and fifty thousand during the 2nd World War. These days, more than one hundred thousand Gorkha soldiers are in the Indian army and more than three to four hundred in the British army. However Gorkha soldiers are not excluded from discrimination and racism. They lag far behind in comparison to the facilities that are provided to the British soldiers. Although Gorkha soldiers bear the same responsibility as the white soldiers, they are still far from equal. Dr. Surendra KC, the writer of "Gorkha recruitment: story, suffering and the movement", says that the British recruit Nepali youth to fight in Malaya, Brunei, Africa, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Nepalese soldiers in Malaya got only 42 dollar per month, whereas the British government paid 400 dollars for each of the soldiers each month. Each and every White soldier gets 400 dollars per month. British rulers benefit from the traditional legacy and the soberness of the Nepalese soldiers.

In the trilateral treaty of 7th November 1947, British and India made a cunning decision to cheat Nepal and the Nepalese youth. The trilateral treaty says, "The fundamental measurement of the salary will be according to the measurement of the prevailing salary". Through this decision, we came to know that British are not ready to provide facilities equal to the British soldiers. Simultaneously, India doesn't seem to be ready to provide facilities equal to the British. The history of the rented soldiers began from this.

To blind the Nepalese, the British and the Indian Rulers added one more line in their same document. It explains, "Gorkha soldiers will be provided promotion, services, wellbeing and other facilities equal to the domestic soldiers." The above commitment remained only

in the paper. Once addressing the Gorkha rifles in Hong Kong on June 1986, a British Major Major said, "Gorkhas are from the Mountains, eat wild roots and bulbs, and are savage and uncivilized. They don't know how to eat and what to wear and they are very poor."

During the course of fighting, Padam Limbu was wounded in Canada. The British administration sent him back to Nepal, putting 100 pounds in his pocket. Limbu requested the British administration and said, "I am injured here in Canada; I do not want to go back to Nepal. I will do what can I do, Please provide me any type of training here." No body listened. During and after the war, many of the Gorkha soldiers came back to Nepal with so many ailments and diseases.

Poverty and diseases are the common among the Gorkha soldiers. The best Gurkha infantry live in the worst financial conditions. They are fighting for their rights. Due to their incessant struggle, the British court has given a verdict in their favour. The British Administration has again taken a cunning decision to provide visas for the UK for ex-Gurkha soldiers. The interests of the British ruling class is to bring back the scattered pound sterling to the UK.

Simultaneously, the British and Indian administration have taken another step. That is the opening of soldier boards and getting people from India to run their own administration. It is a very subtle type of interference over the sovereignty of our country.

When Matrika prasad Koirala led the government in 1953, the British were allowed to open a seasonal camp for Gorkha recruitment in *Dharan* and *Taulihawa* for 5 years. In Panchayat period, King Mahendra ordered the Foreign Secretariat to make a treaty with British again and add one more article for the renewal of the treaty in 10 years, instead of 5 years. The Rana Prime Minister, an Honorary General of British government, transferred this power over to the Shah dynasty. These days, imperialists and expansionist powers want to behave in the same manner.

After the People's War, most of the youth took part in the historical people's war. The question of sovereignty and nationality reached its zenith. Voices were raised to stop Gorkha recruitment. CPN-Maoist assured all the youth to create an equal opportunity for them and illustrate the way to create alternative jobs in the country.

# Negation of the Negation

## ■ Roshan Kissoon

The Nepali revolution has not won, but neither has it lost. There does not seem an imminent danger to the CPN Maoist led government, yet also the government does not seem completely safe. Some believe the Nepali revolution signals the first of a new cycle of revolutions inspired by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Others believe the Nepali revolution signals the last of the cycle of revolutions inspired by the Bolsheviks in Russia. We may think of this cycle as starting in Russia, then China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, through to Peru and Nepal. I think the latter correct-future revolutions must take a different form, and move away from the Bolshevik or Marxist Leninist model of revolution. Thus far, Marxist Leninist revolutions in the various countries have ended the 'feudal relations of production', and replaced it with 'capitalist relations of production'. Simply put, the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban etc revolutions have created modern capitalist nation states, not communism. I think the leaders of the CPN-Maoist implicitly recognise this, hence Dr. Bhattarai's statement in the US to 'leave communism to our grandchildren'. The limitations of the Nepali revolution show the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory as well as practice.

