

# WHITHER NEPAL



D. R. REGMI

# WHITHER NEPAL

*By*

**D. R. REGMI**

KATHMANDU  
NEPAL  
1952

**Printed at Prem Printing Press, Lucknow.**

*To*  
**THE MEMORY**  
**OF**  
**CHINIA KAZI**  
**STUDENT MARTYR**





# CONTENTS

## Preface

CHAPTER I	Page
Nepal in Retrospect ... ..	1
CHAPTER II	
Drawbacks in our Movement ... ..	42
CHAPTER III	
End of Ranacracy in Sight ... ..	58
CHAPTER IV	
Reform Issue in Nepal and the Anti-communist front ...	65
CHAPTER V	
The Way Out ... ..	75
CHAPTER VI	
Postscripts ... ..	107
CHAPTER VII	
The Nepalese Democratic Struggle ... ..	127
CHAPTER VIII	
The Future in the Context of Social Revolution ...	139
CHAPTER IX	
India and Nepal ... ..	149
CHAPTER X	
Whither Nepal ... ..	160



## PREFACE

Nepal still remains an unknown factor in the arena of world politics. It lies as yet in a state of medieval squalor and ignorance and the impact of medievalism has been very heavy, too heavy to allow it to shake off its environmental backwardness. Perhaps it will take years of hard work and perseverance and the establishment of a truly democratic government to inspire and guide the same in order to put it on a path of real progress and modernisation. For the present Nepal faces a problem as acute as that of any other country steeped in medieval darkness with little or no prospect of early redemption.

“Whither Nepal” is an attempt to present the problem of Nepalese democracy in national and international perspective for readers both in Nepal and outside, more for the latter. Nepal today occupies a place of strategic importance and on it is focussed the attention of the Imperialist section of the World Powers. Nepalese democracy does not merely concern the people of Nepal. In any fight against the autocracy they are bound to encounter opposition from external proppers of reaction. This volume sets in detail the forces in action arraigned as well in battle and the prospect in a conflict not confined to Nepalese border, that will surely send its repercussions to the course of the struggle and its character.

The five chapters of the beginning provide a background of the problem as it existed till yesterday under the Rana family. The sixth styled “Postscript” delineates the events leading to the transfer of power from the Ranas to King Tribhuwan and the establishment and working of the so-called interim popular Government under his aegis. Next two chapters show the way out of the difficult and complex impasse and Nepal’s relation with India as it comes to be shaped in the new conditions of the changes effected mainly through the latter’s moral and diplomatic assistance. The last which sums up the main currents of events and the trends arising out of their movements gives the title to the book.

The character of the Nepalese democratic struggle which is basically popular is presented in relation to class forces that have come to play an important part in the fight against medieval autocracy.

The idea in writing such a book at the moment is prompted by a desire to draw a correct analysis of the problem and a solution in the light of the same for guidance. The readers will also get an answer in this volume to many such queries, as for example, why Nepal remains as yet backward, why the democratic movement has not yet outpassed the bounds of palace intrigue, etc, etc, and how Ranacracy cracked at the first shot of diplomatic pressure from Delhi, and it fell like a house of cards more due to mutual bickering and strife within the Ruling family.

There is nothing like a claim of an unfailing say in this humble endeavour of dealing with a new and complex problem just suggested. It is possible that the analysis drawn herewith is wrong. It is equally true that the findings and solution offered on that basis hold little ground if the premises are wrong. But the readers are requested to go through the subject matter of the book with a little condescension and the author as well hopes to be excused for error or miscalculation in the vein that the whole has been undertaken and attempted not without certain amount of hesitation as to the shortcoming of the treatise now brought out.

And lastly if the book succeeds in attracting sympathetic notice of the readers for whom the work is intended the author will feel immensely gratified.

## CHAPTER I

### NEPAL IN RETROSPECT

**N**EPAL is known as the only Hindu Kingdom in the world, and the home of the valiant Gorkhas, the short statured hill fighters. It is also the home of many antiquities, and of many quaint customs and usages still extant and of many barbarous tribes of multiple races and dialects and of the wrongly known Pagoda style of architecture and of ritualistic Buddhism unique in itself. But more than that it is famous today as one of the most backward spots on earth, more backward than some countries in Arabia and Africa and of a tyranny that is still triumphant in the personal rule of the Rana family. It is that way the home of a curious form of political structure, of baby military officers, and of primitive economy where rail road, telegraphic communication and cine-film are almost unknown.

Geographically Nepal is a part of India, and even historically at one time or another it was linked in political sphere as well to the capital City of the Sub-continent. It is not a big state, not much bigger than the smallest province of India, and very much thinly populated on account of rugged hill side and in a way lost in the whole as a part, which makes it little known to foreigners. It is not at all known in America and Europe, much less in Africa and Australia as an important independent entity, where people were till late accustomed to see in the map only a protected native state painted yellowish. It was not much differentiated from the rest of India. Of all the outside countries England knows it thoroughly well, but only through her millocracy which was interested in keeping Nepal under feudal subjugation. The Gorkhas in the Indian army were always led by the British Officers, and Nepal was not allowed to retain connections with the outside world. The result was that Nepal was for a century the monopoly of the British aristocracy. Even India was being deprived of the age long intimate association with that country by the combined operation of the British Imperialists and feudal Ranas.

Consequently the knowledge about Nepal is poor in India which is also the immediate neighbour of Nepal though relatively as nearness determines it this is not entirely negligible. But even the Indians little realise that the extent of oppression and exploitation in the feudal setting is so deeply inhuman as to beggar description, and without parallel in their own country under the worst period of British tyranny. This little knowledge, however, had been a dangerous thing making untenable inferences in all optimism about the state of affairs, and Nepal for very long flowed in milk and honey in their imagination. It was to them a country of rich Ranas, of their grandeur and pomp and regalia and of the Parasmani stone which converted iron into gold by mere touch of hands and of the men that were upright and honest, the proof of which they obtained in the unflinching faithfulness and devotion with which the Gorkha menials served them. Incidentally Nepal happens to supply a large percentage of domestic servants to the Indian middle class, the most informed of them, in the same vein as it filled the most reliable section of the Indian army of the British. But the Gorkha stands to test in these matters only because he is ignorant. The moment he is exposed to the vagaries and intricacies of more advanced surroundings he fails to acquit himself upto expectation. At present the proverbial simple minded Gorkha is no more to be seen as also the ignorance about him and the real Nepal he inhabits, which is gradually vanishing in proportion to the degree of revelation and unfolding of the mysterious land.

Nepal is completely land-locked and insular, and cut off from the rest of the world in all respects except the physical contact it maintains with India on three sides and with Tibet in the north owing to contiguity. But nowhere the isolation is so galling as when we find the man there being shut within it like in a cage as if he is imprisoned in helpless condition, even telephonic and telegraphic communication is not maintained with the external world, not to speak of a system of modern communication. It will be easier for a man in the contiguous provinces of Indian, Bihar or U. P. to send his message or travel himself to the most inapproachable parts of Arabia and Africa leave aside America or Japan which he can easily touch after an air flight of 60 hours, than to communicate with his counterpart in

Kathmandu only a hundred miles from the border. The cage like position makes it almost sealed against all outside influences physically for lack of communication and socially for reasons of material backwardness. Nepal is barricaded in a way to all intents and purposes and a darkness hangs over it rendering the impregnable mountain nestling into a play ground of all mischievous reactionary forces which under the pall of medieval smoke perpetrate unbelievably heinous crimes. This isolation is, however, man created and is deliberately maintained by him by a policy of scant attention paid to questions of reconstruction and development. Nepal remains still a bulwark of antique economy not pierced by modern civilisation and almost decaying in barbarism. It is one of the backward spots on earth, and thereby presents an expression of outmoded behaviour unnatural enough in the new context of the world, where distance is still unbridged and unconquered nature red in tooth and claw defies the man wrapping him in superstition and blind faith. In the final analysis it is a segmented watertight society which is definitely raising its structure aloft and seemingly unaffected by new trends of universal changes to condemn the very life of the nation it nourishes.

This isolation should not be mistaken for an iron curtain which we are accustomed to hear in connection with the western description of Russia and Eastern European states. In some aspects of the country's gagged existence it assumed a virtual deserted appearance, calm and unstimulating, but as nowhere there is a sign of new activity a new upsurge of reconstruction as in the so called iron curtain countries that are far advanced socially and also industrialised. There is no comparison between the two therefore but the curtain over Nepal is literally of iron casting its deadweight of the environment which is the most poignant phase of its life unlike other countries where curtain has come to mean only a degree of inaccessibility to certain interested outsiders. Nepal was leading a life of stagnation as a result of the deadweight, and wallowing in fifteenth century medievalism. The continued inaccessibility to outside forces served only to stagnate its life further, and screens the palpable barbarous condition of the peoples inhabiting the region from the eyes of the awakened world who might raise its voice of protest. Medieval



Nepal had no likeness with any modern country of the Iron curtain except that it was curtained. It was a picture of dilapidation, a picture of the ugliest and most unhealthy isolation where nation's life freedom had ceased to throb to the tune of breath.

Nepal's isolation is primarily a British creation. It was to neutralise Nepal's potential military strength that the British contrived to segregate it from the rest of India by treaty stipulations. By 1835 Nepal ceased to enjoy in practice all powers of external contact of its choice, and the British indirectly regulated such contacts if any. It could not even appoint to its state or private services any European personnel and their presence or the presence of any Indian was to be reported forthwith to Calcutta. A little later near about 1846 there was established a vile autocracy which surrendered the remaining privileges to the British, and utilised the situation to maintain its stranglehold over the realm. A deal was struck between the foreign power and the local medieval autocracy on the basis of Nepal's isolation from all external contacts. The Nepalese had resented earlier an attempt by the British in this direction. But now this was designed to cover the entire field of Nepal's economic and social progress as they came to be related with outside influences, which were shut out deliberately to keep it ever backward. In Nepal's medieval backwardness was discovered the foundation that reared the structure of autocracy and supplied the fodder for the Imperialist gun.

England had no direct interest in the natural resources of Nepal. She was mainly concerned with the Gorkha man power of Nepal and before that actually matured with sterilising its military strength, which was totally segregated from the over all Indian pool. The system of Princely states in India was concerned with the same sort of motive, and they too lay extremely primeval with a few exceptions as long as the British ruled. But Nepal's fate was comparatively more pitiable; unlike most of the Indian states which maintained rail road communication with the main centres of India, Nepal's segregation was thorough. No modern scientific inventions, no modern system of social reconstruction could penetrate the fastidious mountain barrier. It was left to wallow in the most archaic con-

dition of medieva sloth and ignorance regularly deprived of modern amenities of existence. Thus was ensured the fodder for British guns, and a position of easy and unquestioned exploitation based on poverty and ignorance for a handful of Nepalese aristocracy. The northern frontier was virtually sealed, because in British history of the period Tibet was always kept as her sphere of influence, and consequently the Nepalese could not expect anything of modern influence from that quarter. Geography, British diplomacy and Imperialist interest, the local autocracy, all combined had made out of Nepal a prison house and a secluded cloister where human beings were subject to the most lonesome barbarous existence unknown in other sectors.

In India the British had proceeded on a course of modernising the administration and on a path to change the face of the country much against their will, and without knowledge of the consequences following. Theirs was a wide commercial interest, which was attended with military measures designed to protect the same. They could not certainly refuse to introduce industrialisation and reforms when these appeared essential for the security of the state. The railway, the steamship, the ordnance factories, and all their paraphernalias directly followed out of considerations for the defence of Imperialist interests in India. They required an efficient army trained on modern weapons and a steel frame of bureaucracy for the same reason. Because they lived in India, they brought their own democratic ways of life to bear on the general social condition of the subcontinent, though they at the outset touched the remote fringe of the society as affecting the upper strata of the rich disposed to copy the westerners. When clubs, cinemas, newspapers, social gatherings and other media of collective democratic life inseparably connected with an English man, which he could not abandon, and adopted wherever he went came as a major factor in their application to Indian condition to revolutionise it in accordance with the spirit of western democracy they contributed a great deal, in spite of certain other obstacles, to pave the ground for the rise and progress of the national liberation struggle. It is a truism to say that the very mode of education practised in a large scale as a measure of democratisation

which the British thought would impede the national awakening of the Indians by inculcating in the educated a tendency to despise their national trait in slavish imitation of all evil that was British went ultimately to give rise to and facilitate anti-British sentiments, which later on assumed a magnitude of revolt against British rule. The over all effect of the measures undertaken by the British rulers was to broaden the base of democratic reforms, however tardy and unwillingly introduced, which developed with the propitious times into a mass hunger for the end of the regime that dominated and grudged them full democratic rights.

But Nepal was outside the province of a Britisher's Indian habitat. It was not directly governed by him nor it was ever sought for commercial exploitation by him. He wanted Nepal as a reservoir of Gorkha military man power, which was loyally fulfilled by the indigenous autocracy for obvious advantages. Thus farther removed from western contact Nepal never tasted a life of western culture and never shared with India the bliss or otherwise of a modern industrial society. Consequently its tale of woe, its life of isolation and medieval drudgery protracted the wound inflicted by centuries of exploitation not in any way healed up.

The advantages offered by the situation which had rendered Nepal into a tightly sealed envelope were utilised to perpetrate unjust and unsocial acts designed to keep the subjects ignorant and poor and naturally submissive. The Nepal autocrats have been notorious for their heinous measures of administration, which mainly contributed to unhealthy timidity of the ruled so long gripping them. They spared no pains to nip any rebellious tendency of the people in the bud, which tragically resulted in putting off the moment of general awakening. It is no wonder, therefore, that basking in the sunshine of foreign Imperialist favour they are still ruling the roost in Nepal assisted so advantageously by the backward and unawakened state of the people, which as yet does not show signs of improvement. The same accounts for the apparent lack of understanding of the changed international situation, and for consistent opposition to the democratic forces which are being tried to be crushed by old methods.

The legacy of the British period of Imperialism in India, which came to an end in 1947 still sits heavily on Nepal's unchanging medieval structure. The theoretical independence which Nepal enjoyed in the eyes of the outside world keeping it so long far from the Indian orbit is now become real but at the moment it exists as a handmaid helping the same autocracy till yesterday servile on the British to maintain an iron curtain and shut out all progressive forces from its domain. Leave aside the nervousness due to the changes in the neighbouring countries, the Nepalese autocracy as yet is not developing adequate enthusiasm to lift the curtain over, and allow the country to enjoy the benefits of external contacts, and this is the clear expression of the past influence working in the usual way. Not only the dead past is being clung to with all tenacity, but ever and anon incessant effort is made to drag it on and shadow the future under its crushing weight. The century old isolation created a tradition of aloofness and impregnable fortress of timidity which does not leave even outside home. In Kathmandu nobody as yet dares harbour an outsider in his dwelling not excepting the occasion of the Hindu festival of the Shivaratri when Indians have free entry for a period of 15 days and this is the only occasion, and the personnel of the Indian legation is always shunned. Even outside Nepal a Nepalese will scarcely mix in the society, and will talk the least of his country when faced with such a situation. The tradition has him still in its close grips, and it seems to be relaxing not without an enormous pull. At present it has stood as one of the counteracting influences and a hindrance against popular awakening and is corroding the vitals of the nation in an atmosphere of unhealthy rigidity.

Entry by an outsider into Nepal is still very difficult, while come out by an insider is not so difficult, but in the nature of things he is not disposed to undertake a journey as freely as in circumstances of mobility under conditions of transport facilities, except when he has to migrate for livelihood, and this is largely an economic problem touching the masses of Nepal, invariably and exceptionally poor. It is a general practice with the Nepalese that he descends from his mountain fastness for sheer need of bread, and not for sight seeing or cultural contact, a fact which is noticeable in connection with the

influence this descent and migration has carried, which is very insignificant, the overwhelming majority of the visitors from Nepal are so engrossed in eking out a living for themselves that they can hardly rise to a plane above loaves and fishes. In another sphere trade between Nepal and the outside world is fast growing in recent times, but it is not such as to cover an extensive range of objective factors, so that Nepal remains a secluded and closed cell as ever. As yet the old ideas of conservative self-centralism remain tough. It will appear surprising to many, but it is a fact that except that it has applied for the membership of the UNO the Nepalese autocracy has not allowed Nepal to be depicted in world picture or come to play a role in world arena. I am sure one has not heard as yet about Nepal's participation in any of the International activities, not even in olympics. Even in all India activity Nepalese names are conspicuous by their absence except that of late Nepalese boys come to study in the Indian Universities for lack of facilities at home, but there too without any distinct achievements. For all these days Nepal lies hidden in the narrow groove, to which the aristocracy has confined it beyond the horizon—neither letting in nor letting out the wind blowing from other parts of the world, and consequently far removed from world influences altogether.

Had it been a buffer State like Afghanistan lying in geographical contiguity with more than one independent States, the isolation we saw tightened in the past hundred years would not have been there. But as we said earlier Nepal's geographical situation in the top of the Himalayas surrounded on all but one side by territories of the Indian Empire and on the north by Tibet, itself a backward country under British sphere of influence, was the main factor to isolate its resources and people. At no time during the hundred years of Nepal's close alignment with the British Power an attempt was made to bring the country under the influence of modern ideas in science and arts, but in the meantime as the chains grew strong they were regularly and consistently shut out in an endeavour to hold on to feudal rights, which required a condition of unalloyed feudal backwardness, the people being condemned to a life of ignorance and poverty. Any effort made in the direction of introducing modern

scientific methods of education in Nepal and of industrialising and modernising the country was bound to generate forces of popular awakening, which would not have acted conduively for feudal vested interests. There was also the British Empire which drew upon its man power for the Indian armed forces, and looked for a suitable ground in an unawakened country, for in no other way this could be fulfilled and any state of consciousness was a hindrance as it was likely to inculcate a feeling of resentment against the enslaving foreign rule. So followed a period of deliberate stagnation. Nepal's potential resources were not tapped for capitalist exploitation much less to ameliorate the condition of the people. Nepal lay in the same primitive condition chafing under the feudal yoke. The last hundred years of its history is a blank page. Except that the Gorkha soldier made a mark in military exploits of the British Empire, and that too was unduly exaggerated, Nepal had nothing special to show to the world. Being deeply steeped in morass of poverty, illiteracy and moral degradation, this country was passing all along for a hunting ground of reactionary forces which had practically annihilated its independent spirit. No wonder that it is today lagging behind most countries in the race of advancement in the running world by at least two hundred years.

Nepal is not at all wanting in natural resources to make it happy and strong. It has immense natural resources, minerals, forest and water power. Recent estimate shows that it has abundant deposits of copper, iron, mica, oil, coal, iron and asphalt scattered throughout the length and breadth of the hilly region which is three fourths of the total area comprising 65,000 sq. miles. But none of them have come to be touched by human hands, as also the vast sylvan resources, materials for wood and paper and match industries and building which remain unutilised to this very moment. The belt of forest 500 miles long and 10 miles wide is one of such abundant natural treasures of the world, where also roam in large numbers very many wild animals like elephants, rhinos, tigers, deer, etc. In the northern-most habitable area of the Himalayan range wool yielding goats, and a little lower fruits like oranges are literally farmed in prolific plenty. These could be exported to the outside world for which there is an

increasing demand. But lack of communication and of fruit preserving methods prevents any systematic use of these for exports. Uptil now except for a distance of 45 miles of railway from the Indian border the entire country has no motorable road, and Kathmandu the capital city lies yet like a lonely outpost in the midst of an unnavigable sea approached only on foot.

Nepal is potentially rich in water power. The whole country from west to east is covered by a network of river channels having their sources higher up in Himalayan snows all flowing to the brim with constant roar. The seven Gandaks running down over the entire western part and their counterparts, the Kosis in the eastern, these fourteen Himalayan rivers together with the Ghogra, Karnali and Rapti in the extreme west equally important, are some of the largest river systems in the whole of India. Their utility as supplier of hydro electric energy for modern industry and as canals for agricultural farms is beyond imagination. Nepal's life would have been to a great degree enriched materially and culturally with such a use of water wealth. But these have not been tapped at all. It has been calculated that the whole of northern India could be electrified village by village over the entire area under a planned scheme of utilisation of Nepal's river systems.

As a home of superb natural sceneries Nepal can attract a huge tourist traffic. It contains places which can favourably compare with the beautiful spots in Kashmir. To those in U. P. and Bihar who seek summer resorts near about their home Nepal provides excellent hill stations. If the country was open to tourists the Government and the people could enjoy a lucrative source of income. But apart from the inaccessible nature of the places, there is a regular prohibition to entry by outsiders, very rarely relaxed, which deprives Nepal of the opportunity of deriving immense benefits out of tourist traffic.

The absence of communication has done another harm. The Terai produces an enormous amount of paddy and other cereals much more than what its population of twenty five lakhs of people needs. Ordinarily as the north mountain region suffers from shortage of food stuff, this surplus could have been beneficially diverted. Also there

stalk at one time or another a famine condition in certain parts of the terai itself, but in the circumstances no help can reach them for the same reason. The Terai exports a substantial portion of its production to the neighbouring provinces of India, and thereby earns cash balance required to meet the imports. But this is quite unpleasant in view of the countrywide condition of shortage in the upper region. In between the mountain terrains and river valleys cultivation of cereals is neither methodic nor extensive, and the primitive nature is a gigantic problem. A solution would have come by way of modern methods of farming and fertilizer, but there is no agency to introduce these. Rather these are resisted by the power that be in pursuance of a policy of feudal exploitation which always requires an isolated self-centred backward economy.

Nepal is approached through the Ghagra-Gandak-Kosi stretches from the side of India and in the north the Himalayas stand as the natural frontier. The Indian railways extend up to the border with terminus at about 13 points, and between Tibet and Nepal, there are natural passes each at an altitude of 12000 feet S. l. or above. Uptodate except on occasions when persons crossed these passes inside under military necessity the last of such swarms descended in 1790, traffic has been hard as far as Nepal's contact with Tibet is concerned. Because of the absence of the natural barrier Nepal's contact with India is, however, comparatively easy. But the highways connecting various centres in Nepal with the neighbouring points on the Indian border are not even broad enough to pass for footpaths. Kathmandu alone can boast of a thoroughfare with a capacity to allow more than two passengers either ways. The Indian outpost on the way is Raxaul, and Kathmandu is 60 miles due north of it. Half way is rail route and motorable road combined, and the ascent from the point where great sub-Himalayan ranges of 6000-8000 ft. height begin is done on foot to cover a distance of nearly sixteen miles, which takes one to the Nepal valley where Kathmandu is situated.

Entering the Nepalee territory the immediate impression formed in the minds of an outsider is that of medieval and barren atmosphere and of docile people, inured to a life of toil and fatigue. Free from sophistication and bustle of a modern life Nepal gives an impression of



a quietness which borders on unusual dullness and insipidity common with the tranquillity of the grave. When you cross the frontier at Raxaul, you leave behind modern civilisation, its problems and struggles and all what it means. Nepal's is a medieval picture. I am tempted to bring to memory at this stage Marx's description of Ireland as it existed near about the year 1850 for a correct analogy. In the description the reader is advised to replace Ireland by Nepal and the British aristocracy by the Rana autocrats, Nepal's present day rulers, and then the picture will be complete.

A vast expansion of 60 thousand sq. miles with all its potential abundance and richness is lying almost unstirred and in medieval slough of despond. It appears that Nepal is standstill, its people ignorant and poor could not advance further from the point where they reached at the advent of the medieval age. Therein lies the sin of the rulers who perpetuated this sterility in order to facilitate the continuance of their outdated regime resting on the weakness of the ruled in an atmosphere of poverty and ignorance. It was obviously to maintain the status quo as they inherited in 1846 that medievalism had had to be nursed and maintained. Hard enough for the modern man to appreciate but it is an undeniable fact that Nepal is two hundred years back in civilisation to many of the countries of the day. Man does not seem to have moved here during this period and presents a stultified growth in this part of the world.

Kathmandu itself, the capital city of Nepal, is not much different from the surrounding backward tracts. It looks medieval, cold like death and devastated. There is a sickening gloom hanging over it. This is the only town worth calling in the whole of Nepal. It has a history of two thousand years, which was incredibly glorious. Its art and architecture visible in temples of past creation are a testimony to the achievements which are credited to the ancestors of the modern Nepalese. It shows that Kathmandu was a nest of a high standard of culture, which was original, advanced, and refined. But all this past died except in its remains, much of which are ruins reminding pathetically of the prideful days gone by. Kathmandu to day is forlorn. It is once again growing in its own way and showing signs of life. But much

of it does not befit its past of grandeur and is ugly and grudgingly tendered. It shows a marked sense of heavy pressure, which has not allowed its natural spring of life. Medievalism has been its killing disease.

The valley is 18×22 miles in area and has a population of nearly a million. It is a very fertile valley, damp in climate but very much productive of paddy, potato, onion, soya beans and peaches. It is situated at an altitude of 45000 ft. above sea level and not uneven, which means it is suitable for mechanised transport though but within its own precincts. In the past it commanded the highway between China and Tibet, through which many cultural missions trekked on to their respective destination. It has contained the site for Nepal's capital from times immemorial, and was the only place in the whole of Nepal approachable and known to foreigners until very recent times. But today it is a fading glory. Modern amenities it has none. Although it is the Premier City of the country, it is lacking as yet in first class educational institutions. It has to remain content with ten high schools and a college, which happen to be the sole educational centres for the realm unlike places of identical status in India. Kathmandu is poor in cultural centres, there is no public reading room, much less a public library, and book stalls and newspapers are totally nonexistent. Kathmandu is wholly steeped in medieval backwardness, and presents an outmoded social life unique for the advanced 20th century.

Representative of the common life in Nepal other peculiarities in Kathmandu are, (1) there is no hotel, (2) there is no cinema house, (3) there is no public park, (4) caste system is very strict, (5) people have not heard of a public meeting, lecture or news agencies, (6) Radio was not permitted for the people till 1946, (7) law courts are not independent and the onus of proof rests on the accused who cannot be represented by his pleader during the arguing of the case, (8) life imprisonment is given for the killing of cows, and for illicit sex relationship between blood relations, (9) the government is a personal concern of the Maharaja Premier who appropriates public revenue for his own private disbursement, etc. etc.....Throughout the realm except the two jute mills on the southern border industries of account do not exist.

In striking contrast to the almost beastly existence of the populace stand a handful of individual aristocrats headed by the Rana family of 100 individuals who lead a life of parisian pomp and luxury with all the absolute powers of medieval regime. Most of them dwell in suburbs of Kathmandu and the little modernisation of the site restricted to a limited mileage of mechanised transport is being effected for their convenience. They get all their necessities from Europe and America,—all clothing, toilets, cars, cinoprojectors and films and many household furnitures, all of which reach Kathmandu at an enormous cost. The mansions and palaces constructed by sweated labour, even the timbers cut to the shape of ceilings are carried free of charge by the inhabitants under a system of compulsory service, tower high over the huts and tenements of the poor people eying down as it were on them in the most insulting manner.

The Nepalese aristocrats can be distinguished very easily from amongst the people, the plebian. He lives in a mansion, there are about one hundred of this type just as many as the number of the families occupying them, and he maintains a huge retinue of servants, men and women most of the latter his concubines, in the fashion of the English lord of the middle age or the Chinese Landlord of Kuo-mintang days. His manner of living is more or less European and at times much Nawab-like and considering that the law prohibits donning of a nonconventional dress by a lower class citizen, his foreign dress and manner is symbolic of his status. He commands the greatest possible respect and obedience from those he rules over, which is absolute in degree and is feared and awed face to face by them. His is a condescending mood whenever the people are brought in touch otherwise he sits on the pedestal much high like the sky high mansion he occupies. He does not mix with them nor does care to know how they live. This goes so far as to preclude marriage relationship inside Nepal, which he always contracts with his own counterparts in India. He must take his food in dishes of silver and gold, and he would not walk on foot without feeling lowered; and then there are other restrictions on the movements, observances and use of certain social facilities by the people, which go to widen the gulf between the two sections inasmuch as the latter are not permitted to use conveyances, rickshaw

included, to use European musical instruments on festive occasions, they have to be content with the old conventional instruments, to keep open the windows facing a mansion and lastly to build a building of a size likely to compete with those of the aristocracy. In another context all the high dignities, ranks and posts of responsibility are reserved for the aristocrats, many in hereditary order of succession, which has greatly curtailed and limited the scope of advancement of the average citizen of the land ruled by them.

Nepal's aristocracy is a blood sucking vampire, and a lording wolf. Outside the fold there may not be even one hundred people any way socially and economically prosperous, or to put it even more exactly, out of the two hundred people in the country, who can be called pulling both ways by modern standard, the aristocrats are alone one hundred and fifty, such is the concentration of wealth, and the extent of reduction of populace to impoverishment. The aristocracy is both the feudal nobility and Nepalese elite of the modern bourgeoisie combined, all others, the whole lot of the ten million people minus the two hundred is proletarian and proletaroid, and to put some of them a bit higher, we can call petty bourgeois of much limited means. It is again whole and sole one family texture with collaterals from the King's family, the Brahman Royal Priests, and a few more individuals in matrimonial alliance with the principal aristocracy, in the subordinate role. They together own 95 per cent of the country's wealth, of movable and immovable properties, run all business except the retailing conducted by small shop keepers and because of the absence of large scale industries such business is just enough for the hundred of them to monopolise and carry, and manage the country's political affairs in the most unquestioned spirit of vanity, which is tyrannising the down trodden multitude. They not only rule the roost but in the ultimate analysis grab the entire resources and personnel of the country as their private property without the least sense of responsibility and obligation. These are the people who are not Duniyadars as distinct from the plebians, whom law courts of the country cannot charge with offences and convict of crimes however heinous.

In Nepal the plebian is a sub-human. His position is kept within limits of that species. It is only the aristocrat who will go outside these. The plebian, therefore, finds himself much stunted and dwarfed and he has absolutely no opportunities to rise up, conventionally the regime has fixed colonelship of the army and its equivalent in the civil service to be the highest ladder he can set his footstep on, but even for that he has to look to the Rana master for favours. Because it is a personal concern, so the Ranas freely dispense with posts as though it were filling up the vacancies in their personal concerns or domestic services. Nor the treatment meted out to such people as are in their services gentlemanly. Whatever may be the status otherwise of a non-Rana, he must think himself socially inferior to a Rana, just as it is the birth right of a Rana to command position of rank and dignity, so is the plebian's birth right to serve and submit to him. Sometimes in ranks and seniority a non-Rana is placed above certain Ranas of lower birth, it must be noted that their number is very few as that of the Duniyadar rising to colonelship, but the former is duty bound to accept the latter's suzerainty and overlordship in practice and pay his respects and obey him except on matters of strict discipline. The autocrat is perforce a superior being and so receives all obedience and respect from the people. None can ignore him. It is true that such of them as are feared and saluted under some sort of conventional compulsion are not the entire lot of the 150 people, nowadays the circle has narrowed down to include only the persons on the roll of succession, and their number is hardly 40, but nothing is so exacting and strictly enforced as this part of the people's obligation. Any delinquency or tendency to carelessness is promptly dealt with by harsh measures of punishment. Instances of victimisation on such accounts can be easily given, e. g., passers-by not showing respectful attention to a motor car with the lord in or a horseman aristocrat with the retinue of hangerson behind are forthwith taken to task. In a few cases such a conduct has involved the delinquents in a pretty mess where extrication was virtually impossible. Where it has been interpreted as a case of disrespect to authority it is given a political colour and the penalty paid is imprisonment. To the aristocrat the very notion

of deviation from conventional state of abject obedience to his personality is intolerable. He sees, therefore, that the subject citizen kneels before him in sack cloth and ashes, as actually the latter does.

