People's Power in Nepal
6 April - Police confront demonstrators coming from Thamel. After an altercation the crowd pass the police rows and join a mass meeting.

6 April - Lathi charge of the riot police in Durbar Marg.
6 April - A hundred thousand demonstrate in front of government headquarters Singha Durbar (background), raise their arms in a victory spirit.

6 April - The violent turn of events in Durbar Marg is a shock. After the lathi charge and before the gunfire injured people are rushed to hospital.
6 April - During the massacre troops take position in Durbar Marg to protect the King’s Palace with automatic weapons while riot police in trucks rush to the front line.

9 April - Women and girls at Battisputali hail the victory of the movement.

9 April - People climb up the back of the open air theater at Tundikhel carrying huge Nepali Congress and communist flags.
PREFACE

The Forum for Protection of Human Rights presents a documentation with photos of the democracy movement which enabled our country to break free from the absolute monarchy lasting for three decades. This Panchayat rule was a period of resistance and sacrifice. Many people were killed and even more were put in prisons or detention camps. However, the attempt of the retrogressive forces to turn back the history could not be successful. The valiant struggle and the supreme sacrifice of the people has brought about the dawn of democracy. When Nepali Congress and United Left Front called for a peaceful movement for the restoration of democracy, the people took the initiative and came out onto the streets. The response of the reactionaries was to kill hundreds of people and maim many more. The photos compiled in this album show how tenacious the struggle of the people was and how brutal the reactionaries in power were in their bid to preserve their prerogatives. At the same time this photo documentation shows that the victory which the Nepalese people won has exacted a very high price.

The Forum for Protection of Human Rights has performed a valuable service by bringing out this historic document. We are confident that this album will always remind the people to be alert to preserve the achievements of the democratic struggle of the Nepalese people. We would like to extend our warmest thanks to all those who were involved in this publication.

Ganesh Man Singh
Nepali Congress

Sahana Pradhan
United Left Front
Dawn of Democracy

People's Power in Nepal

Photo Documentary of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy from February to April 1990

Contents

Picture Impressions 1
Preface 10
Table of Contents 11
50 Days to Democracy 17
Photo-Chronicle 39
Journal 117
Credits 128

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23 April - Bound policemen, suspected of being Mandales (hooligans backed by the previous Panchayat system) are paraded through Kathmandu.

23 April - Victims are treated in Bir Hospital. Doctors and nurses, unaccustomed to these kind of injuries, have a specially hard job.

23 April - Bodies are laid on the floor of Bir Hospital, including a 12 year old girl killed by a police bullet.
30 March - Youths attack the district court and local Panchayat office in Patan/Lalitpur. The court signboard is taken as trophy.

18 February - Police hunting demonstrators and spectators in Durbar Marg.  Page 14

30 March - At Patan Gate people set barricades on fire to seal the city against police.  Page 16
50 Days to Democracy

“This movement is the movement of the people. Once we are united no one can defeat us. Change is certain”
Joint appeal of Nepali Congress and United Left Front, 1 February 1990

The time was ripe for one of the world's last divine, absolute monarchs to surrender. Even the giant Himalayas could not protect the Hindu god-King of Nepal. The success of people’s movements in Eastern Europe encouraged Nepal’s opposition parties to make a new attempt to establish a multi party democracy. Hardline communist parties of Nepal and the liberals of the Nepali Congress united for the first time in history.

The recent precedents for overthrowing anachronistic regimes were plenty. There had been the People's Power movement in the Philippines, where the Marcoses fled; then Rumania, where the despotistic Ceaucescus were executed; and China, where peaceful students' protestors were pulped by tanks.

But times change, and Nepal’s revolution was its own. Unlike Manila, dozens died when the masses marched on King's Palace in Kathmandu. But there was less bloodshed than in Bucharest and Timisoara. And most significantly, unlike Peking the uprising in the Himalayas was a success.

A further difference was the ruler: King Birendra eventually changed course after the massacre in front of his Palace. When people on the streets demanded his execution, King Birendra sat down and talked.

Nepal’s revolution regained in 50 days the democracy that had been lost 30 years before. However only some of the events of the movement in the Kingdom are documented. The number of victims, of dead and injured, has not yet been calculated. The cost in economic terms of the old rulers’ attempt to defend their one party system is also unknown. The pictures of disfigured faces, brains blown out and gaping bullet wounds in this photo documentary stand as the first testimony to the determination and fierceness with which the people fought for democracy. In absence of reliable investigation reports, the facts and figures given in this book are only preliminary. But the truth is told in the language of pictures.

यो समय, संसारको अखिल देशी माहीतको निरंतर राजलेखाले भूँके समय थियो। विशाल पर्व भूँक्ताने समेत नेपालको हिन्दू देस-राजालाई बचाउन सकेन। पूर्वी पूर्वीका सफल जन-नेपालहरूले नेपालका प्रतिष्ठापन दृढ्यको भविष्यको स्पर्शनार्थ एउटा नयाँ प्रामाण्य पालन प्रयास गरिएको थियो । नामो समय देखि नेपालका कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीहरू र नेपाली कांग्रेस एउटा यस्तो योजना र उपलब्धि संकेत दिइएका थिए। तर ध्यान चलाउने नेपाली दिक्षा नन्दलाई पत्रहोटौँ भनेर खुल्लौँ जल्गिरि एकै धारामा उल्लेख गरिएको थिए।

याँलाई केही निरंतर राजासाहब डालिएका बुझौटा घटनाहरू थेटौँ छौँ। फिजिलिप्सी जनतको राष्ट्रियता आंदोलनले मार्कसलाई भागायो र स्वतंत्रतामा आउसेस्कु दम्पती मारिए। बीचको गत वर्षको उल्लेखनीय पत्रहोटौं यस्तो कोट्री थियो पनि ध्यान सकन्दै।

समयको परिवर्तनसहित सैगी आन्दोलनले आफ्नो विवशतामा भुक्कौँ छ। राजको दम्पती हैरानीको जुनसमा दिनी विवशतामा नेपालीहरू मारिए। नेपाली समुदाय भएका विवश्वारा र वुजास्टेमा भने नेपालमा भन्ना थ्याई न राल बगेको थियो। यो बन्धन पर्यंत हुनुस्तो दूरा, बेझिर्हारु असक्सक मानकोत्तर भएका निर्देश भएका हिन्दु नमुनको विवश थाले पार्दै सक्छ। अन्यजस्त भन्ने नेपालको लागाउँ राजा भेट दिने रहेको पाइए। आफ्नो तर्क आफ्नो राजस्थान प्रवर्तक भुने पर्यंत राजा विनवले आफ्नो योजनाका फैलेर थिए।

जनतालाई सटलाई खुल्लौँ गहरी छोट भनेर कुर्ण्डै बन्दपैछि जूनी बाटोँको टेम्लेका बने। नेपालको जन आन्दोलनले ३० वर्ष पर्यंत गुमाैका प्रजासतालाई ५० दिनको संयुक्तार्थ फिरिए गए। तर ती ५० विद्यमान खेती दिनका घटनाहरू मात्र यो संयुक्त अन्तिम गरिएको छ। यद्यपि यसको यस्तो पत्रहोटौँ यस्तो कुर्न्डै पत्रहोटौँ यस्तो तपाई निम्नलिखित बनैँ कहेँ। प्रजासतालाई संयुक्त गतिमा बिवशतामा अन्तिम छ। देखि धर्मदेखि, तर गोलीले प्याल पर्यंत राजपूर्तका फोटोहरूले जनताको गतिमा प्रवर्तक प्रार्थनाको ईशान्त र तौनलाई नै जानेको गरेका। विवशतामा जोतेन लाईण्डाको रिपोर्ट प्राप्त नभएकोले प्रजासता समग्र प्रार्थनाको तथा तपाईलाई इ।
Autocratic rulers in Nepal have admitted defeat twice in forty years: first in 1950 when the people's armed struggle toppled the Rana oligarchy and again in 1990. This revolution might have appeared to be sudden, but in fact it was not unexpected, considering the course of Nepalese history.

This second dawning of democracy occurred 222 years after Nepal came into existence as a nation. In 1768 Prithvi Narayan Shah, King of a small hilly principality of Gorkha, unified by force many separate feudal principalities and the three Kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley, all of which now make up Nepal.

During the last 30 years of the 18th century unification wars continued. The expansion of the Gorkha Kingdom invited conflicts with British India which was consolidating and expanding in the subcontinent. Nepal was defeated in the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-1816 and was forced to sign an unequal treaty with British-India. Up to the present day the 1816 treaty guides India and Nepal's relations.

After the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1775 the politics of Nepal was marked by Palace conspiracies and court rivalries, causing death to several courtiers. The British took every opportunity to attempt to establish a pro-British government. Finally an army officer called Jung Bahadur Rana came to power by a cold-blooded massacre in September 1846.

The 1950 Revolution

The Rana oligarchy which Jung Bahadur established was in power for 104 years. It was finally overthrown by the armed revolution of 1950, led by the Nepali Congress. During the Rana century the Kings of the Shah dynasty were Kings in name only, and were kept under liberal custody. Actual power lay in the hands of the hereditary Rana Prime Minister. Historians describe the rule of the Ranas as a crude exploitation of the land and the people. Rebellions or political consciousness campaigns, such as that of 1940 were crushed, and opposition leaders callously shot.

After India and China gained freedom from imperial rule at the end of the 1940s, democratic movements started in Nepal. King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah, grandfather of the present King Birendra, joined the struggle against the Ranas and took political asylum in India. When the democratic movement became overwhelming a tripartite agreement was signed by King Tribhuvan, the Nepali Congress and the Ranas. However, the Rana
dynasty still retained power as it does today due to matrimonial ties with the Royal family and by a Rana dominance of the military.

After the agreement the King returned from India in February 1951 and became the country's first constitutional monarch. Nepal, landlocked between India and China, opened its borders to foreigners and foreign aid. King Tribhuvan consented to hold elections for a constitutional assembly and an interim government was formed for this purpose.

However, when King Tribhuvan died in March 1955, his son, King Mahendra refused to keep his father's promise. The political parties, still barely organized, were not ready to go onto the streets to demand a democratic, legitimate constitution. This was the first major conspiracy by the monarchy to thwart the transition to democracy in Nepal.

The first multi party constitution of Nepal was promulgated in February 1959, eight years after Nepali Congress and the Palace regained power from the Rana dynasty. Within this constitution the King remained the sovereign, retaining the right of dissolving parliament and cabinet. The first ever general elections were held in mid 1959. The Nepali Congress gained an overwhelming victory and formed the government with party chairman B.P. Koirala as Prime Minister.

However, this experience with multi party system was abruptly terminated after 18 months. On 15 December 1960 King Mahendra, assisted by the military, took over power in a bloodless coup d'état. The King dismissed the cabinet, dissolved the Parliament, suspended fundamental rights and arrested political leaders.