### Contradictions in Historical Materialism

The science of Marxism has, indeed, discovered the laws of society that can explain how one form of society changes into another form of society. Marxist historians have revolutionised the study of history in every area, from the early origins of humanity to the modern world. Historical materialism can explain and shed light on all periods of human history. Historical materialism does not seem able, however, to explain itself. In those periods of history when Marxism itself played a decisive and dominant role; historical materialism does not seem able to explain nor understand. This seems a contradiction inside the Marxist system, and the inability to resolve this contradiction prevents the Communist movement from advancing ahead. For example, Marxists constantly say that the 'masses are the real creators of history', as an explicit challenge to the 'great man' hypothesis of bourgeois history. However, in all the Marxist-Leninist revolutions, we see again the 'great man'; the great Lenin, the great Stalin, the Great Mao etc, without whom the revolution would not have succeeded. This

seems a glaring contradiction. Again, consider the following questions about the USSR

Did the revolution create a socialist state?

If so, when did the USSR turn into a capitalist state?

The Khrushchev line parties claim socialism ended when the USSR collapsed. Maoist and Hoxha line parties claim that Khrushchev ended socialism by turning away from the line of Stalin. Trotsky line parties claim that Stalin ended socialism, and Stalin himself represents the counter revolution by turning away from the line of Lenin. Nobody dares to criticise the great Lenin.

Marxists seem unable to analyse the USSR with any kind of objectivity, and instead of analysis we get a 'party line' that passes for analysis. If one reads or listens to an account of the Russian revolution by parties or historians that 'uphold' Stalin, the role of leaders such as Trotsky, Bukharin or Radek do not merit mention or study. They do not mention the Moscow trials of the 1930s. They tell a story of the 'good guy' Stalin saving the revolution from the 'bad guys' such as Trotsky, only for the evil Khrushchev to cunningly reverse all the gains made by Stalin.

Likewise, in Trotskyist accounts, they simply show us with the reverse picture; the 'good guy' Trotsky outwitted by the villainous Stalin. Just as the 'Stalinists' keep an ominous silence regarding the Moscow trials; likewise the Trotskyists keep an ominous silence regarding the Kronstadt rebellion against the Bolsheviks and Trotsky's role in this tragedy. It seems to me that Trotsky's criticisms against Stalin seem correct, but Stalin's criticisms of Trotsky also seem correct. They both seem correct and both seem incorrect. International revolution was impossible and socialism in one country was impossible, as socialism in one country turns into its opposite, state capitalism and finally just capitalism. Marxism-Leninism has not gone further in theory or practice.

### Marxism-Leninism has not properly addressed the following problems:

1. The Bolsheviks smashed the Tsarist feudal state, and created a new 'workers state'. Why didn't the revisionists or bourgeoisie smash this so-called 'workers state' in turn when they reintroduced capitalism?

2. In China, the Communists also smashed the old feudal state and created a new 'workers state'. However, Deng Xiaoping and his successors seem quite able to use the 'workers state' for capitalism. How?

3. In the USSR, why did the masses seem unable to

tell the difference between a revolutionary line and a counter revolutionary line, or the difference between the line of Lenin and that of Stalin, and the line of Stalin from that of Khrushchev?

4. Likewise in China, why did the masses seem unable to tell the difference between the revolutionary line of Mao Zedong and the gang of four, and the revisionist line of Deng Xiaoping?

The simplest and best explanation is simply that the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese etc revolutions were bourgeois revolutions, and not proletarian revolutions. I think the Nepalese revolution can change the feudal relations of production and introduce capitalist relations through agrarian reform or revolution. If the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese etc revolutions created modern capitalist states, then why should the Nepalese Communists, following their examples, go further?

### Party Vs Class

The bourgeois nature of all the forms of Marxism-Leninism seems clearest in the form of organisation. The Leninist idea of a centralised, hierarchal party led by professional revolutionaries, a party that seeks to centralise all power in one organisation, proves extremely effective for an underground struggle, such as an urban insurrection or a Peoples War. However, this form of party, a 'democratic centralist' party, does not belong exclusively to Marxist-Leninists. Any political ideology can use this form of organisation for any ends whatsoever. In Nepal, many of the Terai and Madhesi armed groups, some led by former Maoist commanders, use the 'democratic centralist' form of party. The LTTE in Sri Lanka and many other nationalist and even Islamic groups across the world also use the 'democratic centralist' form of organisation. Even some NGOs and multinational companies use this form of organisation. Undoubtedly, this form of organisation proves extremely effective for struggle. Otto Rühle, a German Marxist of the early 20th century, in a provocative essay entitled 'The struggle against Fascism begins with the struggle against Bolshevism', argued that Hitler and Mussolini only copied the Bolshevik model for their Fascist ideology, because the party and state structure of Fascism bears remarkable similarities, in form, to the Bolshevik party and state. Mao Zedong seemed aware of this, as he often warned that if the political line of a Communist party changes, the party itself can turn into its opposite, a Social Fascist party, or Fascism presenting itself as Socialism. A