Since 1846 Nepal is being governed by a hereditary Prime Minister under the aegis of the hereditary prisoner king. Premiership is hereditary through the eldest member in the line, and is reached in so many stages beginning from a major generalship in the army, which means that almost all top ranks of the state are held in order of hereditary succession. This has directly placed one particular family in a vantage point in all spheres of public life of the country, and the various component members with their own establishment constitute the privileged aristocracy monopolising pelf and power. The king being shorn of power loses the last vestige and faintest halo of a monarchy, which again tends to render the grab of the intermediary unthinkably absolute. In fact the family of the Prime Minister wields the supreme power exercising divine right of ownership over the entire length and breadth of Nepal as did the monarch himself before he signed away his powers. The Premier of Nepal is known as the Maharaja.

The Prime Minister's family is known as the Rana family and is the Nepalese edition of the Japanese Samurai fold. The first man is the Premier. The Second is the Commander-in-Chief and the third is the Senior Commanding General, and so on and so forth, the ranks are distributed according to seniority in relationship, just as in Japan the Nobility had grabbed the lion's share for a long time in its historical existence. But Nepal's Rana family outbids the Japanese medieval texture of aristocracy in its hideousness. It has contrived to check the growth of the nation it is ruling over, while its own degree of propriety has been unbelievably fantastic. Its contribution to popular welfare, and the country's national improvement has been nil almost. Nepal's present state of filth and dirt is the expression and judgment. No other aristocracy bound its country's hands and feet in the manner the Nepalese aristocracy did in regard to Nepal which as we said is virtually stagnating for the last hundred years. The greatest impediment in Nepal's path of progress has been the

political structure instituted since 1846 which virtually surrendered Nepal into the hands of the Rana family.

The Nepalese Government is a misnomer. The Rana family had rendered it a personal concern of a very crude type. It commands by far the most irresponsible and irresponsive and loose and morbid administration and as the same is centred on a person who rules on a divine right of possession, its use as a public utility agency is much too limited. Nor it is equipped to be able to render work in that line.

Its mainstay is the handful of armed soldiers posted in districts, and an army of nearly twelve thousand men in Kathmandu as an intimidating factor. The administration both in the centre and the district units is conducted by the Ranas and their relations all of them untrained, whose function is whole and sole to collect the state revenue and nothing else. So far the Government of Nepal do not have to administer social services. The few schools, hospitals and asylums are more as charity institutions than as governmental establishments and there are only ten high schools, one first grade college and two public hospitals, these also quite recent additions, for the whole of Nepal. Law courts they no doubt maintain but distribution of justice is too outmoded and that way it would be folly to call them real courts of law in the modern sense of the term. There is as yet no central Secretariat for the Government of Nepal, which is a very disgusting factor at the present century.

Nepal's standing army is only capable of terrorising the ignorant poverty ridden folk of the country. It is ill trained, small in number and devoid of modern equipment and officered by the equally untrained hereditary Rana rank holders-its total strength is said to be 20,000 men national militia undergoing part time services in the mofussal outposts included. Nepal has not as yet possessed an aeroplane much less a fighter bomber. The first aeroplane reached Kathmandu in March 1950, and that belonged to the Government of India who had built a stop gap landing station in the valley near about the capital city.

As Pandit Nehru observed once in the Indian legislature the Nepal Ranas do not have much of a foreign policy. Till August 1947 they had none, since then they had contacts with independent India

and America, the latter as a factor filling the void left by the British. But where American representation is temporary, the American Ambassador in India acts in both the capacities, there is a permanent British allotment at Kathmandu. The British Ambassador, however, is gradually losing his command over the affairs. His place is likely to be taken by the Indian ambassador who will certainly act in the interest of India if, of course, being a supporter of the British in their days he does not nurse a secret feeling of loyalty to the Empire. Nepal has also now applied for the membership of the U. N. O. in April 1949 and its candidature was sponsored by India with the support of the Anglo-American bloc of powers, but Russia applied veto, and its admission is pending before the Security Council.

A question is asked here as to how Nepal with these slender resources was being able to resist merger with India at the time of the British. The answer is mainly obtained from wilful deliberate British policy and by explaining that the British willed it, but in any other case they could have easily grabbed Nepal or curbed the Ranas more easily than they restrained the Nizam. There was not much strength left after 1857 and Jung Bahadur ten years later had almost accepted their suzerainty, Nepal's internal status was no better than that of a first class princely state, and the treaty stipulations with the British did not leave to it an international juristical existence. In 1923 Nepal was declared completely independent and it got British recognition, but no other powers granted recognition and to the outside world it passed once more as a protected native state. The British had some subtle design in declaring Nepal independent in 1923 as they had in keeping it fettered till that year. The nominal sovereignty certainly satisfied the vanity of the Snubs at Kathmandu, but more than that it threw a camouflage over the real status and powers of the governing authority, which were nevertheless kept at the old level. Instead of limiting Nepal's external relations to themselves by provisions of treaty as heretofore, the British Imperialists had now taken recourse to a subtle form of domination outside the province of the treaty. This was a more advantageous course, as Nepal since 1923 went completely beyond the periphery of the Indian Empire and naturally cut adrift from the main stream of the national democratic forces that were surging in India, while at the same time it was bound to London



inasmuch as the foreign policy continued to be managed by the British foreign office. Truly speaking as it was only a British show and Nepal had no diplomatic contacts with other countries, it can be said with authority that this country had no foreign policy till August 1947.

Nepal sent its Minister to London nearly 11 years after the signing of the treaty of 1923. At the suggestion of the British the Nepalese minister visited a number of European capitals, particularly those that were closely connected with the British and decorated the heads of states of those countries with Nepalese insignias. That the European potentates accepted the Nepalese representative much on commendation of their ally is no doubt a fact but it is equally true that the British diplomacy had succeeded in its wilful task of presenting Nepal as an independent partner to the outside world. In 1936 the Prime Minister of Nepal received Dutch and Italian orders of merit and a year later the Nazi no. 1 Hitler, the German Chancellor, honoured him with the Star of Lion and sent his compliments to the leader of the brave Gorkha race, German's Asian counterpart. In point of fact all this sounds like a huge joke for neither the status of Nepal in international field was a whit changed nor the British had relaxed their hold in any way. It was obvious that the only purpose of concluding the treaty of 1923 was to isolate Nepal further from Indian contact for the preservation and immunisation of the mountaineer Gorkhas in order that at least one main section of the Indian army remains actuated by anti-national sentiments in quelling the mounting nationalist uprisings in India.

The people of Nepal happen to be terribly crushed and suppressed beyond redemption. The most elementary civic rights are yet denied to them. There is not even liberty of worship and freedom of propagation of faith. The regime has been inhumanly harassing, their life and property are not safe. The rulers are doing everything to evoke in them a feeling of hatred and animosity. They are as yet unconscious. So the situation has not drifted into becoming a threatening result. The rulers are showing an extraordinary vigilance to avoid pitfalls, and sowing the most innocent looking germs of awakening. That way education is being grudged, and natural resources of the

country are not touched. But changes in India have forced the rulers to at least pay a lip service to the cause of the people and theoretically admit people's right to participate in the government of the country. This found expression in a written constitution which they proclaimed in January 1948. This constitution is to enable the people to enjoy certain fundamental civic rights within limits, and introduce village or district self governing units as a major step towards democratisation of administration. But the fear of widening the gamut of the agitation made the rulers withdraw the promised reforms, of course they withdraw them on the plea that the country is not prepared for the working of such a constitutional enactment.

The open popular agitation is of recent origin. In formal appearance it was ushered in independent India with the facilities obtained after the withdrawal of restrictions imposed by the British rulers. The Nepali National Congress was organised by exiles from Nepal taking advantage of these facilities. So far inside Nepal nearly two hundred people have courted arrest under inspiration and guidance of the leadership working from the Indian territories and now civil disobedience movement is not a new thing for that country. But as the Ranas do not relax their tight hold, our work is increasingly getting difficult. The main impediment has been lack of civil liberties at home, which renders any ambitious scheme of resistance movement quite inoperable. Last year's civil disobedience movement by the Praja Panchayat to demand the implementation of promised reforms was encouraging, and showed a marked improvement over the previous satyagrahas.

But Nepal's anti-Rana struggle is quite old. It began in 1881 with a concerted move on the part of some non-Rana feudal nobilities to physically do away with the entire family. This move was foiled on account of the betrayal by a dissident at the last hour, and culminated in an all round massacre of the conspirators. Then followed a series of inter family conflicts in the Rana family itself, which eliminated a good many of them in the process. In 1916 Suba Debi Prasad Saptao conducted a ceaseless campaign of anti-Rana publicity through his weekly Gorkhali which he edited from Banaras for about six years. Thakur Chandan Singh's 'Tarun Sansar' caught up the thread at the

part where it was broken after the Suba's campaign got exhausted. The last in 1940 was waged within the Nepalese territory and at the heart of the country. For the first time Kathmandu was agog with the sensational underground leaf-letting and the illegal literature penetrated into its quietness. The secret underground agitation was conducted in the name of the Praja Parishad, a youth democratic party patronised by the king. Nearly four months the Rana rulers were most annoyed for not being able to trace out the source of the trouble. Though nipped in the bud, the Praja Parishad succeeded in attracting a good deal of public attention to problems of democracy for Nepal. And when four of its brave men were sentenced to death and their dead bodies publicly exposed, Kathmandu experienced a jerk in its otherwise still existence.

The Rana autocrats resort to a monstrous method of reprisal in dealing with political cases. Whenever there is a tendency in the people to come forward to defy the conventional ban on civil liberty, the Police authorities start wide-scale indiscriminate arrests, and many harmless unintending persons are also trapped and severely beaten just as an intimidating and demoralising measure. People who have actually defied the ban are spared for worse treatment bordering on whatever we have come to understand by third degree methods. But there the trial and suffering does not end. Inside the prison house defiant types are specially culled and secluded to be dealt in an extraordinary manner, which covers a long and exhaustive catalogue of inhuman methods of torture. Failing these the authorities try indirectly to bring pressure on the prisoner so that he may of his own accord express a wish to be out of detention, which in many cases results in his release after undertaking to be peaceful and law abiding. The Ranas are viewing the problem of agitation as one just stepping in the initial stage, which of course it is, and their policy to meet the situation is being largely determined by the idea that the more severe the repression at this stage the longer will be delayed the inevitable hour of mass popular uprising. They mean certainly to check the growing tendency of fearless resistance to laws and usages in the minds of the people by rousing a fear of cruel victimisation at the hands of the authorities.

There are now about one hundred political prisoners. As one full year transpires since the last movement began, many arrested without charges have been let off. The overwhelming majority of those detained have not yet been produced in the law courts, and some of these are there for the last three years ; of course, legal trial in Nepal is more or less a comic farce, the autocrats act in double capacity as a policeman and judge and every case is decided without reference to law, on pure and simple personal considerations. There is probably no provision in the code dealing with cases involving open disobedience, processioning and demonstrations. All those convicted after a farce of trial are the members of the Praja Parishad who are undergoing life imprisonment since 1940, with whom is also placed another one in prison since 1930 when he had been taken to task for his alleged plan of civil disobedience movement in that year. These people are simply languishing, yet their spirit is not crushed, and they have not yielded to any pressure and further considering that Nepalese jail condition is an inferno, their tenacity and undaunted spirit evokes admiration.

Political prisoners in Nepal do not form a separate category as far as amenities are concerned, they are treated as a separate identity only in meting out harsh method of torture from which the most heinous of the criminals remains safe. Prisoners are given insufficient diet, and very unhealthy and unclean at that. He can, of course, supplement from personal expenses but the worst sufferers from this system are generally the poor not affording to earn personal income and the politicals who are usually turned out-caste in the eyes of their family out of a sense of loyalty to the government. But prisons are few and far between, in the whole of Nepal there are only two of them, one worth the name in Kathmandu and another in Birganj near the Indian border but they also have a limited capacity suggestive of the fact that in case of a large scale uprising the administration will collapse for want of accommodation to lodge the prisoners. One thousand people ready to go to jail are said to be sufficient to create an insoluble problem for the Ranas.

The new jail in the damp valley of Nakku not far from Kathmandu is a pointer that the Ranas do realise the gravity of the situation, and

also the possibility that the near future may not continue to be as calm as the present. But there are other matters which they cannot but bungle. The Nepal administration is known for its primitiveness and it is natural that it should be ill equipped and unfit to solve problems of real modern character and unusual dimension. Because the affairs of the government were only managed in terms of personal interest, anything of public concern which is now often compellingly thrusting itself in the new environment appears almost baffling. And to deal with the matter further it is too personal at its climax. Take for example the grants-in-aid for social service schemes. Uptil now the practice has been to discourage all such schemes that require a large outlay and for minor project when a few lakh of rupees here and there is forthcoming it is made sure that it swells the income by that investment. Whatever is spared out of the aggregate expenditure on the army, maintenance of courts, the educational institutions and on allowances for the sine cure Rana dignitaries goes to the Prime Minister. It is almost about one crore that the Government spends, otherwise, the rest is for private disbursement. All salaries are low and consequently the burden on the Premier is almost negligible compared to the surplus he pockets, which is said to be nearly one crore. The Prime Minister never likes to take up nation building activities because that involves him in a position to part with certain percentage of the pin money surplus. The inadequacy of the administration to deal with the new situation which more often than not places popular interest above other considerations arises, therefore, in the first due to financial stringency. This is the main factor contributing to the apparent inoperative nature of anything but the crudest personal business of the Rana Premier. Secondly the Rana rulers used to individual rule of non-obligation and irresponsibility have no knowledge of the problems which require modern mind to deal with for solution. Although such problems are few and tried to be escaped over as often as possible some of them have left the rulers much exposed of colossal ignorance. Their helplessness is manifest even in the most insignificant cases. Nepal seems no longer to have been cast into oblivion. Gradually the attention of the outside world is being drawn to it, to its resources and potential and its strategic posi-

tion. The government which does not know its precise powers in the dispute between foreign capital and labour stationed in its territory as was displayed by the Ranas in the Biratnagar strike of 1947 will find its mind going from a state of confusion to one of worse confounded. The day when you could run a primitive government of a personal concern is passed. Even without admitting obligation to the people there must be some suitable agency to administer the various economic and security needs of a country. But so far we do not see an efficient administrative agency or even a semblance of it in Medieval Nepal. The government is being run as a purely private affair with no equipment of a central secretariat, records up to date and files and statistics, a fact which makes it a mess rather than an ordered system of things. Practically speaking the Nepalese administration has not at present passed the border line of the region of primitive ownership. Even the census of population on a scientific basis is lacking, not to say of very many administrative measures that are entirely necessary for the good governance of the country but are wanting. How ridiculous it is that those people who boast of independence do not have a department for issuing pass ports. Even the Nepalese Ambassador could not travel with his government's passport. The Ranas will find before long, not of course long before Nepal is admitted to the U. N. O. that their administration contains a self condemnatory character of being too outmoded for the age they are living. This administration is not at all fit for the management of the affairs of a crore of people.

Now take the amenities which they have provided to the people, which may be taken within range of the activities the government indulges in. It is really funny that these men have not even cared to run an efficient postal system, leave aside the question of improving the country's communication which is all primitive. Till as late as 1936 Nepal's external mail service was managed by the Postal Department of the Government of India and even today all the registered and insured items belong as usual to their province of responsibility. Come to another aspect of national development. In 1946 certain joint stock companies initiated to set up various trading concerns and mills and exploit mineral and food resources were floated, but all these

liquidated sometime after without producing any tangible results. The requisite capital was not forthcoming for the reason that the Rana members, who happen to be the only people in a position to invest are not well disposed towards this problem as they without exception deposit their cash property in Indian and foreign banks and concerns. But more than that the company promoters were handicapped for lack of a governmental agency which would procure for them machineries and implements from overseas sources. And also of late the very inadequacy and inefficiency of the distributing agencies for the India supplied articles of vital consumption, like salt, cloth, kerosine oil, etc., is very much giving inconvenience to a vast majority of the people. There is no control of commodities, and to the absence of rationing in any form is added the very defective method of allotting quotas to retailers, which gives them absolute advantage over the consumers to manipulate the market rate as they please. Over and above all these is the unwillingness of the ruling authority to view the problem of administration in any light other than as a purely private concern of theirs, which makes them indifferent to the difficulties and inconveniences of the citizens of the country in general.

Let me now describe in brief the process through which the Ranas reached the present position of absolute rulership of the state. The story related is one of blood bath, insidious massacre, conspiracies, fraud and deception. It follows the usual pattern of a like palace intrigue and is too conventional. Before the state powers came to be the monopoly of the Rana family, these were exercised by the king in his absolute discretion. The Royal Personage at the time of the capture of power by the Rana family was the present king's great-great-grandfather, who was imbecile enough to be under dictation of his second wife who nurtured a jealousy towards the crown prince, her step son and secretly desired to kill him. The governing cabinet filled by men of various feudal families was in the circumstances the queen's nominee, but Jung Bahadur the founder of the Rana dynasty, had established himself in a strategic position having won her favour in between the two the queen's allies and the king's men through one Gagan Sinha who was known as the queen's paramour. Jung Bahadur, however, was playing his

own game, and was desirous of using any favourable occasion to effect his own ascendancy and this readily came to him because of the feud between the two sections of the courtiers, the adherents of the prince and queen respectively, growing hot day by day. By his alliance with Gagan Sinha, Jung had further ingratiated himself to the queen who had by that time come to look upon him as her own man. Besides Jung had six brothers to follow him and the queen's thin rank was swollen by his adherence. It was a clear cut division no doubt. Jung Bahadur was now to kindle the fire into the powder keg at a propitious moment to swoop down on the entire court, and finish those who stood in his way. Jung Bahadur contrived to kill Gagan Sinha to provoke her to precipitate the plan of action as she much desired to avenge his death which she attributed to the king's adherents. The queen could not read Jung's duplicate role, and played straight into his hands to do as he asked her. At midnight of the 14th Sept. 1846 an assemblage of all the courtiers was arranged to take stock of the situation as it developed after Gagan Sinha's murder where they came almost undefended in a state of suspense. There was nothing more to do for Jung Bahadur than to provoke quarrel and send the force he commanded to action. It may be remembered that he had kept all his men in readiness to pounce on his adversaries as the call was sounded. The event that followed was too tragic for a graphic narrative, not a single of the courtiers summoned for the assembly had been saved and a river of blood flowed through the gate of the palace into the adjoining drainage and the aftermath found the arch conspirator Jung Bahadur and his six brothers in a supreme position of power, all having been nominated by the queen as ministers of state.

This massacre called by the Nepalese the Kotparva meaning the memorable event of the court yard where the ghastly scene of murder was so relentlessly enacted marks the beginning of the ascendancy secured by the present Prime Minister's family. That night Jung Bahadur had captured all the vantage points and occupied them, but in theory he was yet the nominee of the queen. A month after again that position was also ended as he declared the queen a traitor to the throne in view of her seeking to remove the legal heir by



act of murder and exiled her to Banaras. This was followed by the dethronement of the husband king who was replaced by the crown prince equally imbecile, and unsound in temperament. All this in turn helped him to strengthen and fortify his position, which he further made extraordinary secure with a Royal Sanad which started the government of the hereditary Prime Minister. The insane king had put his seal on the document which contained his death warrant as a real ruler.

Jung Bahadur could not, for the fear of inciting the general populace to revolt, obviously dispense with the king. The system of hereditary premiership was the next convenient course for him. It was founded on the basis of a need for a de facto sovereign overshadowing the de jure one, which he actually became after the receipt of the Sanad by which the king had virtually abdicated his power and position to the Rana family in all but name. Jung had also to satisfy all the seven brothers who had helped him to capture power and the rule of succession could not be by primogeniture and was, therefore shaped in order to accommodate all of them, which meant a brother to brother succession according to the seniority in relationship. Unlike the system of monarchy which is hereditary through the eldest son, the institution of prime minister in Nepal is hereditary through the eldest male member of the entire ruling family as a result of this compromise between brotherly self interests.

Incidentally let it be noted that the premiership became at one time a bone of acute contention as when the same descended to the second line. Any one progeny or group would try to oust the other in order to facilitate his or its own succession to the exalted post for in the labyrinthine structure of succession involving so many lines of cousins, not many of them would find themselves atop to secure legally easy passage to the rightful ownership of the post. In 1885 the internecine conflict had resulted in the effacement of the entire line of Jung and his five brothers and thereafter prime ministership became the sole concern of the youngest of his brother Dhir's sons who are at present known as the powerful Shumsher brothers. The present incumbent is Dhir's grandson General Mohan Shumsher,

son of the late Maharaja Chandra Shumsher who had secured his job by another deceptive tactics in 1901 which he had used to successfully exile two of his predecessors his own brothers at the top.

This system of succession through the eldest member of the family had produced another unhealthy feature aside from the general harmful trends of an autocratic system. It brought only needy and temperamentally reactionary people to the forefront. As things obtain the Prime Minister wields the unchallenged sway over the entire resources of the land, and has the lion's share, though in practice other rank holders too are assigned some great or small share of spoils. The latter, however, are not enough to cover a range of expenses of the luxurious living which every high Rana dignitarian subscribes to, so that his eye is always cast on the coveted post to enable him to replenish the deficiency in time. Premiership is looked upon as a source of enormous profit and, therefore, is used to its utmost to squeeze out the available resources of the country. As always aged men come to occupy the job, the exaction is too merciless and illiberal as none of them can view the administration with liberal mind as a trust in their temporary custody. The contribution of the like system of concubinage is no less severe and no less straining for the limited treasury. Because the Prime Minister has countless children, he must exercise his talent to grab in order to maintain them all the more. To keep a large number of people aspiring to be millionaires and to feed to their needs takes a great deal out of it. This does not leave a surplus for nation building activities even if some unexpected turn of mind wills them. Its overall effect has been to enrich one single family at the cost of a crore of people.

Ask any of the Prime Ministers he will tell you what the possession of the Prime Ministership means for a needy snob, and the fun of it is that a Rana is always needy even with millions because he leads a spendthrift life, and has to maintain and look after a large family and retinue. It is natural that he is not finding himself able to spare more than 3 lakhs of rupees for the university and other social services loudly announced every year. He has only crores as his cash property, and he needs add more in order to bequeath to each of his half a dozen grandsons like amount, hence

this stringency. Add to it the fact that the Prime Minister also pockets the entire sum of Rs. 20 lakhs provided for Nepal annually by the Indian Exchequer. Unlike other Indian autocracies now disappearing Nepal is unique because its administration is still run as a private concern of a particular family, whose eldest member manages the resources on purely a profit line. Take other vagaries, and the points will be clear. As the government is owned and possessed by the Prime Minister anything accruing to the state out of the government operated rail, road, electricity and trading projects goes to him as his personal income. He can, of course lay hands on anything he likes, but two items are particularly reserved for the next two incumbents, the Commander-in-Chief and the Senior Commanding General. It is said that the jagir attached to their job is not sufficient to fulfill every item of their requirements, the yearly income of the former is nearly a lakh of rupees, and of the latter nearly 60 thousand rupees. So they are assigned respectively the whole of the revenue spared by the vacancy in the military personnel of the state and the fines realised out of the absence of work. The ridiculous part of the story is that the Commander-in-Chief deliberately keeps a large number of vacancies unfilled to replete his income, and the Senior Commanding General enforces an unduly rigorous discipline if only to get the opportunity to fine the men under him. Till a very late period all the state jobs including that of the lowest paid soldier were paid in jagirs, each one of them used to get a title to the revenue of a particular portion of land equivalent to the yearly salary estimated, which he had to collect by himself.

The rulers do not have to produce account of the state revenue and expenditure, which renders easy any grab they want to make on the resources of the country. In fact they have been running the whole administration as their own private concern and hence unaccountable for anything done in discharge of state function.\*

---

\*The first budget of the interim government shows that the annual income of Nepal is nearly three crores, and the surplus left by H. H. Mohan Shumsher in the treasury amounts to seven crore worth of cash, bullion and negotiable securities all combined. This goes to the credit of the outgoing Rana Prime Minister, and absolves him of all the charges of misappropriation of public exchequer. Mohan Shumsher's regime is outstanding in respect of acquittal of such charges for the entire century old history of the Rana family.

**Men at the Helm in the Rana Regime.**

The most important amongst the men of Nepal at the helm of affairs today is Maharaja Mohan Shum-Sher the redoubtable Rana Premier who rules the country since April '48. He was born in 1885, the year of a colossal palace Coup, which saw the coming into power of the Shumsher brothers who had then virtually eliminated their cousins from the roll of succession. Mohan has had a long and thorough experience of the Nepalese administrative affairs being in the front rank of politicians since his very boyhood. The first work of responsibility he bore was while he served his father the late Maharaja Chandra Shumsher as his Secretary General. Except that every post in Nepal is of a character of a farce, and does not mean actual carriage of responsibility, it was thought at the time while he was appointed as the Secretary General that he being only a lad of sixteen was the last choice, but in the circumstances this appointment was made he was the only choice as well. His father had usurped power by dislodging the legitimate occupant of the post, who was no other than his own uterous brother. This meant that by virtue of the example he himself set a brother could not be trusted with any post of vital responsibility. So Mohan had to be pushed up, and since then the practice of appointing his own eldest son to the Post of Secretary General by the Maharaja has been surely established. For the Nepalese Premier, the brother is the most menacing factor, because as the incoming successor to the august post he is always aspiring for a prompt and speedy succession, and plots and conspiracies on that account are often his main pursuits unless, of course, he is too much swayed by a feeling of duty or short of self-confidence. The Secretary General is the Key man in direct touch with the Premier and in charge of the entire government stock of arms and ammunitions, the control of which is vested in the former. Such a vital job could not be entrusted to one who can at any time, utilise the same to fulfil his own ambitions. Naturally, therefore, on a mature consideration this practice of appointing one's trusted man and nobody could be more trustworthy than the son himself in the family set up, got recognition, and the brother's case was set aside. Mohan held his post of the Secretary General till 1929 when his

father died. Two years in between that date and the date of the installation of the third man, the Maharaja Juddha Shumsher, his youngest uncle he was being eclipsed by a rival party from amongst the heirs of the Bir Shumsher and Bhim-Shumsher lines, the last in direct control of the administrative apparatus under the Premiership of the father. It seemed then that he and his six brothers were to meet the fate of Jung's sons as in 1885, and preparations were actually reported to have been made in all secrecy to repeat the catastrophe of that year, which was averted without incident to the party in opposition by the death of Bhim Shumsher Jung. Mohan is a shrewd man. He combines in him the gift of modern education though not obtained in a public institution and he is not intellectual too, with a thorough knowledge of the Nepalese history and affairs, which he had gained in course of his long career as the Secretary General. He is said to be the author of the expulsion plan of 1934, according to which some ten members on the roll of succession were very cleverly ousted on grounds of illegitimacy. Mohan's group had obviously retaliated and unlike the opponents succeeded in their task. How far Mohan Shumsher could be accused of unjust dealing one cannot say. But he had achieved his objective with dexterity. It was a tough job to oust these men, for they had acceded to the roll through a process of ablution sanctified by the concurrence of all the legitimate claimants who had dipped their hands into the sacred water of the River Bagmati in pledging their words for that cause. Never were his tact and wit better tried than on this occasion. But he triumphed over all the obstacles and effected a bloodless purge, which promoted him to the exalted post of the Senior Commanding General, only a few steps short of premiership. And the wonder is that he escaped all the opprobrium and the guilt of the performance because everything was done in the name of the ruling uncle Maharaja Juddha. About him keen observers have said that he machinates things in such a way as makes it possible for him to acquit himself of all the sense of responsibility of the work done. But the same presupposes that he has to achieve his purpose by underhand means. This explains probably the fact of his weak nerves and at times he shows a habit of sufficiently yielding to pressure for the same reason. Though conservative to the core he is not quite uncompromising in the same

way as his temperamental weakness dictates. Today he has come to appear to his people as a diehard conservative wanting to go too slow in regard to the question of democracy. But it is equally true that he would one day yield to the demands of his people in response to his own habits of mind. Also all his illiberal views on administration are set in quite a strange contrast with his puritanic way of living, it is generally believed that H. H. Mohan is the single example of a life in the Rana family to be free from lusts of wine and women and he is godfearing and all these taken together make him all the more scrupulous in conducting policy of state. It is said that unlike his predecessors who extracted the most out of their unchallenged position of supremacy in new acquisition General Mohan has no desire to add to his already fabulous wealth and therefore he does not lay his hand on the state treasury. He however cannot be credited with having sincerely helped his country to tide over the difficulties in a spirit of accommodation and having tried to alleviate the suffering of the people of his own accord. He is still busy with farcical performances of parliament making, and of panchayat elections, though these have been fully exposed and he himself realises that in near future circumstances will compel him to embark on a course of radical reforms. H. H. Mohan's difficulties are that while his temperament does not make him fit the sort of repression needed for withholding the reforms, he himself is moving in the direction where he is likely to be called upon to enforce the most repressive measures in the state. It is certain that this clash of weak nerves and conservative mind in the ruling personality of Mohan Shumsher will create a situation where Ranacracy collapses like a house of cards.

Mohan Shumsher's ideal in the administration is his father who was as much of a conservative as himself and in his time was responsible for withholding desirable reforms in the country. We can say that much of the anti-Rana feeling as exists at present is due to his very stingy and reactionary policy. Had he moved with the time Nepal would not have been as backward as it is today and likewise his family's reputation gone very high. But he clung to an orthodox selfish policy and we have seen the results. Mohan is treading an equally dangerous path by not paying heed to the writings on the

wall of time. The difference in these two personages is only the difference in the ages they lived. Mohan has certainly to take into account all such new developments as have emerged out of the recent world changes more particularly the Indian. But he has not been able to shake off his bias as a faithful follower of Chandra's policy. He would not alter his conception of autocratic rule as long as medieval condition continues, nor he would yield to public opinion on such matters as affect his family's status and power, and himself initiate drastic reforms to change the squalid face of the country. It is true that he has fallen a victim to the environmental habits of a conservative and he singly cannot be blamed for resisting changes, but no one would be surprised if his errors become instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Rana family. Even admitting that he is willing to change with times and is not allowed to do so by virtue of his having inherited and worked an outmoded machine of administration, he cannot escape the blame of at least sticking to that machine and of retaining its old parts intact. Of course, Mohan's position as a hereditary prime minister is doomed in the new context and despite all ingenuity and intrigues will not be maintained by any course of action, but he should have rehabilitated himself in the hearts of his people and earned their goodwill in his retiring age by an act of wisdom and statesmanship. If he does not voluntarily hand over powers to his people in response to the call of the age he is indeed a foolish ruler.