Historic analysis has shown that the party cabinet had failed to replace the feudal structure of the Rana rule and to establish the cabinet as a force independent from the Palace. Also, first steps towards a land reform evoked strong opposition against the Koirala government from both the landlords and reactionary forces.

Panchayat Decades

After banning political parties in January 1961 King Mahendra replaced the multi party constitution in December 1962 by the party less Panchayat System, which derived its name from early village councils which were composed of five ("panch") seniors. From the very first day of the dissolution of the elected Parliament, resistance against the imposed political system began. In 1962 Nepali Congress launched another armed struggle but this was crushed by the government.

पंचायत का दशक

2019 वर्ष साल भर्तरी महाराज महाराजको अंतिम शक्ति चरण क्षेत्र, व राजनीतिक पार्टीहरूको विवाद पूरा जस्ता नगर र रायालिको बीच विभिन्न विषयक संबंध भए। सभी पढि आन्दोलन रोकियो र राजनीतिक राजसरकार संबंध वैधिक बंधन नगराको कल्याण कर्त्यो थिए। आन्दोलनमा ध्वस्त लिए र भारतमा राजनीतिक शरण लिए। तर नेपालमा प्रावधानिक आन्दोलन तीर्थ उपमा धर्म बिद्रिको अवस्थान दिन्त्या राजन, राजन र नेपाली कांग्रेस बीच नित्यालय संबंध भए। सभी पढि आन्दोलन रोकियो र राजनीतिक राजसरकार संबंध वैधिक बंधन नगराको कल्याण कर्त्यो थिए। आन्दोलनमा ध्वस्त लिए र भारतमा राजनीतिक शरण लिए।
Nearly a decade later one of the splinter groups of the communist parties which later developed into Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) launched a peasant uprising in Jhapa district of eastern part of Nepal. After two years this armed struggle was also crushed with an iron hand. Many communists were sent into jail for more than a decade; five were killed while being transferred from one jail to another. After King Birendra followed his father onto the throne in January 1972 the Nepali Congress again launched an armed struggle against the autocratic Panchayat system. But the government crushed this revolt without much difficulty as at that time there was little popular support for the movement.

In view of the unfavourable situation for armed resistance, the leaders of Nepali Congress switched in 1975 to a policy of reconciliation with the Palace. But the King responded with arrests. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with the Panchayat system, its corruption and nepotism had grown and led the people onto the streets.

In 1979 police repression on a group of students protesting the hanging of Pakistan's Prime Minister Bhutto resulted in a nationwide students' movement. The revolt forced King Birendra to hold a referendum to decide whether to retain the old party less Panchayat system with some reforms or to institute a multi party democracy. The King granted amnesty to all political prisoners except those, like most of the communist leaders, charged with criminal offences.

The National Referendum was held in 1980: the Panchayat government probably rigged the voting and the multi party camp was defeated, gaining 2 million votes against 2.4 million for the Panchas. In the proclamation of the referendum King Birendra had promised to reform the Panchayat System and to respect the points of view of the "minority".

Only a partial direct election of Parliament members had been achieved. Some restricted activity of the parties was tolerated. In the general elections of 1981 and 1986 - boycotted by Nepali Congress - some leftists complied with the electoral system, and the people voted them into the "Rastriya Panchayat", the then National Parliament, where any discussion about the partyless system was prohibited by the constitution.

However, a new atmosphere of political unity among opposition forces was seen when they came together in the funeral processions of two party leaders: communist party founder Pushpa Lal Shrestha, who died in Indian ex-
ile, and B.P Koirala, who died in 1984 from cancer. At this time, the Nepali Congress was exhausting its patience in the pursuit of the policy of reconciliation.

In May 1985 the Nepali Congress launched a Civil Disobedience Movement starting with a general strike in which some leftists participated. A "fill the jails" campaign was launched at the same time, answered by the government with more than 1000 arrests. This "satyagraha" campaign was gaining ground. But it was abruptly terminated by terror: eight persons were killed in mid June 1985 when bombs exploded in various parts of the country, even in front of the Palace. Although the background of these attacks was never totally clarified, a group led by Ram Raja Prasad Singh - living in Indian exile since 1976 - claimed responsibility. In view of this situation the disobedience campaign was called off. Hundreds of oppositionists were arrested. In a show trial several absent persons were sentenced of death.

However, the pressure for change was rising. The Panchayat system, which had held power for decades, had failed to improve the living conditions of the people. While a few hundred families had become wealthy from corruption, smuggling and foreign aid, the masses remained in poverty. The 90 percent of the 18 million population living in rural areas and working as farmers did not benefit from thousands of millions of US-Dollars given as loans or donated by foreign countries to Nepal. Development projects suffered from bureaucracy and corruption. Deforestation led to terrific landslides with top soil being swept into the rivers. Nepal, an exporter of food grains until the 1980s, became an importer of rice.

Modern telecommunication facilities and Television spread aspirations among the people for participation in government. Young people, who had benefited from extended education during the last decade, became frustrated. A centralized bureaucracy and the caste system impeded initiative and the mobilization of innovative forces. Many unemployed migrated abroad to find jobs. Ethnic minorities were discriminated against and their languages were not respected. Constitutional guarantees gave Hinduism an undue prominence. The tradition, culture and religion of the Royal family were forced upon the people as the "national culture".

The Panchayat governments reacted strongly against the demands for political and economical change. Many people were tortured in jail and died, many more disappeared.
or were shot during demonstrations. Thousands of oppositionists were kept in prison for years under inhuman conditions without any trial. Political prisoners were not freed even after their prison terms had expired and the supreme court had ordered them free. Human Rights organizations continued pressuring the Nepalese government to improve its record.

Some political prisoners, including Radha Krishna Mainali, imprisoned 14 years earlier in connection with the Jhapa uprising, were released in late 1986. Different political groups now began to initiate a new movement. For the first time in 28 years Nepali Congress leader Ganesh Man Singh had a 2-1/2-hour audience with King Birendra in November 1988 and submitted his party's demands for the restoration of democracy. But subsequent events showed that the King gave only empty promises.

Meanwhile atmosphere of unity in the multi party camp was developing. When communist leader Chhabi Lal Rajbansi died in November 1989 in jail different political forces showed again solidarity by participating in funeral rites. Another symbol of unity amongst the opposition parties occurred after the King granted amnesty to 12 political prisoners who had been in jail for 17 years since the Jhapa uprising: Congress leader G.M. Singh attended the function held in honour of the released communists.

In 1988 and 1989 a series of disasters and inauspicious events overtook the country. A devastating earthquake struck the eastern part of Nepal in August 1988. About 1200 people lost their lives. The same year more than 70 people died in a stampede at the National Stadium. The next year the mast of Red Machendranath's chariot in Lalitpur broke, and a temple in Patan collapsed. Religious people took these events as signs of misfortune. The old generation began to whisper that these events forebode ill to the King.

In the economic field too the times demanded change. On 23 March 1989 India closed 13 out of 15 transit points after trade and transit treaties had expired. This economic blockade hit Nepal seriously. Within a week kerosene, petrol and diesel were rationed. People had to queue for hours. Sugar ran out of stock for weeks and many prices rose steeply. Private animosity between the King of Nepal and the then Prime Minister of India undermined negotiations. Even after the change of the Indian government an end to the dispute was not in sight. But worse - India tried to profit from the weak position of the
Nepalese government by dictating an unfavourable friendship treaty with Nepal.

Against this background, together with the environment of Dawning Democracies in the world, the opposition forces met in late 1989 to evaluate the opportunities for the success of a new Movement for Restoration of Democracy. On 28 December 1989 the parties formed a coordination committee. Seven of the various communist groups joined and on 10 January 1990 they founded the United Left Front (ULF). Their minimum programme included the abolition of the Panchayat system and the restoration of a multi party system. Ms. Sahana Pradhan became ULF chairperson.

NC Conference

As a first test of people's aspirations and readiness for action the Nepali Congress held its national conference from 18th to 20th January 1990. The assembly had to take place at G.M. Singh's residence, because no public space was provided: thousands were jammed into the garden and the surrounding street. Surprisingly the police did not interfere nor even showed their presence, though many spies were suspected among the enthusiastic crowd.

Party president K.P. Bhattarai spread optimism for the success of the democracy movement. "Despotic and dictatorial regimes have become islands in the ocean of the free world and their days are numbered. This is true of Nepal as well", he said in the opening session.

The leader of an Indian Delegation, Member of Parliament Chandra Shekhar, criticized the Panchayat system for its feudal and undemocratic nature. He called on the Nepalese people to come out onto the streets. But he denied any interference in Nepal's internal affairs. "Despotic and dictatorial regimes will not come to Nepal from India and it is not something that India can give to Nepal." Nevertheless Chandra Shekhar's speech at the Congress convention was used by the government to question the national character of the multi party camp.

At the end of the three day party conference Nepali Congress supremo G.M. Singh told the press: "Now the minimum demands are the formation of an interim government and free and fair elections based on the multi party system." The conference, a public test for the revolutionary mood, had been successful. The movement was to start from 18 February, the
official "Democracy Day" commemorating
King Tribhuvan's commitment to multi party
democracy 39 years ago.

After the NC convention the government
began to strike back: costly "Pancha-Rallies"
were held all over the country, office workers
were forced, and peasants paid, to participate.
At the first of these rallies on 28 January the
then Prime Minister Marich Man Singh
Shrestha condemned the "so-called move-
ment" as hopeless attempts of "ill disposed
foreign led elements". The media were cen-
sored and newspapers confiscated. Even be-
fore the first public clash occurred party lead-
ers were arrested, some kept under house ar-
rest.

Wall paintings de-
picted the execution
of Panchas: The ver-
dict of the people
(hanging from left)
former Prime Minis-
ter Marich Man Singh
Shrestha, Communi-
cation Minister Kamal
Thapa, Home Min-
ister Niranjan Thapa
and Ras-triya Panch-
hayat Chairman Na-
varaj Subedi - Hang
the murderers!

The government suppression showed its
face in the Pokhara incident of 12 February.
Students of the Prithvi Narayan Multiple
Campus celebrating the release of the African
National Congress leader Nelson Mandela
were attacked by police and by "Mandales",
descendants of a government paid student's
group of 1979. More than 500 students were
beaten up and taken into custody. Student
leader Ms. Laxmi Karki was stripped, kept
naked for 13 hours in custody and later sent to
jail. This incident together with attempted rape
and other sexual assaults of women, upset the
people deeply.

The opposition camp was going to stake
everything on one card. Those days the slogan
was: "now or never". If the movement failed it
would take another ten years to recover. "Do
or Die for Democracy" was written on the
walls of schools and university buildings.
The New Movement

The peaceful movement, for "Democracy Day" launched by the joint progressive forces of Nepal, started with confrontations. Several thousand oppositionists began their protest near Bhimsen Tower. Police attacked the party demonstrations again and again. Panchas were dispersed in New Road like frightened chickens as leaflets were thrown from the roofs. Spectators hailed the action, obviously in sympathy for the democrats. In side streets party supporters fought with police and muscle men of the National Sports Council. The pavement was covered with brick bats.