Fascist party and a Communist party share the same form of organisation, but the ideological content appear as opposite. Mao seemed aware that the 'democratic centralist' party would centralise not just power in one place, but also wealth in one place, in the party itself. Thus, after a revolution, the new bourgeoisie would emerge from inside the party. Mao did not seem able, however, to condemn the 'democratic centralist' form of the party, probably because he himself led such a party! Simply put, 'democratic centralism' is not very democratic, but very centralised.

The Marxist-Leninist tendency to centralise all power in one place, in one person, has proved both effective and ineffective. This tendency seems effective in countries like Nepal, where many people can neither read nor write, and the political tradition demands a single strong leader. In the leader, the people find a reflection of themselves, a leader who can say what they wish to say, and lead them to where they cannot go themselves. However, this form of leadership causes many problems, as the leader becomes more than human, and the person of the leader becomes inseparable from the political line. The tendency of the leader to put their own families and friends in positions of power and to not know 'when' to leave power presents a big problem. The failure of Cuba, after the long reign of Fidel Castro, to find another leader apart from Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, represents a failure of this tendency. The examples of North Korea and Zimbabwe also testify to this failure.

This tendency, taken to its extreme, such as with Chairman Gonzalo and the Shining Path of Peru, has proved tragic. When the Peruvian state captured Chairman Gonzalo and other central committee leaders of the PCP (Communist Party of Peru), their entire struggle collapsed. Even now, the remnants of the Shining Path go on and on about the great leader Chairman Gonzalo, even though Gonzalo now resides in a top security prison and cannot even lead himself to the toilet. From tragedy we move to farce, and the strange behaviour of Chairman Bob Avakian, the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA. Even though Chairman Avakian has not led any kind of Peoples War or any major revolutionary struggle in the US, he has declared a 'new synthesis' that goes beyond Marx, Lenin and Mao. Chairman Avakian claims to have made a 'break in epistemology', yet seems to have never studied the works of Russell, Wittgenstein, Husserl, Heidegger and other

philosophers of the 20th century, or even distinguished Marxist philosophers such as Lukacs, Gramsci, Ilyenkov etc. RCP USA comrades describe Chairman Avakian as 'the American Lenin' (which, I presume, would make Lenin the Russian Avakian...) and sometimes even praise god for Chairman Avakian. Needless to say, nobody outside of the RCP USA actually believes this nonsense, and the RCP USA resembles a strange cult rather than a real Communist party. Ground Control to Chairman Bob...

Dr. Bhattarai, after the Maoist victory in the CA elections, compared Chairman Prachanda to Lenin and Napoleon. I think this seems correct, if we understand that both Lenin and Napoleon turned their countries into modern nation states. This is the limit of Marxism Leninism and this form of leadership. For a Proletarian revolution, I believe we need a new form of organisation.

I do not claim to know 'what' this new form of organisation should take, but I can say what form it should take:

1. The culture and practice of Marxist-Leninists seems stale and completely lacking in creativity. Consider the number of labels Marxists use to criticise other Marxists: 'opportunist', 'revisionist', 'ultra-leftist', 'rightist', 'dogmatist', 'pragmatist', 'Stalinist', 'Trotskyist', 'petit bourgeois anarchist' etc. If we do not like another's ideas, we can dismiss them as 'eclectic', 'metaphysical', 'idealist' etc. So many labels, so little thought. If we view the Marxist-Leninist system as a type of game, with certain rules, we observe the following: Comrade A says to Comrade B that X and Y must be done. Comrade B asks why. Comrade A then quotes from Lenin to justify his assertion. Comrade B says to Comrade A that he misunderstands Lenin, and accuses him of misquoting Lenin, taking Lenin out of context, and comes up with a counter quote from Lenin. Comrade A responds by giving the context in which Lenin said such and such thing. Comrade B accuses Comrade A of misunderstanding the context, and so on and so on and so on. Frankly, even though Marxists claim Marxism to be science, this kind of practice does not seem very scientific. Rather, it resembles the kind of theology practiced by Jews, Christians, and Muslims, the 'peoples of the book'. An unquestioned assumption behind this kind of argumentation in the Communist movement is the belief that Marx and Lenin were unquestionably right, simply because Marx is Marx and Lenin is Lenin, and the Russian revolution 'succeeded'. F r a n k l y *Continued on page 7*