Mohan Shumsher derives his strength from two sources. He has unlimited resources in money, and men whom he buys with money. He has also a solid backing of his brothers, all of whom occupy key positions in the administration. The latter aspect of the problem creates distinct relief because in any case a Rana premier is much troubled on account of brotherly animosity and has to remain alert all the time to ward off the threat. With Babbar the C-in-C he is reported to be in disagreement on some matters, another rumour goes that Mrigendra Shumsher, Babbar's eldest graduate son now occupying the post of the Director of Public Instruction prevails on his father to press for the Maharaja's resignation in order to make room for himself. But both these do not seem even distantly related to

facts. They have simply started out of a wrong line of thinking, out of a misconception to attribute all blame to the second man for the sins of the first. Mohan cannot but trust his brothers, the Rana family is too divided to give room further to such quarrels. It is the solidarity and mutual trust that saved them in critical days and all of them cannot but be aware of such a strength of unity. There is, however, a deep seated rivalry between the young elements, the sons of the two stalwarts of the Rana tyranny. Mohan's are in key positions, one a very gentle soul however is the Secretary General and another is the Director of Foreign Affairs. This fact is not viewed with forbearances and relief by Mrigendra who is senior to both of them in age. The transfer of Shankar Shumsher, another brother of Mohan by his step mother from the post of the Secretary General to that of Ambassador in London is also attributed to a desire on the part of Mohan to promote his own son to the key post, which may or may not be true.

Mohan Shumsher became Prime Minister on the retirement of his predecessor Ex-Maharaja Padma Shumsher who is now in Ranchi (Bihar). Another personage Juddha Shumsher who was the first man during the last century to voluntarily resign his post of the Prime Minister is in Dehradun. Both these resignations took place within a short period of nearly two and half years. A ready inference has been to ascribe the same desire of resignation to Mohan. It is said that he is very much anxious to allow the two aged brothers following him to serve their turn one after the other. After all the hey day of the Rana family is over. Why give any one the opportunity to groan that he was left out of account in the deal? In the declining years of glory let no one remain sullen that he could not be glorified.

Babbar Shumsher, the present Commander-in-Chief of the Nepalese army, is the next important figure. Together with Kaiser, the senior Commanding General, Mohan and Babbar form the trio of brothers who own and rule over present day Nepal with proprietary rights. These two younger brothers of Mohan are known respectively as men of military proficiency and scholarly attainments. Babbar had served in the First World War at the head of the Nepalese contingents



that operated in the Tribal areas of the frontier Province of India. Kaiser has no record of military assignment and is said to have been engaged in acquiring knowledge from books of history and politics at about the same time. Both these attributes are, however, not in the nature of extraordinary attainments and do not deserve profuse adulation and may appear praiseworthy only on the view that they represent a healthy departure from the family tradition of medieval sloth, snobbery, ignorance and mad lust. In their temperament both these persons differ a great deal. Babbar is violent, openly rough, aristocratic and reactionary while Kaiser is reported to be mild, sociable and gives the impression of a knowing and cultured person, though he has many other private vices shared in common with family members. There is a common belief in Nepal that Babbar will turn out a pucca fascist once he seizes the reins of administration. Babbar's eldest son General Mrigendra Shumsher prides in calling himself another edition of Churchill for barbarous Nepal.

The fourth man on the roll of succession is General Bahadur Shumsher son of the Ex-Maharaja Juddha. He is another rough, violent and primitively aristocratic person often curbed and tamed by Mohan's adroitness and yet sometimes trying to bounce and giving expression of intolerance, insolence and bad manners. He is reactionary to the bone as Babbar is. His one principle is hold on powers. We are born rulers. We cannot associate with the dregs of the people. Sometimes his harsh and uncompromising attitude on questions all and sundry gives evidence of an ill tempered and uncultivated mind blindly holding on to old beliefs and usages. But Bahadur has not been able to go the whole hog with Mohan in carrying out his policy of suppression. Several causes have contributed to estrange him from the main ruling clique. First he being only a cousin of Mohan does not find himself totally identified with the interest of the Chandra Group. Secondly he harbours a deep grudge against Kaiser, because Chandra Shumsher had put him down in the roll below Kaiser even though Bahadur was born an hour earlier. Chandra had given out Kaiser's birth to have taken place five hours earlier while Bahadur's birth was announced to him. Bahadur's father knew the fact thoroughly well but swallowed it thinking that the issue was a

minor one. Today, however, when it has meant a distinct advantage enjoyed by Kaiser over him, Bahadur's feelings have been bitter. Recently his sense of pride has been wounded with a sorrowful occurrence at the sad turn his only son's career took. This son, Nara Shumsher had demoralised himself into getting himself arrested on charges of certain criminal offence. Bahadur Shumsher has lost his ardour. On the Political front the changes in Delhi have also become too much for him. Nobody will be surprised if he tenders resignation to escape to the cool region of Bangalore following the example of Krishna Shumsher. Three of Bahadur's uterous brothers are also on the roll, but they are too servile on their cousins to think of any independent line of action or even to be in a position to assert themselves in times of need except that they represent just another set of bullies. None of them are holding responsible posts.

The Nepalese Ambassador in Delhi General Sinha Shumsher is another man of note, but not so important—as the four preceding him on the roll of succession. One factor, however, adds weight to his office. He is a trusted brother of Mohan Shumsher. In the context of political changes in India the Ranas have a reason to attach greater importance to the Indo-Nepalese diplomatic relations than to the Anglo-Nepalese contact. This explains Sinha's accreditation to Delhi and his experiences as a former Minister to London have been duly utilised. Sinha is reported to be of a genial temperament, and though aristocratic and conservative to a degree is not blind to the reality of the situation. Under the direct influence of Jawaharlal Nehru and other Indian democrats he is reported to have shed off to some extent his Superiority Complex and old prejudices against associating his people with the administration. This may be a mere propaganda, but it will be a pity if he advises his brother to hold on to power at this revolutionary period of the twentieth century. The tournado which is rising in the east will sweep them away in no time if they persist in their policy of cruel exploitation and then they will be abhorred.

Mohan Shumsher's youngest uterous brother, General Krishna Shumsher has resigned his post and privileges and is already in Bangalore. Before he submitted his resignation he was reported to have been asked to reconsider his intentions and there were exchanges of

hot words between the two brothers. After he resigned there was a flood of speculation as to the cause of his resignation. It is probably not his ill health as has been suggested in certain quarters. He could not think of Premiership to be falling to him in ordinary course when the whole system has been assailed. It is not a far fetched conclusion to attribute to him differences of political views with the ruling clique on the question of reforms. He was definitely in favour of democratising the administration. And his resignation is not a happy sign of things within the Rana family. It certainly reflects a growing panic which not a few important members can avoid.

Now to deal with the institution of the King. We have already mentioned about the king of Nepal, his powers and position which are quite insignificant in the real context. That way he does not deserve elaborate mention at the present juncture. But his place as the ruler has been a source of much confusion to the outsiders. And a source of inspiration to Nepalese Freedom fighters. People outside Nepal find it hard to notice a distinction between the two political heads of the country. Both share the title of the Maharaja, though the king is known as Adhiraj in Nepal itself and is quite distinguished. His is the most anomalous position. Not too often at the time of the first two Rana Premiers he had plotted to overthrow the government of the intermediary. Yet he is retained as a defined sovereign without much concern. The only thing the de facto rulers do is to sterilise him. Even his potentiality is dreaded. So he is subjected to extraneous demoralising influences, to wiles of courtiers and unhealthy petty coat intrigues. But the Nepalese king has even ceased to represent a legal fiction. He is just a mockery if any attribute can be given. He has been totally eclipsed by the hereditary Prime Minister.

The present dynasty was founded in the 14th century A.D. by an emigrant Prince from Chittor. At the initial stage small area in the valley of the River Kali comprised the principality which was later expanded to include a substantial portion of territory further east up to the River Marsyangdi. The dynasty shifted to Gorkha and its victory over the local Magar chieftain pushed the frontier to touch the fringe of the Kathmandu region. In the first

half of the eighteenth century further inroads were made and the kingdom of Gorkha expanded in all four directions. The Nepal valley and its outlying tracts were annexed in 1768.

The kings in their hey days contributed not a little to the unification and consolidation of forces tending to make Nepal strong and prosperous. Their anti-British attitude towards all questions of external contact had also kept Nepal immune from unhealthy influences and its fair name was not tarnished by servility to foreign interests. Nepal was once again growing resurgent with a proud and glorious records of achievements and feats. But this was not destined to continue for long and the half a century of effeminate, vacillating and intemperate rule following of the climax destroyed all that was built during the preceding years. In 1846 exactly 70 years after the death of the founder the glory that was Nepal vanished never to appear again and with it the institution of the king too ceased to be a force in the realm.

We have already recounted the story of the way the king was shorn of power. Since 1846 again started a process to further debase and demoralise his person. To curb the likelihood of a resentful spirit in him he was kept in a state of terror always given to exaggerate the might of his adversaries. But more than that the requisite of an asserting factor was lacking which completely reduced monarchy as an institution into a mere fiction devoid of centripetal force. The kings had never lived upto an age likely to be a cause of annoyance to the hereditary Premiers. They say that such a situation was deliberately planned. It was the logical culmination of a life of excessive indulgence and of wanton submission to lusts and immoral conduct. It was essential for the ruling Prime Minister that the royal puppet never outpassed the infirm stage of a youthful debauch and he, therefore, consistently used his efforts to that end with the above mentioned result.

The king is now a marionette pure and simple much neglected and ignored even as a potentiality. The Rana Premier does not even care to display him on ceremonial occasions. His prisoner like condition has taken him away from day to day festivities of

the Nepalese. He has lost contact with the masses of his people who have nearly forgotten him.

The present king H.M. Tribhuwan Vir Vikram Shah is the eighth successor of the King Prithwi Narain Shah. He succeeded his father in 1913 while he was a boy of only six years of age. He had little opportunities for education and cultural attainments being forced to live a life of debauché from the very early childhood. But today as he has lived to a ripe mature age he is reported to be very much detesting his life and surroundings. At one time in 1940 he was actually encouraging political activities of a democratic nature conducted against the Rana family. Of course he has his own axes to grind and may even cherish hopes of restoration when we talk of running a responsible government under his aegis. But his pro-people sympathies are patent. He, however, suffers from a fundamental weakness. He is not daring, and at critical times is prone to submissiveness of the worst order. His courage was sufficiently tested in 1940 while he was put on trial for his complicity in the anti-Rana political movement. Had he acted in defiance of the authority and tutelage of the Prime Minister, the movement would not have been crushed so easily as it was done. There were various ways that he could have adopted in manifestation of his desire to help the people. One such course suggested at the hour was that he should appear before the army on parade to announce the dismissal of the Rana Premier and revoke the Sanad of 1846. Whatever might have been the consequences in general the act would have certainly attracted world public attention and the attention of his docile people. But he acquitted himself in the trial much too hopelessly. At the present moment when he has not been trying to utilise the precious opportunities for a bold action, his very utility as a dissentient element of the ruling hierarchy is being questioned. His pusillanimity will always make him a tool of a clique even after Ranacracy gets overthrown, and thereby he will prove a source of danger to the democratic aspiration of the Nepalese people. One would not be surprised if his existence is ruled out in the new set up.

King Tribhuban, however, has certain qualities which mark him as a constitutional monarch and it is expected that some time or other he will surely throw in his lot with his people. He is mild and harmless in his behaviour and is intensely pro-people in his politics. These, of course, will work only when the king is extricated out of the filth of palace intrigue. Care must be taken to inculcate in him a habit of thinking independent of external influences. As the king is intimately associated with the freedom movement of Nepal he is the least factor to be ignored in the future scheme of things. Nepal is looking to him with hopes and goodwill. Let us see how far he will be able to rise to the occasion when he is called upon to fulfil the important role of a democratic ruler in the interim period.

---

## CHAPTER II

### DRAWBACKS IN OUR STRUGGLE

**A**N antidote to all the evils of feudalism coming in as obstacles in the path of resurgent national democracy would have been provided through an organised party system under an authoritative and experienced leadership. There is sufficient material in the country for the formation of such an instrument of fight, although its progress is not guaranteed in view of the medieval background. The Rana family is secluded enough, and does not obtain deep roots in the soil, and its command over the loyalty of the people is based on popular ignorance rather than on goodwill and devotion, which were never evoked for lack of public welfare activities of the administration. With the advantages offered by the exit of the British from India, the possibility of political activities on democratic lines came to bear a practical shape as much as the emigrant Nepalese began showing a tendency of awakening, which was to institute a sense of courage and fearless resistance in those living inside Nepal. It seemed that the potentialities were working to evolve out a framework of an organisation, but never was the lack of general consciousness standing in the way as when it was clear that these required a background to proceed with and without that would remain unworked. It was then realised that the external forces alone were not enough to generate and move the organisational activity, which came to a standstill as soon as the first frenzy and enthusiasm generated by the first reaction to changes in India in those few persons come forward were over. Obviously the medieval ties were too tenacious and adhering to make it uneasy for the contrary forces to be working, and men and women in spite of the best of intentions found that the background of a democratic struggle was not prepared. The same explains the nature of the progress made by such a struggle which has been too slow, painfully slow, perhaps keeping pace with the changes in environment, which were equally slow. In such a situation who could say that the existing material was enough unless the components could be extricated from the clutches of medieval

forces of morbidly conservative and killing economic disabilities, so long restraining them? The most trying period of the Nepalese democratic struggle, the present period, has been one full of a problem of paucity of men, of men who can not only add weight to the organisation, but add to the numerical strength of the same.

The middle class is the spearhead of the democratic revolution. By its growth to maturity it offers a convenient background for a change over to democracy enjoying liberties of expression, speech and unhampered movement of persons and goods. For a middle class to be born and develop the social economy must generate an articulate and antithetical force requiring for its fulfilment a state of fundamental freedom and of removal of shackles binding, which also must be in a position to release adequate energy to overpower the putrid feudal system which resists change. It envisages a type and extent of industrialisation, which might feel hampered by feudal restrictions and itself is relentlessly struggling to break them. But in the absence of a developed industrial economy, Nepal has been conspicuous for the absence of a middle class towards fulness of growth and consequently for the lack of a vociferous element struggling to emancipate itself from the grips of the tyrants. Our attempt at enlisting sympathy of the people encounters a check for the reason that the country is wanting in the developed middle class feeling the need of a struggle.

There is a budding middle class, but it is too much dependent on feudal aristocracy for livelihood and growth to think entirely on an independent line of struggle against the established power or even to feel the need to act in defiance of the authority, of late although there is a tendency to view their problem in terms of a change. Nepal's is an agricultural economy unalloyed, and unmixed by any intrusion of factory installations, and where not even handicrafts have penetrated to an appreciable extent which has throughout stood as a challenge for any development of a prosperous class deriving sustenance out of an improved system of cultivation. Consequently the class of people depending on land is with a few exceptions very poor and subsisting on a low level of economic advancement, so that the resultant situation throughout exclude all but the Rana nobility from vantage ground of independence. The few that have gone ahead of the limits are too much en-



trenched on the soil with ambition to reach the upper level, who always look to the aristocracy for the protection of their rights which are nevertheless feudal. There is no urge, therefore, for a change of the administration which has been detested and met indifferently by the lower class rather than clamoured for ; and in the same spirit the growth of the middle class was stunted.

The rich Ranas did not adopt commercial undertakings, and whatever surplus was there remained accumulated in their treasuries in the forms of precious metals, coins or bullion. But there was a risk in such a method of accumulation, for when there was a change of rule by coup d'etat as at the time the standing arrangement of succession was disturbed, all those struck off the roll would find also their properties lost to the victors. After a time when the need of a safe keep was driven home, the powers that be decided to transfer the cash to foreign countries so that in the event of their being obliged to quit the country, they would get hold of the keep reserved for the rainy days. Nepal was deprived of the resources that would have been utilised to develop the country's mineral and forest wealth, but more than this the habit of thinking in terms of insecurity grew into an alien mentality spreading to the lower strata which too began shifting its negotiable property to India without regard to the needs of the country. The needful background for the birth of a revolutionary middle class was thus never allowed to come into being and Nepal always lay in medieval state of stultified growth and unawakening. Just as the fact of Nepal's unemployed millions coming to India for work removed the chances of mass revolt and bread riots, similarly the capital migrating not only thinned the rank of the revolutionary bourgeoisie and stultified its growth but also at the same time made the remnant of it expectantly looking to the feudal rulers for its own preservation.

Its over all effect on the democratic movement has been to discourage the persons equipped temperamentally to come forward to join it at all. The undergrowth of the interested class has also rendered such of them as are in India incapable of undoing the ties that bound them to the Nepalese oligarchs, these being so slavishly dependent on them for supplementary pelf and bread. Even in India, therefore, the movement attracted not sufficient notice amongst the nationals. Rather the less

the people felt tempted to fight the autocracy at home, the greater opportunity it offered for such of those few as wanted to make personal game of politics an opportunity to use the preliminary stage of the struggle for selfish ends, in which process the bribing hands of the Ranas came to play an important part, and our politics not only became an arena of mutual squabbles but also degenerated muddy and stinky enough to repel persons of abilities and sincerity.

An organised party and political differences on an ideological plane were never the rule as far as the Nepalese are concerned. As is natural to a state of enslavement, where individuals have been too demoralised to think of ideologies and matters other than those strictly personal, the conscious section of the people, the one expected to give a lead in democratic programmes, are found torn asunder in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion between pulls of personal loyalties, a state of affairs which has gone to deny to Nepal till now the required strength of a close knit political organisation and its advantages. The legacy of the period when conspiracies rather than the popular movements inspired by ideological awakening determined the issue still holds fast in strict conformity to the medieval surroundings, which has more than anything else shaped the democratic struggle along a pattern very much resembling the hush hush personal and corrupt rule of the feudal Ranas. Nepal's painful lot has been that very few of its sons and daughters are coming forward to the emancipatory struggle, and even of them who have joined the struggle many are not acting up to the expectation being imbroiled in the narrow groove of petty jealousy and self interest as their state of inadequate consciousness and training to an art of advanced party politics determined.

The apt description of the mental state of the Nepalese would be to call it a deplorable apathy and docility bred by a long period of enslavement, which prevent ever the very conscious of them to come together in a fighting organisation. That these themselves belong to a state of incorrect line of thinking as a result of insufficient awakening nobody will doubt. But the many evils that have cropped up in our body politic artificially engendered will remain there as long as this state does not change towards full consciousness. The one problem before every one of us is to try to remove this apathy, and

impel the people onwards to a course of struggles. As a huge majority of them are hesitant to shake off their lethargy and join the struggle in a spirit of enlightenment this is going to present a gigantic problem. It is a tragedy that when all the world over people are enthused over the question of democratic changes we in Nepal are snoring in medieval slumber unknowing of the Kaleidoscopic changes all around.

The past is dogging our footsteps. The popular movement has not succeeded in eschewing personal bias from the ideological context. Individuals rather than ideologically prompted parties have been the guiding factors, and as in the past these have not ceased to be pervious to corrupting influences, except when certain emotional outburst took more men to jail on diverse occasions and subjected them to conscious suffering, this has been the general rule, which inspite of the fact that some very sincere men offered their services to the nation, and some two hundred souls following them courted arrest, the end of a party formation is still out of the reach. This failure has got to be attributed to insufficient awakening and lack of tradition of struggle amongst the people, which had prevented many of them to appreciate the beneficent outcome of the democratic movement.

When India attained independence many people having scant knowledge of Nepalese conditions thought Nepal to be just another image of a protected native state which seemed falling down during the dismantling operation started by Sirdar Patel. They could not obviously realise the odds to be encountered in a venture like this. True, the dissolution of the Indian states followed the exit of Britain, and states were dissolved irrespective of the degree of political advance they made, which in some cases was no higher than Nepal's. Such people are now disillusioned as Nepalese autocracy sits reposing as tough as ever. But the havoc the wrong estimate of the situation wrought was terribly nasty so far. It has driven a wedge in the rank of the Nepalese democratic struggle. The worst was done by the intervention of certain political parties of India, whose leaders acted purely from narrow party interest in a spirit as if their men were sooner coming at the helm of affairs in this region. Their indiscretion landed them again to back up a very dishonest group which did not

even share Nepalese citizenship with most of the others engaged in the Nepal liberation struggle.

The recent formation of the democratic party with a sure backing of a wing of the U. P. Congress must be taken as a totally different development, but here too a poor knowledge of the Nepalese condition is discerned, and in addition there is a suggestive likeness to Indian party's role, according to which Nepal was to be transferred into an arena of Indian party politics. Opportunism and unhealthy party strife, the latter inspired by India, have been also to an extent obstacles to the growth of party politics in Nepal along national and healthy channel. And all these parties fighting mutually are all stationed in India fighting mutually, which makes the meaning of the pull exercised by the Indian parties and other interests all the more ridiculous.

The exile Ranas, the founders of Democratic Congress, form another category of outsiders who spoiled the political career of the country sacrificing it to their own self interest. It were they who helped the starting of the movement as it was shaped in 1947 under the favourable atmosphere created by the changes in the Delhi administration. But instead of helping it to proceed on strictly natural line according to the circumstances they tried to deliberately import personal ambition into it, which was to be fulfilled by behind-the-screen control of affairs. The lack of sound leadership in the movement characterised by the absence of men of experience and maturity, was a temptation to attempt to use the same for narrow group ends, which they did despite opposition, and although they could not get hold of the parent organisation they are running a show and satisfying their vanity with a command over a new party. They little know that the goal is far off, and the tentacles spread affect only a few of the people on the vanguard, who are misguided and demoralised enough to care for stomach, while they, the Ranas, continue to be fleeced by interested persons.

In one aspect the Nepalese political scene as it is reflected in the democratic camp bears a close analogy with that of the palace, where petty jealousy and rancour thrive at the feet of the cruel and condes-

ending master, where every thing has to be achieved by underhand means and morality and character do not count. Because of the exile Ranas taking lively interest in political movement there is a class of palace hangers-on themselves co-exiles, whose role has been to vitiate the atmosphere by intrigues of a type designed to effect ascendancy of the financing lord, which has greatly narrowed the scope and character of the democratic struggle in as much as it was being tried to be pinned down to a family feud. It is a very unpleasing spectacle to see the erstwhile courtiers of the Ranas, relations and faithful servants of theirs, masquerading in the roll of patriots, engaged in playing a nasty game which has polluted the newly emerging structure of our national democratic movement.

Unlike in India where from the very beginning the national movement could enlist the services and co-operation of the choicest sons of the country, we are being deprived of the talent and experience, and our movement has as yet failed to bring in its fold men of attainments and affluence. Educated youngmen in general are shirking the issue, and their preferance goes to the meagre salary of the services at Kathmandu. Consequently the type of the people able to assume leadership of the movement are keeping aloof leaving the guidance into irresponsible and inexperienced hands. Sincerity is not lacking in some of those already in the field, but ability is not there, and paucity of the number is sufficiently annoying. Uptil now we are not privileged enough to command the allegiance of appreciably large number of people who might have joined the struggle as full fledged workers of the party.

The exile Ranas are too susceptible to adulations and to assurances of short cut path of revenge, which mercenary agents exploit to the full. The exploiters have known that they are attracted by a grand scheme and offer a bait of secret manouevring to that end. Practicability of a scheme is no matter. At the moment the agents are staging a show of a united front and as an attracting factor peace and nonviolence as a method have been dropped from the objective resolution. The Ranas acclaimed this move in the full throated voice little realising that it is another coming device to fleece them and to pave the way for entirely different forces to appear. But all this is

attended with extremely harmful effects and in the long run will prevent the popular movement from rising to stature in ordinary course of time.

In competition to other parties they have proved a formidable menace to the natural growth of a popular movement. Where money is the sole consideration, ideology does not find scope to work. Naturally the political organisation has come to bear a meaning very much synonymous with an earning business concern. This notion about the Nepalese organisation is not confined to the Nepalese. Some of the Indian news men and press have readily seized with the temptation offered to beat a drum of praise of the party financing the movement, which goes to blackmail and suppress the sincere work put up by parties other than one of the Ranas. This has worked a truculent havoc and will impede the progress of the popular movement. But more than that it has meant another irreparable waste of resources because other parties are doing the same work without corresponding charges and about those press men and workers who are honest and sincere enough to kick the money bags it must be admitted that the people's camp is actually meeting the challenge with success because of their readiness to help the genuine movement. The agents of the exile Ranas are, however, acting with impunity as to lend themselves to the success of the move irrespective of the result it is producing.

Because the exile Ranas have been trying to divert the *modus vivendi* of the movement to a channel suiting their own convenience, which is just to rake up the old grudge, we have not been able to operate what could be in reality called a people's movement. Apart from the corrupting influence which their participation indirectly exerts in that most of the people drawn into the vortex have been generally termed mercenaries, the democratic movement as a whole suffered from a lack of programme which would have ultimately broadened the scope and method of the agitation to touch the masses of the people. Any agitation conducted with a view only to condemn a party without any plan of a mass awakening can in no circumstances traverse beyond its narrow path and produce results which would have gone to awaken the general mass of the people. This explains

the comparatively poor result of the movement which we have seen thus far. The exile Ranas are not interested in building up a people's organisation as their sole purpose has been to defame their opponents and nothing more than that. Obviously the range of their activities is too limited to allow for a long term plan of organisational work. And those whom they have charged with responsibilities and agency work know this fact fully well, which determines the farcical character of the party they are running. Those who are there only to grow fat on the purse of the Ranas by playing with their feelings have no deeper interest than the one demanding fulfilment of a base motive. Hence the huge expense on the work proved as wastage which filled only the coffers of the mercenary agents.

As it happens in a backward country corrupted by moneyed Ranas all sense of discipline in the rank and file is conspicuously non-existent and many in them have pretensions to leadership, which with bifurcations already made facilitates unhealthy groupings. For the few who have sincerely joined the movement it is a welter of confusion to witness seven parties and groupings sitting separately tight, yet confusion gets worse confounded when the total composing all these is counted, which is far from being adequate for a single composite group.

The overwhelming majority of the Nepalese outside Nepal, it is said there are nearly thirty lakhs of them, are themselves wallowing in poverty and ignorance, and those of them who are conscious enough to show vigilance for work in order to wrest freedom are engaged in securing citizenship right in India in too self-centred way to think of anything else. There is also a tendency in most of them to regard Nepal as a secondary problem, which makes them unapproachable on purely national issues affecting Nepal. Practically speaking, therefore, the attitude of the India domiciled Nepalese has been disappointing on the whole, and little is to be expected of them if the present state of the mind continues.

The Rana rulers are exploiting this sore spot in the life of the nation to resist all attempts at changing the status quo. They know that they have a monopoly over the country's resources and talent

which they purchase with gold and silver and use at the point of bayonets. Even at that they are not playing the role of a spectator watching an innocent game of hide and seek. They are busy at disrupting and poisoning the democratic camp. It is most probable that the present division is solely due to their mischief. Any searching eyes will notice a cunning hand working to render the agitation carried against them totally ineffective. In the present context the rulers have only to throw in a handful of individuals to vitiate the atmosphere. It will not be difficult for half a dozen agent provocateurs of the type the Rana rulers have with them, whom they furnish requisite tools, to successfully sabotage the unity of ranks in the democratic movement as is evident from the recent happenings. The story of the split in the Nepali National Congress, and subsequent emergence of another organisation bearing a like name is a pointer in the direction. It shows the meddling hands of a saboteur who was busily trying to nullify our efforts for the formation of a united front against the Ranas. In the development that followed history had almost repeated. In the past success had crowned their efforts even as the men prominent in the front had succumbed to the bait the Ranas offered. We have heard of not a few ignoble records of ceasing all anti-Rana activities under influence and of the series of concrete examples of deflections, which were themselves a faithful rehearsal of the earlier betrayal of the cause at the hands of a few undesirables who had helped the agents of the Ranas to spy and bring to an end Suba Debi Prasad's agitational programme of the weekly 'Gorkhali' and further on by crossing over to the enemy's camp. In 1947 the Ranas were not destined to achieve the result to the extent they did in the preceding period. The impediment was encountered through those who would not yield to pressure although division was thrust in their midst, and willy nilly they had to accept the position as it came to them. There was a difference in the situation too, as the movement now unlike in the period preceding had borne a democratic character and not confined to one or two individuals to be able to decide the issue without reference. The result was that as soon as the interested persons started mischief, there arose a stiff uncompromising stand against the policy from the sincere group. It is true that



the tactics of the mischievous agents were too subtle to be felt at the first encounter. The fact that a great majority of the people would not distinguish between parties for reasons of their ignorance afforded additional ground for intensifying the mischief. Ideological differences were glossed over and a veritable scene of acrimonious debates was presented to cloud the main issue. But nowhere the attempt at sabotage proved so abortive. Their failure indicates that the democratic movement had outlived the stage when a few bribed persons could bring the entire programme of action to a dead stop. All the same it could not be denied that the imprint of the saboteur's hands was there too impressive to be blotted out for a long time to come as it went exercising restraint on many sincere souls who were now groping in the dark with a sense of frustration, undoubtedly the reflection of an insufficient awakening and backward condition of the people in general, who could have been the best judge to punish the culprits at the polling booths by their legitimate and democratic verdict.\*

The way the quarrel was started was reminiscent of palace squabbles, of how exactly one group of the Ranas was trying to oust the other taking advantage of the power it commanded. Probing deep one can scent the trouble to have been prompted by a desire on the part of one or two Rana dissidents to wreak vengeance under a wrongly

---

\*Rana rule collapsed even though internal conditions had not matured, but this does not invalidate our contention. Because the changes were effected mainly as a result of external factors pulling their weight we have been encountering complications insoluble and unenvisaged in the normal context. Much of the anti-India Government feeling could be also ascribed to the ways changes took place through. It cannot be denied that the task of guiding the Government of Nepal along democratic lines of administration has fallen to Delhi, and today the former's dependence on the latter is much more than what it ever used to be. Lack of capable men for the cabinet post in the party selected for the purpose is leading the Government of India to undertake more of administrative responsibilities than they at any time thought of. But this position is likely to reduce Nepal to a status of tutelage and delay the blessing of a democratic rule. Time alone will show how far different parties will render their duty Keeping in view the welfare of the Nepalese people, but the present state of affairs cannot inspire hope and confidence for the future. It smacks of gross artificiality that can be conveniently disposed of, and I for one will not be surprised if tomorrow in the absence of normal growth towards democratic progress Nepal is forced back to live in old conditions much in the same way as under the autocratic rule of the Rana family. Had there been a legitimate and natural democratic movement in and a well developed party organisation to lead it, things would have moved smoothly without dangers of pitfalls, and democratic progress ensured. The present structure of changes gives an opportunity to all potential enemies of Nepal to further their antinational and anti-people activities.

conceived idea of a propitious occasion. The newly started Nepali National Congress was to be one of the weapons to hit the opponents. Even as its foundation was laid by the monetary assistance provided by a kith of theirs, the organisation came under their direct influence. At the height of the agitation it was clear that it was leaning on that section, for what one would make out if not the impression like this from a procession shouting pro-Padma Shumsher slogan. But the leaders of the other group too were not viewing the development complacently. As soon as they got the better of it over the Pro-Reforms section in the Palace tussle they took the earliest opportunity to play an insidious game for the purpose of disrupting the democratic camp that was gathering strength with the impetus it received through the encouragement of the ruling group of the Ranas. It was the time when the Nepali National Congress stood in need of solidarity having just gone through an ordeal of a struggle however minimum. But it was fated to be rent asunder between the group politics of the Ranas, and disruption immediately set in. It was discovered later that a political leader had carried with him a letter from a prominent Rana General on the roll to an exile Rana living in Calcutta, which purported to provide to him all resources for a big move. It bore an instruction that the existing arrangement of the leadership of the Congress should be disturbed to eject the person, then the President, who was an undesirable from their view point. It was a plea to have only such men in the front rank of the agitation on whom they could place reliance to act for their interest. There was a thorough preparation for a prompt move in contemplation in which certain Indian leaders as well were brought in to cast their influence on the side of the offenders in order to convince the exile magnates of the efficacy of the plan. Whatever might have been the outcome, and it was certainly not to the satisfaction of those who wanted to utilise the plan for their own petty ends, ends not fulfilled let them to consider themselves duped, the overall picture left after the carrying out of the first instalment of the scheme of ejection was very much ugly and full of schism and patches represented by multiple parties and groups. When on the question of forcible ejection, the constitutional head of the organisation offered resistance nothing but a clear cut ramification across its body was the inevitable result, which in its turn set in motion group rivalries and

excited egotistic tendencies of megalomaniacs and half-educated individuals so long lying in a dormant state under restraint of unified leadership.