Hundreds of riot police, equipped with helmets, bamboo sticks, shields and riot jackets, could not protect the government march. At Ratna Park the official rally was stopped by young demonstrators. Policemen hurled back the stones that students and pupils had thrown. Riot squads fired tear gas shells. The Pancha Rally was blocked, many participants left and the scheduled government mass meeting at Tundikhel had to be cancelled. Away from the real political scene, Tribhuvan's grandson, King Birendra inaugurated the international airport.

These clashes marked the first of the fifty days. Riot police, at this time still wearing brown military style uniforms, became the dominating statues in between the temples at Durbar Square. Tourists had to enliven their photos with young boys in police uniforms.

Although several persons were injured and many arrested, these first clashes in Kathmandu seemed relatively harmless. In Chitwan a pro democracy demonstration of tens of thousands was attacked by firing police killing four people. In response the crowd set a bus and police vans on fire. The police arrested two Members of Parliament who disappeared in police custody for weeks. Later the army participated in crushing the uprising. Over the country five people were shot dead by the police and one policeman was stoned to death that day. Many more would die before the dawning of democracy on 9th April, the new "Democracy Day".

Killing continued on the second day of the movement. The opposition had called for a nationwide strike "Nepal Bandh" ("Nepal closed"). In the capital shops were closed, traffic stopped and the streets filled with tension as riot police confronted passing "spectators".

नयाँ आन्दोलन

नेपालका प्रगतिभारी शक्तिहरूले "प्रजातन्त्र दिवस" को आैतरणमा घुस गरेको सत्तापूर्ण आन्दोलन शुरू हुँदै संघर्षमा परिणत भयो। हजारो प्रदर्शनकारीले सुधारे नजीकबाट आफ्नो बिरोध प्रदर्शन शुरू गरे। पुलिसले प्रदर्शनकारीहरूले माथि आक्रमण गरिएको थियो। तोहरो संघर्ष बन्यो। घानाहुँदै पर्वतहरू भक्ति देखेर सरकारी जुनुसमा भाग भने आएका दलहरू भिजेको बिराट बी भागे। दसहरूमा सहानुभूति नष्ट मप्रदर्शनकारी पुलिसको खिलिको थियो। गल्नी गल्नीमा प्रदर्शनकारीले पुलिस र राष्ट्रिय खेको लिप्रेकू परिन्यूकु गुञाहरूले घम्साधिकारी गर्न पयो। सडक ईटा दुप्पट्टाले भरियो।

फलमा ठॉपी लाएका, कटबासको नौरी, बेटको ठाल र सुरक्षित यात्राले लाएका हजाराँ पहराइले सामान सरकारी जुनुसमा मुक्त गर्दा गरे। रत्नपाक्षको वाद्यकारी नुसाराई र युस्थ प्रदर्शनकारीहरू राखेको थियो। नैपाली र जनतले हामीका ईटा र दुप्पट्टा कुल दिनराई पुलिसहरू जनतलाई खिलाउन बाले। दंगा पहराइले अभु व्यस्त खिलाउन। पंचकार्यको रोकियो र आपातकी सहभागीहरूले लागाए। दुप्पट्टाले हुने निराधार सरकारी कार्य कर रहौ गरियो।

५० दिनको संघर्षमा घो पहिलो भिडन थियो। खाठाले पोसाक लाएका दंगा पुलिसहरू दरबार स्वायत्त ठाउँ ठाउँमा मुक्ति र पल्को भिडन भए। पर्याप्तहरू पुलिस पर्याप्तफर्मा लाएका कुलिन खुदाहरूको फोटो जीवित ठाप्ले उत्तरादा बस्त्यो।

यो दिन हुने त धैर्य मातिसहरू धारातै भए अभिय गिरफ्तार गए। तापमा काठमाडौ यो पहिलो भिडन कम नौकिसारायी थियो भनु पर्दै।

चितवनामा भएको प्रदर्शनमा पुलिसले दस्ताहरुको भीतिमान गाँवी बस्को र ४ जनाले हुमा गर्दै। यस्तो बिख्रू जनतले पल्को पुलिसहरू आगे नालाइछ। पुलिसले राष्ट्रिय युद्धताका दुई जना जनप्रिय सदस्यहरू जागृत प्रवाह भेटवाला र भौगोलिक बेला ताज मिति गिरफ्तार गए। उत्तरादाय बेला र लाई भए। तथापि यस्ताले जन भएको सनातन प्रेरणा प्राप्त प्राप्त। त्यो दिन राजाको ४ जना नागरिक गाँवी सिराका भए र एउटा पुलिसको जनाले हातबाट मार्यो। त्यस यस्ता, ९ अफ्तबौँ "नयाँ प्रजातन्त्र" सम्म बुड़ै मातिसहरूले आफ्नो जीवनको भाँतिलाई छाड्न हालीहरू भए।
Meanwhile, in Bhaktapur, twenty kilometers to the east, four people were shot. It was reported that reactionaries led by a "People's Movement Suppression Committee" had initiated clashes by forcing shopkeepers to open their shops. A protest march of the people split after lathi charges and brick bat clashes with Panchas. Then police began to shoot aiming not at the legs but at heads and chests. What happened then became regular occurrences, fueling tension: corpses were not handed over to the families, and wounded persons were detained after the administering of medical treatment.

The same day the people of Kirtipur, a village close to the university about five kilometers south of Kathmandu, ransacked the local police station, retaliating against the violent repressions.

The third day of the movement, 20 February, showed "business as usual" in Kathmandu. A lawyers' protest, one of the first in a continuous series of professional activities, clarified the position of intellectuals. Police atrocities occurred again in the countryside: near Jadukoha, southeast Kathmandu at the Indian border, five unconcerned villagers were killed. (see special report in the box)

After this "hot" start of the movement, which caused about two dozens deaths within three days, the opposition had to fight with the continual presence and repression of police. The government tried to stifle any signs of resistance. Spectacular protests became equated with arrest and torture of the participants. Police stations, jails and go-downs were crowded, the sanitary situation for those imprisoned was horrible and food was only beaten rice and water.

Those arrested were hit often, some were badly tortured by breaking arms and legs after putting them into cold water for hours, by hitting the genitals or by applying shocks from electric current. Some people had their heads pushed into faeces. Human rights organizations and some politicians of foreign countries, many of them informed by FOPHUR's envoys and a worldwide faxed "Newsletter", protested against this barbaric behavior of the Nepalese government.

On 25th February a "Black Day" was observed. Democrats were to show their dissent by carrying black flags or arm bands. Police searched even the handbags of elderly women in Kathmandu. Anyone carrying oppositional leaflets was detained. In front of the American Library near New Road senior party leaders started a forlorn action: with unfolded black flags they went out into the arms of riot police.

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The Jadukoha Incident

Report of a working committee of Nepal Journalist's Association: “What happened at Jadukoha on 20 February at 2:00 pm? According to the police report a mass of people tried to attack the police station at Jadukoha; police warned them first, then took resort to blank fire. But the firing occurred inside the courtyard of Mr. Shiva-dhari Yadav at Gothkoha Tole, 1.5 kilometers away from Jadukoha.

Around 1:00 pm about a dozen of policemen ar-rived at Gothkoha. Without any in-quiry they went to Mr. Yadav’s house to arrest him. His mother tried to stop the police but they forcefully entered and searched every room. As they could not find Mr. Yadav, police forced four males out of the home, beat them and tied their hands. The police tried to take the four men with them. But the villagers withstood, starting disputes. In the mean-time, approximately forty fully armed policemen arrived and surrounded the place.

Finally the first police group released the four persons and demanded to be allowed to go. They were standing next to a wall and the villagers were in front of them. Probably the police con-sidered themselves encircled by the villagers. But the situation was not tense. Finally villagers moved aside and let the police go. But the policemen stopped after approximately 20 meters. Then the villagers heard the word "fire" and police started firing towards Mr. Yadav’s courtyard. About fifteen rounds of firing have been reported.

Three women and a 14 year old boy died from bullets in their stomachs. A 35 year old man, father of six children, was killed by a shot in his head. Others were seriously in-jured. In that evening, police came again and started beating and arresting whomsoever they met. The cause for the police to go to Gothkoha that day was that the people were preparing a protest meeting at Jadukoha.”

At this time most of the top leaders of the movement were already under house arrest or were in custody. Others were in hiding, moving in the night, finding shelter at supporter’s houses. Meetings were rare in view of the
danger of arrest. The movement during the first weeks of March was organized by telephone. Some phones were probably tapped, others were cut after a series of opposition calls. Certainly the police were well informed about the projects of the movement. Announced meetings had to be postponed or were broken up by pro-government forces.

Without any public meetings the movement for the restoration of democracy in Nepal seemed to lose steam. The third "Nepal Bandh" on 14 March found less acceptance with the Kathmandu people. Government and police made sure that vehicles were kept running and some shops opened. During this low activity phase professionals and intellectuals kept the movement alive. From time to time doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers and office workers went on strike, protesting police atrocities and "voting" for democracy.

The Nepali says: "Struggle is life - Life is struggle. The police are not our enemy - Our enemy is the ruler." The demands of the movement are listed and the King quoted: "I also agree, but my Queen denies it!"

On the surface the atmosphere seemed to be calming down. But the metaphor "The King is sitting on a volcano" was often cited.

A new eruption occurred on 20th March when 700 intellectuals met at Tribhuvan
University in Kirtipur to discuss their role in the present political context. The meeting was a clear vote for active support for the movement. But intellectuals also were to feel the reality of the repression of the government: the hall was surrounded by the police demanding an immediate end to the meeting. The teachers, journalists, medics, professors and lawyers refused. All were arrested. While some activists like FOPHUR president Mathura Prasad Shrestha and HURON president Devendra Raj Pandey were sent to jail for several days, most of the intellectuals were soon released.

But the Pancha government and police had poured oil on to the flames. With schools and the campuses closed at the End of March, students became a strong force of the movement. Clashes between students and police happened all over the valley. And the opposition initiated a new form of protest: "black out" actions when people switched off their lights as a silent vote for democracy. It was an impressive demonstration of political will to see the city plunged into darkness at the first scheduled black out on 29 March. Looking to the old city of Kathmandu it seemed everybody participated in this originally truly peaceful activity. When some houses kept their lights on, people forced them to switch off. Transformers and traffic lights, "government lights" as people called them, were destroyed in many streets to give demonstrators the shield of darkness. Finally people in the streets guided the movement while party leaders had to follow.

The Patan Uprising

The next eruption of protest made absolutely certain the earthquake which finally shook the Palace. At dawn on Friday 30 March the people of Patan stood up against the Pancha regime. When shops at Mangal Bazaar opened, youths attacked the local Panchayat office and the district court in the old Palace. The Panchayat office was ransacked; desks, chairs, files and even bicycles were thrown into the fire in front of the building. For more than a quarter of an hour the crowd at Patan Durbar square raged; then riot police arrived, firing teargas.