## Reflection of New Nepal in Art



■ Ishwor Chandra Gyawali

The exhibition of fine arts initiates a new tradition and a notion with a new twist by breaking the old legacy and the fetters of traditional norms and values.

Nepal Fine Arts exhibition was held in Kathmandu from 15 to 21st December, 2008. It was, probably, the first exhibition of fine arts in the history which reflects the life and reality of progressive-proletarian art. The exhibition was organized by All Nepal Fine-Arts Association (ANFAA), which adopts the opinion of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachandapath as its guiding ideology, in a national level.

Art is a public expression of life. It is impossible to even to dream outside the physical world. Although the dream, sometimes, is possible and an imperceptible expression of life, the unusual and unattainable reflections are coincided and expressed with the diversity of sensory world. Art cannot be separated from material world because as the dream is created through this objective world, so is art. Therefore, in the very exhibition of fine arts, the theory 'Art for Arts Sake' has been a reputed and 'Art for life and society' has been established. Consequently, the exhibition has broken from the long standing feudal traditions and opinions.

The exhibition of fine arts initiates a new tradition and a notion with a new twist by breaking the old legacy and the fetters of traditional norms and values. By replacing the feudal-aristocratic, luxurious, unreal, pompous, religious, rigid and blind art, the exhibition has turned upside down the hitherto existing established arts. The exhibition has established the opposite.

In this context, the expression of Prime Minister Prachanda is very excellent. Inaugurating the program he said, 'In this exhibition of fine art, a special attention is given to institutionalize the struggling

people's communities, revolutionary ideology, leadership and new culture to fulfil the historic role for building new Nepal'. Likewise, aesthetician Mohan Baidhya 'Kiran' said, "In this context of changing society from feudalism to republican, the literature and art should change its form and essence". The exhibition has presented the reflection of life, society and objective reality of a new era.

About 50 items of arts and handicrafts including sculpture, and traditional Thangka were exhibited. There were three main tendencies expressed in the art exhibited. First, the great history and historical reflection of devotion, sacrifice, struggle and transformation in the course of a great struggle. These were the artistic expression of progressive consciousness. Second, the criticism of lifeless, ugly, and pompous tendencies. The third is the ceaseless flow of transformation of sculpture and Thangka art. They all were eager to offer novelty by changing the form and essence of the old.

In the exhibition, the positive aspects of the traditions are reserved; there is a commitment to innovation and ambition for change. The sculpture were created in a traditional technique were a criticism of reality and the reflection of reality. In the art of painting including Thangka, religious and philosophical ideology was reflected.

The subject matter in the exhibition was diversity. The tendencies of the first paintings were expressing the experiences and realities of life. Wood-cutter woman, depicted poverty and scarcity with a subtle reflection on rural life. Live expressions of an ironsmith and daily routine, woman of Newar community, agony, grief, depression,

and hunger were found in the exhibition. The essence of the art exhibited were to depict the life under feudal, tyrannous rule. The marginalized and oppressed lives of the people are shown with the help of art. The paintings express the hatred, as well as a criticism about the contemporary life.

Some other paintings had their own diverse identities. In one of the paintings, there is procession advancing towards red sun and the pigeons are flying in the sky. Another painting by Devendra Thumkeli, the president of Fine Arts Association, expressed the inevitability of the revolution: a red flag touching the red sun.

There is a deep relationship between fine arts and literature. Fine art expresses similar feelings with colour, brush and figure as literature uses pen, paper and language (words). However, language (Script) is a symbol or mark as the picture painted in canvas. Here, the difference is that the fine art presents length, width, depth and height in a direct way. They are presented with the fusion of colour and shape of the thing in a big or small area. The characteristic of fine art is to express the epic experience in a picture and express it in a deep meaning with the fusion of colours and signs which are easily read through eyes without pronouncing the words. This is why, the relationship between art and literature is inseparable. The art exhibition was an epic expression of life and its live-experiences.