Again while a notable member of a particular party entered Kathmandu underground to contact the Maharaja, which culminated in his indirectly helping the Nepal Police to quell the "implement Reform" agitation conducted by the Panchayat the state of pettiness and degradation to which persons with political background could sink was still clearer. It meant that those appearing as the vanguard of the democratic camp were not only lacking in character but definitely stooped to depravity in characteristic fashion of a palace stooge. The Praja Panchayat was certainly not prompted with a sectarian outlook in demanding implementation of reforms, but the offensive danger had come from the side of the people and the underground presence of one who was comrade-in-arms with the agitators had to be taken advantage of to facilitate the tracing and round up of the leadership, so that the very root of the anti-Rana stir could be removed from the capital city. Curiously enough Kathmandu maintains till now the quiet that was born of the inhuman repression following the arrest of the member.

Not that there is less of anti-Rana feeling. There is much of it. All sections of the people, of course, such of them as fully conversant and their number is not small, are dissatisfied with the state of affairs obtaining in the country at the present time. There is a suppressed murmur audible enough, but not expressive. Thus even though there is not a degree of wide awakening, there is an expanding field for preliminary democratic agitation. And to count the talent outside the circle of the Rana dignitaries, one may even feel satisfied that there is sufficient material for the working of a democratic constitution. A large scale struggle against the Ranas if based on the cooperation of this class of people would be a formidable proposition, and the available talents pooled together can very easily consolidate a vanguard party. But people worth the name are withholding and hesitant. The democratic camp has not as yet obtained a large number of people who can inspire confidence, and is thereby impoverished. What was

deficient as a general outcome of backward environment could be got over by a systematic and planned utilisation of the available resources of men and substance. But the same has overwhelmingly dominated the course of politics in our country. Nepal cannot be compared with India in this respect for in the latter, in spite of contrary forces, the movement was manned by the very able and eminent sons of the land. Again we fall back on the argument that Nepal is wanting in middle class, which is quite a justified reasoning. In India all those who suffered in the mutiny, all the aristocrats had been reduced to that status, felt the urge to improve their condition, social or political, according as the need arose in-conformity to the rise of new economic forces. In Nepal not only the aristocracy did away with the old intermediary, but allowed the least growth to the new class by total denial of all educational facilities unlike in India where the army of educated unemployed was a constant source of trouble to the authorities. The fact that the educated persons have to partially depend on the Ranas for livelihood for want of independent profession in the economic life of the country, and are easily absorbed on the services renders, the many of them quite impotent to produce any harm to the ruling authority,—they are so servile and attached to the feudal order economically. The educated man, and the propertied man in Nepal are more shy, more withdrawing and more unconcerned about their surroundings than their present day counterparts in other countries. The influence of the backward environment has been too heavy on their mind to lead them to entertain ideas of relief and even entertaining to think of disburdening. It is a sorrowful tale of depravity and demoralisation undergone by a class of people in course of the ages under the hideous rule of the most vulgar Asian autocracy, which keeps them out of the reach of all noble sentiments of patriotism and higher living.

Jobbery is not the only weapon in their hands. Whatever out-passes the boundary of etiquette set up by the most narrow consideration of human behaviour is liable to be ruthlessly crushed. All kinds of deviation from the sublime path of obedience to the dictates of the autocratic regime are severely dealt with to the extent of being awarded death sentence, not uncommon till 1941. Intimidation into submis-

sion prevents many who would have otherwise responded to the call of the nation from joining the opposition against the demand to which they are surrendered heart and soul. Fear grips a large number of them, and paralyses the boldest. Now the method has been not too cruel, it has underwent a change, but the prospect of indefinite detention, all prisoners in Nepal are detained without legal trial, and shabby treatment in the jail and of victimisation of family members acts as a counter instilling a sense of diffidence in men, which cools all enthusiasm for struggle. The Rana rules leave no stone unturned in order to exercise fear and restraint in the mind of the conscious citizens by all sorts of terrorising measures, most of them foul and high-handed. Inside Nepal except on occasions of emotional outburst the ground for a large scale rising of the people does not seem preparing and the lack of a party which provides guidance and leadership for such momentous action is mainly responsible for the sort of pathetic condition.

Our own experience of organisational work outside Nepal is equally discouraging. Apart from the deficient material in hand and Ranas's agents meddling to sabotage the efforts in the direction and fissiparous tendencies due to them, there is yet another difficulty imported into the situation, which wholly owes to the imperfect training of the mind of a domiciled Nepalese in India. Because his political consciousness is a recent phenomenon, his mind has been too narrow to shake off the usual restraint of archaic reactionary tradition and the sense of outraged existence hunting him. It is not a happy sign of him to remain imbroiled in the old muddle headedness when we expect him to rise to break all shackles. Temperamentally he is not finding himself in a better position in free India. He is too weighed down by ideas of exploitation and undergrowth and as all blame he always lays at the door of the plainmen, he feels that he needs fight them to wrest his legitimate rights. In this mood of war he completely forgets his mother country, and also the fact that she would if she could deliver good to her emigrant children. He has a feeling of a separate nationality, and is urged on to appeal to the kind affection of the mother, but he chooses a wrong agent. The result is that without his sad plight being redeemed, even without distant sight of it he is

brought face to face to all tempting avarices, which come pouring in through the many channels of munificence the Ranas contrive to run to ingratiate the leadership and masses of the awakened emigrants. In an attempt to divert the attentions of the domiciled Nepalese the Ranas very cleverly subsidize the local party men, and encourage them on to the path of conflict with their co-nationals of non-Gorkha blood. By the appointment of consuls in India and Burma they have certainly posed as Champions of the rights of their nationals although during the hundred years of the Rana rule not a word was said in their favour. We also hear of new inns and hostels for students constructed for Nepalese nationals and students in India, and of other needs and amenities receiving close attention, which is likely to create a sense of obligation towards the beneficiaries. Very recently the cry for a hill province has also submerged all the remaining solicitude for their terror stricken brethren living in the home country, so that in the ensuing turmoil our appeal for help and active participation is scarcely heeded. An honest, well meaning and progressive leadership would have offered corrective to the situation but the tradition that is developing is a blind alley where narrow national sentiment thrives, and the main issue is lost in the dark. The Gorkha League leadership is conducting its policy on a faulty line. Its primary concern would have been Nepal, the mother country. Their attitude of indifference to Nepal is a great stumbling block to the progress of the democratic movement inside Nepal as amongst the emigrants they are no doubt the only organised party of the Nepalese, but deplorably the organisation they have built up could not be properly canalised being deprived of the principal source of the country's strength that was so essential for any semblance of democratic struggle against the entrenched autocracy.

For one thing the course of action adopted by us proved totally unavailing to produce appreciable results. It was a too faulty imitation of Indian congress methods which was not in practice applicable to Nepalese conditions. In a country where civil liberty hardly exists, a type of political work secretly preparing the ground for a general flare up to follow was what was necessary as a preliminary stage. Platform was quite harmful, because any identity as to this sort of work detected robbed it of the major contribution.

## CHAPTER III

### END OF RANACRACY IN SIGHT

**T**HE autocrats might derive satisfaction at the state of comparatively poor awakening of the people which obviously falls short of the proportion required to effect speedy overthrow of the regime. They may feel relieved of the anxiety to be overwhelmed by the democratic movement by an eye to the apparently disorganized and internally broken democratic camp. They may also feel elated with the thought of what was gone in regard to successfully corrupting the few leaders who have now openly started to preach for them. But all this is illusive optimism, and if they have put undue reliance on these factors there cannot be a worse misled man. The crisis which Nepalese autocracy wants to avert and crush is gradually gathering momentum in spite of him and his efforts to turn the same into opposite channel. Whatever might be the present degree and extent of political awakening in the masses and the strength and organisation of the democratic camp, it is undeniable that discontent against the oppressive rule of the Rana family is fast rising which is likely to set in motion a revolt and disorder however unorganised it may appear at the initial stage. It is also becoming increasingly clear that the support attached to the feudal rule is thinning on account of the obnoxious type of exploitation which has benefited a single family at the cost of the populace without any sort of concession to any other group. In the nature of administration which is dominated by one single family claiming suzerainty on divine rights, where enrichment of a minute fraction had been the one and only accompaniment, it could not be otherwise. But the same has been responsible for antagonising one and all sections of the people without exception in every rank other than those directly connected with the rulers automatically and whose number too is dwindling, and set them against the regime. Even admitting that consciousness touches only a fringe of the people one can safely assert that this consciousness has also accentuated hatred against the Ranas. The over all picture is that one hardly

comes across a person of knowledge who in his heart of hearts is not unfavourably disposed to the rulers. The structure of administration they have erected and maintained is so domineering and atrocious and haughty for the people outside the Rana family that not one of them feels happy or secure with the inevitable concomitant that he is made in addition to secretly nurture a grievance and spirit of revenge against the overbearing and insolent behaviour of the rulers drawing sustenance out of a sense of over confidence. The gravity of the situation will be realised from the fact that this state of dissatisfaction and animosity finds no exception and as matters stand today this has pervaded not only the highly placed non-Rana personages but also a large number of the influential members of the Rana family who do not share a community of interest with His Highness Mohan and his brothers, and immediate cousins in whom power and wealth of the state are being concentrated. Probing deeper one marks a widening rift in the Rana family and there is a definite sign of its being exposed to the full blast of internal disturbance and it is a fact that cracks have appeared. It may be to only embarrass the men in power and not to sincerely help the democratic movement but it is now an open secret that many members of the Rana family including some on the roll are making a common cause with the exile dissidents to have entered the democratic front. No amount of pampering including a bait to offer them equality of status in matters of dining could wean the exiles away towards him, which again aggravates the situation. The only sustaining aspect of the problem from the official party's point of view is the lack of an ideal prompting these disgruntled elements in the Rana family, which in reality does not also tend well for the consolidation and progress of the democratic struggle, but there is no doubt that it is giving a serious headache to the rulers. Who knows that these men now on the war path simply to score the ancient grudge may even for themselves realise the futility of an isolated fight and throw themselves heart and soul into the struggle on the side of democracy? So swift is the change over into the state of opposition even though it might be lying pentup that the conscious section of the population is experiencing its passion rising high which is restrained only for want of a suitable occasion and consolidated organisation to assume a flare up.



But this is not the only menace threatening the regime. In fact the machinery of administration itself is too outworn and outdated to stand the pressure of new forces coming in the wake of a widely popular awakening. The shabby ill organised and corrupt administration is powerless to cope with the situation that is likely to arise if the people take up cudgels and show determination to fight. Except in the valley the Government is notoriously an entity in name and its existence rests solely on the ignorance of the people whose idea in that line is the tax collecting agency. We know how the entire country outside the valley presents a picture of neglect and apathy totally alien to a civilised government. Even the work of protecting citizens from lawlessness is pitifully neglected, there being no provision for the maintenance of an agency to safeguard law and order. The administration is so centralised in a single potentate that it has failed to respond to the need of the hour, and quick decision is never the rule, for as the convention obtains at present it is the Maharaja Prime Minister alone who has to direct operations and give instructions for any major or minor contingency. Without reference to him nothing of importance can be decided. But his hands are too full, as is also the inordinate delay involved in making him take a decision owing to absence of communication. Already these shortcomings have begun to overstrain the medieval resources of the Government even though the problem they have to deal with is comparatively less alarming in magnitude. It is certain that it will not be possible to get over a conflagration however ill organised the same may be if they have to meet it with the weapon of defence they now possess. But the machinery which is theirs is in keeping with the spirit of administration obtaining everywhere under feudalism and the same can be renovated and set straight only under conditions of democracy coming with the end of the family rule, which surely the autocrats will oppose by every means for fear of losing their all. The resultant situation, therefore, is full of disquietitude to the men in saddle at Kathmandu, From even a short point of view their cause is doomed to failure.

After August 1947 when freedom was thrust on them the autocrats found themselves totally unprepared for the new situation. They were as though taken out of the hole to face the eye dazzling sunlight.

They were exposed to full publicity and were really dazzled. This explains the hesitation with which they are moving in the international firmament. They do not get able men to represent the Government in diplomatic relations and talks. Ambassadorship is a high post, and this cannot go to a non-Rana, even if some one was fit for such a job, which is another headache. There is one man who is accredited to three countries, U. S. A., Britain and France over an area extending to more than four thousand miles. This appears again an absurdity and give little credit to their regime but the Ranas must put up with it. Also participating in regional meetings of the world organisations has become a tough problem as much as it is also unavoidable in view of the independent status. But the Nepalese representative fears to open his mouth in the august gatherings. He is unfamiliar, shy, nervous and suffers from inferiority complex to the degree that he bullies his own men inside Nepal without mercy.

As the ruler of the medieval state, the Nepalese Prime Minister had no serious problems to tackle. In the nature of things the responsibilities discharged by them were of meagre worth much without risk undertaken merely on the basis of the loyalty they commanded from the illiterate masses. As a matter of fact the administration of Nepal is not a burden on the incumbent. It is a lucrative source of income just like any other investment with the difference that it has also no responsibility, it is all rights and no duties. This character of the administration continues more or less in one and unchangeable pattern till today. But now it has come to be assailed though modestly and slowly. The rise of new problems demanding exercise of greater and more mature wisdom is unnerving the rulers. Like the field of international diplomacy the indigenous popular agitation is another intricacy they are finding almost impossible to unweave. Their antique frame of mind is incapable of understanding the forces at work, and so is their ingenuity to come to their rescue failing to serve the purpose.

The international situation as it emerged after the Second World War influenced Nepal in two ways. The British were forced to relinquish their hold of India, and Nepal was thus cut off from the mooring that kept it aloft in the protection of the empire. As a direct

sequel to this, the Nepalese autocracy came to be subjected to a volley of criticism, because the ban on such a criticism lapsed forthwith in India and all its vagaries and evil sides were ripped open before the outside world. It is true that its effect inside Nepal is not very much appreciable so as to undermine the regime but it is nevertheless sufficiently embarrassing. The second effect of the world war closely following the first just noted was to place the Nepalese rulers in an awkward position of intimate geographical relationship with independent democratic India, which they never dreamed to happen in their lifetime. This has at least given them an inkling of the truth and what it may like to take shape in Nepal under the impact of democratic forces which are surely sending their repercussions.

But the greatest threat to Ranacracy is presented in course of their new relationship with Nehru's Government. The Ranas are used to looking to Britain and America in regard to all questions of importance including their Indian contracts, which, however, Nehru and his associates do not like. There is evidence to believe that the Government of India have given expression of their feeling of resentment against Nepalese foreign policy as pursued consistently by its Prime Minister. Very recently a proposal to make Nepal shape its foreign and defence policy on the lines of the Delhi Government seems again to have failed to obtain Ranas' willing acceptance. Even this year's Indo-Nepalese treaty was a failure as far as it left Nepal in a position to deal as it liked with all foreign powers. In addition to being extremely annoyed on this account the Indian leaders are perturbed over the comparatively weak military strength of the Ranas vis a vis the onrush of communist movement in Tibet. They think that an autocratic Government of the type functioning in Nepal is not capable of mobilising all anti-communist elements except those strictly feudal. The Government of India do seem to take very seriously the question of introducing certain democratic changes in the administration of Nepal as a measure to counteract the growth of communist influence and save the vociferous of democratic elements from their blandishments, and here is a real source of conflict between the Ranas and the Indian leaders, more so because the former cannot view with favour any trends likely to affect their absolutism and grounds of vantage in the country. It is very difficult to say

where this conflict will lead to and its terms of resolution. But one thing appears very definite and that is the pressure from Delhi applied in Kathmandu for changes. The future of the Rana family will depend on their readiness to co-operate with the Government of India, and further obstinacy in their part is likely to create larger complications that will bring surely their downfall.

A new factor shaking them to the core is the recent advance the communists made in China, which again puts Nepal in immediate contiguity with the territory of a Government diametrically opposed to feudalism. Further there is in Lhasa and other Tibetan centres a scattered community of Nepalese traders who are likely to be indoctrinated with ideas of communism as soon as the Chinese will contact them. Nepal is already bestirred. Active communist infiltration cannot be discounted in the circumstances that have cropped up in the neighbouring north.

Thus we see that the Ranas' Nepal is threatened from within and without. It is true that these are not going to assert fully within a short period of time and without adequate efforts on the part of the Nepalese people. Perhaps Nepal will have to wait for a revolutionary situation to mature for the duration of the Asian struggle in completion. But in no circumstances it is going to be a very long time. Now Red China poses a new issue. The triumph of the people's cause in that part of Asia just north of Nepal has a very great significance for us. The way the Kathmandu tyrants are shaken to the marrow is an augury from which we cannot shut our eyes. The feudal structure of Nepal faces a violent storm. The situation is gradually developing to that end. Our people do experience a new spur of enthusiasm for their struggle. The Nepalese democratic struggle in these circumstances is bound to make rapid strides, to record a progress which would not have been possible in the old Asian set up. When imperialist structures are cracking in every part of the world, the Nepalese autocrats whose strength rested on these are not going to put up a fight for their existence just for want of support so far propping them up. They are doomed to disappear. Nepal cannot remain feudal when the two countries on its borders enjoy a democratic government of their own.

But there are pitfalls. It is for the people of Nepal to grow sufficiently alert and be on their guard. Inimical forces are working to sabotage our movement under a false show of sympathy and efforts are being made to buttress reaction as against the democratic elements. Ranaism is likely to appear in a new deceitful garb of democracy propped up by outside reaction particularly Indian. This is the time to understand the inner current of forces active in that direction. Failure would lead to new complications and the progress so far made may get retarded. It must be our endeavour not to be waylaid by glib slogans of reforms and carry on the struggle whatever be its immediate result.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE REFORM ISSUE IN NEPAL AND THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FRONT

**N**EPAL which remained a virtual terra incognita till yesterday has at the moment suddenly leapt into the limelight of publicity. The old camp followers of reaction who in the past never cared a straw for the welfare of the down trodden Nepalese are come with eyes full of tears and are showing unusual concern for them, so much so that the air is thick with talks of political reforms in the state for which external pressure, particularly that of India is being evoked. But all these sudden outbursts of attention all these tears and concerns are manifestations of a fearful mind working at the prospect of being overwhelmed by superior forces of communism which is surging ahead from the North. There is no doubt that these people are being compelled by developments in the far east to cast their thought on Nepal. How Nepal will fare in the context? Is it a manifestation of a sincere desire on the part of the outsiders to uplift the lot of the poor Nepalese or is it a mere crocodile tear shed in a game of power politics and another device to hoodwink the people in furtherance of the imperialist cum feudal interests? All these questions raise issues which should be probed into deeper with wide eyes in all their percussions and re-percussions. It becomes us at the hour also to be alert and save the situation from being complicated further, so that the interested parties do not waylay the people and deviate them into the risky path of reconciliation.

Nepal is a country of the Himalayan region on the border of the great Chinese Republic. Apart from its buffer like situation between India and China its importance lies in the fact that it can be used as a spring board for offensive and defensive purposes by either parties. With that characteristic it has the same importance in international politics as Indo-China, Siam, Afghanistan or Iran has for the world powers. It is natural therefore that the powers who have been so long directly or indirectly keeping Nepal as a semi-Colony

under the management and proprietorship of the local autocracy should be alert about its threatened position and developments. The very line of military preparations runs through its territory and to all intents and purposes their interest demands that with an all strong base of regional defence the peace and security of this area is also guaranteed.

The powers cannot afford to see Nepal embroiled in anything which will pave the way for mass uprising. They know that if the present discontent accentuates and suppression of civil rights continues there will emerge a condition favourable to the rise and growth of communism in their midst. In order to make the ground immune from influences of communism and preventing the situation getting out of their control they are prescribing remedies which though not effective to cure the ills do at the same time create a belief that the rulers have taken upon themselves the task of pursuing a progressive and responsible policy of administration. The good will thus obtained by the rulers will certainly be used to meet the challenge of communism by corrupting the average citizens of the country.

It is argued that there is already a pressure of communist ideology in Nepal and this is creating a situation wherein people are likely to be drawn into accepting its methods and into working for its ultimate goal. Although the policy of the government in refusing modest reforms is being made responsible for the situation, it is nevertheless true that the advocates of reforms in Nepal shun every sincere and real attempt at improving the very bestial condition of the masses in preaching the need for enlightened despotism in the state.

The main problem for all the reactionary politicians today is to check the rising tide of popular discontent which is engendering the communist upheaval undermining the very basis of property and all its traditional and conventional values and ethics. They are seeking guarantees to that effect in order to stem the prospect of revolutionary upsurge of the people and all sorts of allies are being propped up and nurtured. These allies cannot be the persons following a naked policy of feudal barbarism, for that way lies the ruin and dilapidation

of the vested interests as a result of the commotion it sets forth in the wake of mass uprising. As is clear from pronouncements of the interested persons what they endeavour is to introduce a change so that under a democratic semblance the status quo is preserved. Obviously through the adoption of this policy the interested parties want to check the further deterioration and accentuation of poverty and it advocates conciliation towards the demands of the middle class. In that context repression of the reforms movement which is confined to a small section of the lower middle class is also ruled out of order. Naturally the allies are the bourgeois democrats who will share power with the feudal aristocracy without in any way allowing the mass of the people to enjoy civic rights. We cannot forget that all this talk of reforms which means sharing of power jointly by the Rana autocracy and their collaborators will cloud the main issue of popular emancipation in Nepal. Those reforms which come as an antidote to communism will as our experiences of the past fifty years shows be in their very nature such as will only prolong life of feudalism with slight alterations in its structure. This is the shape of things to come which in the final analysis emerges in the picture. The very fact that solicitude was borne of an emergency in the wake of the threatening communist uprising bespeaks its character and design behind the move. It is obviously to fortify the situation so that the democratic movement is easily sabotaged to get itself localised outside the fringe of the class barrier of the propertyless that the reforms are being suggested and the Ranas are asked to work them out for the mutual benefit. According to the authors of the plan the prospect of communism may be combated in the following ways so far as Nepal is concerned:—

(1) By increasing the military and police strength of the present Government of Nepal which being a feudal and reactionary institution is the greatest enemy of communism,

(2) By asking the rulers to appease the vocal sections of the people now clamouring for freedom and liberty so that they do not reach a point of exhaustion and disappointment to let themselves be influenced by ideas of communism in the event of frustration,



It is as a step towards the second measure that the political reform is being suggested. The problem is to create a vanguard against communist and military measures alone are deemed insufficient to cope with the mounting penetration of this ideology. If the present tone and content of the democratic struggle in Nepal be made subservient to the class interest of the opponent section, the purpose of the feudal cum imperialist reactionaries is fulfilled. A certain writer has gone even to the extent of naming a particular party for a deal to be struck with by the men in saddle in Kathmandu. That this deal is not to take into account the over all need for the redemption of the poor plight of the people is clear as appears from his following observation, "It is, however, necessary now to consider the question as to whether the present Government of Nepal is in a position to become impregnable bestion against the tide of communist propaganda, for it is needless to point out that military alliance or understanding alone will not deviate the socalled Red infiltration. The present ruling authority may not be reactionary as it is supposed but the fact remains that it is not as liberal or democratic as the situation in Nepal demands. In the present set up of the world no government can survive communist propaganda and offensive unless it commands popular support. The existing Ranacracy of Nepal constituted as it is is both unpopular and outmoded as the rising strength of the Nepal Democratic Congress would indicate."

"The popular movement for democratic reforms had been steadily growing despite official disfavour and repression. There was some talk of constitutional reforms lately and even a constitution was drawn up to satisfy the demand of the Nepal Democratic Congress, but this has been shelved for the present despite popular opposition".

Two things in this observation stand to expose the real motive of the author in expounding and pleading for democracy in Nepal. That it is only an eyewash tactics to conceal his antagonism of popular government is evident from the fact that his stand is anticommunism rather than pro-democracy and pro-people and whatever he pleads does not issue out of any consideration for reforms for the sake of popular emancipation. We could not have expected a better

solution either, for his main objective is to achieve greater measure of agreement and harmony amongst the various sections of vested interests on the issue of fighting communism. He wants the Ranas to fight communism with the so-called liberal Nepal Democratic Congress and the only question to solve for him is to enlist their support on an agreed basis. But by offering the same 1948 constitution as the solution and bringing in the reactionary almost non-existent organisation of the Nepal Democratic Congress as an ally to be wooed in order to work them out, he condemns his own stand vis a vis the popular demand for political rights and social and economic amelioration.

If the vocal section of the Nepalese people as represented by the handful of the so called Nepal Democratic Congress is to be taken into account the boundary of democratic movement can be seen hardly surpassing the group of the disgruntled members of the Rana autocracy and its class of parasites whose ambition is to wreak vengeance and effect restoration through a fake democratic movement. If appeasement of this element is the sole aim then democracy will be meaningless for a vast majority of the Nepalese people. It will only mean sharing of power between the two sections of the Ranas and their flatterers. But it will bring no appreciable changes in the structure of government. Whatever may be the alternative for a refusal to line up in such a setup the Nepalese people do not feel enthusiastic about the future evolved on this basis.

Unless there is a thoroughly representative people's government Nepal's ills are not going to be cured. Nothing short of real transfer of power to the people will usher in such a government of the people. But the political leadership represented by the vocal section of the disgruntled reactionaries is at the present time content with the dose of reforms which will give only nominal liberty to the people. The agitation is directed to demand the implementation of fake reforms. It is more or less in the nature of a family quarrel. Its cessation and compromise will not take the people an inch nearer to the goal.

India comes in the picture because of geographical contiguity

and her historical and cultural and racial ties with Nepal. As Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru openly declared in his recent statement before the Parliament Nepal is geographically a part of India and anything happening in that region is likely to send its repercussion to all over the territories of the Indian sub-continent. But are India's fears as to the likely use of Nepalese territory by the communists justified even as a remote possibility? It is not fair to attribute to the Chinese People's Republic a policy of aggression. India's fear can be justified if only communism were to be defined as an expansion of the Russian sphere of influence. I am sure such as an unrealistic and fantastic suggestion is not being made. It may be correct to say that a communist Nepal will allow bases of operations for the Indian communist as we Nepalese democrats have been enjoying all facilities of work in India and let India take her own precautionary measures to counteract this factor but to deny to Nepal to form a government of its choice for fear of producing unfavourable reactions in India is not only denying the Nepalese people their sovereign rights but also unwise in the larger interest of international democracy. It is hoped that the Indian leaders will always exercise their pressure on Nepal for the welfare of the Nepalese people and not for any advantages for themselves and reactionary forces. Without prejudicing India's high stakes in Nepal let it not be forgotten that a people's Nepal free from the clutches of the reactionary Ranas of either camps will become the surest guarantee against any invasion of India. If Indo-Nepalese friendship were to rest on a solid foundation, there is all the greater need for a common approach to questions of democratic rights and conceptions by the two parties.

This presupposes a sympathetic understanding of the Nepalese situation by the neighbouring countries. Because there is no intermediary class of people in between the aristocracy and the suppressed masses democracy will bear a meaning quite different from that conceived in ordinary condition of middle class dominated society. This makes further the character of our struggle extremely progressive. The Nepalese people feel not only the urge for freedom in order to gain civic rights but at the same time interpret them in terms of substantial economic advantages. In other words liberty

for them will not only mean equal opportunities but equal distribution of wealth as well on the basis of work. Any transfer of power to their hands, if this urge for equalisation of property is to be considered, will preclude all attempts at creating a new complication of the type found in capitalist society which maintains the status quo and tightens the grips of forces so far lying dominant in the field. We have simply no mind to fall into a position to face ever new and fresh issues when the old issues are simple enough to saddle. Freedom from the oppressive Rana rule will not be allowed to deteriorate into assuming forms of ferocious shackles, which will be the result if the feudal forces are allowed to continue under the old status. The people will certainly use the power they snatch from the feudalists in order that the tentacles are destroyed and no fresh barrier comes to prevent their natural growth into prosperity.

In their quest for real freedom the Nepalese will encounter combined opposition of the world vested interests with which the Rana and allied aristocracy of Nepal is interlinked through its external investment. But the same makes them a staunch enemy of the international capital which is propping up the Nepalese feudal rulers.

Gradualism is a specific feature of a democratic capitalist society. Where feudalism reigns supreme and power is held by an aristocracy under proprietary rights as in Nepal any scheme of gradual transfer of power has simply no place. It does not fit in with such a texture for feudalism faces a total collapse when once it allows a little ground for the anti-feudal forces to operate and therefore it is always with a spirit of resistance that all views advocating changes in the structure are considered.

Feudalism does not know liberalism. Liberalisation will kill it. Either it liberalises or goes or it resists and stays. Any plan drawn to preserve it in a liberalised form is full of deceits and its effect will be to divert the channel of democratic agitation to a wrong end, to an end which will produce exactly the opposite results. It may give a false appearance to lull the fighting spirit of the people into submission to the old order by promises of redemption but it will ultimately mean

a betrayal of their interest. We do not mean to invite chaos and disorder but anti-communism is no solution for the Nepalese problem if the status quo is to continue and the existing property relations which divides the ruling Ranas from the exploited mass is not to be disrupted for the betterment of the latter. It will strengthen the hands of the feudal oligarchy, weaken the resistance of the people and delay their emancipation. Anti-communism as applied to Nepalese condition will be definitely anti-people and anti-democratic.

It must be admitted that the Nepalese people's fight for liberty is organically connected with the national liberation struggle of the Asiatic people which is equally related to the emancipatory struggle of the exploited classes of the industrial and capitalist countries. We can not remain blind to this aspect of the problem and assist those who are out to exploit our movement for the preservation of their vested interest by raising the bogey of communism, which clouds the main issue of liberation.