In the morning the situation seemed to have returned to the beginning of the movement. Demonstrators threw stones and attacked Panchayat offices but were turned back by police. The fighting was tough but not deadly.

Buddhist voices too had clamoured in the city. The meeting was a clear vote for active support for the movement. But intellectuals also were to feel the reality of the repression of the government: the hall was surrounded by the police demanding an immediate end to the meeting. The teachers, journalists, medics, professors and lawyers refused. All were arrested. While some activists like FOPHUR president Mathura Prasad Shrestha and HURON president Devendra Raj Pandey were sent to jail for several days, most of the intellectuals were soon released.

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But then in the afternoon the situation became more and more tense. Police continued hunting people, searching for young men in the small lanes of the neighborhood. Finally two men were shot.

The next day people remained at home as usual on Saturdays. Police came again, searching for suspected persons, entering private houses, even kicking doors open. This was to much for the people of Patan. New clashes began. In the evening the people staged a spontaneous “black out” and regained power: With slogans against the cabinet and the Royal family on their lips they dug trenches and got up barricades to keep the police out of Patan.

The people succeeded in the streets: the next day police could not enter Patan. The inhabitants established “People Security Committees” forming vigilante groups to watch Patan Gate and all the other entrance points. Women stood for their own, armed with sticks and garden tools. Patan became a fortress against the police, a “liberated zone”, a “free state”.

For the first time, party leaders could address huge masses. Thousands gathered, coming from Kathmandu and other communities of the valley. Again and again people tried to extend the “free state” across the Bagmati. Although the Lalitpur district superintendent of police did not want any further confrontation - inside the old Palace about hundred policemen were locked up without food, prohibited by their headquarters to take anything from the people - the police had strict instructions to stop any demonstration from the south by any means. The rulers feared marches towards the capital, towards the Palace. Activists had to calm down the crowd to avoid further bloodshed.

The Patan Gate became a new border, controlled by the vigilantes to avoid any provocation from Mandales. While people were shot in Kirtipur and even Kathmandu during this period, Patan city was quiet. But after some days the tension in Patan increased. The supply of kerosine, oil and fresh food became insufficient. At the same time military activity around Kathmandu was reported. An attack of the troops to retake the people’s fortress was feared.

After the Patan uprising the Marich Man Singh government, weakened as never before, tried to continue business as usual. But it must have been a curious scene: for breakfast on 1 April an Indian delegation, come to negotiate
on the trade and transit treaties, was presented
with the sight of the dismissal of Nepal's Foreign Minister, Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya. He and few other ministers op-
posing the repressive methods against the op-
positional movement were fired, giving the way for hardline Panchas.

During the following week "black out" ac-
tions gave further strength to the people.
Under the shield of darkness men, women
and children lost their fear and came out onto
the streets shouting slogans against the Panchas and even against the King. In many areas the people and police or army clashed, and troops
shot blindly into the streets to stop the rebel-
 lion.

The "black out" calls proved an effective
method of mobilizing people who did not want
to be discovered. Nearly every night people
switched off lights, and tires were set on fire
in the streets as burning barricades. The smell of burnt tires and tar became the atmosphere of
revolution in Nepal.

The Massacre

A week after the Patan uprising the time
had come for more decisive action. Another "Nepal Bandh" was announced for Friday 6 April. Demonstrations and burning of Pancha
symbols were planned for the following Monday. Young people were wildly resolved
to fight the final battle for democracy.

On Friday morning in a surprise announce-
ment over the radio, King Birendra dissolved
the Marich Man Singh cabinet. The King also
announced the forming of a Constitutional
Reform Commission and an Investigation
Committee. By these last minute actions the
King seemed to be prepared to compromise,
although he still hesitated to reach out his hand
to opposition leaders.

The King's actions did not improve the
situation, quite the opposite. His half com-
promise encouraged the people's aspirations,
but at the same time made them angry.
Birendra had shown that a change was neces-
sary and possible but at the same time he had
tried to keep the old forces in power by only exchanging his ministers. The people took the
new appointment of Lokhendra Bahadur
Chand, Prime Minister from 1984 to 1986, as
an insult to the movement.

Popular anger boiled over: instead going to
their offices, people rushed onto the streets of
Kathmandu. Several hundred started a march
at Bagh Bazaar. At Asan Tole thousands were
already passing the closed shops. By the time it approached Patan the crowd had swelled to some tens of thousands. The police did not attempt to stop the demonstrators. At Kopundole a military vehicle moved away from the path of the crowd, and one soldier was seen shaking hands with the people while his comrade pointed a small machine gun towards the peaceful march.

On the way back to Kathmandu the crowd, huge as never before, demonstrated for democracy. People shouted slogans against any half way reform, and against the King and his family. For the first time they went openly against a decision of the King. Joined with new huge masses from Kathmandu they passed peacefully by Singha Durbar, once a gigantic Rana palace and now the government’s central office. A brief altercation with police occurred near the corner of the Royal Palace at Kantipath. Eventually the crowd passed along, only a stone’s throw away from the five meter tall fence of the Palace.

A public meeting at Tundikhel took place - the first democratic mass meeting for decades. The equipment on stage was poor, only a few megaphones amplifying the speeches. Perhaps only half the crowd heard the speeches clearly. But enthusiasm overcame technical problems.

During this session police positioned massive forces in front of King’s Palace in Durbar Marg, at Kantipath and near Bir Hospital. The atmosphere at the mass meeting became more aggressive as demands for true change arose. People wanted to march in front of King’s Palace to shout the slogans of the democracy movement into the Monarch’s ears.

For one hour police and demonstrators stood in confrontation at Ratna Park, just in front of Zonal Commissioner’s office. But the crowd did not attack the office although it had led the suppression of the movement. The masses headed towards the Palace at the end of Durbar Marg.

In the beginning the atmosphere was still pleasant. After the first police defence line had given way the crowd enthusiastically ran a hundred meters forward, only to be stopped by the next police line. Again and again slogans for democracy, against the government and the King were shouted, the wind might have carried them to the Narayanhiti Palace. The second police row broke within minutes. Gunmen, rifles hanging from their shoulder, stood aside, and demonstrators reached Durbar Marg, about 300 meters in front of the Palace and 50 meters away from the statue of the odious King Mahendra.
More and more people pushed from the back, encouraging those at the front to break through. From Kantipath in the west demonstrators also pressed against the last and strongest row of riot squads. Suddenly at four o'clock police whistles drowned the slogans and a terrible lathi charge into the crowd began. Police hit children, women and people lying on the ground, begging for mercy. At first the crowd fled. Despite the new atrocity boys at Kantipath protected with their bodies a police pill box against furious democrats.

But in Durbar Marg brick bats were thrown against police who answered with teargas. Eventually demonstrators succeeded in overcoming the police. The riot squads retreated behind the Mahendra monument and formed a new line. The demonstrators ran into the free area, smashed the windows of shops and restaurants, occupied King's statue and began to demolish it. A young man took the scepter of Mahendra - then he was shot. The massacre began.

People were shot while running away, shot in the back. Bir Hospital looked like a battle field. The emergency room was crowded, and for more than an hour dead and injured were brought in. In the hall injured persons were laid on mattresses on the floor. While doctors tried to save lives, ambulances with sirens wailing rushed to other hospitals. When troops took up their positions around King's Palace, the shooting spread to Bagh Bazaar.

Prime Minister Lokhendra Bahadur Chand rushes in his black Mercedes to Singha Durbar after being sworn in by the King during the massacre.

While these events were taking place, L.B. Chand was being sworn in as Prime Minister by the King, a bare 500 meters away from the rioting outside. On his way to Singha Durbar the black Mercedes of Chand had to pass the troops in Durbar Marg. Clearly this government was without any democratic legitimacy and had no real power. At this time the troops in the streets represented the Nepalese state.

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Within a moment the peaceful demonstration - and along with it the first little offer of
the King - was smashed, shot by the police. Where the shooting started is not clarified yet. However, these events became known as the "massacre in front of King's Palace". Fifty dead were reported at Bir Hospital alone. Rumors spread that more than a hundred bodies, probably some still alive, were laid on trucks, brought to Mahendra Police Club in Exhibition Road and then transferred to mass graves at Sundharjil. Even today there is no sure knowledge of the numbers killed or injured. Months after the incidents no official investigation has been set up, no charges have been filed.

**Curfew time**

The scene after the massacre was dominated by soldiers: demonstrators retreated, spectators fled to their homes and military spread all over the town, imposing an undeclared curfew the same evening. The next morning at four o'clock shots aroused the people of Lalitpur. Troops conquered Patan, which had been a "liberated zone" for only a week. The democracy movement seemed to be bloodily smashed after strongly raising its voice in Kathmandu for the first time.

During a strict curfew, imposed on Saturday morning, everybody discussed the events and tried to collect information. Telephones were cut, rice and kerosine was unavailable. Activists believed that this massacre would strengthen the determination of many to fight even more strongly for democracy. It was said that if the movement failed then guerrilla groups, acting from underground, would overcome the Panchas. Demonstrations of thousands in Bhaktapur and Kirtipur were envisaged, the struggle would go on.

Meanwhile the new Chand cabinet tried to gain confidence. Party leaders who had been under house arrest or in jail for weeks were gradually released. Since the King had decided to open a dialogue with the opposition, members of the government visited opposition leaders. Prime Minister Chand came to talk with ailing G. M. Singh in Bir Hospital, but was refused. "There is nothing to discuss", Singh said to Chand.

The demands of the movement were unchanged: direct negotiations with the King only as he held all decisive power. Before any talks the ban on political parties had to be lifted; multi party democracy, participation of parties in an interim government and free elections had to be guaranteed.
The situation that Saturday evening seemed to be without any prospect other than violence. The offer of talks was insufficient and was seen by some as an attempt to split the opposition parties. Not all political leaders had been released, some, like ULF leader Sahana Pradhan were still in custody. The Palace seemed to be falling back on the ancient methods of rivalry and conspiracy. “Who had given the order to shoot?” - this was the main question of the weekend. Rumors arose about conflicts between King Birendra and his wife Aishwarya Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah. Days before, wall paintings had shown the Queen - with boots on her feet - in a helicopter over Kirtipur giving the order to shoot. Speculations about a fight between King and Queen also spread. But information about the political factions inside the walls of the Narayanhiti Palace was not available.

On Sunday morning some relief from the curfew was announced by Radio Nepal. Inhabitants of different areas were allowed to go shopping; office workers had to wear their identification badges on the way. Nevertheless, at noon the streets were empty and ghostlike. Troops in combat gear were deployed everywhere. Tourists were locked up in their hotels. At the airport travel agents and embassy staff prepared evacuation flights scheduled for the evening. In the hospitals the injured suffered, some died.

But signs for a way out began to appear. At noon Sahana Pradhan was released and brought to a meeting of the party leaders at the bedside of G.M. Singh in Bir Hospital. King Birendra had offered direct talks, but had not fulfilled any precondition. What to do? Rejecting talks meant new arrests, new bloodshed. Accepting the offer might mean losing credit in the eyes of the people.