In the exhibition, culture, nature, ideology, belief, and trust of life and society was expressed. It justifies that art is inseparable from life. Art can express and represent history, struggle and sacrifice. This is a fruitful effort.



## The question of Gender Abuse



■ Sabitra Sharma

These days, gender abuse against women is on the rise. A few days ago, a husband killed his wife in the western part of Dang district of Western Nepal. The reason: she has refused him money to buy local wine. Likewise, in Surkhet district, another lady, Dropadi Sunar, was murdered but was told that she had committed suicide because of a scuffle on inter-caste marriage. More than five or six similar incidents have taken place in the capital Kathmandu recently.

The number of murders is increasing under the heading of suicide. If we observe sincerely the incidents happened all over the country, we come to know

that a woman has to give up her own basic human rights due to gender discrimination. Only the few incidents are published in news papers or broadcasted in radios. Most of the incidents are not reported. Why do women still suffer from gender abuse everyday and everywhere? Why do the women are denied their basic rights for survival?

To end gender abuse, women should get equal rights to male in paternal property. Women are denied the fundamental rights for education, profession, and from being independent. The state power has not given the right to property to the women. The incidents of murder faced by woman is fewer in upper classes of society comparatively to the lower class. However, the gender abuse and especially sexual harassment women face doesn't have much difference in different economic or class strata. The increasing number of gender abuse in the lower economic strata is an expression of dire poverty and scarcity.

Therefore, the gender abuse in lower classes is the result of mostly economic issues. The women are forced to spend the life under miseries and psychological depression. This psychology depression, pessimism and physical torture and abuse lead the women of poor families into suicide and sometimes murder.

Our society does not want to study gender abuse in an analytical way. The society only teaches to endure and not to rebel for rights. But the bullying and mastery of male over women is considered to be a simple matter. Distinguish people at the higher echelons of the society says so. When women are murdered or they commit suicide, the male dominated society quite effortlessly retort that any murder or suicide of woman is the effect of weakness of woman herself because she could not bear the guilt or abuses. In short, it is only her fault. In the face of these oppressive practices, it is high time that the society take quick initiatives to declare and

put in to practise that gender abuse is a social crime.

The dowry system is another cause of gender abuse. The society allows negotiations on dowry before marriage. This is the beginning of gender abuse. Insufficient amount of dowry against what is demanded by the groom causes mental torment and physical violence during a woman's life. The continuous quarrels and physical torture leads her to commit suicide or to be murdered. The dowry system, a dangerous germinator of evil against women, is slowly been spreading from Terai regions of southern Nepal to northern hilly regions.

Women bears double form of exploitation: class and gender. The fundamentals for emancipation of women should be recommended by the women in her own way. However, the main way to emancipate is to guarantee equal rights for women in property (paternal property). Along with it, the participation

of women in the accountable and policy making institutions could be guaranteed. Nepali people's war developed some process for her liberation. All the oppressed castes and regions including woman become conscious of hitherto unimagined and unheard of social realities. From people's war to the constituent assembly, women have developed their leadership in all the sectors of state power. Women are now more conscious and they are aware about their rights.

Many more campaigns against exploitation, discrimination and abuse over women should be launched from grassroots to central level. Women ought to stand up for an end to gender abuse and discrimination. The state should guarantee the rights of women and protection from the social abuse. The women should advance a by declaring that 'no gender discrimination and abuse' in the country. The government should help all these campaigns for the liberation of women.



The historical base area, Yanan, where Chairman Mao gave interview to American journalist Anna Louis Strong. photo : Chandraman

## Paper Tiger Reactionaries

In August 1964, before 62 year, com. Mao had given an interview to an American Journalist Anna Louis Strong in Yanan, where there was the Headquarters of Communist Party of China. In his famous interview, he had told that 'all the reactionaries are paper tigers'. At that time, CPC was fighting the last war against the unjust and repressive Chyang Kai Shek regime and the American Imperialism.

The domestic reactionary Chyang Kai Shek, with the assistance of imperialism, was in the campaign of massacre against the Chinese people. In this war of national independence and liberation of all the oppressed people, the Chinese people

got victory over the reactionaries and established the People's Republic of China.

The expression of Mao is still equally alive and contextual as it was before six decades ago. In the beginning of Chinese People's War, the CPC had no weapons and warriors. The reactionary Chan Kai Shek and his power was considered to be strong. However, at the end the People's Power became victorious and the reactionaries, 'the paper tigers', were defeated.