Anti-communism comes in the garb of democracy without, however, effecting real changes in the social structure. On final analysis there is, therefore, no choice between the type of autocracy as it exists and the type it would exist under the form envisaged by the authors of the anti-communist plans. One would be the only slightly altered form of the other in a novel dress designed to be able to throw dust into people's eyes as to its real intention. We cannot differentiate the one from the other. If there is a difference it is of appearance only and not of reality. What one wants to achieve by naked force the other achieves by stealthy means under a semblance of democracy. Both have a single aim of perpetuating the slavery of the people. But anti-communism as it comes under a subtle form and with false promise of redemption has more dangerous tendencies and is to be all the more detested and resisted.

Some people are apt to be misled by the fact that the authors of the anti-communist plan have been at the moment the democracies of the west. But we must know that their authorship alone of all the factors makes the idea too dangerous to swallow. Those who

control the destiny of these democracies have never made a secret of their reactionary views, and have always shown an uncompromising hostility to anything done towards granting real powers to the people. In their own country the people continue to be as much enslaved and deprived of actual rights and economic advantages as in the colonies and medieval countries. Today when the very institution of property is threatened, they are least expected to base their policy on principles of democracy which means to turn upside down the very basis of their powers and privileges. Their allies, therefore, today as of yesterday are the reactionary anti-democratic elements. The anti-communist front will certainly include in its fold such interests and regimes as have tended to be actually anti-democratic. Any one acquainted with the trend of foreign policy of the Anglo-American Powers cannot have the illusion that they mean otherwise. If they have supported the barbarous rulers of Arabia, there is no reason to suppose that they will have any other policy towards Nepal whose condition does not differ very much from that of medieval looking Arabia. With what they have done in Korea, Indo-China, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries of the East where tyrants and authoritarian regimes are bolstered up as against the mass of the people struggling for liberty, we cannot but conclude that the Rana rulers or any other reactionary rulers will receive utmost support in their hands. The Ranas or men of their ilk are the best defenders of the social order which functions in conformity to imperialist interests, and the Anglo-American Powers have to preserve them for their own sake.

Anti-Communism is the rallying ground of all the parties of vested interests on an international front, where the autocratic Ranas or their kinsmen will play an important role as the common enemy of progress. As they happen to be the only guarantee against Nepalese democratic forces, the attempt will be to strengthen their hands. Even if they have to be pulled, efforts will be made to replace them by equally reactionary elements, by those who will pursue an anti-people policy of administration. No reforms will be entertained which will change this fundamental factor. He will be living in a fool's paradise if any one believes in being able to obtain sympathies of the western Powers for the people's struggle in Nepal. That will be never forthcoming. But at the same time attempts will be made to pass the

present Ranacracy or in the alternative King Tribhuwan's autocracy in a new garb as an embodiment of liberal changes, a factor which is well in evidence. The Nepalese people should be aware of treading on a dangerous path of accepting these in their face value. Anti-communism in the hands of the feudal cum capitalist class cannot but be an instrument of feudal and imperialist exploitation and a veritable measure to perpetuate and fortify their position in the old social order.

Feudal autocracy and democracy are two incompatibles. They cannot exist together. If democracy were to be interpreted as a compromise then it will have no validity. Anything done as a measure of democratisation without removing the privileges of the aristocratic families will be in the nature of a hoax whose purpose is to hoodwink the people. Because the anti-communist front is designed to bolster up the anti-people forces, it will surely not introduce changes inimical to them. Feudalism will be saved certainly at the cost of the people's rights. The sort of democracy as will exist under anti-communist plans will be a huge mockery.\*

---

\* The above four chapters were written exactly six months before the present changes were introduced in Nepal in the middle of February last year.

## CHAPTER V

### THE WAY OUT

**L**ET me now sum up the main points of conclusions emerging out of the analytical study of the problem that we made in the chapters preceding.

(1) The first point is Nepal's very low state of development which is standing in the way of democratic progress.

(2) Secondly there is the vicious circle created by rulers in not opening the country for development, which again has shut the door for popular awakening.

(3) Thirdly as power is vested in a family ruling by virtue of proprietary rights the scope for a gradual transfer of power is narrowed and the via media position is altogether ruled out.

(4) This has led the rulers to prevent every possibility of a process of change from materialising, which has gone to delay the inevitable triumph of popular forces through a process of gradual change.

(5) But the same has rendered the character of the democratic movement into a full-fledged progressive struggle aiming at a social revolution subsequent to the overthrow of the present regime. The absence of an independent middle class, which accounts for the slow growth of the anti-feudal movement further imparts to it a progressive characteristic to make it thoroughly anti-feudal and anti-imperialist identifying wholly with the aspiration of the very downtrodden and suppressed.

(6) The main drawback, however, is the lack of organisational strength and behind the not insufficient popular awakening is the inability born of hard conditions, due to which Nepal so far has failed to canalise the rough temper of the age into the right course of action.



The low stage of development also paves the way for the palace feud to assert itself and render the ground of the anti-Rana struggle into an arena of domestic strife where democratic ideology finds little spacious latitude to work.

(7) Developing further we come to the question, what is the way out? If only the evil sides of the picture were weighed it will look that all that we are endeavouring and fighting will go in vain as the country does not on the surface seem prepared for the results. But that will be the very pitch of pessimism carried too far, much too far. Persons of understanding and vision will not view things in that way. Having grasped the reality of the situation they will rather find it easy to trace the means in order to overcome the obstacles. These are not such as are baffling attempts of solution, no problem of the type suggested is so in the present context of national and international changes. The way out cannot remain in hiding if one only makes a serious search of it. Nepal shall be liberated and should be liberated. The present backwardness of the country and consequent lack of a strong democratic pressure over the rulers of the country will not for long hold progress. Feudalism will have to yield before the mounting strength of popular forces once they start to move upwards crossing the hurdles. A thorough knowledge of the counteracting forces and efficient handling of the situation will enable us to derive ways and means and to seize upon a correct line of action in speedy furtherance of the popular cause provided we do not suffer from a chronic disease of pessimism. And it will not take a long time to effectually control the limitations placed on our path by certain natural factors if alone we pursue a path taking lessons from our past experiences and act with caution and determination to that end.

(8) We have only to turn over the pages in chapter 3 of this volume to be able to confirm the statement. Ranacracy is not a strong force. Structurally it is based on the ignorance of the people. Its feudal built rests on a too crude and infirm foundation to be capable of resisting even moderate assault of popular awakeing. Ideologically it stands worse chance of survival, for it is nothing but a primitive barbarism. Besides it is rent asunder from within, and its vitals are being corroded not only for want of the fresh air of modern

civilisation but also from a lack of internal cohesion and timely adjustment. One is perfectly right to say that the present administration of Nepal is not entitled to the nomenclature of a government as is understood in modern parlance, and therefore, its inherent weakness can better be realised. But it is being sustained by backwardness and ignorance of the people whose progress is retarded by a policy of denial and suppression consistently practised by the Rana rulers. Once this state of affairs changes and there is born a widespread popular awakening the Ranacry will experience a shake up and collapse at a single blow.

(9). Again if pessimism has no validity to rest on save as a short term phase a mental frame optimism relying only on external causes to work will prove a chimera and an insubstantial factor. No people has achieved its liberation solely by the aid of external factors how so ever favourable they might appear to be. External factors work as far as they go to encourage the tendencies to resistance and create a psychological background for the same, in some cases they tend to make up the shortcomings by addition of material resources and provide a guidance out of the wealth of experiences. But this presupposes an already existing movement within. This can never replace internal movement and fulfil alone the tasks the latter performs. Nepal's liberation will have to be worked out mainly by its own people through their own exertion. Exert they must howso ever favourably the international situation may be influencing the current of their history.

(10) Lastly it should be borne in mind that in the present period of world historical epoch of democratic changes Nepal cannot remain any longer in the grip of family autocracy that is evidently much outdated and outmoded. Howso ever grudging may be the rule withholding civic rights from the masses of the people, and conditions made tight for their restitution this grip will be loosened and democratic forces now smouldering beneath will be soon at work to erupt later on like a volcano. It will be unwarranted pessimism to attempt to ignore this vital factor. This is neither unwarranted optimism. There is not an insufficient awaken-

ing in the country, and the Nepalese people too, at least a section of it, is not living without knowledge of the movement for democratic rights since it had had a training in course of the democratic upsurge of the last two decades.

So on both counts the moot point there is to develop popular consciousness, steer it clear of confusions and through the many complications and obstructions of opportunism and help it to proceed along lines of organisational activity for the end sought. The line should be such as counteracts the effects of unfavourable factors that have been so long acting to arrest the progress of democratic forces.

The question is as to how that is to be achieved.

.....

Obviously the need of the hour, the panacea of all evils eating into our vitals is the coming into being of a strong militant political organisation of the masses imbued with democratic ideology.

This means reversing the old line and treading a new path altogether. The tradition of aimless agitation and propaganda stunts will have to be given up. These without a solid organisation do not take us far. Propaganda and publicity are important within the framework of a militant organisation. They cannot be dispensed with. But their value is limited by the structure and working capacity of the organisation of which they form a side activity. Our main endeavour as far as the present condition of Nepal allows is to make these secondary giving top priority to the task of party formation and its consolidation. Any other arrangement which will not recognise the all supreme importance of political organisation will fall short of the needs of the hour.

The people of Nepal will have to pass through various stages before they go into the decisive battle against the ruling autocracy. The first is the stage of popular awakening and the second is the organisational expression of that awakening when it becomes intense. For the actual fight an organisation is vitally necessary. There can be no two opinions on this point. But can a widespread awakening be generated

through non-organisational activity or for the matter of convenience through a loose social organisation of non-political origin? In considering this question we must not forget that ours is a peculiar situation under the most cruel and shameless autocracy.

Nepal is ruled autocratically by the Ranas without even a semblance of constitution. The power of an absolute dictatorship is used to crush any attempt at introducing a constitutional Safeguards the do not and cannot tolerate constitutional agitation inside Nepal. The Ranas simply very idea of limitations on their powers and privileges in this set up is unthinkable. There is simply no place even for the most modest of it. No misconception should be entertained as to the impracticability of a suggestion for an open constitutional agitation within the frontiers of Nepal. It is entirely wrong to bring Indian analogy in the Nepalese context. Methods which were effective in India cannot stand in Nepal inasmuch it lacks totally the requisite atmosphere of unrestricted social activities. The most innocent social efforts individually or collectively made are banned if they are taken to be containing the germs likely to generate popular awakening in future. In Nepal it is a crime even to deliver religious discourses in open or private, not to speak of conducting political activities. The Ranas are used to viewing with suspicion any departure from the drab social atmosphere of the day wherever extant. Anything done by way of constructive efforts to alleviate social suffering attracts their notice and is frowned upon. Besides risking punishment one incurs the very danger of suppression of the entire programme as soon as he encounters the attention of the autocrats. It is no use citing examples where there have not been open victimisation. These could exist as a lifeless process of constructive programme in a very limited sphere, whose purpose in the long last could not remain undefeated. If the results Tulsimehar Shrestha, the Nepali disciple of Gundmiji, obtained after his hard labour of thirty years were to be judged in right prospective there would be one and only one conclusion and that is that his scheme of social uplift through propagation of the cult of hand spun and hand oven textile industry was a barren jitter as much as it failed to educate the persons engaged in the trade towards civic consciousness. Rather, the regrettable fact has been his being reduced to the

old phantom of ignorance through a process of mechanical adaptation to the spinning wheel and mule. In an endeavour to dispel doubts about himself entertained by the autocrats and establish his loyalty the sponsor had quite forgotten that it was futile to strive to attempt develop civic sense in a gathering of people suffering from a fear of victimisation by purely constructive methods based on Indian models. This was economism pure and simple but attended with the worst form of manifestation, which went to narrow down the very scope of the programme to mechanisation and stultifying of the humanity connected with the same. Now it is clear that the Charkha, Gandhi's spinning wheel, taken singly as a programme of constructive work is useless to perform its task. In Nepal for lack of opportunities for other items of programme due to prohibitory regulations it is also a fact that the spinning wheel has to stand without any companion instruments of popular advancement.

Thus the constructive work as a whole loses its meaning as far as its applicability goes. It is only to betray one's ignorance of Nepalese condition to have stressed the need of this type of work which does not find receptive field under the present regime.

People not conversant with this aspect of the problem prescribe a wrong remedy in the form of modest beginning to cover as an initial phase some part of the constructive programme as mentioned by Gandhiji. It is, however, in the nature of challenging the authority of the Ranas that one dares to have pushed this remedy into practice. And we know what this challenge will be followed by. Any one with his head above the shoulders will not advise embarking on this challenging task just for the reason that this leads to the results which were to be avoided. Considered in all its aspects the present day condition of Nepal offers little ground for open work of social importance however harmless and modest that may be to minds habituated under the favourable atmosphere of India.

Constructive work is not an end in itself. It is a road leading to the uplift of the masses and to their awakening. If some of its items do not fulfil that purpose without the whole being implemented it is

not worth trying them at all. In other cases where these have to be undertaken as a cover to hide the real character of the programme understood to generate a degree of popular awakening these will serve only to provoke the suspicion of the State authorities and expose the authors to immense risk. There is therefore absolutely no point in implementing a part of such a programme even if this could be done.

All this points out that in practice the talk of modest beginning or of social activities loses its meaning, and attempts at securing reforms with the help of non-organizational work will be set at naught. The proposition that the existence of a political organisation is not essential for the first stage is totally invalid. But the same dictates that this political organisation should not assume the character as is given to it in ordinary circumstances backed up by a tradition of democratic administration. It must conform to the objective condition of the country wherein it has to work. In Nepal the normal built and working of a political organisation must be such as is suited to one following an underground course of action.

When nothing open can be done the alternative is to go underground. The plan must be adjusted to this fundamental factor. It is obvious that plans covering constructive programme of the type attended to are not workable out of the surface. They must be worthy of risk involved and in nature and efficacy all embracing. This is fulfilled only by an all out effort at dealing a blow to the factor which is responsible thus far for the condition obtaining to arrest the growth of democratic forces. The line may be strictly single, but will not be a unilateral affair. In order to make it a total instrument of fight the same has had to be developed, consolidated and strengthened or else it will be a poor show and die a premature death. For a country autocratically ruled like Nepal where civic rights do not exist anything done otherwise ignoring the underground nature of work will only spoil the issue and delay the process of emancipation. Before they tread an open path of political work the Nepalese democrats shall have to undertake a course of action in preparation to that end, which should be shrouded in absolute secrecy.

We are alluding to a network of political organisation spread all

over the country and functioning in secrecy far removed and shielded from the keen gage of the Rana's (both group) spies. Our emphasis is on a political organisation of active workers. The period of propaganda without organisational basis has to be taken completely ended. Illusions of the sort that a non-organisational propaganda is enough for the time being has now to be cast off. Similarly those who think that far a modest demand for elementary civic rights there need not be a strong political organisation to back up are entirely wrong as our experiences of work showed and the whole idea has now to be revised. Lastly the organisation is to have not only a secret functioning but to have also a structural solidity with aims and objects of advanced and far reaching character.

The Rana autocracy is desperately trying to maintain its hold intact. It would not permit even the very elementary concession to the demands of the people for civic rights. The overthrow of autocracy is, therefore, the one principal issue before us. Any attempt at compromise in disregard of this fundamental issue is not only a wishful thinking entertained but is likely to produce untold harm to the cause of democracy. We must not forget that the policy and programme of going slow and modest are as impracticable as far as their acceptance by the autocracy goes as any other involving revolutionary changes. This compels us to relinquish compromise solutions of the problem even as a strategical medium to the final aim of liquidating autocracy and to adopt a courageous and comprehensive objective from the very starting point that aims at the immediate fulfilment of an advance democratic programme. The issue must be taken for direct and straight decision and not for any kind of making half way compromise that is circuitous and impracticable. The most advanced political ideology combined with the strongest possible line of action will alone arouse the masses of the people towards revolutionary struggle to which therefore all our energies should be directed. A political victory of the people over Ranaocracy will alone open the vista for all other kinds of progress social and economic to which without doubt our fight must be concentrated in all eventualities.

We said in the last paragraph that our main task is to build up a political organisation of active workers. The question of making the

organisation whole and sole a functioning apparatus is inextricably connected with the nature of work in hand, which is to prepare a militant cadre acting incognito. Only a party of active workers will fit in with the requirement of the task. Unless there are a sufficient active people in the party, the agitational as well as the organisation programme will remain in obedience. We must find a way to impart to the party a vigour and a true missionary zeal. But the party in this respect must outstrip the stage of a mere talking body. The very preliminary condition of existence of an underground political organisation is its active cadre. We have to see before any thing else that we have adequate number of trained hands for the job. Our party cannot any longer afford to be only a body of men confining their activities to the passing of high sounding resolutions. This chapter must end. The usual luxury of an armchair middle class politician is too much a burden on our shoulders, which we are unable to bear. Nothing is more important for us than the task of making our cadre active. This is the primary task, on which will depend the development of the organisation and its consequent progress of work.

When we come to translating the above into action we have to unhesitatingly recommend the absorption of a clause for active membership in the party constitution. Let only such people as can put in certain amount of active work to the cause of the party be entitled to be members. For other categories of people let there be a sympathiser's card. If we strictly observe this provision it will not be before long that an organised body of professional revolutionaries begins to function.

Discipline in the rank is the most essential feature of a political party which generally means action. To this we must bestow special attention and even at the risk of overdoing, a sense of discipline will have to be inculcated to avoid straying of workers to a wrong path or indiscreet action. A disciplined rank will also not be prone to loose talking, and hence a guarantee against unseemly betrayal and leakage of secrets to the enemy camp. A fighting political party is not the less important than an organised army in the battlefield. It must move with one mind and under one direction. A strict observance of the rules of conduct will tend to introduce this type of mind and a spirit



of obedience and respect towards the leadership. Discipline ensures unflinching loyalty of the cadre to the cause and faith in the leadership of the movement. A tradition of discipline cannot but foster sound qualities of dynamic personality, of perseverance and steadfastness for the cause of democracy.

With strict discipline a spirit of loyalty to the party must be fostered, and this loyalty must on no account be secondary. Although at first sight the party organisation runs in the nature of a united front but it must never share the looseness which characterises such an organisation in some countries. Our party structure has to be unfailingly a cohesive and homogeneous body if it is not to share the fate of the loosely federated organisations. Dual membership is the main feature which has to be discarded without losing time. This is a factor which contributes to increasing disintegrating tendencies. Our experience has been that all those who join the organisation as only a broad base of the different parties combining do not owe primary allegiance to its policy and programme but consider it a side issue to participate in the activities pertaining to Nepalese democratic movement. Unless and until we ban dual membership this mentality will stick for long with detriment to the development of the organisation in question. Our cadre must be a wholly professional revolutionary cadre as far as possible and be trained in that line to be able to devote exclusive attention to the work of the party and its allied and associate organisations. Our task will remain ever unfulfilled if we continue to ignore this aspect of the problem. There is no use in recruiting to the rank of the party such persons as do not in any way prove actively helpful to its cause. This consideration will also exclude from actual membership all those people who though not members of other political parties have so long played an arm chair politician's role. Our endeavour must be to free the party from doubtful elements and save it from degenerating itself into a concert of sleeping partners and this is best achieved by enjoining on the party members regular active work and by exacting from them undivided allegiance and loyalty.

To revert to the organisational aspect of the problem : Let there be a secretly functioning network of political organisation covering

the entire portion of the country. It will not be a difficult task to organise our party in that line if alone we insist on the qualitative rather than the quantitative built of the party to be equipped for the enormous task of fighting the entrenched autocracy, for such an organisation numerical strength is immaterial as secrecy demands a personnel of a high integrity and character and naturally enough persons of high character and integrity could not be found in large numbers to make the same in the present conditions. Even if we could obtain a committee of five persons working in each district, that will not be a mean achievement and will not be inadequate for the preliminary organisational activities. And allowing the committee to conduct its one programme of building up an organisation in the area we shall pave the way for the emergence of a solid political party organised and consolidated to give a heavy assault on the enemies.

The party is the organiser and leader of the movement. Naturally its cadre must be efficient and ideologically conscious and honest and at the same time well organised and disciplined. Such a party can not afford to let its membership keep open to all but the few fitted to bear the responsibility of the task, and the few will have to be politically educated as to the party line and ideologically indoctrinated before they are sent on the errand. A training camp and study circles for the prospective members will have to be conducted for the purpose in India, where we enjoy every facility in that direction. But this may not be enough as many interested persons may not be forthcoming for the reason that the Nepalese C. I. D. are keeping the track of the persons conducting the camp and the Indian C. I. D. will assist them in their work. Probably a good deal will depend on the rank and file however numerically poor, who will have the advantage of reading the situation and possibilities thereof by their own experiences on the spot. It is also possible that in the beginning the ideological aspect of the organisation will not be farther stressed than what is strictly necessary. As a rule ideological strength enhances only when there is a long record of sacrifice and suffering behind. Real leadership will emerge in course of the struggle, and we should not be disappointed at the poor result of the work and of the specimen turned out in the initial stage.

We cannot enter upon the actual course of the struggle without sound preparation and proper organisational background. Nor a single phase of the struggle can become decisive. It is also true that the first phase of the struggle will have to be launched solely to bring about revolutionary consciousness amongst the mass of the people, and not for decisive results, which will mean less preparatory action than what is requisite for the final show down. And because the contradiction within the system of feudalism is getting sharper day by day, even the first phase of the struggle will be attended with tremendous success and the following circumstances will be such as will tend to bring to the fore all dormant qualities of leadership in the party since engaged in the struggle.

While we emphasise secrecy of work within the frontiers of Nepal, this is not our intention to make our organisation a mere conspiratorial body wedded to a policy of individual terrorism and to the cult of violence. Individual terrorism can never be a substitute for the revolutionary democratic movement wherein the mass of the people participate. It only reveals a crass mental confusion and a psychological frustration of the type degenerated to destructionist behaviour. Individual terrorism is always destructive. A terrorist has no ideology and his vision is blurred. He is as far removed from the mass of the people, and is careless of consequences. He is only interested in destruction and construction is far from his mind. Where there is a conflict between a few individuals as to the capture of power terrorism may become decisive and not engender chaos. But it is that only within an autocratic set up that such a plan can work as a decisive factor. It is, however, not on that account that terroristic methods can otherwise be freed of its dangerous potentialities. Terrorism has never behaved in a way to respect for democratic ideals, and could never be practised for democratic ends without the prospect of contrary results.

The general belief in the efficacy of terrorism in Nepal has its roots in the tradition and history of the palace where upto very late coups formed a regular feature of practical politics. But a terrorist forgets that he does not plan any coup, for it can be done

only by people within the circle of the palace aristocracy and in his case not democratic change but only capture of power by equally autocratic elements is the immediate perspective. He thinks that by terroristic methods he can intimidate the bullies to mend their ways, but here too he misfires for the Rana family is too much entrenched to be thus cowed down and will react to terrorism with more fierce repressive measures. The logical corollary of individual terrorism in the circumstances will be that while the people will run a greater chance of being terrorised at the hands of the rulers it will at the same time remove the possibility for the formation of an organisation further in proportion as people lose courage in that course. Terrorism diverts the people from an organised fight, and therefore is most injurious to the cause for a country like Nepal which needs a fighting organisation of the people more than anything else. A terrorist will not only create a condition of repression in the country but will ultimately endanger the prospect of the early fulfilment of the task. And speaking for himself it is most likely that certain interested cliques will use him. A terrorist misleads others while deluding himself.

When we stress the need of a secret organisation, we have in mind neither individual terrorism nor a conspiratorial attempt. Our method shall remain strictly peaceful and non-violent. But we aim at organising a strong revolutionary force working with peaceful methods, which can be built up in course of time through a secret preparatory work. The primary task is to elude the vigilance of the secret servicemen of the Ranas, so that the growth and development of the organisation is not impeded by the arrest of the workers at their hands. Anything done to attract the notice of the police will set the machinery of disruption against the organisation. Action of the type giving a clue to the police has had to be avoided at any cost and hence the secrecy of work emphasised. No matter it goes against a part of the tenets of nonviolent resistance, secrecy cannot be eschewed from the organisational activity of the Nepalese democrats. It is the principal feature.

The organisation must be built up in a way that it lies there as a

smouldering fire to break out in flames as soon as conditions ripen for a flare up. Secrecy of work within a limited sphere has an overriding importance considered in that light. It will be childish to sacrifice secrecy of work on the ground that ours is a mass movement. A mass movement must for its own sake have behind it a solid organisation maintaining the energy and continuation of the struggle. By any other way there will never come into being a solid organisation which will again put off the date of decisive conflict with the forces of reaction. We must bear in mind that the only constructive task for us today is to build up a mighty fighting organisation and we must pool our resources to that end. If we succeed in forging an organised party inside Nepal our fight will bear a character that will command vigour and stability of a military force and will be in a position to carry on the fight nonstop howsoever repressive the other side may prove to be. But without a secret and absolutely underground work such organisation will not be formed. A hackneyed method of non-organisational front is bound to fail at one or another stage of the fight without producing appreciable results.

Notwithstanding the need for absolute secrecy in matters of organisational activity, it is sad that people have been indulging in open activities without any fore-thought of its repercussions on the progress of the organisation. A hasty step ignoring the value of underground work will lead to the break up of the whole organisation or a part of it, very often the whole of it specially when it is conducted at the initial stage of the organisational activity. Our numerical paucity does not permit us to overlook this aspect of the problem. Agitation inside Nepal is the least operational part of the programme in the present context. This should form a major item of our programme in India. We have spacious ground for that in India where we enjoy unrestricted liberty of work, cases of arrests or repression are increasing in proportion as our activity extends and these can be seized as a basis of propaganda and agitation. Thirty lakhs of Nepalese can be openly organised, out of them revolutionary workers can be culled and trained for the task to undertake works inside Nepal. Of course the work in India has to be kept organically separate from the secret work done inside Nepal. But all this to be

confined to the free atmosphere of India. For Nepal as long as there does not develop a secret militant organisation, the workers cannot all afford to be vociferous and throw themselves in the fray premature. For the time the organisation extends its influence, there must prevail as much secrecy as possible even if it may be taken for a lull. Once we create a party organisation expanding its sphere of work to every nook and corner of Nepal, the agitational side of the work will not prove so difficult. The party can launch a movement out of the material it gathers in course of the preparatory stage. Governmental repression and arrest of members as a sequel to open work at that stage will not exhaust the resources of the party. An organised political party is a never drying reservoir and if it is there the next move will logically follow with greater speed and intensity. So we should not by-pass the important question of organisational activity in a craze for agitational programme. The latter will be automatically facilitated in case a strong organised party is brought forth to work out the programme. There is nothing valuable and efficacious like the solidly built organisation of the revolutionary workers for the sort of condition that is obtaining in Nepal at the present time under the suffocating atmosphere of the autocratic regime and all other factors must have a subordinate place in our programme of action.

We postpone the observation on the social composition of the party to a place somewhere following. Here it suffices to note that the organisation because of its strictly secret functioning will not be run on formal constitutional lines. An organisation run to every detail of the constitutional procedure is an impossibility in the circumstances obtaining in present day Nepal where the primary consideration in all such works is to avoid being detected by the police. The fact that much of the preparatory work is being done in India is no argument for formal democratic practices. The agents of the Ranas are infesting our habitat in sufficient number to be able to sense the nature and scope of our underground activities. Even in India we cannot afford to be carelessly outspoken as to the vital matters concerning our organisation at least that part of the programme operative inside the territorial limits of Nepal. The identity of the underground workers, their inter district links, their

means of communication and matters of the type just in line with these can be made available to none but a very small number of reliable persons of tried calibre and proved integrity at the top with a glorious records of suffering and sacrifice engaged in the work of organising the party. This not only demands complete separation of the two types of work, open and underground and for each to be guided as distinctly two functions but also a centralised guidance by a single leadership of the qualities just mentioned that will preside over both and maintain an organisational link between these two types of work in order that a harmonious adjustment and coordination of the two spheres of activities is not impaired. The cadre will have to be made politically conscious to be able to understand the value of a centralised leadership so that it is not misled by demagogues to demand suicidal methods of bureaucratic electioneering and book keeping facilities and criticism in a like fashion. The procedure adopted in these matters by political parties of India, which work under legal conditions is quite at variance with the one required by the exigency of the situation under autocratic rule and, therefore, it should find no favour with the Nepalese democrats. There is a greater danger of the organisation being disintegrated at the very beginning if we do not enlighten our cadre about the principles and working of a secret party organisation.

The more backward a country is the greater is the need for a sound and honest leadership to wage a political fight. It is no easy task to organise and lead a backward people along the path of social revolution and release them from the deadly grip of the tyrants. Men of exceptional ability and knowledge imbued with the highest motive of patriotism and of love for the country are needed to play the role of liberators. But a backward country suffers generally from shortage of meritorious men who can bear the responsibility of this gigantic task. We have to be extraordinarily alert in the matter of selecting the vanguard of the anti-Rana struggle. An inadvertently misplaced choice may lead the party to ill repute or worse than that to annihilation and thereby spoil the cause of democracy. As it obtains in a condition of poor awakening opportunist trends in patriotic activities of our country are making themselves felt, and

mediocres and megalomaniacs are rushing in to occupy the vantage ground. If their bid for leadership were to be allowed to go unchallenged and not resisted the Nepalese democratic movement will find for long stewing in its own juice without making any headway. Our politics may not have developed any much higher towards maturity, our ideological growth may not be such as to shut out the prospect of deviation from the revolutionary path but the dangers of betrayal by the leadership acting within the frame work of palace allignments are none the less minimised just for these reasons. For the Rana or any other capitalist elements it is not difficult to corrupt these men of base ambition if only because we are passing through a crisis, and our rank is not immune from tendencies of deflection and vaccilation. The organisation will have to be kept free from the baneful influence of the opportunists and demagogues, the former because they sell their principle as it suits them, the latter because their activity breeds indiscipline and disintegrating tendencies. Our democratic movement is just taking shape and our organisation is in the state of making. Anything preached and propogated to create confidence in the Ranas or in any other autocratic setup by referring to their readiness to influence plans of reform diverts the people from the path of consistent opposition to the regime in the same way as does the hostile criticism of the movement designed to malign and defame the uncompromising leadership.

In the past we have suffered much on account of opportunist leadership and anti-democratic activities of certain individuals, the result of which has been so harmful to the growth of a solid political organisation.

A correct appraisal of the situation and unwavering attachment to the cause of democracy on the part of party leaders are the two things necessary for the successful development of the movement. But these will not come unless the opportunists and demagogues are kept at bay and the party leadership is entrusted into the hands of the very faithful and consistent fighters for freedom. A complacent attitude on the question of leadership of the party is most undesirable from



every standpoint. There is no excuse to rely on the drift of events that are calculated to bring forth right leadership at the moment through their long course. Opportunism and demagogy have to be combated in all seriousness from the very beginning. Now that we have to our credit at least a decade old democratic party work there is all the more compelling reason to be particular about the matter.