Finally the politicians decided to go to the Palace. Four principal opposition leaders, K.P. Bhattacharai and G.P. Koirala of Nepali Congress, Sahana Pradhan and R.K. Mainali of the ULF arrived for the audience at 9 pm. After four hours the outcome was the success of the movement. The King had accepted the main condition, the legitimacy of political parties and organizations.

The news of the talks spread in the late afternoon. By evening it became clear that hopes for an end of fight and bloodshed, for a victory of the Nepalese democracy movement had been fulfilled. Nepal Television broadcasted an interview with K.P. Bhattacharai, one of those who had been named as an "anti-national element" only a day before.
That night programmes on Nepal TV and Radio were extended. At 11 pm the vital announcement was made: the 29 year old ban on political parties had been lifted. Those who had gone to bed already, missing the historical news, must have received a considerable shock when just before midnight roars and howls of carnival rockets proclaimed this great change in Nepalese politics. Shouting and singing, the people came back out onto the streets, reconquering their territory. But the news had not spread to all the soldiers who controlled the curfew. Tragically, two young people were shot dead, and others were injured during the night.

New "Democracy Day"

The next day the street belonged to the people. Hundreds of thousands came out, many driving all kinds of vehicles. After weeks of marches on foot the Nepalese democrats seemed become rich over night - or perhaps it was the wealthy classes becoming democrats. Over night thousands of flags must have been fabricated. The carnival of democracy in the streets of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur and all the other cities and villages all over the country was red with flags, and the people themselves were red with crimson powder like at the "Holi" festival in March. Again and again the red "abir" was thrown in the air covering the jubilantes with vermillion.

The joy was overwhelming on this 9 April, the new "Democracy Day" of Nepal. Troops
had retreated, though some remained in front of the Royal Pavilion in Tundikhel. The victims were not forgotten; minutes of silence reminded people of the loss of life. A high price had been paid for a victory which some weeks ago even party activists had thought impossible. On this great day the Nepalese movement was as peaceful as possible, no one thought of revenge, and few worried about the problems the future might bring.

The movement had become successful. The multi party system, abolished by the King's father decades ago, had reconquered. But the outcome was not entirely welcomed by all of the opposition. Nepali Congress general secretary G.P. Koirala was even condemned at this day's mass meeting in Tundikhel: people started whistling and shouting when Koirala said that the victory is also one for the Panchas - reflecting the projected free elections. All in all, party leaders had to face harsh critics. Tougher negotiations at the Palace, it was said, could have achieved more. The formation of an interim government and prospects for elections were discussed. It became obvious that the movement, initiated by the leaders but decided by the people on the streets, had to be pushed forward by the people again.

After a week of indecision with no clear appearance of Nepalese democracy some thousands demonstrators stopped the negotiations of party deputies with the government. A crowd in front of the Royal Academy Hall, some throwing bricks into the windows of his car, must have impressed Prime Minister Chand. A few hours later, in the morning of 16 April, he presented his resignation to the King.

This freed the way for the opposition parties to take over administrative powers. And this time there was no way out for King Birendra. He met G.M. Singh the same afternoon and offered the post of Prime Minister to him. At 75 years of age the grand old man of the Nepali Congress had reached the position he and millions of Nepalese people with him had dreamed of. But he declined for health reasons, and proposed K.P. Bhattarai for the post. Two days later Bhattarai presented his new Cabinet, the first multi party government in three decades - legitimized by true democracy, the "people's power".

The movement for democracy had succeeded, but nothing was certain yet and reactionaries began fighting for their fortune. Again and again rumors arose of coup attempts led by the Queen and the Rana dynasty.
Panchas resorted to less spectacular action, undermining law and order by looting shops and by burning a shanty town. "Mandles", probably in the pay of families close to hardliners in the Palace, were suspected of these crimes. The people reacted by forming vigilante squads, similar to the groups which had protected Patan's "free state", to fight the hooligan attacks.

**First Challenge**

By 23 April the deteriorating law and order situation had become a serious problem for the Bhattarai government. In the early morning vigilantes captured suspected Mandales who had been driving through Teku in police cars, most of them dressed in police uniform. The suspected persons were interrogated over a period of hours.

The news of the arrest of nearly a dozen hooligans quickly spread over town. In the morning hundreds of people gathered; then some men began kicking the arrested and beating them with bricks. At least six suspected Mandales, some of them policemen, were lynched by the crowd. The revenge, which had seemed to be forgotten two weeks before, had taken place. Dead and injured were put on a cart and paraded through the city. Four corpses lay on the street in Tripureswor and Teku the whole day.

But that was not all on this "Black Monday". At 3 pm a mass meeting of Marxist-Leninists was scheduled at Tundikhel. Arson, not speeches dominated the political scene. It was probably Mandales who initiated the attack on the nearby Bagmati Zonal Commissioner's office. As had happened several times during the movement, desks, documents and a car were set on fire. And then the building was set on fire too - from inside, as eyewitness reported afterwards. Important papers documenting the suppression of the movement were destroyed. In addition, police opened fire into the crowd. Six people died.

Nepal's young democracy was in danger. After an emergency cabinet meeting Bhattarai offered his resignation to King Birendra. But this time the Monarch, although under pressure from reactionaries inside the palace, backed the government. A three week curfew was imposed during which the troops, once subduers of the people's movement, were deployed at night to enforce law and order.

The new government, the dawning democracy of Nepal, had passed its first test.
18 February - A slogan of All Nepal National Free Students Union (ANNESU) on the wall of Tri Chandra Campus near Durbar Marg. Insufficiently covered with paint it could be read for weeks.
18 February - Bagmati Zonal Commissioner directing police at Indrachowk during clashes.

18 February - The Royal coach carrying a cardboard picture of King Tribhuvan (grandfather of present King) at his Memorial Day and "Democracy Day".

18 February - At Ratna Park youths force the chariot containing symbols of the god King Tribhuvan to step off the road.
19 February - The official "Ghorakapatra" covers the inauguration of the International Airport by King Birendra as the main story. The start of the democracy movement is headlined as "Extremists attack rally". Another article defines democracy as the acceptance of the people's mandate for the Panchayat system.

19 February - Policemen patrolling at New Road Gate. During the first Nepal Bandh (Nepal General Strike) the usually busy New Road is deserted.

19 February - A Sajha corporation bus smashed by demonstrators during a Nepal Bandh day.
25 February - Arrested youths guarded by police on their way to custody.

25 March - The president of Nepal Bar Association, Bashu Dev P. Dhungana, at a press conference in front of the Supreme Court after a "pen down" strike by lawyers.

23 February - Doctors and paramedical staff of Teaching Hospital strike and wear black armbands protesting at police atrocities and use of Dum-Dum bullets.
18 February - Tulsilal Amatya, leader of one of the communist parties, heading towards police waving his party flag.

25 February - Padma Ratna Tuladhar (left) and Hementa Bahadur B.C. are arrested in front of American Library while leading a Black Day procession.  

Page 47

Page 47
February 18 - Tulsilal Amatya, leader of one of the communist parties, heading towards police waving his party flag.

February 25 - Padma Ratna Tuladhar (left) and Hementa Bahadur B.C. are arrested in front of American Library while leading a Black Day procession.

Page 47
23 March - University staff of Rampur Campus in Chitwan at a protest rally. top

27 February - Teachers of Rampur Campus in Chitwan demand the rehiring of dismissed colleagues, the immediate release of imprisoned teachers and students and full academic freedom. left

10 चैत्र - रामपुर कृषि क्याम्पस, चितवनका कर्मचारीहरू - एउटा विरोध प्रदर्शनमा।

16 फाल्गुण - नेपाल प्राध्यापक संघ, रामपुर क्याम्पसको एउटा पोस्टर बार्याँ
30 March - Youths attack local Panchayat and Court offices at Durbar Marg, Patan.

3 April - At mass meetings in Patan's "free state" politicians can make speeches openly.

14 चैत्र - पाटन नगर पंचायत र जिल्ला अदालत भवन माध्यम से आक्रमण।

21 चैत्र - पाटनको रूप स्वरुप केन्द्रमा भुमिगत रहेका नेताहरुले खुल्सा रूपमा भाषण गरेका अवसर पाए। दाहिने
4 April - In Pulchowk police block a demonstration of the people of Patan heading for Kathmandu.

4 April - Women armed with farming implements participate in the demonstration in Pulchowk.

4 April - Burning barricade in Mangal Bazaar, Patan during a demonstration.

Page 50

२२ चैत्र - पाटन बाट काठमाडौं आइरहेको जुलुस र पुलिसको अबरोध। माधि

२२ चैत्र - पुल्चोकको प्रदर्शनमा घरेलु हतियार बोकेका महिलाहर। दाहिने

२२ चैत्र - एउटा प्रदर्शनको दौरानमा पाटनको अर्न्त अबरोधक। पृष्ठ ५०
5 April - Arrested youths in the court of Traffic Police Headquarter.

4 April - A barricade in the TU Campus near Kirtipur.

2 April - Nal Bahadur Maharjan dies in Teaching Hospital after being shot in Kirtipur.
Durbach Gate.
Prithvi Narayan Shah in front of Singha
6 April - Party flags are fixed on the statue of
secretariat of the government.
Page 55 top
Kathmandu marched at Singha Durbach central
6 April - Huge demonstrations from Calm and
decision and demand democracy.
people demonstrate openly against the King's
6 April - For the first time in Nepalese history
6 April - Police stand aside during the morning demonstration in New Road.

6 April - Water for refreshment during the demonstration.

6 April - A soldier shakes hands with demonstrators at Kopundole while another maintains shooting position.

Page 56
6 April - At the mass meeting in Tundikhel slogans are shouted against the King.

6 April - At Bagh Bazaar pictures of the Royal family are burnt.
6 April - A strong police line, the last defence before King's Palace.

6 April - Police block demonstrations in front of Zonal Commissioner's office and order the people to leave into Bagh Bazaar. But the masses try to drive away the armed forces by shouting.

6 April - After an hour the crowd succeeds in breaking the first police line at Ratna Park: a mixed crowd of demonstrators and police runs towards the next police line.
6 April - The people are stopped by a last police line in front of King Mahendra's statue (right), only 300 meters away from the Palace.

24 चैत्र - प्रदर्शनकारीहरू राजा महेन्द्रको शालिक अगाडि पुलिससंग आमने-सामने भएका छन्। शालिक उनीहरू सन्दर्भा 300 मीटर मात्र टाढा छ।
6 April - People flee the unexpected dreadful lathi charge in Durbar Marg.

२४ बैतूल - नृलाई नृलाई बाजार आपूर्तिको जन समूह छिटकवितर भयो।
6 April - Many people are trapped against a fence (left).