Today, Yanan is a famous tourist place. Not only the communists but also the democrats visit Yanan, if they are in a visit to China.

■ Chandraman Shreshtha

## Cuba marks 50th anniversary of revolution in shadow of world crisis

Cuba's leadership marked the 50th anniversary of the revolution that overthrew the corrupt US-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and brought Fidel Castro to power with relatively small and subdued ceremonies.

An ailing Fidel, now 82 and having last year transferred power to his 77-year-old brother Raul, issued a 15-word statement congratulating Cuba's "heroic people."

For his part, Raul delivered a brief speech in the eastern city of Santiago, the birthplace of the revolution, to an

audience of some 1,000 state officials and invited guests. The Cuban people were instructed to stay away.

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and his Bolivian counterpart, Evo Morales, apparently in response to the Cuban leadership's decision to keep the celebration of the revolution's golden anniversary restrained, cancelled plans to visit the island.

Much of Raul Castro's speech was dedicated to the memory of those who died in the revolution and a depiction of the 1959 revolution as the realization of the ideals of Cuban nationalist leader Jose Marti, which had been frustrated by six decades of US semi-colonial domination that followed the Spanish-American War of 1898.

(www.wsws.com)



Heavy fighting has taken place in and around Gaza City with Palestinian fighters putting up a stiff resistance to advancing Israeli ground forces.

Large explosions and intense gun battles were reported from the Shejaiya neighbourhood late on Monday. Flares lit up the skies as Israeli helicopter gunships and fighter jets flew low over the city.

A spokesman of the Al-Quds Brigades, the military wing of the Islamic Jihad movement, told Al Jazeera that Israeli tanks were trying to move into Gaza City.

He said that the group's fighters had destroyed an

Israeli armoured personnel carrier in the clashes.

Al Jazeera's Ayman Mohyeldin, reporting from the Gaza Strip, said that much of the fighting took place around a high area on the outskirts of the city.

"The strategic overlook essentially gives an overview of the entire northern part of Gaza .. that's why it probably has some significance to the Israeli military," he said.

"Because of its height and elevation it has probably also been used to fire rockets into Israel." Fierce fighting between Israeli troops and Palestinian fighters was also reported in eastern Jabliya in the northern Gaza Strip.

## Fighting rages in Gaza



## Negation....

speaking, the longer and longer the Bolshevik revolution fades into the past, the less and less convincing the tales and legends of the great Lenin will seem.

2. I believe that this emphasis on the great names, on forming a party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism etc seems completely ridiculous. Consider the number of Communist parties in Nepal; 1) CPN-ML 2) CPN-UML 3) CPN-MLM 4) CPN-MLM Prachanda Path 5) CPN workers and peasants party 5) CPN-ML unified 6) CPN-unity centre Masal 7) CPN-Masal revolutionary left wing 8) CPN-Masal etc. L & M, however, are a

brand of cigarettes.

3. Marxists seem to already know, without studying, that Marx and Lenin defeated their opponents, and so do not revisit the old debates. The one-sidedness of this seems clear, as we have read what Marx said about the Gotha program, but few have actually read the Gotha program. We have read Marx's criticisms of Feuerbach, but we have never read Feuerbach. We have read Marx's criticisms of Bakunin and Proudhon, but have never read Bakunin or Proudhon. Let us take the last, Marx's criticisms of Bakunin, the Anarchist leader of the First International.

Marx argued that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries of England,

France, and Germany would lead the revolution. Bakunin disagreed and argued that workers in these advanced countries would not revolt, and considered them as forming a 'labour aristocracy'. (Lenin took over Bakunin's idea of 'labour aristocracy', and developed it.) Bakunin believed that the revolution would take place in Russia, and peasants would play a major role. This is what happened, and the revolutionary role of the peasantry seems clear in Nepal. Marx argued that the First International should have a single line and program, his own line and program, and all the chapters of the First International should follow this line. Bakunin rejected this, and argued that individual

chapters should have their own program and line, and that the International should not seek uniformity. The demand for one and only one political line as the basis of unity does not allow for unity-this is clear enough when we consider the disunity of the various Communist parties and internationals. Marx argued that the proletariat needed a centralised party to represent their interests, while Bakunin argued that a centralised political party of the proletariat would simply turn into the new rulers over the proletariat. This happened in Russia, China and other places. Now, in the 21st century, we can see that Marx's criticisms of Bakunin were correct, but Bakunin's criticisms of Marx were also correct.