A political organisation is a fighting body, and more so for a country like Nepal where it has to establish its foot hold against the counteracting repressive policy of the autocratic rulers. It would be unwise to put such organisation on par with loosely standing parties as they function in countries like India. Yet some people look upon the organisational activity as something in the nature of shop keepers' behaviour. What matters for us today is the sort of activity which creates a body of self-less disciplined workers. It does not matter if we could not maintain an office and records of work. These are secondary but we shall gain a great deal if we succeed in establishing contact with the conscious elements in every nook and corner of the country through a body of active political workers. We may not even press for the formal enrolment of members and keep register of the names thus enrolled. No other form of organisation is commendable.

Each branch of the organisation will have two divisions just as works inside Nepal and India are divided. There will be no organic link between these two divisions save at the top which will generally function from outside Nepal. The divisions will be one for organisational work and another for propoganda. Agitation inside Nepal will cease except as a whispering campaign conducted by fellow travellers whose arrest will not physically affect the numerical strength or the structure of the organisation. Those engaged in the organisational work will only select the personnel and prepare them for agitational programme to commence along with the open struggle in an appointed time. Care should be taken to ensure that the source of propoganda in the area is not revealed to persons outside the immediate circle of those engaged in that division of work. Also at the moment of open struggle these and the principal organising elements in each region must not expose themselves to the police.

The workers in the areas have to disguise their identity as is ordained by the secret nature of work. The question of eluding the vigilance of the spies by wearing a proper disguise is a very important one. For this it is necessary that during the pendency of organisational activity nothing in the nature of evoking their suspicion is done or given rise to. While this recipe is to be fulfilled very strictly, it will be nevertheless not out of order to take up social works wherever the ruling autocracy permits but this will have to be conducted in order not to expose the members of the party but rather to conceal their real character and give to the agencies wrong ideas about the same. A teaching institution can absorb some of the men engaged in the task, and these can very well command influence in a particular locality, which will prove tremendously valuable at a time when these men resort to action in open manner.

The brunt of the work to coordinate these varied activities will naturally fall on the leadership of the movement, and here again its importance cannot but be driven home fast. If we repose confidence in wrong persons, the consequences will be disastrous. Let there be sufficient alertness and real understanding on that point.

One of the factors confusing the problem of the selection of sincere and honest leadership has been the similarity of outlook on democratic questions of their men in the field, who seem to be quarelling more over personal issues than on ideological grounds. But this is only so on superficial observation. Deep down these quarrels there is always a conflict of opinion as to ideology and programme of action. This has sharpened in course of the time the democratic movement proceeded in a march towards the goal with the attainment of even new experiences. We know that the opportunist trend does not fit in with the texture and spirit of the organisation just outlined in the above paragraphs but it does not mean that we too should be still on the side of ideological vagueness. To meet the requirement of the exigency we have in the previous chapter defined the aims and objects of the Nepalese democratic movement. The political party which has its policy statement nearest to this definition, which has pledged itself to bring about social revolution

and which unequivocally stresses all these satisfies the minimum condition of support by the mass of the people who will find it their true friend. As we have observed in the beginning, there is no justification for the adoption of modest programme on the ground of tactics, because nothing is separate from the question of the overthrow of Ranacracy which knows no compromise on the part of the people's representative. This attitude betrays opportunist tendencies which have to be condemned in the severest term possible. Those who extend hands of cooperation to the rulers on the basis of the so-called moderate programme are rank opportunists. The other camp is of real democrats and fighters, of those who will never seek compromise with the autocrats and of those who want a revolutionary change of the state apparatus. The Nepalese democratic movement will receive a safe guidance in the hands of these leaders.

*The social composition of the party and its allies.*

Now to the social composition of the organisation. When the struggle in question is between the Rana family and the classes under subjugation, the latter trying to emancipate from the grip, the party in class composition cannot but be a composite body representative of the groups assembled in the duniyadar, a name used for the people standing in antagonistic relations with the rulers and their parasites. This will differ from a party which solely represents the proletariat section of the people inasmuch as its members are not confined to the proletarian classes but also belong to this class and others in the low strata, the peasants as well as the small propertied lower bourgeoisie, and revolutionary intelligentsia. Our party is thus not only a united front of the suppressed multitude, we call them the people as opposed to the ruling class and the compradores, but by the same reason becomes also a fit organisation to effect and complete the democratic revolution. The absence of capitalist middle class in the country being a special feature of social relations owing to its feudal economy makes at the same time the development and consolidation of the organisation along a non-capitalist course a matter of normal process and an inevitability where from the danger of the restitution of the status quo ante given the

success of the democratic revolution with this united front is entirely removed. It will be, however, necessary to watch the shift in the lower middle class particularly the trend towards the upgrade and to keep the party free from the contamination resulting from the same. It cannot be denied that the parasitic Bharadar class does originally belong to this group, and there is at present a growing section within the ambit of the small propertied class, that is looking to the aristocracy for certain advantages in life. Let us call it the upper crust of the lower middle class. As an intermediary section and with bourgeois prejudices and aspiration this is the most irresolute, inconsistent and treacherous section. The party faces a difficult task of freeing itself from the leading strings of this section. In the nature of the class composition of the organisation, it will not be possible to check the entry of persons harbouring middle class sentiments. As the prospect of the democratic revolution grows brighter these will be attracted to join the struggle and more will find place in the camp. But this will be a definitely undesirable development from the popular point of view. If the leadership of the struggle passes into their hands, and this is not unlikely due to the very conspicuous position they hold as educated and intelligent group the character of the movement will undergo a change and it will run in the interest of one class trying to dominate all others. The present opportunism in our rank is the manifestation of the inroads made by this element. It is possible that the form in evidence at the moment is not serious enough to call for action directed to immediate uprooting. But it has sufficiently betrayed its anti-people and anti-national tendencies and therefore deserves to be dealt with properly with a view to guarantee the popular character of the organisation. We have seen from the analysis submitted earlier that there is an attempt to sabotage the organisational activities of the party by various dubious tactics sometimes by a recourse to a heinous compromise and surrender and sometimes by demagogic methods of generally maligning of the whole patriotic front irrespective of parties and individuals in order to bring it down in public estimation. This is done obviously to ingratiate the rulers in order to obtain concessions for their petty aspiration. But the harm done

to the struggle is beyond repair. The tendency if further allowed to grow is likely to bring in its train the entire consolidated force of reaction which will be firmly seated in power as soon as the present phase of half hearted handling of the situation passes. It is sure that today's the almost inactive lead given by the parasitic hangers-on and managing agents of the Ranas will outstrip the bounds of monetary help and advice and assume a significant role of active participation in the conflict and establish complete hegemony over the movement. The interest of the democratic struggle demands that such an eventuality should not be allowed to appear. But for this mere stressing the democratic character of the movement is not enough. All approaches by big vested interests to the movement will have to be closed by constitutionally preventing the entry into the party of all the elements that are overtly or covertly undemocratic. Let only those who are professional revolutionaries subscribing in unequivocal language to principles of democratic revolution find a place in the organisation. The anti-imperialist non-capitalist and anti-feudalist character of the struggle will not be impaired if it is carried under the hegemony of a political organisation that not only adopts unalloyed classless democracy as its objective but is also in class composition thoroughly purged of all feudal and fascist sentiments and similarly we cannot give room to a programme based on anti-communism, and this we have to do for the reason that anti-communism is an out and out reactionary ideology presented in the garb of democracy. I may also suggest that the anti-imperialist and progressive character of the movement should be asserted through the party constitution to exclude from its ranks all but well confirmed and dynamic anti-imperialist and anti-fascist elements of the present day democratic camp, and belonging to the classes not tied in any way to the chariot wheels of the feudal Ranacracy. We have observed that as a class the upper section of the lower bourgeoisie does not come up to the standard laid down. We shall do well to recruit our ranks from the dispossessed and proletariod strata, and educate them in theory and practice of the particular nature of the struggle in question before they are sent up on party tasks. The theoretical side of the question must receive our best attention for

on this will depend ideological make up of the organisation, which if moulded on progressive line will serve as a guarantee against undemocratic deviation and betrayal.

As to the allies we must not shut our eyes from the activity of those who are trying to use the threat of advanced ideology and popular awakening for their own personal ends to wrench concessions from the Ranas. We cannot do without the educated youth of the comprador lower bourgeoisie but when it is a matter of recruiting them into the party leadership we should see that they are ideologically declassed to shake off their class dependence on the Ranas and this must obtain recognition in the constitutional framework of the party. We should in the same way exercise utmost caution in distinguishing the illiberal and liberal wings of the oppositional section in the feudal Rana family and their dependents, between those that are solely for restitution of lost privileges and those that are for certain kind of democratic reforms and equal rights in the state. While we have to fight the former, it is all the more essential that we do not merge with the latter and at the same time expose their basically selfish role and compromising tendencies even though we shall have to join with them on some issues as against a particular enemy. Nor we can afford to lose our predominant position to them. However determined they may appear to be against the present autocratic regime, the fact that they fight for reforms and not for social revolution makes them very unreliable as allies of the people. It is occasionally found that either they waver in their task at a critical moment owing to their basically anti-people breeding and prejudices and then come to terms with the opponents or emerge downright as a resurgent fascist force in the hour of victory in order to wrest fruits of victory from the fighting people.

Evidence of a tendency to exploit the situation of growing popular awakening for revengeful action and for effecting their own ascendancy under garb of democratic sympathies has not been wanting in the hidden or open political activities of the aristocratic dissenters. We have already referred to the repercussion of such activities on the

organisational built and progress of the movement which was found to be definitely injurious and retarding. Here let me draw popular attention to another aspect of the problem which so far had evaded our notice. There has been in progress a stealthy practice to enact Kemalism in the heat of democratic upheaval. Some discontented members of the Rana family think they have to only organise a military revolt in the nick of time and the power will be theirs by virtue of the timely action. They attach secondary or little importance to a popular organisation and its value is appreciated by them to the extent that it creates in the masses of the people a consciousness of their condition and tendency to fight out the administration as the root cause of their deprivileged condition. The technique of assault falling outside the scope of Kemalist militarism is helpful to them as a secondary factor. They are acting for selfish ends distrusting the people and we have to expose and oppose tooth and nail such actions on their part. But the futility of the whole move is also thereby patent and any one with a developed political mind would not fail to discern it. To try to organise a military force for the capture of power without enthusing its personnel with patriotic zeal and with knowledge of the cause they are fighting for is a rank bankruptcy of intellect and betrays strategical and tactical error. Without a revolutionary philosophy to illuminate their path the men so trained will prove very much unequal to the task and it will end in fruitless adventurism. The armed revolt without the mass of the people at the main base is an illusion in the context of democratic revolution if it were not ill conceived for a purpose entirely different but there too the method will prove ineffective.

Thus we have surely to take note of the moves and counter-moves of our enemies and opponents as well as of the allies. But it will nevertheless be a tough proposition to try to draw a line of demarcation between the two camps in this fluid and transitional stage of political development. The possible enemies get certainly mixed up with the possible friends and allies. We cannot place undue checks and balances on the composition and stress too much ideological purity of the party unless we are prepared to face very many other difficulties of grave character. It is, however, very needful

to devise correctives to the situation. To me it looks that the remedy can be provided by insisting on and always striving to have in the executive of the party only men declassed enough to think in terms of a full democratic revolution and by carrying out the struggle under the hegemony of the organisation of the duniydar. The question of the leadership of the movement cannot be dismissed from its context. Not only the course of the movement before and during the struggle but the very question of how the fruits of the successful revolution will be shared amongst the various participants depends on the character of the leadership, on what sort of hands the strings are placed. This is important also from another angle of vision. As the tempo of the struggle rises, all the discontented elements including the rebellious section of the comprador Bharadars will be drawn into its vortex for some reason or other and many such persons as have basic reactionary prejudices will creep along with. We shall not be able to prevent them from entering into the arena as our allies for the reason that our strategy demands a complete unification of all forces against the Ranas whatever be their inner character and utilising the front to make the democratic revolution a success. It will be unwise to accentuate the differences, and exclude even one such element from the purview of the same. But we will defeat the very purpose of the struggle if we fail to keep watch on the practices of the unreliable allies and do not check them in time. At least one such ally the comprador Bharadar will have to be constantly checked and pulled back because although he may fight to secure certain rights from the hereditary rulers he will not hesitate to compromise with them and sabotage the struggle when these are conceded. The harm will be immense if the Bharadar gets the leading position at the united front as he will try his utmost to deprive the ordinary people of the fruits of these concessions. Therefore just as we cannot afford to include men of doubtful intention and ideology in the central executive of the party organisation so it will be simply suicidal not to press for the establishment of the hegemony of this body over the entire front of the anti-Rana fighters. In any case we shall have to provide adequate safeguards in order to see



that the struggle is carried to its logical end and that the people is placed in full control of affairs after the period of struggle is over and this will be the best done by maintaining intact the influence of the suppressed multitude over the organisation.

### The Task at the moment

The organisational aspect of the Nepalese democratic problems has as yet received little attention at our hands. But we cannot afford to neglect it any longer. The sooner we pull our energies into the task of building up a strong political organisation under experienced and centralised leadership the better will be the prospect of a victorious struggle against Ranacracy. We have a long and arduous journey before us. But once we succeed in building up such an organisation all other problems will find their speedy solutions. The people of Nepal are certainly on the path of awakening, and each day further they are expected to develop additional consciousness which will make it easy to weld them together in a militant organisation. We must take each and every opportunity of organisational activity by the forelock as it unfolds in that course. If we could proceed on a right line, all the evils of low political consciousness, of internal dissention, of race for leadership of parochialism, opportunism and extreme sectarianism will automatically disappear. Through the organisation also will emerge a trained revolutionary personnel which will implement the policy and programme of the movement to its logical conclusion with a fair amount of success.

Having presented in detail the possible shape and structure of the organisation let me now state as to how best to form it and particularise the materials out of which it could be easily formed. We have already started the process. Our men though in a circumscribed sphere have taken up positions. The large number of arrests and terrorism practised by the ruling clique is evidently setting the masses of the people against the rulers and enlivening their consciousness as to the line of resistance. But we have not been able to organise the democratic movement in keeping with the general requirement of the case involved. We are yet suffering for

want of a qualitatively strong and quantitatively large party organisation. Let us devote the entire energy to creating such an organisation. We have not tapped all sources, we have not even touched many of them, leave aside places inside Nepal, we have failed even to utilize the materials available in India. We could very well organise the Nepalese student communities of the various Indian universities as well as the labourers working in different urban centres, tea gardens and mining areas. These are not trash materials. If we could turn them, their potential strength to the cause, to the right side, to the advancement of the cause, a deep chasm in our organisational life would be filled up. Given the proper training and lead we shall make out of them a battling contingent which will serve each at its base a strong outpost of democracy against Rana-cocracy in the coming fight. The utility of the migrant youth, student and labour lies in the fact that they return to Nepal at one or other time and if they could be sent back to the mother country as loyal soldiers of democratic freedom we had really achieved a great deal in the attainment of our goal.

The value of a party organisation should not be underrated. Our enemy is not small. Whatever may be the defects of medieval administration and its weak condition judged by a higher standard, it cannot be denied that compared to the camp of democracy in Nepal the camp of the autocrats commands much better and greater resources and possesses an organised instrument of oppression, even though one may not give it the name of a Government. The Ranas have an army however primitively trained: they have a police force however insufficient and ill equipped: they have their agencies planted in every important place of the entire territory, who look after their revenue interests even if they are not any more fit to run a higher standard of administration than the savages to dwell and manage a modern skyscrapes. We know that the feudal machinery known as the Government of Nepal is more a muddle than an administration and at the critical time when faced with a countable popular assault will crush like a ramshackle hut before a tournado. But there is no running away from the discomfortable fact that ours is not as extensive a contact as theirs and we maintain slender resources

in strict comparison. We may not need to bring our level of consciousness and organisational strength to the degree that it matches with the organised parties of advanced countries. We may even not feel any disappointment over the relatively poor leadership of the party centre and its units. But we cannot dismiss the over all need of extensive contacts, the need of having our men in at least those centres where the Ranas also maintain their tax collectors and that of their being in calibre equal if not superior to the Ranas' district and subdivisional officers who, we know, are without exception not much educated and trained. We must set up district and subdivisional branches as a parallel net work of agencies standing ready to cope with the administrative machinery of the Government. Then and there alone our struggle will be country wide, will pervade through each anti-Rana element of the society, will make a rapid stride and produce the utmost beneficiary results. Let the important task of organisational activity on the line just drawn be not minimised. Until we develop the most widespread organisational contacts and make these contacts cover the largest portions of the country, whatever we do in an attempt to launch a campaign of open struggle, will meet with not much of success. For us the task of building up our party organisation comes therefore above every other task.

It is totally wrong to suggest that the camp of the autocrats is confined solely to the legitimate members of the Rana family. This suggestion is sometimes inadvertently made out of the consideration that the Rana family is split from within and its feudal behaviour evokes universal contempt. We have ourselves presented the question in that form where considering the contradictory forces of the regime. But there are opponents and opponents. All of them are not alike. While some are engaged in the fight to carry it to the end some are only there determined to go onto the half way. The latter are doubtful allies and they shall return to the fold as soon as they feel that a common danger threatens the system as a whole. Thus the legitimate members of the family are not alone fighting the feudal side. With them are ranged all the reactionary and illiberal elements—all the Bharadars and big estate holders. We have already made note of this aspect of the problem in

earlier pages. There is an additional factor cropping up. To day due to international polarisation of forces the Ranas command the support of like elements of the external world as well. It is therefore no easy job to destroy the Nepalese feudal autocracy without weakening its links with the international reactionary forces.

### The plan of action.

I have in mind two stages of open struggle. The one I call preliminary and the other I call final. Tactics and slogans will differ from one stage to the other. These will have to be adjusted in accordance with the immediate programme and objective of the movement in particular stages. As for the objective the first stage will be directed to generate as much widespread awakening as is possible in the circumstances. The second stage will cover a plan of decisive struggle and will invoke action leading to the final overthrow of the present regime and to the consequent transfer of power into the hands of the people. The interval between these two different stages will depend on the nature of the result obtained of the preliminary stage of the open struggle but will not be necessarily too long to be of indefinitely protracted duration of the preparatory phase nor it will take a long time to start the first. All the same unless and until a well organised party wedded to the ideology and programme of advanced character comes into existence the scheme of active and open struggle will not be put into operation. As regards the plan of action there is nothing that we can foretell here about the second stage which will mainly take shape on the basis of the subsequent state of popular awakening and of organisational strength of the party and international situation. The first, however, will be one principally demonstrative in character, and through an organised medium will push the programme of extending the agitational phase to inside Nepal to enable the people in every nook and corner to hear the message of democracy. The struggle will embody three main features: (1) It will start as suddenly as will not allow the opponents any opportunity to make arrangements to prevent it by arresting the suspects. (2) It will operate in all units with the leadership solely underground and secret pre-

parations simultaneously proceeding (3) It will make the widest possible mass contacts in the operative stage having the people themselves in the thick of the struggle. Whatever may be the duration of the open struggle and utmost efforts will be made to prolong it to the limits, the be all of the movement will be to harness in peaceful and nonviolent manner the organisational strength in order to take full advantage of the situation as it comes then with the unpreparedness of the government leaving the area without any policing in continuance of the present policy. Even if we could go for a week without being interfered with by the Ranas, men we shall have achieved the results of several years of chequered work and it will not be difficult to obtain a least a week under conditions prevailing. One of the charges levelled against underground functioning of the organisation has been that it fights shy of the masses. The open movement will, however disprove this charge in as much as the resultant condition will find masses brought nearer to the organisation which will show that the underground functioning was in reality only a device to avoid the spies in order that the work of establishing party contacts proceeds smoothly and party strength gradually accumulates. Other details will be worked out at the appropriate moment.

Much of the second phase of the struggle will depend on how the first is conducted on whether it gives the anticipated result. So we shall have to exercise utmost discretion in the matter of conducting the campaign as well as putting in adequate preparation towards the same. Both the preparatory period and the period of campaign are important. In the preparatory period we should devote all efforts to building up a network of militant organisation, a factor which we have stressed too often. This has to be integrated with the agitational programme conducted on the border and in India that will be intensified to coincide with the approaching hour of the campaign, the latter is no less important for us as an operational base to conduct press campaign and popular agitation. Agitation and propaganda on the border areas and adjacent provinces of India will help the development of the movement in so many ways. The weekly paper and periodical pamphlets and leaflets will serve as a classical organiser for

inside Nepal as well as a propagandist for inside the Nepalese inhabited areas of India. Enlightening public opinion on this side, both Nepalese and Indian, about conditions in Nepal we shall be able to enlist abiding support and sympathy of our neighbour for the cause, which will also stand to counteract any help the autocrats obtain from their International allies. We shall be playing into the hands of the agent provocateurs and demagogues if we fail to understand the implication of this particular counteracting factor. The Ranas both the ruling and dethroned are out to sabotage our organisational activity and use varied dexterous methods which present the growth of sound leadership from our midst and strong public opinion. All the three aspects of the movement the agitational, the propaganda and organisational have to be carried on in equally intense manner. And let it not be forgotten that while we stress the urgency of organisational activity, we have done so as to make up the shortage to want to show that the party organisation must precede the other two but not that the latter should be sacrificed.\*

---

\* This article was written like the preceding ones two years ago as a guide to political work of the party. But circumstances even though outwardly have changed since then, for example, today the RANA family has gone out of power and although the king now replaces the autocratic premier in the administration we enjoy to a limited extent certain rights of citizenship. One may therefore question the validity of the recipes prescribed for conditions where there existed absolute denial of civic rights. I myself feel that other things being equal, and even the organisational aspect of the struggle not changing, we must try to fully utilise the advantages offered by the new conditions. So the secrecy so repeatedly stressed in the past will give way to open work, and this will be adopted even if there may come new obstacles in the way *i. e.* if gagging freedom in the name of security is resorted to. Our sole concern in the new conditions must be to educate the people about their rights and freedom, and this we must do boldly, openly and fearlessly. Any occasion of clash with the authorities must be used to generate greater energy and resistance in the mass of the people, and to expose the false character of reforms introduced. With the new changes the days of secretly working organisations are over; unless, of course, old denial of civic rights is to come back, which is impossible in view of these being heralded in the name of democracy. Nothing would be erroneous than to pursue a policy of ignoring this fact altogether, and not to emphasise the basic human rights in the new atmosphere. What is required today is a pure and simple constitutional fight waged to maintain the freedom we wrested from the Rana rulers. It cannot be denied that the first requisite of a background for such a fight is the independent judiciary. As long as judiciary continues to be medieval and a subsidiary agency of the Home Ministry the prospect of popular rights being immune from the encroachments of the executive is bleak indeed. So let us pool our resources as a part of

constitutional fight for securing at the earliest moment a fully democratic and independent judiciary and a modernised code of law. This must also be accompanied by demands for the ending of the present interim period and for earliest elections to the constituent assembly which will create a popular ministry chosen by and responsible to the adult citizens of the country. We must be prepared to court imprisonment in the course of a nonviolent and peaceful campaign of agitation if the men in power practise deception and try to postpone the election beyond the date fixed in the last proclamation *i. e.* beyond the winter of 1952-53. As peaceful pursuit of democratic way of agitation and propaganda comes under fundamental rights, any one who tries to suppress this particular activity will expose himself to popular scorn and hatred, and thus a wider path for further agitation will be created to the advantage of the party in opposition fighting on these issues.

## CHAPTER VI

### POST-SCRIPTS

**J**UST as the above five chapters were being pieced together and sent for print certain events which produced fundamental changes in the form of the existing autocratic regime if not in its content overtook the very idea of piecing and print, and caused the draft material to remain in the manuscript stage till the present moment. The chapter of a post-script to the original has had to be added in the circumstances wherein its non-inclusion to the body of the proposed book would have made the entire work incomplete and inconclusive.

Early<sup>\*</sup> November of 1951 introduced incidents on the soil of Nepal that could hardly be believed by an ordinary citizen of that country. One fine morning, the All India Radio in its news broadcast announced that H. M. King Tribhuvan of Nepal had escaped to the Indian Embassy with his family under mysterious circumstances and taken asylum there, and the Prime Minister had installed a baby-grandson of his, then in the custody of the maternal grandfather Rana General Hari Shum Sher, Prime Minister Mohan's Cousin, on the throne. This was followed by another announcement two days after that the Government of India were determined to bring the Royal fugitive to Delhi in accordance with his wishes, and they would not heed any opposition from the Government of Nepal to that course of action. Obviously, no amount of resistance to the King's departure to the Indian Capital proved effective, and the King crossed the Nepalese border by air to the dismay of the ruling Ranas. And then the most wonderful of the episodes occurred. The Nepalese town-let of Birganj which linked the mainroad to Kathmandu from the Indian border was attacked at mid-night and captured by certain rebels given out as Nepal Congress insurrectionary forces under Subarna Shumsher's command. The attack in itself was not very surprising, because General Subarna who was a derolled and exiled member of the Rana family possessing huge investment in India was commonly believed



to be making preparations of that sort. Subarna is H. H. Mohan's nephew. But what astonished most of all was the fact of attack on Briganj which situated as it is only a mile inside from the Indian border offered practically no facilities of sieze through the three sides of the Nepalese soil. And to say that it was attacked from the Indian base would amount to dragging the Government of India into the whole affair for connivance if not for actual participation and encouragement.

A little earlier a rumour had started that the ruling Ranas had got the scent of Subarna's preparations in Calcutta and had pressed the matter to the Government of India for making prompt enquiries and stop Subarna's activities if they were found to be "subversive". The source or correctness of the rumour could, however, not be ascertained, but it was said that some genuine evidence of the move was obtained during the course of the unearthing of the conspiracy during the month of September in which some C class Rana Officers of the army were involved.

Another rumour relating to the incidents associated a prominent member of the Indian Embassy with the King, who was, according to this rumour, also a party to the conspiracy and credited him to have pre-planned and conducted his escape with the help of a Bengali physician. It was repeatedly whispered that the idea of contacting the reigning monarch occurred to him when all efforts at reconciliation with the hereditary Prime Minister had failed. The Government of India were reported to have expressed their sense of disgust as late as July of that year at the way the treaty negotiations was handled by the Ranas and the anti-India Government interpretation of certain clauses put in by them when a treaty already had been actually entered upon.

The King's flight had left a trail of bitterness amongst the people of Nepal and it was but natural that Subarna had taken advantage of the situation to further his programme, and tried to enlist support and cooperation of all the elements sympathetic to the King and the democratic aspiration of the Nepalese people. To be also fair to the India Government it must be observed that whatever else might have

been in their mind they also have sympathy for the Nepalese popular movement and this might have weighed with them in not observing strict neutrality in the Subarna—Mohan conflict, which seems to have greatly facilitated the former's plan of action.

The Birganj incident obtained world-wide publicity and hit the head-lines of the world press. But while re-taking by the State army was accomplished with ease, it was realised that the insurrection was all but in name. The number of rebels was inflated without even the very slightest relation to facts. It was proved beyond doubt that they were no match for the well-trained and disciplined soldiers of the Government force and in matter of numerical strength were not even a hundredth of the latter. The state troops in their part stood all along by the Government in power and also as long as the insurrection was on, no single case of desertion could be produced to its discredit. This however was no reason to wind up the insurrection. Biratnagar, the extreme south east point on the Purnea-border, was the second target to be attacked, and here and there raids were carried on weak points by anti-social elements in political garbs in the Terai, which went a great deal to harass the district administration of the affected localities. As they found the 500 mile Indian border wide open to direct any operations on the other side, these elements were very busy raising their ugly heads. They could easily carry their depredations in the name of revolution as the whole of the Terai lay absolutely unprotected, and Government offices and treasuries at several places were plundered because even these places happened to be little guarded, the usual provision for each of such areas being fifteen to twenty rifles of old model and similar number of personnel to handle them and police the localities. And curiously but not unexpectedly the head quarters of certain district subdivisions fell to the better organised of the raiders who formed parallel administration of theirs in the area all in the perimeter of half a mile on the India—Nepalese border. Of course no notable victory was attained and the entire phase of insurrection was more of a nuisance than it could produce any concrete revolutionary achievement. But it proved a precursor to the rise of widespread lawlessness and chaos in the extreme eastern and western portion of Nepal, which the ruling

Ranas could not control assisted as this condition was<sup>d</sup>by their<sup>r</sup>own exiled kinsmen who had risen in revolt to wreck vengeance for past grievances. As it obtained from the days of the British, the Terai and all the hill areas in the extremities remained practically undefended from external dangers of invasion, and now when those in charge of law and order, it so happened that the derolled members of the Rana family were placed in important positions in these areas, had thought to strike a blow, it was virtually impossible for the men in Kathmandu to put them in check. The medieval structure of administration had failed them as it was bound to fail in the new conditions emerging. But more than that the distrust which they evinced amongst men in their own camp stood in the way of adopting a bold policy towards the recalcitrant kinsmen and crush any challenge to their rule and lawlessness with iron hands in other spheres. It was rightly said that the Rana regime collapsed more as a result of internecine strife in the Rana family rather than under pressure of popular movement. As indeed, H. H. Mohan Shamsher lost his last courage when his own cousin General Rudra Shamsher of illegitimate birth declared Palpa, only one hundred and sixty miles west, independent of Kathmandu and began to march in the direction of the Capital. Even amongst those in the roll of succession there existed a feeling of deep distrust which at the time proved almost the main cause of their downfall as it prevented their acting together and meeting the opponents in the battle-field.

Meanwhile, the Government of India having refused to give recognition to the baby-king, the Ranas were faced with an entirely unprecedented crisis in their foreign relations. Their allies in Britain were helpless, and even official Britain however well disposed towards the Ranas could not pursue a policy in opposition to India. They could not obviously support and recognise a regime which their representative Mr. Esler Denning found it so unpopular after an enquiry on the spot. Mr. Denning had been literally mobbed by the Nepalese people while he visited Kathmandu on the 3rd. of December for a personal investigation of the Nepalese question. The Ranas could have extricated themselves out of the difficult situation by

readily accepting the solution offered by the Indian Prime Minister about the semi popular 'interim Government with the king back as its constitutional head. This solution was announced in a parliamentary speech on the 9th. of December. It was a clear hint that the Government of India were very serious in regard to the situation in Nepal and they wanted change in the administration. But the Rana Prime Minister exhibited a delaying tactics. He sent a special Envoy to talk the matter over with the Indian External Affairs Department, but the latter had returned to Kathmandu without any agreement. It was complained in behalf of the Indian negotiators that the Nepalese Envoy was absolutely non-committal and for every point of decision he looked askance at the Kathmandu authorities who in turn appeared to mark time. It seemed that the ruling Ranas still hoped for assistance from the Imperialist Rulers to counteract pressure from Delhi, and this further enraged the Nehru Government. The bankruptcy of Rana statesmanship was no where else evident. How could H. H. Mohan Shumsher refuse to act on Nehru's advice? Did he not know that the British could not do anything in Nepal without India's consent and cooperation? And most of all could he not know or intelligently perceive that unless India Government themselves applied to the task of restoring law and order in Nepal he himself was incapable of doing anything in that direction?.