२४ चैत्र - धेरै मानिसहरू बारको फन्दमा परे।
6 April - Begging for mercy with the traditional "Namaste" gesture demonstrators lying on the street are attacked.
6 April - After the lathi charge and exchange of bricks and teargas, police retreat behind the Mahendra statue. People return, removing lost bicycles and rushing the injured to the hospital.

6 April - Lathi charge of the riot squads in Durbar Marg. Page 66 top

6 April - Blood, shoes and bricks on the pavement - remains of the police atrocities in Durbar Marg. Page 66 bottom
6 April - After the lathi charge and minutes before police open fire, demonstrators protect with their bodies a police pill box in Kantipath, trying to avoid any further escalation.

6 April - People run away from Durbar Marg after the lathi charge.

6 April - People attack Durbar Marg, smash windows and damage King Mahendra's monument. A boy snatches the scepter - then he is shot.
6 April - Policemen raise their rifles in Kantipath in front of Rani Pokhri.

6 April - Police intimidate volunteers on their way to pick up injured in Kantipath with wheelchairs.

6 April - Troops unload street barricades at Durbar Marg, bullets are distributed.
8 April - During a relaxation of the curfew people have to argue with troops to pass Ratna Park.

6 April - Troops establish defence positions in front of King's Palace.

6 April - The bloodshed in Kathmandu - the main tourist attraction these days, worth a snap.
6 April - People running to take victims of the massacre to Bir hospital by wheelchairs.
6 April - The seriously injured are just lifted and carried to hospital.
8 April - During the last curfew night troops shot this boy. He wanted to join celebrations in the streets near Indrachowk.

9 April - The wife and mother of Pushpa Ratna Shakya crying after he had been shot during the night after the Royal declaration to lift ban on political parties.

9 April - People mourn the martyrs publicly, here at Ethka.
6 April - In the entrance hall of Bir Hospital, the injured are laid on the floor.

6 April - Injured people are brought to Bir hospital in private cars, and spectators give way to the vehicles.
9 April - Wounds.

10 April - Immediately after the cutter is killed, people collect money for the treatment of the wounded.

Fog 80
6 April - A man killed by a bullet during the massacre.
   top left

6 April - The body of a 24 year old man, fluid running from his nose.
   top right

7 April - Pampha Devi died after being hit by a police car during the curfew.
   left

24 बैठ - नरसहरको बेला गोलिदाङा मारिएको एउटा मानिस।
   माथि देखि

24 बैठ - नाकबाट रगत र तिङान बगीरहेको २४ वर्षीय युवक।
   माथि दाहिने

२५ बैठ - कपडौं लागेको बेलामा पुलिसको गाडीले किच्छे मारिएकी पफा देखि बढ्पर।
6 April - Artificial respiration for a seriously injured man.

6 April - A gaping wound in the head of a young man.

24 चैत्र - गंभीर रूपमा घाइते भएको मानिसको कृतिम स्वास्थ्य प्राप्त गरिए। माधि

24 चैत्र - एउटा युवको टाउको घाउ। दाहिने
9 April - The spot at Indrachowk where a boy was shot during the last curfew. Hours becomes a place of "puja" (prayer and sacrifice) and political solidarity.

9 April - The streets of Kathmandu are filled with people waving red party flags.

9 April - Fingers red from "puja"-powder (abir) the victory sign is the favourite this "Democracy Day".
9 April - Hyper hat and glasses demonstrate the joy.  top

9 April - The new Kathmandu fashion - democracy.  left
9 April - A young man, his face made up in Nepali Congress colours, rides a tractor in New Road. top

9 April - Police at Kantipath - no chance to regulate the joyous and chaotic traffic. right

२७ चैत्र - न्युरोडमा एउटा ट्र्याक्टरमा चढ्दको यो पुँकको अनुत्तरमा नेपाली काँग्रेसको भण्डा अर्कित छ। माथि

२७ चैत्र - कान्तिपथको उत्साहित भ्रामका ट्राफिकको कुनै नियम लागु हुँदै। वाहिनी
9 April - Women ride an old jeep in Durbar Marg.

9 April - Again and again women throw red "abir" powder into the air. Page 89 top

9 April - Foreigners sympathetic to democracy take part in the celebrations. Page 89 bottom
9 April - The young, old and handicapped join celebrations in the streets.

9 April - People ride a truck during democracy celebrations.
9 April - Leftist leader Padma Ratna Tuladhar hails the masses from the stage at Tundikhel.

9 April - The victims are not forgotten: a rejoicing group in front of King's Palace, wear white arm bands like Peking's student protesters a year ago.

9 April - Celebrating the victory of democracy people carry portraits of martyrs.
9 April - The market place at Tundikhel is packed with people, attending the first open mass meeting of Nepal’s political parties for 30 years.

9 April - Armed military vehicles stand behind the open-air theatre during the mass meeting.
9 April - From the top of the open-air theatre youths wave flags of no longer outlawed parties.

9 April - The mass in front of the open-air theatre listen to the speeches.
9 April - Boys wave communist flags while the girls have to stand aside.

9 April - Even after the victory of democracy the military presence remains: troops positioned in the Education Ministry gate near King's Palace.

9 April - Party flags and a "Power to the people" banner in the arms of the King Mahendra statue at Durbar Marg.
11 April - Commemorating the victims, a minute of silence is observed at a mass meeting in Patan.

13 April - Medical staff of Bir Hospital start a relay hunger strike to protest against the then Home Minister who threatened to kill all medics who helped demonstrators.

29 बैठनेको आमवञ्चनामा नेपालमा १ मिनेटको भीत धारण। माथि

31 बैठनेको बांसुरीलाई सहयोग गरेन सम्पूर्ण चिकित्सा कमिट्टीलाई मानेइ धमकी दिने तत्कालीन गृहमन्त्रीको विष्णुभाण चिकित्सा कमिटीलाई रिले अनुसन्धान शुरु।
15 April - During talks between Lokhendra Bahadur Chand's cabinet and party leaders at Royal Nepal Academy Hall demonstrators fix a Nepali Congress flag on the Prime Minister's car. Later the car is destroyed and the ministers are locked up till 3 am. 

16 April - The cinema hall at Rani Pokhri is set on fire, films are thrown to the street.
17 April - School children celebrate the nomination of K.P. Bhattarai as the new Prime Minister with a spontaneous march in Thamel.

17 April - After a joint meeting of NC and ULF the cabinet list is presented.

४ बैंसाख - कुण्ड प्रसाद भट्टराई प्रधान मंत्री पदमा नियुक्त भएको सुनेप परेंद्र खेल्दी खुसी मनाउँदा ह्यो त्योले कॉउंटीटिहुँ। माधि ४ बैंसाख - नयौं, संयुक्त मंत्री मणिकुलको नामावली तयार भएको नेपाली कांग्रेस र संयुक्त वार मौर्याको बैठक। तन
23 April - Policemen suspected of being hooligans are attacked by the crowd kicking the men.

23 April - A suspected mandale is bound to the statue of King Mahendra in Kalimati.
23 April - Policemen suspected of being hooligans are attacked by the crowd kicking the men.

23 April - A suspected mandale is bound to the statue of King Mahendra in Kalimati.
23 April - Five hooligans are tied up at Teku after being partially stripped and beaten.

23 April - Policemen, suspected of being hooligans and locked up in their van, are surrounded and attacked by a crowd at Teku.

23 April - Police equipment (walkie-talkies, knives, keys and sticks) are found with the suspected Mandales.
23 April - A young Tamang is presented to the crowd in Patan, Durbar Square. He was caught by the people when police tried to free him. He confesses his involvement in Mandale action for a payment of 5000 Rupees. In the night he is killed.

23 April - A young man shot dead by the police in Bagh Bazaar. His brain is blown away by the bullet.
23 April - A man shot at Indrachowk is carried to hospital.

10 बैसाख - इंद्रचोकमा गोली लागेको मानिसलाई अस्पताल लगिदै छ।
23 April - An armed military vehicle enters Singha Durbar. Rumors of a coup attempt arise.
23 April - Signboards with sayings of the King are used in burning barricades in Kamalpahad near Bir Hospital.

23 April - At Teku the body of a lynched Mandale lies in the street the whole day, becoming a macabre attraction.
23 April - After people attack the police office at Hanuman Dhokha, political leader Haribol Bhattarai appeals for calm.

24 April - After another night curfew people inspect the burned out Zonal Commissioner's office.

FOPHUR president and Health Minister Mathura Prasad Shrestha (right) handing over 2500 Rupees to the family of a martyr on behalf of FOPHUR and the Investigation Committee for Human Right Violations.
A Chronicle of Events of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Nepal (Nepali dates in brackets)

End of 1989 (Poush 2046)
Party leaders plan to launch a new movement for the restoration of a multi-party system. All progressive forces of the country are called to join the movement. Immediately about 100 political workers are arrested.

Wednesday 10 January 1990 (26 Poush)
Seven leftist and communist groups join the new movement and found the United Left Front (ULF). Ms. Sahana Pradhan becomes its President. The Royal couple leaves for Pokhara on a two-month unofficial tour of the Western Development Region.

Thursday-Saturday 18-20 January (5-7 Magh)
Nepali Congress holds a party meeting at the residence of its supreme leader Ganesh Man Singh. It is announced that a non-violent movement will be launched on 18 February. More than 4,000 people participate in the three-day meeting. Police do not interfere. The Panchas react by condemning the participation of nine Indian Parliament Members as foreign interference.

Sunday 28 January (15 Magh)
The government of Prime Minister Marich Man Singh Shrestha organizes a Pancha Rally with officially 200,000 - in fact about 20,000 - participants, many of them paid for their appearance. The government steps up press censorship, newspapers are seized and journalists arrested.

Tuesday 30 January (17 Magh)
Nepali Congress and United Left Front form a coordination committee to conduct the movement. The names of the members are kept secret for security reasons.

Thursday 1 February (19 Magh)
The opposition announces the first programme of action: a demonstration on "Democracy-Day", 18 February, the following day a national strike (Nepal Bandh), then a "Black Day" and another strike if the King does not fulfill demands for multi-party democracy. Various professional groups such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, students and ex-servicemen declare support for the movement.

The government provides more facilities for Panchas, e.g., the monthly allowances for District Panchayat Chairmen are doubled to 2.500 Rupees. At the same time the government becomes more repressive towards the movement and arrests party workers. By 10 February at least 500 people are in custody.
Monday 12 February (1 Falgun)

In Pokhara students celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela. After a clash with Mandales, reactionary student groups paid by the government, police interfere and arrest about 500 students. The police force women to undress and keep them so for hours. Reports say six people have been killed.

Tuesday 13 February (2 Falgun)

In Pokhara most shops are closed for a strike following the campus' clashes. By now about 1500 persons all over the country have been arrested. ULF President Sahana Pradhan is detained.

Mid February (Early Falgun)

Campuses and most schools are closed. Some elected Pancha representatives are dismissed after showing sympathy for the demands for a multi-party system. In Janakpur an angry crowd attacks police and some policemen are injured. In Biratnagar the Zonal Commissioner is reportedly beaten up by the crowd. India postpones negotiations on the trade- and transit treaties which ran out nearly a year ago.