Comrades, if we want Communism for the 21st century, then let us drop the 19th century science and metaphysics.

Orthodoxy-Bulleh Shah did not follow the laws of Islam. He and his disciples did not fast during Ramadan, and were often seen drunk. One day, a great Ulema, or Muslim religious leader, came to meet Bulleh Shah. The Ulema stated that he was an orthodox Muslim, and had studied in the famous Al-Azhar University in Egypt, and was a follower of the Sunna of the Prophet Mohammed. Bulleh Shah replied to the Ulema; 'You may be an orthodox Muslim, but I am an unorthodox Muslim, I am so unorthodox, I am not even a Muslim!

kissoon77@hotmail.com

# Raute visit Heads of the state



team leader  
Ein Bahadur Shahi

Along with the debate on writing a new constitution, a team from the Raute tribe entered into capital city, Kathmandu. The team of 6 members was under the leadership of their chief, Ein Bahadur Shahi.

The team entered Kathmandu with big hope. A little optimism was clearly seen in their wrinkled faces. The members of the team were in a happy mood. However, the chief shahi was not in a good mood.

They faced a press meet held in Kathmandu. They talked with journalists. They exchanged their experiences freely and frankly with the journalists. They talked in the same way with the heads of the state. They had not talked so frankly in their visit before.

In the course of the conversation, they said that they, actually, are not afraid of anything. However, they have always feared the local people who have their own community forest. The local people do not allow the Rautes to cut down the trees from their forest. Making wooden pots is their tradition and the only job for them. They make wooden pots and sell them in the villages.

The activities of deforestation and the concept of the community forest have pushed the Rautes towards danger. They used to cut down the soft trees in the jungle. Now, they are demanding permission to cut down the soft trees from any of the jungle.

The tribe depends on hunting wild animals for food supply. They dig out

yam and pick the fruits. In the jungle, they mainly hunt apes like monkeys. They rarely go to the villages to sell their wooden pots with grain.

This tribe, a remnant of the hunter gatherer stage of human society, visited the heads of the state in this visit to Kathmandu. They talked with the President, Prime Minister, Finance Minister and high ranking officials in capital. They gifted the PM with a wooden pot. The Raute tribe follows a very traditional culture. They are not allowed to have an individual life.

The Prime Minister expressed his wish to send them back by plane. However, the chief of the Raute tribe requested Prime Minister to provide money instead of a plane ticket. They argued that the amount of money will be sufficient for seasonal clothing and food for their family members.

Before the departure for Kathmandu, the chief of the Raute, Shahi, had assured all of his tribe members to bring offerings from Kathmandu. He said, "I have assured my people to bring 10/20 he-goats, 20/30 quintals of rice, some salt, Chilies, clothes and some spices. They should provide a pleasant gift according to our need." He further added, "There is no meaning to the new government if it does not provide anything for our people." The team asked for food, clothing and things useful for everyday.

The Finance Minister assured them that they will be provided 1,000 rupees each per month. Before, they were given 500 to each as the allowances given to the extinct tribe. Rautes demanded 2,000 to each per month.

■ Manoj Gharti Magar  
magarmanojg@gmail.com

Early in the morning, there was hubbub and a lovely fair in Tundikhel of Kathmandu. The whole big ground was decorated like a bride. It was Lho-Tsar festival of the Gurung people (Tamu).

There were more than hundred stalls around the main play ground. Different items of food were sold. Huge crowds were around the stalls. Some were preparing different items of food. Some others were tasting and talking.

There were different team dances: Maruni, Chudka, Jhyaure, Thadobhaka, Yanimaya and others. People enjoyed dancing. These different types of songs and the dances expressed the culture of Gurung community. It was 30th

December, the great festival of Tamu community. It was New Year Lho-Tsar. It was celebrated all over the country. Old, young and children all happily enjoyed this celebration.

The objective of the festival was not only to celebrate the New Year, it was also to protect and promote the ethnic Gurung Culture. With their cultural carnival, the Gurung people celebrated the establishment of the Tamu (Gurung) autonomous state.

Minister of law, Justice and CA affairs and the secretariat member of central Committee of CPN Maoist, Dev Gurung inaugurated the programme.



## Lho-Tsar Festival