But his mistakes proved much of a boon to the people of Nepal in so far as they brought about the end of the aristocratic rule of the Rana family. Had he acted earlier in persuance of the advice tendered by Sri Nehru, his regime if not his family's was almost assured for some time longer than what it could be in the context of a delayed response. But he was illfated enough to reject at the first instance the wellmeant proposal of the India Government. He yielded only when the dice were heavily loaded against him. The valley which had retained its calm uptill now became suddenly a scene of mass demonstration and the Kirats in farther east had risen in revolt and Gen. Mohan Shum Sher could not stop it as he would not resort to hitherto adopted tyrannical methods for fear of provoking more fierce disturbances. With the territory now very much narrowed

down the problem for him was to see if half the bread he had in hand could be saved and he could not expose himself to further degree of unpopularity for fear of losing the all. Sources close to him disclose that he was even prepared to relinquish his all but the office of the Prime Minister if he would have his way in keeping Delhi at bay. It is said that he even sent his secret emissaries to the king who would however, not consent to encourage his overtures as he thought that this come down on his part was only a device to gain back his lost position. It may be added here that the king harboured this feeling of distrust up till the time Mohan Shumsher lived in Nepal, even his relinquishment of premiership in last November was not enough to dispel that feeling from his mind.

According to one unconfirmed report H. H. Mohan Shumsher was willing to abide by the proposal of the Government of India from the very beginning, but his immediate successors were not in favour of appeasement and continued to desist him till the last moment. But even these obstinate autocrats seem to have softened down at the prospect of being totally liquidated when they had witnessed the hardened attitude of the Indian Ambassador on that question.

By the end of 1950 Ranacracy which passed till yesterday as a very strong bastion of entrenched medievalism seemed near the crashing point. Every where it was assailed, and wonder of wonders was that it could not withstand the pressure of even a minor assault. While the outlying areas both in the Terai and hilly tracts were often penetrated and several points there succumbed to disorder Kathmandu itself was rocked by regular mass demonstrations organised and led by parties who were still wedded to nonviolence. Kathmandu was the place where the Ranas had a traditional concentration of armies and army personnel, and the mass defiance of the authority even though it was peaceful in that part was a pointer. The old atmosphere of awe and intimidation was surely dying out. This also infected the dissident members within the camp of the rulers themselves, this refers only to those residents in the valley of Nepal, and by the time the inner circle felt themselves compelled to exhibit signs of accommodation. one hundred and forty Ranas, not all of them of C Class birth de-

manded in a signed petition dissolution of A Class Rana rule, and due place for themselves in the next set up. This daring in the erst-while meek group of the illegitimate and derolled Ranas as also the defiant mood of the hitherto docile masses of Kathmandu populace were attributed according to a rumour to the encouragement and incitement they received from the Indian Embassy quarters, who had begun in right earnest to play the trustee and in that capacity to hear petitions of the people against the Nepalese Rulers, and demand forthwith explanation for anything irregular and repressive. It was said that the usual tone of the Embassy people happened to strike a note of optimism and predict the liquidation of the Rana Raj in immediate future, which again instilled courage and urged the most coward of them to defiant action. The Rana rebels both those on the roll and out of it had joined the popular movement in a fit of anger and revenge and to prove their loyalty to the King whose return was now practically decided. I was later on told that this group included a Commanding-General who aspired to become the C-in-C under the King's Government.

The Government of India were informed of the acceptance of their proposal and on January 8 of 1951 a declaration was made by the Nepalese Prime Minister covering all points which formed the main basis of Nehru's proposal, viz, interim popular government, release of political prisoners and a Constituent assembly elected on adult franchise within a year to frame Nepal's future frame work of constitution. And after some time a cease-fire was declared but this was observed unilaterally only by the administration. It appeared that the ruling Ranas were now so cowed down by the tough attitude of the India Government that they would not even think of resisting the activities of the anti-social elements. Very many points in the Terai where administrative order still existed were in that course surrendered to the raiders. Actually speaking except Biratnagar, no other important centres in the Terai had been touched by so-called insurrection uptill now—raids used to be carried in to unimportant places under cover of nocturnal darkness. But once administration ceased to act under the limitation of the cease fire agreement the situation gave a premium to un-lawful activities.

The sorry part of the story was that certain persons who wanted to make a record in the name of the Nepal Congress indulged in adventures of the type just suggested. As soon as they found that this party would prominently figure in the negotiation and there was the likelihood of only those of the Biratnagar participants associated with the same, they showed signs of extra-ordinary alertness. It may be incidentally observed that no where except in Birganj and Biratnagar, the fight was carried by the party of the Nepal Congress. The dissident Ranas had acted independently in their individual capacities, and so were the Kirats doing and National Congress's mass satyagraha in Palpa, Dang, Nepalganj and other western areas was an additional factor. K. I. Sinha who is generally credited to have waged an armed battle mainly on the strength of popular backing also fought independent of Subarna-Koirala clique.

Yet very strangely only a few leaders of the Nepal Congress were called to Delhi for negotiation with the ruling Ranas. Sree Nehru who had taken earlier a very bold and democratic stand left everything to the discretion of his Ambassador who unfortunately took absolutely a partisan view of the whole development. It was mainly due to the latter's efforts that the parties other than the Nepal Congress were not allowed to participate in the talks. Even amongst the Nepal Congress people, he brought to the talk only a section of them. As the Government of India were acting as intermediaries it was up to them to see that the parley was fully representative, because on the out-come of the talk depended the future of Nepal and what was more important was that any settlement reached without the co-operation of principal elements of Nepalese public opinion was not destined to be permanent. The author of this volume of work has a special reason to be aggrieved because one S. K. Sinha, then the Ambassador's Secretary, was openly taking sides in the party politics of the country by using his personal and his Embassy's influence to popularise Subarna Shumsher and decry in the same vein my own person and the party of which I was the president and leader. I can state it on authority that at the last stage he went to the length of involving the entire apparatus of the Embassy as well as the fair name of the Indian Prime

Minister who were whisperingly given out to have been lending their full weight to Subarna's group. At the time I reached Kathmandu this fellow was a virtual boss of the popular agitation and he himself guided and directed the anti-Rana agitation. The machination of the Indian Embassy had it been limited to bringing about the downfall of the Ranas would have not provoked resentment in the populace and added to their goodwill, but as it had assumed a partisan colour, and every one who did not fall in line with Subarna's coterie fell a victim to slander and black-mail due to its machination the amount of goodwill earned by India in course of the last three years of popular struggle seemed suddenly to undergo a process of exhaustion.

The Indian Ambassador who managed the entire show manipulated things in such a way as would make only a section of the Nepali Congress to appear before the world as the only true representatives of the people. He was already initiating the talk under the assumption that the other two elements really counting besides the people were the King and the Rana family. A deal was, therefore, struck, which divided the administrative powers into the hands of these three elements. It was a triangular apparatus of administration thus emerged. The King was to go back as the constitutional head of state. But he had now more of administrative functions in hand as the autocratic powers of the Prime Minister were to be ended and he also exercised discretionary powers to balance the Rana-Congress coalition ministry. Mohan Shumsher was retained as the Prime Minister with some prerogatives and he was also allowed to nominate four colleagues of his to the cabinet of ten, the other five seats being filled up by the Congress leaders. But in practice it turned out that the King wielded real power behind the Home Minister under a Congress man who usurped all the civil powers of the government enjoyed by the Prime Minister in pre-reform days. As time elapsed Mohan Shumsher gradually was reduced to a puppet and this was clear at the beginning itself when allocation of portfolios was made between two warring elements balanced in numerical strength within the Government. The important portfolios of Home, Finance and Trade and Industry had gone to the non-Rana group of the cabinet. It was really a death warrant which Mohan Shumsher's representative signed at Delhi,



and of which the full repercussions he tasted 9 months later in November when he was virtually dismissed.

The interim arrangement was signed in the second week of February, and a new Government was announced under the King's proclamation from Kathmandu sometime after on the 19th. There was a great rejoicing in Kathmandu when the King returned, but there it was marked by counter demonstrations and the King discerned for himself the trend of public opinion in his country. A left force was solemnly and swiftly emerging taking advantage of the unstable conditions and all those frustrated found themselves thrown into the arms of the anti-king communist elements though at the time not so well organised. Counter-revolution was not slow to organise, and a few youngsters of the Rana family advanced to fish in troubled waters and dream of old royalty. But all these worsened the situation. The anti-social elements of the insurgent days were still active. They were now joined by Pro-Rana elements who felt aggrieved because of the new changes. But this was nothing compared to the wrangling in the Nepal congress itself whose prominent members finding that they were not taken in the new set up openly preached lawlessness and defiance of governmental authority. Had the Government of India not sent their expeditionary force to the rescue of the newly formed Nepal Government it would have collapsed at the very birth. The joint Indo-Nepal operations in Bhairawa, Parasi and Nepalganj is too well known to require further elucidation here. This was highlighted by the capture of two of the Home Minister's intimate associates and of nearly a lakh of rupees from their person.

The interim ministry began to work with an underage student Minister in charge of the food department, and a security act and constitution under the King's seal to enable them to rule dictatorially over Nepal. It was often said that the last two measures were worked out by the two Indian advisors who had been lent to the Nepal Government for reorganizing the Secretariat and preparing budget estimates, which took nearly twelve months to complete, and consistently enough the interim constitution is a miniature reproduction rendered in the local language of the Indian Constitution incorporating all its undemocratic features

and not a single of its democratic provisions. And with the creation of a new parallel military force called Mukti sena as separate from the original standing army, the muddle was complete. The Muktisena came to be maintained in the circumstances when the Congress wing of the interim Cabinet would not trust the state troops as they had stood loyal to the Government in days just gone by. The Muktisena came to prominence as the invading force of the Nepal Congress, but it was more notorious as an indisciplined band of armed volunteers than as a steelframe of a patriotic liberation army. At one time the various wings raiding the Terai, and also those functioning in the Kirat districts were associated with stories of heinous crimes including gruesome murder. It was as though autocracy had returned in a new garb with new repressive fangs and that settled condition was not to be restored. The bulk of Muktisena comprised of all the riffraff recruited by Subarna Shumsher during the so called insurgent days and to it were added the many other unsocial elements in course of recruitment in Kathmandu and these constituted a definite threat to the peace and tranquility of the land. When therefore the Muktisena was stabilised and assigned duties of policing it evoked universal surprise. I learn it on reliable authority that the Prime Minister also was against its organisation, and refused for sometime to supply arms from the general stock. But the demand for arms was backed by the King, and he had to yield. Its retention as an independent organ of the Government directly under the Congress Minister and not under the cabinet as a whole as a wing of the standing army, militated against the very idea of democracy. It was unfortunate that a military force owing allegiance to a political party was advised to be maintained by the Government of India who had in their country used all efforts to disband the I. N. A. of Subhas Bose. The Muktisena existed as a pampered para military troop. It obtained all the facilities of a political army with high scale of pay and comforts and was entrusted with the task of guarding all the key positions of the country. After the Gorkhadal incident when a member of the dethroned Rana family had tried unsuccessfully to incite the army while on parade, the Muktisena formed the principal prop of the King and the ruling group of the Nepali Congress who would not realise that in that state it was a double edged

weapon and one day would act like a boomerang. On the other hand the personnel of the state troops were subjected to insulting treatment and not only kept out of place of trust and responsibility but not even properly looked after. They were already feeling humiliated by the presence of Muktisena, and this fact added insult to their injury. Also on the morrow of the incident Mohan Shumsher being compelled to surrender his possession of state arms and ammunition, uptill now he had continued to enjoy that privilege despite murmur from the other side, whatever limit was there on the strength of Mukti Sena was withdrawn. The fear of being completely overshadowed and swallowed up by the growing strength, numerical or otherwise of the Muktisena as well as the unjust treatment regularly meted out embittered their feeling but there was the tradition of loyalty and discipline, and therefore any trouble from their side was out of the question. The pampered Muktisena, however, behaved insolently as was natural to a force of the type; cases of intimidation, illegal extortion and of other mischievous doings on their account were very common. Their depredations were widespread, and as replacement of the state troops detachments in the interior proceeded, their anti-social activities intensified to the terror of the general populace.

It was clear that the Nepali Congress clique in power was as much of a danger to the well being of the Nepalese people as were the Rana rulers but instability and insecurity due to an indisciplined armed force was only to the former's credit.

The cabinet though in theory working with joint responsibility was in practice a federated structure of two separate Governments loosely united under the King. If the Prime Minister then in charge of defence portofolio thought that the state army was his, this position however was ended by the assumption of the post of Supreme Commander by the King after the Gorkhadal uprising, the Home Minister equally claimed as his own all the civil departments of the state as well as the Muktisena and appointed his men in important posts. It was not a democratic government which had been thus brought out, but purely and simply a thoroughly one party dictatorship had emerged with the Home Minister at the

head. The Home Minister's associates who were with a few exceptions either college boys or ex-sepoys of the Indian army, all men of little education and experience and character, manned the district administration, and these would not allow freedom to organise opposition in their respective areas with the consequence that democracy was practically nipped in the bud. The old state of autocratic misrule had been now fully restored or it may be said that the same Ranacracy continued to function intact with a change of personnel.

The Nepali congress was not yet a developed organisation and its leadership possessed little experience of any constructive work. This was not unnatural because even the political life of the leaders of this party was not of more than three years' standing. It was obvious that only helped by external circumstances they had gained power, and the blame for all the mischief could be laid at the door of those who brought about the interim arrangement. Nepali Congress leaders should have been entrusted with powers if the idea to continue the medieval system of administration intact had been there. The Ranas were not in any way more efficient or sincere than these men succeeding them. We could not certainly distinguish between Babbar and Subarna or between Nripa Jung and Koirala except that the two men of the Rana group possessed experience of administration according to age and hereditary rights of office but it was a medieval administration they ran and therefore the choice was just like the one between a tweedledum and tweedledie. But the Nepalese did not suffer all the stormy years of repression and struggle just to secure change of hands in the administration of the country. They craved for democratic freedom and for better and efficient and up to date system of administration, which, however, the new changes would not envisage. Their condition was now as if they had been landed out of the frying pan into the fire. Talent was not wanting in Nepal, and though the Nepal Congress was poor of it, it was available if sought in varied fields of Nepalese social life. The best course of action after the end of Rana rule was to instal an interim Government in power which consisted of talented persons of Nepal in their independent and individual capacities. That being done Nepal was sure to enjoy the blessing of a stable and efficient administration, and popular rights

newly wrested would have in no case suffered encroachment. But a wrong reading of the situation and unduly exaggerated estimate of the Nepali Congress prevented the right sort of solution from being adopted.

It is true that some efforts were made to reorganise the administration, and remodel the secretariat on sound and upto-date lines. But what emerged was not an efficient system of administration but a top heavy structure full of ministerial departments and of officers newly promoted from humble posts, who drew fat salaries. The number of secretaries, additional secretaries, etc, had been so increased that a budget deficit of 16 lakhs of rupees for the first two months of interim Government was met by withdrawing a sum of like amount from the general deposit. And to give an example of undue promotion, the person who as the present election commissioner (without duties?) draws Rs. 1000 p. m. was a lecturer only a year ago in the local college and was being paid a salary of Rs. 150/- p. m.

For the mistake committed at the early stage the King and the Government of India were getting unpopular with the Nepalese people. The people could not swallow the interim arrangement as they took it to be a retrograde step back to autocracy. The ministers appeared to them as upstarts who suddenly were pushed to the pinnacle of glory and offices without themselves deserving it by outside forces and very unfortunately the Congress ministers wounded public feeling by haughty and insolent manners. The Gorkha dal incident of April 12 gave them a little breathing time no doubt and a fair ground to strike a blow at Mohan Shumsher and curtail whatever privilege he had, the Congress half had demanded resignation of the Prime Minister and a homogenous cabinet of their choice, but in the moment of elation they forgot that they were in power on the sufferance of the people and talked of having obtained power by military victories, which heated the already strained feeling of the masses towards them. The Second Delhi conference on Nepal was held in the middle of May to thrash out the issues arising out of Mohan Shumsher's new position and Nehru's good offices were applied to cement the bond between the two groups of Ministers and

Mohan Shumsher was reported to have obtained assurances from India about his constitutional powers. But this did not better his position and for him there was an immediate cause for one more great shock when he was asked to resign and form a new Ministry with the old personnel so soon as he came back from Delhi just to do away with his brother Babbar, former C-in-C and now the Defence Minister whom the King greatly feared. The idea behind the re-shuffle was to establish a precedent under which the hereditary Premiership held by Mohan Shumsher was to undergo a change in character. Since this time the Prime Minister was to enjoy his post by virtue of his appointment from the King and verily enough when he submitted to the change Mohan Shumsher was the King's appointee. This was a radical departure from the usual conception of hereditary Premiership, and Mohan Shumsher might or might not have realised the implication, but all this was very shrewdly accomplished. For him it is generally said that he was all willing to adjust himself to democratic changes and consented to anything which emanated as suggestions from the Government of India through their advisors.

Power now came to be practically vested in the five Congress Ministers and the Home Minister was the defacto Prime Minister, and as he enjoyed the confidence of the Indian Ambassador he seemed to rule the roost for himself. And then followed a phase of worst form of misrule and arbitrary administration. Past promises were forgotten. Nothing was done to set up independent judiciary, public service commission and auditor general's department and introduce safeguards of popular rights which were rather trampled down by indiscriminatory arrest of persons under the Security Act. Democracy was observed only in name. As they found day by day getting themselves unpopular the Congress Ministers were unwilling to admit any instruments of checks and balances on their powers, and even the formation of advisory body was delayed and when it was formed they saw to it that it formed in toto a body of their own partymen. The Home Minister's behaviour throughout this period was arrogant. He became vainglorious and anything made him impatient and impertinent. It was said of him that he was putting on the airs of an aristocratic snob and enacting the blueblooded Rana in his mien, gait and beha-

rior. While on tour he would get himself welcomed with gun salutes and his mode of interviews and addresses very much resembled those of the autocratic Rana Prime Minister. As long as he had his say police firing became the order of the day and what the Ranas would not do during the entire phase of the anti-government agitation he did do within nine months of his interim Home ministry. He had virtually let loose a reign of terror. Biratnagar and Nepal ganj had come under his bullets in the very beginning and Kathmandu experienced his bullet shots towards the end but it precipitated his own exit from the cabinet. For the choice of a wrong Home Minister the King also had to suffer diminution of popularity.

The palace turned into a centre of intrigue. There was a rivalry for securing King's favour, and all sorts of influence were being used on him. It was rumoured that a deep rooted enmity had developed even between the two cousins, Subarna Shumsher and Mahavir Shumsher, at one time the latter had aspired for an important place in the Cabinet and the former had denied him. As the intrigue deepened, the entire political atmosphere was surcharged with suspicion and distrust, and the Government became a huge espionage system, and every thing of a mockery ; all departments of the Government had been paralysed, no work was done, and the energies of the Ministers were directed more to fight and intrigue against one another than to plan and execute the policy of the State. The King, of course, in spite of his good intentions looked a pitiable figure, because he was obviously being guided by some body, and he had no control over the administrative affairs. But the general mass of people still looked to him for correcting things, and where he was not seen acting up to the expectation, they grew resentful about his attitude. To parties in opposition he seemed to have totally identified himself with the party in power, and therefore they intensified their propaganda campaign, the greater he was exposed to popular indignation.

Throughout these days of misrule and chaos Prime Minister Mohan Shumsher's position was untenable and he was reported to have been complaining to the Indian Ambassador about deteriorating conditions at home, which later on became the ground for his forced resignation. While he was reduced to a nominal head of the Government he was often accused of obstructing social and economic schemes

put forward by the other group of ministers. But there was very little he was allowed to do, distrusted as he was by all influential quarters, even his advocacy of popular rights earned for him bitter enmity of the King and his Congress allies and in the circumstances to ascribe to him the failure or otherwise of the interim Government was to make of him a mere scape-goat. He was some time even subjected to censure for the mischievous doings of the Home Minister who attributed all blame to Mohan Shumsher whenever he himself came in for public criticism. Why he remained sticking to his post was itself a puzzle to many, but informed sources say that it was because he did not want to raise a crisis over himself and more probably because the Indian Ambassador would not advise him to resign. He also appeared to many as a factor of stability, though in all actuality it was a wrong estimate. But the position had so developed that he was generally misunderstood and his retirement was absolutely necessary to allow the other party little chance of covering deeds of misbehaviour on the grounds of his presence. But evil counsel continued to prevail on him and he withdrew from the scene only when he was forced by events beyond his control.

Events, however, were moving fast, and things were getting hot for the so-called popular Home Minister. But he would deal with them only with coercive instruments and bullets. He began to clap prominent leaders of opposition behind the prison bars, and his charges were trumped up and arbitrary. He would not set up independent judiciary just to enjoy a free hand in the act of repression. Then he proceeded to ban meetings and processions in the valley as a sequel to the public strike in protest of lathi charges on a peaceful mob and when in course of the Satyagraha launched by the National Congress the students of Kathmandu organised a public meeting in defiance his police fired on a mob and killed a teen ager student injuring several others. But by this act he fanned the flame of opposition, forfeited the last amount of popular confidence and landed himself in disaster.

The entire mass of the people of Nepal rose against him. The funeral of the deceased boy was the occasion of a country wide de-



monstration, and in Kathmandu some 75,000 people paraded the route of the funeral procession shouting slogans demanding his dismissal and exit of the Congress group of ministers. They also tore Nepal Congress flags and roughly handled its leaders when they had attempted to join the procession. The Indian Ambassador who was bossing the interim arrangement and was the sole authority to push the Congress clique into power was not feeling happy over the deteriorating situation of Nepal. It was said that the Home Minister was impertinent enough to get the announcement of the composition of the advisory body without the former's knowledge. After the Kathmandu firing the Home Minister's exit out of the cabinet became a certainty. But the avalanche swept away the entire basis of the interim agreement altogether, and with it the hereditary prime minister, the last was a welcome sign for it introduced a commoner Prime Minister. Two features of the setup coming subsequent to these great happenings have been marked unexpected and one was the formation of the Nepali Congress homogenous cabinet with M. P. Koirala, its President, as the Prime Minister. The second feature was the omission of Mohan and his group from the list of ministers. This was however a corollary of the first feature. The new cabinet was formed in clear disregard of the popular verdict as evident in the post firing demonstration. Mohan Shumsher's exit should be welcomed from purely a popular point of view, for even though he might have adjusted himself to the changes, his past career disqualified him from the new job entailing democratic responsibilities. But he had to resign on the complaint of the Home Minister who had charged him with obstructing the working of the interim agreement. And this seemed all the more surprising because even the Indian Ambassador had admitted that he was not at all obstructive. It was clear that in all these deals Mohan Shumsher was made a scapegoat.

Matrika Prasad Koirala's cabinet includes two Ranas, three independents and eight party men, of whom also two are Ranas. But there is a grave discontent in the party organization and a major section of his party men led by his brother the ex-Home Minister who feels resentful because of his not being taken in the new cabinet is turned against him. His cabinet also is torn asunder between two pulls of loyalties commanded by the two cousins, Mahavir and Subarna, the latter supporting the Prime Minister's brother, who have turned out rivals. These two

cousins by themselves are the powers behind the ruling party and their mutual bickering if carried further will tear apart the fabrics of the body politics of the Nepali Congress. K. I. Sinha's revolt and his escape to Tibet has further badly shaken the cradle that hung Mr. Koirala and his colleagues. All is not quiet in the front of Nepal to-day. Safety and security are no more to be found, disturbances have become a permanent feature of Nepal's social existence. No doubt Matrika Prasad's Government enjoys absolute powers to-day, and the Prime Minister is also reported to have the full backing of the Government of India who have recently sent a military mission to reorganise and train the Nepalese army. But in Nepal he is absolutely without allies and popular support. His cabinet is placed in two horns of a dilemma. While there is a rift in his ill organised party, he can not depend solely on those who are backing him up as against his brother. Even if the King is behind him, he can not trust the armed personnel because his Government had on previous occasions pampered the now rebel Rakshadal to the former's humiliation. And open aid from the Government of India is not likely to come as this will raise international issues and the Nepalese also have become very suspicious of Indian contact. One will not be surprised if sooner he is faced with a new crisis and compelled to relinquish the reins of administration.

On evil advice his Government is trying to use the reactionary forces of the illegal Gorkha Dal to counteract the rising democratic opposition and the communist party is banned and new measures of oppression are expected. But this is not going to postpone the hours of crisis. And there is a talk of early election to the constituent assembly and proclamations and declarations could be cited in support. But actually not a straw has been raised to start and facilitate preparation in that direction. Similarly promises of early establishment of independent judiciary and reshuffling of the advisory body have not yet been implemented. There has been all talks and nothing but tall-talks. The administration is getting top heavy and nepotism and corruption rampant, and its reflection is cast in a budget deficit of nearly three crores. In conclusion it can safely be put that the achievement

of the Koirala cabinet as that of the predecessor is a big nil. Nepal is now much disillusioned as to its democratic experiment. The people are feeling the same hatred towards the Government as in the pre-reform days.

In practice of administration the Koirala Government is going the Rana way. Its instrument is night curfew, detention without trial, police order in the nature of the Indian Cr. Procedural Section 144 and what is worst the revival of 1948 ordinance by which no public meeting can be held without pre-notification and police permission. The whole process has been more a vindication of the outgoing Rana Premier's repressive policy than anything done in furtherance of popular rights and democracy. It was really painful that the first commoner to become the Prime Minister of Nepal after a lapse of 104 years is lending himself to enforce all these undemocratic measures without caring to think for a while that this has established the correctness of the policy pursued by the Rana Prime Minister. The question readily coming to our mind in these circumstances is, why then all this fuss about democracy and end of Ranacracy?

The future of the present Government of Nepal is bound up with the support it obtains from the Government of India. As soon as it is withdrawn, the structure supported will collapse in no time. But the question is, how long the Government of India will continue to prop up a regime which does not enjoy even a modicum of popular backing. The surprise, however, is that they are not sooner realising the futility of the aid they are rendering to an unpopular Government. The Koirala Government is finding the situation slipping out of its control. And, therefore, even if stability of administration be their aim the Government of India can not afford to let the present cabinet drag on its sordid existence any longer.

---

## CHAPTER VII

### **THE NEPALESE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE: ITS BASIC CHARACTER AND MAIN OBJECTIVE**

**A**T one place in the past we have observed that the Nepalese democratic struggle is a part of the world struggle for freedom and democracy against imperialism and feudalism backed up in its turn by Colonial Powers.

This sums up the main feature of the struggle but we shall be giving it a precise shape if we further clarify its organic link with the liberation struggle of the colonies now going on, and with the class struggle of the expropriated in European and American countries.

In Nepal there is no middle class enjoying vested interests. Naturally any shifting of emphasis from the autocracy to the people will preclude this class, and bring powers and liberties down to the very reach of the masses.

This means in plain terms a full social revolution. This will never mean the continuance of the statusquo with only a shifting of political emphasis. The existing social framework will undergo a basic change if by the transformation aimed at, one is to envisage a society which is to answer to the needs of the revolution.

As there is no intermediary class of the wealthy in between the Rana aristocracy and the mass of the people the forces arrayed in antagonism against each other are feudalism and progressive democracy. Democracy in the context as thus outlined ceases to bear a meaning which it generally carries in a class society dominated by the rich middle class.

The overwhelming majority of the people in Nepal are the primitive tribes whose condition economically is worse than that of

the industrial proletariat. These and the small and middle peasantry in the non-tribal areas form the principal component elements of the people of Nepal. There is a budding lower middle class spreading to the newly rising urban centres, the class of petty traders, artisans, teachers, medical practitioners and those holding white collar clerical jobs in the services whose ultimate interest may not clash with that of the overwhelming majority of the people. The last is the most enlightened of the dissident sections. All these three form in class character the forces latent or otherwise ranged against the ruling nobility and their parasites. It is true that these are yet not awakened to a degree that might have led them to a militant action and this fact speaks more than anything else for the slow growth of the democratic movement. Again, whatever middle class of the world standard we have and its number is very meagre even to count that is too dependent on the ruling aristocracy, and is a comprador though latently it may have tendencies to go against them for its own ascendancy and thoroughly unreliable. But all this makes our struggle something very distinct from the ordinary democratic struggle. Its character in the circumstances has tended to become definitely popular. We have nothing in common with the struggles that were waged against medieval forces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For us democratic rights have a significance of social revolution and of a complete departure from the status quo. Being of a class without vested interests we have a strong tendency to fight all the forces wanting to preserve the present social relations. Whatever might be said on a superficial observation the fact remains that the Nepalese democratic struggle in its essence is socialistic with objectives of far reaching social changes. Its aspiration is in conformity to the social composition and alliance of the camp which does not contain interests and elements aiming at the preservation of the present social order.

Those in the vanguard may not be very much conscious of the essential feature of their struggle. Actually there is much of confusion owing to the dubious role of the so-called popular leaders who have been playing into the hands of the dissentient elements within the ruling aristocracy. After what we have seen in the course of the

last one year's manouevres and the resultant changes, we cannot lose sight of the fact of predominance the antipopular elements are wielding in our struggle and of the leaders acting in subservience to them. It looks as though these do not have a clear vision and the idea about the shape of future is still hazy in their minds. Yet nothing would be farther from the truth than to attribute to the rank and file any tendency to dance to the tune of the employing classes, and continue to be its hand-maid for further expropriation, confusion notwithstanding and there is at the core the indelible imprint of a rising revolutionary class massing to bid for power in the changed social structure.

The present structure of government in Nepal is a legacy of Rana-dom, a feudal machinery propped up by reactionary imperialist forces, Ranacracy was a creation and perservation of imperialism. Even in its decadent stage it was relying on the support of the colonial powers. The legacy of dependence on external anti-popular forces is maintained intact, though allies have changed, and though there has been a change of hands in the administrative set up. Naturally in such a condition any conflict between the ruling authority and the people wears the character of a national liberation struggle with allies in the anti-imperialist progressive camps. The obvious interaction is clear. It is not only a struggle against feudal-cum-imperialist bondage but it covers up a programme to effect a thorough social upheaval. The different sections of the people forming the anti-Shah cum Congress Cum Rana front are basically anti-vested interests and, therefore, against any rule of capital, which rules out the remotest possibility of collaboration between the two opposite elements of the society, however forward the other side of the step may appear to be.

Nepal is not India, and its middle class is just budding. The ruling aristocracy being the sole possessor of wealth of the country stands for the Nepalese counterpart of the world bourgeoisie. Democracy as ordinarily conceived empowers the wealthy class to run the administration, which means that even in another set up the aristocratic families and their parasites will continue to rule, this time in the name of democracy, if the change over were not to envisage changes

in social relationship. But we that belong to the national liberation front are not going to suffer for this sort of democratic set up. With the ruling autocracy the very rule of the big capital must end as it must when Ranadom crashes.

Incidentally let it be noted that the Nepalese democratic struggle has very nearly failed to obtain the allegiance and support of the class near to the ruling nobility, which we call a comprador middle class. In fact it is not a middle class, it is only the upper crust of the lower middle class which we may dub middle bourgeoisie according to world standard. This is composed of the section of the people who have resources and awakening enough to organise a movement against the feudalists but they have so far shown deplorable lack of appreciation of the objectives and an apathy, which sometimes indicates their insoluble ties with the aristocracy. Naturally in these circumstances the Nepalese democratic movement has to proceed without counting on these people. We cannot likewise adjust our programme in keeping with the economic and political interest of the middle class.