Sunday 18 February (7 Falgun)

It is the official "Democracy Day" in memorial of King Tribhuvan - the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) starts. By now nearly 5000 persons have been arrested.

In a Royal Address King Birendra defends the partyless Panchayat System as being in accordance with national interests, values and norms. The Panchas meet at the National Stadium and march to Ratna Park. Thousands of demonstrators meet at New Road and attack the Pancha rally several times. At Ratna Park/Bagh Bazaar police and demonstrators fight for one hour. The planned Pancha Meeting at Tundikhel does not take place. Police arrest about 1000 persons in Kathmandu on this day.

In the Hills and the Terai Pancha rallies are similarly disturbed by the opposition. Police cars are set on fire. At least five demonstrators are killed by the police. In Chitawan the army participates in the suppression of the Movement. In Hetauda one policeman is stoned to death.

Monday 19 February (8 Falgun)

Nepal Bandh - nationwide strike. In Kathmandu nearly all shops are closed. There is hardly any traffic. At Bagh Bazaar demonstrators clash with police. Buses are damaged or set on fire. A tourist bus on the way to Nagarkot is set on fire. In Bhaktapur police try to force shopkeepers to open their shops. Police open fire on a stone-throwing crowd and kill at least four demonstrators. In Kirtipur the people take over a police station and set it on fire.

Tuesday 20 February (9 Falgun)

Lawyers of the Bar Association go on strike to protest against the arrest of around 50 colleagues. Near
Jadukoha five villagers are killed by the police. In Janakpur ten people are reported to be killed, officially three are confirmed. In the Indian capital, New Delhi, 400 persons are arrested as they try to enter the Nepalese Embassy.

Wednesday 21 February (10 Falgun)
In Biratnagar hundreds of women demonstrate with their mouths gagged. They carry lanterns in daylight to protest against violations of human rights.

Thursday 22 February (11 Falgun)
Police obstruct a demonstration in front of Bir Hospital where the corpses from Bhaktapur are held by the police.

The US State Department and prominent members of the US Congress and Senate call for dialogue between the Nepalese government and the opposition to stop the bloodshed and violations of human rights. In New Delhi official three day talks to resolve the trade dispute end without result.

Friday 23 February (12 Falgun)
Doctors and medical staff at Teaching Hospital strike for two hours to protest against police brutality and the use of a type of dum-dum bullet made of lead. FOPHUR president Dr. Mathura Prasad Shrestha and others are arrested shortly after submitting their demands to the Prime Minister. Mathura Shrestha is released next day after massive international protest. The Festival Shivaratri is hampered by riots: pilgrims from India and the Terai are afraid to visit Pashupatinath.

Sunday 25 February (14 Falgun)
Black Day: the opposition calls on people to carry black flags or wear black arm-bands. In Kathmandu police are deployed everywhere and obstruct large demonstrations. Some small meetings are dispersed quickly. Party leaders are arrested near Kichapokhari. Once again more than 1000 political workers are arrested throughout Nepal on this day. Reports of torture in the prisons are published. Many people have disappeared. Medical staff workers at Bir Hospital go on strike.

Monday 26 February (15 Falgun)
Strike of teachers and University professors.
The US-based Human Rights Organization "Asia Watch" demands the release of political prisoners and calls on the Nepalese government to respect freedom of expression and association.

Friday 2 March (19 Falgun)
The second "Nepal Bandh": police force some shopkeepers to open. In Kathmandu taxi drivers are paid 400 Rupees and given 15 liters of petrol free of charge to run their vehicles the whole day. Despite this Kathmandu looks deserted. The strike is also largely observed in other parts of the country.
Monday 5 March (22 Falgun)
About 500 advocates wear black badges and observe one hour's silence to protest against the arrest of their colleagues, violations of human rights and torture.

Thursday 8 March (25 Falgun)
On "International Women's Day" several demonstrations by women are obstructed by the police. In Biratnagar women are publicly beaten up by the police and many women are arrested. An Assistant Minister is dismissed for his support of the Democracy Movement. Parliament Member D.P. Adhikari resigns.

Friday 9 March (26 Falgun)
In several parts of Kathmandu small demonstrations take place. The political parties have switched to decentralized activities because the police show massive power. People burn symbols of the Panchayat system in various parts of the country. At least 7000 persons have been arrested by now and probably 30 persons were killed by the police. So far 11 unidentified dead bodies have been found, including six headless corpses in a forest in Sindhuli district.

The Time Factor
Monday 12 March (29 Falgun)
Home Minister Niranjan Thapa leads a police action at Kirtipur Multiple Campus after clashes between Mandales and students. 24 students are arrested. At several places throughout the country Panchas organize rallies in support of the partyless system these days. Imprisoned party workers are forced to sign statements in favour of the Pancha system. The political parties start distributing their flags all over the country.

Wednesday 14 March (1 Chaitra)
The third "Nepal Bandh" and demonstrations take place nationwide. In Kathmandu many taxi drivers are forced to run their vehicles after police confiscated their driving licences and registration books. Mandales enter the Engineering Campus at Pulchowk and beat up students.

Friday 16 March (3 Chaitra)
King Birendra ends his stay in the Pokhara region. In a speech he shows no sign of readiness for dialogue with the opposition. He points out that there is no need for fundamental changes because the present Panchayat Constitution is based on the 1980 referendum.
At Kathmandu's Tri Chandra Campus about 150 artists and writers protest against the government with their mouths gagged. Police arrest everyone. In the US capital, Washington, more than 200 Nepalese participate in a protest rally to support the MRD.

Tuesday 20 March (7 Chaitra)
About 700 intellectuals discuss their role in the political process at a symposium at the University campus in Kirtipur. The meeting is surrounded by the police and all participants are taken into custody. Human rights activists such as Mathura P. Shrestha of FOPHUR and Devendra Raj Pandey of HURON are put in jail.

At the Forestry Campus in Pokhara about 320 students are arrested. Teachers go on a "pen down" strike, followed by similar actions in other parts of the country.

Friday 23 March (10 Chaitra)
"People's Solidarity Day" - new demonstrations are planned, but police prevent meetings in Kathmandu. University lecturers organize a "pen down" strike. In Chitwan about 350 demonstrators are arrested.

The government uses a new strategy of repression: people are arrested for some hours or overnight and then released. More than 20,000 people have been held in police custody, about 5000 are still being held in prisons and in go-downs being used as makeshift jails.

Saturday 24 March (11 Chaitra)
In Biratnagar lecturers of three campuses go on a "pen down" strike.

Tuesday 27 March (14 Chaitra)
At Mechi Campus in Jhapa an armed policeman in civilian dress kills a student's activist. Four students are injured, the campus is closed. At many schools and campuses in Kathmandu Valley students demonstrate against the government and the King.

Wednesday 28 March (15 Chaitra)
The opposition calls on the people not to pay taxes or water, electricity and telephone bills in order to bankrupt the government.

At University campus in Kirtipur about 600 lecturers surround the Vice Chancellor in his office and demand justice to dismissed colleagues. Effigies of the Panchas are burnt in a number of places. Some school children are arrested after demonstrations for multi party democracy. Medical workers go on strike. Engineers wear black bands.

Thursday 29 March (16 Chaitra)
At schools and campuses in the Valley students protest against the Panchayat system and the government again. Police interfere and attack even children. Students block roads, burn copies of the constitution. Police uses teargas to disperse the demonstrators. 200 students are arrested. The same day University cam-
puses are closed. In a new peaceful protest the opposition calls for a "Black Out" at 7 pm. As the people have switched off their lights clashes between demonstrators and police occur.

By now more than 25,000 people have been arrested and about 40 people are reportedly killed.

Friday 30 March (17 Chaitra)
In the morning the people of Patan/Lalitpur start demonstrations. Youths attack the local Panchayat office and the district court. Police intervene with teargas and rifles. In Sundhara Tole police open fire, injuring a number of demonstrators and reportedly killing three. In Biratnagar a student demonstration is dispersed by the police.

Saturday 31 March (18 Chaitra)
As police start searching young men and arresting people in their homes the people of Patan stand up again. Police open fire and injure at least eight seriously. During another "Black Out" in the evening people set up barricades and dig trenches across the roads to prevent police vehicles entering Patan. 100 policemen are locked up. Patan becomes a fortress against the police. A Demonstration is held in Kirtipur. A Pancha Convention is convened for 18 April to discuss political reforms. An Indian Delegation arrives for official talks to solve the trade dispute.

Sunday 1 April (19 Chaitra)
All schools are forced by the authorities to close. The King announces some changes in the cabinet. Foreign Minister Upadhaya and three other softline ministers leave the Council of Ministers, while Marich Man Singh Shrestha adopts more hardline colleagues.
A massive demonstration of more than 10,000 people takes place in Patan. At a mass meeting politicians hitherto in hiding speak openly in public for the first time. Slogos demand the expulsion of the King. Police stop demonstrators marching on Kathmandu. In Bhaktapur and Kirtipur thousands demonstrate against the Panchayat government. Panchayat buildings are set on fire in several villages and towns throughout the country. Various professionals go on strike.

Monday 2 April (20 Chaitra)
Another mass meeting takes place in Patan. All shops are closed in the Kathmandu Valley to protest against police atrocity. Staff of the Royal Nepal Airlines Corp (RNAC) stage a "sit-in" strike. During the "Black Out" around 8 pm people all over the town set up barricades, set fire to tires and shout slogans against the government and King. Police use lathis, teargas and automatic rifles against demonstrators. In Kirtipur police aided by army helicopters attack demonstrators. Reports say four persons are shot. Later villagers set up barricades.
Tuesday 3 April (21 Chaitra)
About 30,000 participate in a funeral march for the martyrs of Kirtipur. In Patan too 30,000 attend a mass meeting. People start withdrawing money from their bank accounts fearing uncontrolled lending to the ruined government treasury. The official Indian delegation leaves without any agreement being reached.

Wednesday 4 April (22 Chaitra)
Condolence Day for the people recently killed. RNAC pilots strike in protest at police brutality. Tanks are seen to enter Kathmandu and it is feared that troops will try to retake Patan.

Thursday 5 April (23 Chaitra)
In ministries, public and private offices staff protest with "pen down" strikes against the suppression. Some employees are arrested and beaten up.

Friday 6 April (24 Chaitra)
At 06.45 am King Birendra announces in speech on radio that he has dismissed the government and replaced Prime Minister Singh Shrestha with Lokendra Bahadur Chand. He also promises to form an Investigation Committee and a Constitution Reform Commission. Spontaneous demonstrations start everywhere in town. About 200 lawyers are arrested during a protest march on the Supreme Court. At a mass meeting at Tundikhel in the afternoon more than 100,000 people demand the full restoration of multi party system and participation of all parties in the government. The crowd moves towards the Royal Palace. At 4 pm demonstrators break police lines in Durbar Marg. The police attack the crowd using lathis and teargas to disperse the demonstration. In Kathmandu, in side streets to Assan, near Bir Hospital and later in Bagh Bazaar police shoot into the crowd. Rifle and automatic gun fire can be heard for hours. At least 50 people are killed, including one British tourist. Meanwhile Chand is sworn in as Prime Minister by the King. At 5 pm troops surround the King's Palace and take control of the city.

In Butwal about 4 persons and in Janakpur two persons are shot by police.

Saturday 7 April (25 Chaitra)
A strict curfew is imposed in Kathmandu and Patan areas and in Butwal too. Tourists are unable to leave their hotels. The government offers dialogue with the opposition and announces the release of political prisoners. In the afternoon the first opposition leaders are released. Ministers visit them. Radio Nepal reports that the dialogue has started.

In Bhaktapur a demonstration against the massacre take
place with about 15,000 participants. In Biratnagar a silent procession is dispersed by police with lathis.

Sunday 8 April (26 Chaitra)
Curfew continues in Kathmandu and Lalitpur with short breaks in some parts of the city to allow shopping or office workers to go to work. Troops shoot two people during the day. A curfew is also imposed in Bhaktapur. Biratnagar is declared a "disturbed area". In the evening RNAC operates five "evacuation flights" to Delhi with hundreds of tourists on board.

In the morning ULF-leader Sahana Pradhan is released after eight weeks in prison. In the afternoon the party leaders gather at G.M. Singh's bedside in Bir Hospital and discuss the King's offer of dialogue. At 9 pm NC-president K.P. Bhattarai, NC General secretary G.P. Koirala, ULF-leader Sahana Pradhan and R.K. Mainali have an audience with King Birendra. He agrees to lift the 29-year old ban on political parties and to introduce multi-party democracy by removing the word "partyless" from the constitution. The news is broadcasted at 11 pm on T.V. and radio. People come out onto the streets to celebrate their victory. Soldiers apparently not informed of the change shoot and kill six people, including two teenagers. In other cities also two persons are shot this night.

Monday 9 April (27 Chaitra)
The curfew is lifted. The movement is called off by NC and ULF leaders. Huge jubilant processions march singing and dancing in the cities of the Kathmandu Valley and elsewhere as the people celebrate the fulfillment of the movement's main demand. They process through the streets of Kathmandu in large and small groups and in all kind of vehicles throughout the day.

At 3 pm a mass meeting starts at Tundikhel drawing about 100,000. Party leaders make their first speech in front of such a huge crowd. Several hundred troops are gathered at the Royal Pavilion in Tundikhel, but neither military nor police interfere.

Wednesday 11 April (29 Chaitra)
Party leaders discuss further steps towards establishing a multi-party government. In an ultimatum they demand that the King incorporate their parties in the cabinet, dissolves the National Parliament and forms an independent Constitution Commission.

Friday 13 April (31 Chaitra 2046)
NC leader Singh talks with King Birendra at the Palace.

Saturday 14 April (1 Baisakh 2047, New Year Day)
In his traditional New Year speech, King Birendra recognizes "a new turn in politics" but does not announce any further moves towards fulfilling demands for a coalition government and constitutional changes.
Sunday 15 April (2 Baisakh)
Party representatives meet with the Chand government to discuss further steps towards democracy in Nepal. Thousands of demonstrators protest in front of Royal Academy Hall. The crowd prevents Prime Minister Chand leaving the place, his car is stoned.

Monday 16 April (3 Baisakh)
The Chand cabinet steps down. King Birendra dissolves the National Parliament and other institutions of the Panchayat system. The King meets again with G.M. Singh and asks him to become Prime Minister. Singh declines for health reasons and proposes K.P. Bhatharai. In the afternoon the cinema hall at Rani Pokhri is set on fire by people angry about the selling of overpriced black market tickets. Shops are looted, probably by Mandales.

Tuesday 17 April (4 Baisakh)
Mandales set a shanty town in Lalitpur on fire and about 60 houses are destroyed.

Thursday 19 April (6 Baisakh)
Bhattarai announces his new cabinet, comprising three other Nepali Congress ministers, three ULF ministers, two independent ministers and two ministers nominated by the King. The new Home Minister, Yog Prasad Upadhyay, visits the burnt shanty towns and promises quick relief for the 600 homeless people. Vigilante groups are formed to maintain law and order in the streets.

Monday 23 April (10 Baisakh)
Early in the morning vigilantes stop three official cars containing suspected Mandales, some of them in police uniform. The cars are set on fire and the suspected persons seized. Later six people are lynched by a crowd. Dead bodies and injured are paraded around town, while a number of bodies lie on the street the whole day. In the afternoon the office of the Zonal Commissioner at Ratna Park is set on fire. The police open fire on demonstrators in front of the burning building. At least six persons are killed. Inside and outside the building documents of police activities suppressing the movement are destroyed in the fire. Later demonstrators deny having started the fire, saying it was begun inside the office.

After an emergency Cabinet meeting Bhattarai meets the King and offers his resignation because of insufficient support. Rumors spread of a coup attempt. At 8 pm a night curfew is imposed in Kathmandu. Rumors spread that Mandales have poisoned the drinking water supply, but next day these prove to be false.

Wednesday 25 April (12 Baisakh)
King Birendra gives a press release backing the multi-party system and the new government. He asks everyone to support the Council of Ministers.
Armed police demonstrate against the lynching of colleagues. They shout slogans against the multi party system and the new government while bearing the bodies of policemen killed in recent action to Pashupatinath for cremation. Troops take control of the streets. The night curfew is extended to Patan/Lalitpur and Kirtipur.

Sunday 29 April (16 Baisakh)
Media quote former Panchayat representatives, including ex-Prime Minister Marich Man Singh whose residence is kept secret, welcoming the multi party system.
In Pokhara the District Panchayat Office is set on fire during the night. Documents concerning police atrocities are destroyed.

Monday 30 April (17 Baisakh)
In Pokhara the people arrest those involved in the arson of the Panchayat Office. A demonstration surrounds the residence of the Chief District Officer (CDO), where the suspected arsonists gather. CDO's guards and police shoot into the crowd. Three persons are killed and five seriously injured.
Bhattarai's government announces financial assistance for those harmed during the movement: the families of the martyrs will receive 25,000 Rupees.

Friday 11 May (28 Baisakh)
Curfew is lifted in Kathmandu. King Birendra forms a Constitution Recommendation Committee without proper consultation of the government and against the will of the parties. In a press statement the Palace denounces "categorically the involvement of any member of the Royal family with any anti-democratic group".

Sunday 13 May (30 Baisakh)
Troops surround the King's Palace when students meet at Tundikhel to protest against the King's Constitution Committee nominations. Again rumors spread of a coup attempt, but prove to be unfounded. The curfew in Patan is lifted.

Wednesday 16 May (2 Jestha)
King Birendra surrenders to parties' demands and dissolves his Constitution Commission allowing the government to form a new Constitution Committee.

Wednesday 23 May (9 Jestha)
Prime Minister Bhattarai announces a visit to India on 8-10 June to solve the year old dispute over trade and transit treaties. He requests his Indian counterpart to restore the status prior to 23 March 1989.

Sunday 10 June (27 Jestha)
In New Delhi Prime minister V.P. Singh and K.P. Bhattarai agree to settle the year old trade conflict. The border is fully reopened on 1 July.
This documentary was only possible with voluntary help of many supporters. Authors and most photographers provided text and pictures free of charge - along with the non-profit intention of this book. Others promoted the publication with their work. A part of the printing costs was covered by donations.

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For additional information about the Democracy Movement in Nepal:
FOPHIUR and Pro-Democracy Movement
Published by FOPHIUR in June 1990, a sampler of FOPHIUR's newsletters and documents related to Human Rights Violations (in English)
This photo documentation, published by the Forum for Protection of Human Rights, tells the story of the Democracy Movement in Nepal. In 50 days the people in the streets abolished the 30 year old Panchayat regime. “People’s Power” once again achieved a “Dawn of Democracy” - now in the way of the Nepalese people.

This book shows the sunshine of the success on 9th April, the sad shadows of police atrocities after 18th February, the sacrifices of the people and their revenge at 23rd April. A first photo section gives impressions of the events. An article explains history and the political scene, highlights the daily incidents. A second, chronic photo section shows scenes day by day. A final journal summarizes the events.

With a joint preface of Nepali Congress leader Ganesh Man Singh and United Left Front leader Sahana Pradhan.

Back: A jeep of the “Highway Police Patrol” is set on fire at Teku on 23rd April. Vigilantes had stopped police suspected of being hooligans, and a crowd lynched the men.

Front: A jubilant woman celebrating the victory of the movement during the first open mass meeting of the no longer outlawed parties at Tundikhel on 9th April.

मानव अधिकार संरक्षण मंचन प्रकाशन गरेको यस फोटो दत्ताबेखल नेपालमा भएको प्रजातात्त्विक आन्दोलनको कथा बाहेकी छ। जनताको स्वास्ति दिनमा नेपालमा 30 वर्ष देखि रहेको पंचायती व्यवस्थालाई उबलेका फालिदिन। जनताको शक्तिले फेनि एकुण नेपाली जनताको लागि “जनतातन्त्र उठाउँ” गराएको छ। यो फिटाको त ७ फान्नु पिछको पुलिसको तलाको खाँस्को छायाँ, २७ बैतको प्रजातन्त्रको सफलताको रघुस्ती दिन, जनताको बलिस्तान र १० बैताको दिन नेपालको सिक्को प्रतियोगितालाई देखाउँछ।

यस पुलिसको पहलो ब्याकस फोटोहरू आन्दोलनको प्रकृति-वार्तालाई वर्णाउँछ। एउटा लेखन राजनीतिक घटनाहरूको र नैसर्गिक घटनाहरूलाई विवरण गरेको हो। आन्दोलनको घटनाहरूको संस्करण फोटोहरू देखीएको खाँसको ब्याकस देखि नैसर्गिक घटनाहरूलाई विवरण गरेको हो। अनुभवाले एउटा समाचार खिङ्खाले घटनाहरूलाई सार देखि प्रस्तुत गरेको हो।

यससम्म नेपालको खानिका नेता गणेश मानीस्का भिंतने र बापीमोचनीको नेपाल प्रजातन्त्रको हस्ताक्षरपुक्त भूमिका पनि समाबेस।

पिछलो पनि: १० बैताको राजपार्श्व गल्लो प्रतिहरूले वाग्यो नियटो; बन सुरुआत होलीको लागि घटनाहरूलाई संकामा प्रति र विरोध प्रति प्रहरीहरूलाई भन्ने र पिछलो भूमिका नैसर्गिक।

अभिलक्ष्य पनि: प्रतिकृत फूलका भएका पारीहरूले बैतौं २७ गर्दूः बुढिउल्लाह आन्दोलनलाई गर्ने क्षेत्रमा आन्दोलनको सफलताको उत्सव नामाङ्की हर्षित युक्ति।