This class of dependent wealthy men, originally an offshoot of the lower class, rose through the favour of the Rana nobility. The Bharadar today is not as of old a privileged being. Before the Rana family came to power, certain families of feudal nobility, from which high state dignitaries were selected were being called the Bharadars. After 1846 these Bharadars ceased to exist. The Ranas replaced them by their own favourites promoted from humbler posts. Today therefore not all state dignitaries are Bharadars, only the few men at the top may claim that rank and status. They are, however, very much above the average middle bourgeoisie. Landed or otherwise their property was derived from their parasitic dependence on the Ranas, consequently they would not think of alignment with forces tending to cut them off the mooring. Unfortunately for us these happen to be the conscious section of the non-aristocratic elements of society and their anti-people complaisance is impeding the growth of the movement along a normal channel. But at the same time it is clear that it is well nigh impossible to expect them to divest their mental frame up of all the feudal prejudices and leaning binding them to the reactionary Ranas or to the King and his

faithful allies. The democratic struggle is emerging clear of them, and as a result is getting shorn of all the reactionary survivals, their ideologies and prejudices, and the banal influences corrupting and diverting the channel to anti-popular directions.

The past three years of work amongst the Nepalese people have also proved that if the Nepalese democratic movement were to advance rapidly it must base the programme on the aspiration of the lowest strata of the society which forms the element called the people. To the people as has been our experience the glib emphasis on liberty, equality and fraternity exert the least forceful appeal. We are convinced that unless we talk to them of economic uplift and of a life free from exploitation they will not be drawn to accept our fight as their own and undergo a sacrifice for the cause. It will not be enough to cry hoarse about liberty and social justice.

The only class with property to be assembled in the movement if at all we make a note of it is the lower middle class but that too is facing instability and deterioration in its living standard and career. It is, therefore, not to be feared that this class will throw in its lot with the parasitic class. This proletaroid lower middle class has no alternative but to live up with the other section of the suppressed mass. Definitely in consciousness or unconsciously it is acting in alliance with the suppressed mass of the people. That way our movement is assuming to rest its oars on the broad base of a united liberation struggle of all the suppressed sections of the people fighting out feudal and imperialistic exploitation.

All the sections of the people opposed to the ruling aristocracy are united in a common bond. They share in common all the privations, limitations, humiliations and exploitation at its hands. The name duniyadar applied in ordinary usage to the combined mass of these people separates them from the privileged Rana, the Shah and their Bharadars. The Bharadar belongs to the parasitic group of those hanging on the rulers in their services as civil and military officers. In ultimate analysis his outlook does not seem to appear the least regardful of popular welfare.



But his interest is as much opposed to the duniyadar's as to the ruling clique's interest. He has totally identified himself with the social texture of an autocratic and feudal set up. It is no wonder that though a non-Rana and outside the immediate perimeter of the autocracy he did not in the past find a place in the common fight against feudalism. While defining the attitude of the servant Bharadars we cannot, however, forget the fact that as a class getting richer day by day he will have one day to go against the very structure which nourished the back-bone, for as soon as it will dawn on him that in the frame work of feudal autocracy he will have little scope for improvement beyond certain limits and these limits had ordained to him a position very much subservient to the Rana rulers themselves wielding hereditary powers, he will certainly rise to effect changes in the system so as at least to claim equal rights with the rulers in state appointments. A stage will come when he is likely to join hands with the people against the feudalists. It is, however, another thing that he will be a very unreliable ally in the camp of the anti-feudal elements. By upbringing he is anti-people and his class prejudice and aspiration impell him to side with the reactionary elements. Therefore even if he be accepted as an ally we shall have to exercise sufficient alertness in admitting him to the fold. The chances are that either he betrays at a suitable occasion or he tries to pocket the entire fruits of struggle at the cost of the people leaving the democratic revolution very much incomplete. The Bharadar as a class comes as an ally of the people against the feudal domination of the Rana and Shah families or any other fendal group but his allegiance to the popular cause cannot be placed above doubt.

Thus the democratic movement in Nepal has come to embrace a united struggle of the entire duniyadar against the ruling aristocracy, their kinsmen and servant Bharadars, all of whom derive their existence from feudal structure of society and resist any and every attempt made to change this structure towards modernisation. This anti-capitalist and progressive character of the movement was not coming to view and little realised at the beginning. More than that its class content in opposition to the vested interest of the rulers and their henchmen could not be fully understood. None were so

sure about the nature of change and particularly that part of it when it involved drastic social upheaval as to cause a complete break with the status quo. We talked of freedom and social justice, but we could not define them in concrete terms. Something in parallel with conditions in India of those days came to our mind when we turned our mind to these questions. We little knew that for Nepal these carried no solution. I am not speaking here of those who even today are prevaricating the issue in order to dupe the different parties for selfish ends. These persons are not allowing the democratic movement to pass beyond the precinct of the family feud of the Ranas and their antagonism with the ruling Shahs. But nevertheless at present there is emerging with the picture a distinctly progressive outlook—seeking to break the barriers of the palace as well as dispelling doubts and prevarications as to its main objectives. It could not be simply embroiled in confusion any further. The Nepalese democratic movement was born at a time when all the world over the anti-imperialist struggle was sharpening to the discomfiture of colonisation and capitalist exploitation and there was in triumph fluttering the proletariat flag on one sixth of the world's surface as a symbol of the victory over reaction and vested interests. This was a great source of inspiration and the Nepalese had wishfully seen in the world shaking events now taking place in Russia, China and other parts of the world his own fulfilment of the dream even though distantly mirrored. In India where the national liberation struggle was reaching its height feudal princes as allies of the imperialist British, whose affinity with the Ranas was established, had come to be despised and their feudal role liquidated, and this led to thinking in our mind that feudal autocracy of the entire India would collapse along with the imperialist structure. The latter phase of the development of one of the neighbouring countries was full of disillusionment when it came to the task of extending the sphere of liberation from India to Nepal. We have seen how her rulers have not been mindful of the real needs of the Nepalese people, and on the other hand are using their influence under a wrong notion to side track these for security and defence purposes. But a new situation crops up as an enlivening factor with the inauguration of the Chinese People's Republic and the advance of the Chinese army for the liberation of feudal Tibet. Today the last

vestige of confusion and dimness has evaporated. What is transpiring in the country just north of Nepal, all that this has done for the suppressed millions and the dawn of civilisation it brought to their door is not without effects on the minds of other Asian peoples struggling for emancipation specially on those of the border areas. The New China has revolutionised our thinking. It is no longer the same stupor and wilderness that we are burdened with. The Nepalese democratic movement is now well on the road to the realisation of its aims and embarks on the campaign without doubts and hesitation. Its character of a truly popular fight against imperialism and its ally indigenous feudalism and comprador Bharadats was never so well defined. It will have certainly to wage a ceaseless fight against the reformist and social apologist of the Rana cum Shah aristocracy and their parasites, that phase is not yet over, but having a clear vision before them and helped to distinguish the right from the wrong through experiences of international occurrences, the Nepalese people have reached a position where they shall not allow any one to deceive them into choosing a wrong line of action.

Nepal had been ruled by the feudal Shah and Rana families, as a semi-colony of the British Empire. Under these conditions it is natural that the struggle the people are waging should assume the form of a colonial struggle against the imperialist exploiters. As against the imperialists the Nepalese people looked to the progressive forces wherever they might be for sympathy and support as happens under condition of colonial enslavement. Whoever nation champions the cause of the oppressed is our friend. We find that our liberation is inextricably connected with the emancipatory fight in other-imperialist dominated countries. The rulers continued to be bolstered up by the western Imperialists and mark, their help continues to flow even though the Shah King comes to replace the Ranas as a defacto ruler. At present as elements of reaction tending to guarantee the status quo against social revolution the new rulers also represent a link in the chain of forces forming the major backbone of the imperialist structure. For the Nepalese it is now clear that unless these forces are annihilated the feudal autocracy will not fail to draw ever fresh sustenance to drag its sordid existence. The recent victory of the progressive forces in

China has in that context a deeper significance. Now we have a powerful friend seated in power, who could very easily counteract the influence of the imperialists so long exerting their pressure to retard the progress of the backward colonial regions. What India independence could not do, it had not used its potentiality either as proved by events of the post-independence days for it has yet failed to solve the problems of social revolution, through the Chinese Revolution is likely to materialise as a counterpoise against the imperialist manoeuvres boosting the reactionary regimes the world over like Songramms, Rhees and Pashas.

The Nepalese democratic struggle aims at complete overthrow of Rana cum Shah-cracy. It does and will not want to stop short of that achievement. By eliminating the last vestige of the feudal agency of imperialism it will pave the way for the birth of a new society free from exploiting and enslaving classes. In view of the absence of the developed middle class from the present social structure it is expected that the transition from the feudal economy to a socialistic economy under a democratic set up will not be attended with much difficulties once the autocratic rulers get off the scene. In the coming period of common man's democracy, popular rights and liberties will not trammel his natural progress and movements as in old society. These will mean freedom from want, freedom from any shackles of past, freedom from class exploitation and freedom of a life of culture and education. As social revolution is our immediate aim the Nepalese democratic struggle will have to reckon with the very lowly and downtrodden and without those who pass as men of wealth and privilege at the moment.

As indeed, democracy for Nepal under modern conditions is not going to be the rule of those possessing wealth. It will signify the reversal of the order and will mean the rule of the duniyadar-of the worker, peasant and oppressed lower middle class whose alliance with the former two will be cemented in a common bond. As there is no intermediary class in between the ruling autocracy and the duniyadar, the formers's overthrow will bring freedom down to the doors of the latter and usher in a glorious period of reconstruction that will enable them to shape the future according to their desires and aspirations. The question of the preservation of the present social order in the new scheme of things is altogether ruled out.

It should be, however, borne in mind that the foundation of the new social order will only be laid down after the complete downfall of the aristocracy. A true democratic system will not work until the last vestige of feudal machinery is dispensed with. There cannot be a way of compromise or any middle of the road policy for such a situation to mature. Anything desiring to preserve status quo to any degree will prove injurious to the interest of the people. The Nepalese democratic struggle will be a failure if in any way it does not succeed in liquidating the old order. Democracy in Nepal will not be democracy in the correct sense of the term without the old order being done away with.

We must at the same time realise that so long as our objective remains vague, our struggle will not make rapid strides. Any vagueness in the objective at this stage will only delay the hour of emancipation; ours is the struggle of the duniyadar, of the common man; our objective in reality cannot be such as betrays his cause. This fact must not be lost sight of in assessing the prospective of the struggle involved. Nothing will blur its extremely popular character as the struggle of the common man for freedom from bondage and exploitation.

The gulf between the duniyadar on the one hand and the Shahs, Ranas and the group of their parasites on the other is gradually widening with each phase of the crisis affecting them. The one section has come to represent the camp of the suppressed, exploited and impoverished while the other section of the rich belongs to the camp of the exploiters and expropriators even if some of them have been trying today to speak in the name of the people. The picture reflects the same division of forces and social contradiction as are evident in almost all countries both internally and on an international scale. There is no third force, there is no via media instrument of achievement.

The party of the duniyadar has started functioning. Despite criminal repression at the hands of the ruling aristocracy the duniyadar is increasing his strength. His mounting consciousness is leading the duniyadar for freedom from the clutches of tyrant rulers and their Bharadars,

It is exposing the role of the feudal agents who are vitiating the political atmosphere by attempting to circumvent the popular movement to the domestic feud of the Rana family and their Shah allies. Although to a degree docile and lethargic the Nepalese duniyadar is now not lying all asleep. He is growing alive to the sense of danger facing the people and to his objective of emancipation from the feudal thraldom. His objective is too clear to deflect him from the path of active struggle against his enslavers.

Similarly, as there is no independent middle class able and desirous to wrest powers from the aristocracy, and as the compartment between the suppressed and the aristocracy is watertight the organisational expression of the camps formed on the basis is clear. Any attempt to speak in the name of democracy from a platform other than that of the duniyadar should therefore not be mistaken. It is a device to divide and split the popular movement.

Recently we heard of a political party calling itself the Nepal Congress which emerges out of the fusion of the two splinter groups, and which today rules over Nepal as fortuituous circumstances determined.

These had started with the active financial support of the exile Ranas who had been promised restoration. So long, these existed separately because one showed a leaning to the men, in power which led the other to put up an attitude of distrust. Now the recalcitrant group seems to have given up its usual adamant attitude, and once again pledged loyalty to a section of the Ranas then in exile. The merger of the two groups carries this meaning and only this meaning as far as the common people are concerned. But it is dangerous that opportunism is raising its ugly head with a democratic garb. Aristocracy divided in itself may weaken the machinery, but there is no solace until and unless the democratic force is strengthened. In division also one may prove as dangerous as the other and because it speaks a democratic voice the latter's disrupting potentiality is more vital. We must make it clear that we have not to choose between two sections of the aristocracy even though they may be fighting each other. At any rate the duniyadar will suffer in the set up if he is to act under

the hegemony of the Ranas and Shahs of either camps and their hang-  
gers on. The very character of our movement will be falsified if it  
allows itself to be veering round the family feud of the ruling Shahs  
and Ranas.

To retain its popular character unimpaired the leaders of the  
movement will have to be watchful. Reactionary forces are thrusting  
themselves in the democratic camp under deceptive appearances. The  
activity of the so-called Nepali Congress, its camouflaged ideology and  
programme, its organisational link with the vested interests of the  
ruling Shahs and Ranas and the compradors, everything in that line  
will have to be thoroughly exposed to keep the vanguard of the national  
liberation struggle immune from unhealthy influences and save the  
mass of the people from a suicidal course of action, which would  
result if they were to follow the lead of the masked camp of the  
reactionaries.

The emergence of this Nepali Congress now in vantage ground of a  
ruling clique as a powerful rival to popular organisations marks the  
consolidation of attempts to beguile and way lay the people in the name  
of democracy. The process had started as soon as the national organi-  
sation saw its birth in 1946. Since then the disruptors were busy at  
their game and not satisfied with splitting the national organisation  
and poisoning the consciousness of the people, they directed  
their venomous sting to slandering and villifying its leadership  
mixing their own proteges with the patriots and through a new  
party pouring a huge amount of money to corrupt its rank and  
file. But they find that they could not totally defeat the movement.  
This time they come with a more rich armoury of deceit, falsehood,  
slander and of tons of currency notes, as well as full force of a medie-  
val governmental machinery.

---

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE FUTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

**W**E have repeatedly suggested that the Nepalese democratic movement will stop at nothing short of social revolution, and its objective is to wholly recast the present social order to enable the very low and downtrodden to gain mastery of the situation. In this light and with the objective thus aimed at the future of Nepal will have to be shaped, and there will be no prevarication or dodging on the point. It is obvious that political reforms on the model of the western world do not hold good for conditions like the ones obtaining in Nepal. We face a gigantic task of lifting the overwhelming majority of the people, 95 percent of the total, out of a morass of poverty, ignorance and sloth. Solutions that leave the majority to a life of perpetual toil and tear will not be acceptable, for these do not present a departure from the usual policy of Ranacracy thriving on the backward and poor condition of the masses. This will mean neither a change nor a solution of the problem and will happen only under the status quo where feudal autocracy reigns supreme. The people will have remained as far from the enjoyment of real democratic rights as at present. But this cannot be valid in any context other than under the autocratic regime. For as we have said any transfer of power further down from the present rulers will usher in a new era of people's democracy, and not a hotch potch via media panacea of social reforms that is generally assigned to the fate of countries chafing under a class of exploiters. The absence of an independent middle class dictates the course along a path different from those traversed by those countries. If the duniyadar is to wield predominance in the coming society everything devolving on us as a legacy of the middle class dominated society likely to be a trammel on our movement will have to be removed and Nepal shall advance without any check to a goal where the safety, security and prosperity of the common people is fully guaranteed. Possibly we



shall have to imbibe a great deal from the experiences of the Chinese People's Republic.

As we have previously noted democracy is wholly incompatible with any condition of feudalism and hence every effort will be directed to end the last vestige of it in whatever shape or degree it may be present in that context. This will demand complete overhauling of the administration machinery, which will cleanse it from top to bottom doing away with all the incongruities, its autocratic king—hereditary Prime Minister and similar other special privileged posts enjoyed by certain categories of aristocracy in possession of wealth and power. There will be a system of universal franchise to enable the very suppressed to have a voice in the governance of the country and the sole voice at that and to exclude even the remotest possibility of the rule of capital and feudalism; all disabilities legal or practical standing in the way of people's exercise of those rights will have to be withdrawn. Any loophole engendering restitution of those rights and of the aristocracy likely to be the rallying ground of all reactionary elements in future will have to be likewise closed. Utmost vigilance in the matter of allowing freedom to such elements will be the factor that will ensure conditions favourable to the interest of the duniyadar as against the fallen aristocracy.

The exact character of the state will be determined by the composition of the classes controlling its apparatus. As all groups of vested interests are to be deprived of powers and crushed to the extent of giving free scope for the rise and development of the low and suppressed it will be a duniyadar's state pure and simple. As the duniyadar again is a united class of the lower income groups and peasant and proletariat strata of the people, the government will be in that sense a government of democratic and anti-capitalist elements wielding powers for the dual purpose of ending the feudal order and reconstructing the society in the interest of this united group of classes—peasantry, proletariat and lower bourgeoisie. In no sense it will expand the channel to incorporate and allow the aristocracy to appear in a changed form. Feudalism will not be permitted to appear and reign with the help of capital.

The ultimate aim is to produce condition for the birth of a classless society as soon as it is possible, our emphasis on the state controlled by the duniyadar must be understood in this sense. By excluding the capitalist and aristocratic class from the domain of state craft we want to eliminate the factors that tend to give rise to forces of class domination. We have certainly included the lower middle class in the elements controlling the state but this we have done because we believe that this element is equally anti-capitalist and essentially disposed to notice salvation in a society without a dominant class. The duniyadar's state is the fittest organisation of a transistion from feudal to non-capitalist social relations.

The notion that without the capitalist class it is not possible for a country to achieve economic prosperity out of a feudal stage has now lost ground. What has happened in East European countries, in Mongolia, Korea and also in other Asiatic countries is enough to show that a people's government is capable of achieving tremendous success in this field as in other fields without being directly monitored by the wealthy class of capitalist owners of the means of production. Rather, there has been a definite advantage in this mode of economic progress because all was done without undergoing the painful experience of mass subjugation and exploitation at the hands of the rich few monopolising all the resources leading to cultural and economic advancement. Ordinarily the economic prosperity within the frame work of a system of capitalism is a mistaken belief. There is an irrefutable point in a claim which would achieve the results without introducing complication taken to contradict them, speciality when in a country there is no capitalist class. There is no justification to introduce one such a class where it does not exist and if there were certain advantages by introducing one we cannot forget that its advantages are countered by the disadvantages in the form of mass poverty and expropriation and so any step in that direction will be attended with more evils than good. There is yet one more argument in favour of a non-capitalist machinery of economic uplift for the present day backward Nepal. It cannot be denied that the Nepalese people are used to looking to the government for amenities and their poverty dictates that they are incapable of meeting themselves the needs of

capitalist enterprise. Doubtlessly the apt instrument for such a situation cannot be a mode of production based on private initiative and enterprise. Although to a certain extent the hesitancy displayed by the people is due to the restraint exercised by the autocratic regime, yet much of it can be ascribed to the general state of impoverishment. Where therefore there does not exist a rich middle class there is no meaning in widening the scope for private enterprise of that class. Either the whole thing will have to be done under a system of cooperative enterprise or the state itself will have to undertake responsibilities in organising industries and commerce of the country. And there is a greater likelihood of even of the cooperatives being sponsored and guided by the state in the absence of initiative by the people themselves.

As soon as a people's government will come to power it will declare all land, mineral and forest resources of the country to be the property of the State. Similarly all key industries and chief import and export trade will belong to the province of the State. It does not mean, however, that there will be absolutely no scope for individual enterprise. Individual enterprise in small industries and commerce will remain such as it touches a big percentage of the duniyadar class as also the state would not like to be burdened with minor tasks of diverting its limited technical and financial equipment required elsewhere for greater and more urgent needs. In ordinary circumstances the state will pursue a policy of 'hands off' towards artisanry, handicrafts, shop-keeping and petty manufacture. It is possible that in pursuance of a policy to attract cooperative enterprise the state may allow certain big enterprise to develop even on individualist basis. But extreme caution will have to be exercised to ensure that these do not organise themselves into a force capable of influencing the administration in favour of the vested interests. In an endeavour to attract capital we must not allow the capitalist enterprise to assume a formidable magnitude, which will have threaten the very basis of the social revolution. Although for temporary advantages we shall not stop capitalist mode of production, the issue of restricting its scope and keeping it within limits of state control will always be there.

Nepal being an agricultural country, the problem of land tenure will occupy an important place in the future scheme of things. The point at issue will be the redistribution of holdings conducted with a view to benefit the tillers. Middlemen in land will have no place. This will bring to the forefront the problem of the estate-holders who own among themselves a considerable proportion of arable land without having anything to pay to the government. Of course under the present system of personal rule the revenues may be equated with the tax to be allotted to the government's share. It is however a perpetual loss with the government that the estates comprising not a small portion of the cultivable land of the country form the private possession of the holders who do not pay a single pie to the public Exchequer. Besides, in this kind of holdings the tenants have no rights of ownership and cannot dispense with the land in their possession without recourse to the final order of the holder. The estate holders are mostly members of the aristocratic Shah and Rana families and their compradors. So as a result of the social revolution they may be not and shall not be blessed with the continuation of their rights over the landed estates. But this problem of depriving them of the landed possession will prove quite tough to handle. The recent changes have not made this problem easier, because they have actually placed powers at the hands of the equally feudal wing of aristocracy, though it happens to be the group of the formerly disgruntled and exiled Ranas and the formerly puppet Shah King, who will surely resist land reforms. The actual problem is that the tillers of the soil must now be made secure in their possession and must be vested with proprietary rights. How best this could be done will be the lookout of the government coming in the wake of the proposed social revolution. But whatever may be the difficulties in the way efforts in this direction will not slacken and a people's government will see that the peasants in the estates become their own masters. Another aspect of the land problem is the rehabilitation of the landless labourers who had been driven away from their possession by the money-lenders belonging to the camp of the comprador middle class. Their rehabilitation will not be effected simultaneously with the expropriation of the estate holders. The state will have to undertake a policy of reassessment of land and

reallotment of the same on the basis of individual requirement. The surplus may be absorbed by opening the fallow land to cultivation with state aid in the form of irrigation facilities and of chemical fertilisers. In order to free the peasantry from the burden of debt the state shall have also to cancel rural indebtedness wholesale as a matter of principle.

Tied with the problem of economic reconstruction the financing of projects forms another big mental sore. Being a very undeveloped country Nepal lacks in capital in adequate amount. Apart from the technical know how and heavy machineries for bold enterprise there is a general dearth of capital for investment. It is true that the shortage can be partially made up by demanding compulsory subscription to state loans to cover a bond of a requisite amount. Mao's China is doing much of its job on that basis. But for a country like Nepal at the very primary stage of development the importance of foreign loan cannot be underrated. Internal capital will prove extremely inadequate to meet the varieties of schemes rooted to improve the lot of the country. The difficulty, however, will rise as to the source of procurement. Those countries and governments which have been using Nepal as a semi-colony would certainly not take kindly to the changes introduced after the downfall of the autocratic structure; unless Nepal was returned to old ways of life and status, they would not find it profitable to help in the work of rehabilitation. Further because our social revolution is directed for ending the present feudal condition of the country, we shall receive little sympathetic attention from these imperialist Powers. Naturally, therefore, Nepal will be compelled to seek the aid of the countries that have proved themselves to be the staunch enemy of colonialism and feudalism. Our preference will naturally go to India and China as powers agreeing in character with our views and more to India because of also intimate ties. Just as today our alignment is definitely on the side of those forces fighting against imperialism and feudalism, likewise tomorrow we shall be drawn closer to those powers that have helped us to shake off the feudal yoke and tomorrow will render ungrudging and disinterested economic assistance for social reconstruction. Any country having imperialist interest in Nepal which for that reason will attach political strings to

technical or financial help contributed will be detested. Nepal of tomorrow cannot afford to enter into commitments likely to end the achievements of the present bitter struggle, and will not facilitate tendencies strengthening counter revolution. One thing, however, has to be specially noted in this connection and that is Nepal's relation with India. For anything political or economic Nepal is linked to India as a part to the whole and its economic reconstruction must follow Indian pattern. Much will, therefore depend on how far the present Indian Government are prepared to assist Nepal's needed economic projects and on to what ends they will use their advantageous position. As far we can see there should be no objection to seeking India's aid even if it is given for purposes of strengthening Nepal's defence position for we are sure that it will not be directed to build up imperialist outposts. But the Indian Government must be warned that they should not enter into deals of lasting character until there is a fully representative government in Nepal.

Now let us turn our attention to Nepal's foreign relations as a corollary to this particular aspect of the problem. Nepal at the present moment is striving to be independent of feudal and colonial slavery. It is fighting for a position of equality with other nations. Obviously it can never choose the path of collaboration with the powers that have eyes on Nepal as a support base for their man power used as a fodder for their imperialist wars. That will be the ways of the Ranacracy, the ways which we have condemned. Freedom from the yoke of the feudalists will mean the end of subservient collaboration with the imperialist Governments. This will usher in an era of complete independence and separation from every kind of feudal entanglement contrived by the predecessor autocracy. Before the emancipated Nepal there will open a new road altogether. We shall never allow ourselves to be tagged on to the tail end of the forces so long enslaving us. If there is to be a complete break with the past in the field of foreign policy Nepal cannot stay in the camp where it had been forced in the circumstances of Ranacracy's choice. Its place will be with those who have been co-sufferers and have pledged in earnestness to fight colonialism and feudalism until they are extinct.

To be more explicit and push the argument to its logical conclusion

it is necessary to refer to the polarisation of forces obtaining nationally and internationally that is in evidence today in every part of the world. It is no use denying the fact that we in Nepal though circumstantially situated remote in world drama cannot escape a division of class basis, which transcends the frontiers. The forces in antagonistic relation in our country reflect the position of an international character. Therefore we cannot escape noticing that each side has an ally in the international division of forces. It follows that the people of Nepal should have no misgiving as to the friends they have to choose. If the Rana autocrats had thrown in their lot with the imperialist exploiters and capitalists, with the Governments of Anglo-American reactionaries, the Nepalese people must belong to the other camp, the camp of the progressives of India, and of China and Russia. We have already developed closest possible ties with India reversing the two hundred year old order of estrangement, and Nehru's sympathy for our struggle has brought the two countries still closer and the common ties of blood, culture, history and geography had never been so assertive as at present. And again, the People's Government of Nepal will pursue in close collaboration with India a policy of opposition to imperialism and other exploiting agencies while strengthening the forces of peace and progress represented by the anti-capitalist regimes all the world over.

This is not all. While building a high level of prosperity at home, the People's Government will play an important role in the international sphere. At home there will be a steady improvement in the condition of the people, their hunger and want eliminated, their ignorance dispelled by education and cultural advancement. There will be no more exploitation of the people by a dominant class, no more enslavement of the toilers and expropriation of the peasants and no more suppression at the hands of the aristocracy. Thus Nepal will be pushed up to the level of advanced countries with prideful achievements in activities conducted to develop and assist popular forces. In this background the parochial outlook of a backward country enmeshed in feudal conservatism will no longer be there. We shall imbibe a truly international spirit of understanding and develop a sense of solidarity and oneness with all the suppressed

millions of the world. In short Nepal will cease to be an instrument of enslavement through which the Gorkha nationals were eternally subjected to be the camp followers of western imperialism.

But the fulfilment of the above will not be so easily obtained. Social reconstruction will demand extraordinary labour and enthusiasm to prompt the same. Any slackness and pessimism exhibited in the work will retard the smooth running of constructional projects. Anti-social forces, the enemies of the people will not be sitting idle. They will be on the look out for any contingency to enable them to stage a comeback and undo the achievement brought by the people for their emancipation. They will not be standing alone in the mischievous quest for restored royalty. International reaction will try to bolster up any attempt directed to challenging the claims of revolution. We have to realise before hand the dangers of retaliation and an outburst of counter revolutionary activities which will be assisted by the Imperialist and reactionary powers. If we fail to bestow proper attention on the possibility of counter revolutionary attempts to win power back for the aristocracy we have forgotten the lessons of history.

There is one thing more. The future we have pictured will only come after the feudal autocracy is overcome and ended. It has not ended and been overcome ; feudal autocracy is still alive, though it has appeared in a new garb and with new alies. The primary issue, therefore, is now of struggle to that end. The scheme we have outlined will only be valid if we could achieve the goal we have set today and this calls for more vigilance, greater efforts and greater suffering and sacrifices in the cause of freedom. Without these social revolution will remain a mere phantasy and dream for us. And we should realise that. We must not dream without understanding the need of action which such dream calls for. Action is the need of the hour.

What that action should be, how that has to be processed and conditioned, what should be its vehicle and guide—all these questions find an answer in the last two chapters, in iv and vi.

---



## CHAPTER IX

### INDIA AND NEPAL

**A**T many places on previous occasions we have talked of Nepal in a larger context of India. It was natural too, as our problem in the British period was inextricably bound up with that of India. Nepal presented at the time in a more or less identical character and form of a little more complex problem of an Indian state. The British had created the Ranas, and it were they who bolstered up and helped them to continue their autocratic rule. Today the position is different. There are no longer the British in India. With India declared free Nepal also finds itself independent of British tutelage. But does it mean that we should traverse a line of our own quite independent of India simply because the common factor of imperialism binding the two countries has disappeared? No, not at all. On the contrary we find ourselves drawn closer to India after the British declared her independent. At no time the realisation that we are bound to India by ties of geography, culture and tradition was stronger than at present. We feel that Nepal is not merely a neighbour and next door kinsman standing shoulder to shoulder with India but a part and parcel of hers, a flesh of flesh and a bone of bones, related as a younger brother to the elder brother within the common frame work of a family. In every aspect of existence, cultural, historical and racial we show an interwoven structure. Politically Nepal at certain stages of its history lived apart from the time immemorial and that is perhaps the greatest argument for allowing it to continue that status, but inter-linked as Nepal is with India in all other matters it is doubtful if the sort of political independence as it enjoys today can be an excuse to be treated as a separate category or its internal misrule suffered to exist on that ground. To this is added that community of feeling as co-sufferers under the heels of imperialism, to us feudalism backed up by imperialism was as worse, which both the countries shared for about a century and this grows to be a cementing factor. Although Nepal began its democratic struggle comparatively very late, which was unavoidable in the circumstances obtained under the joint exploita-

tion by feudalism and imperialism, the achievement of India at the different phases of her emancipatory movement had inspired and thrilled our country with pride and hope. As we observed before, it had produced such a salutary influence on the otherwise down-trodden and sluggish population that Nepal could not help being dragged on to that path, and its sky gallantly echoed the reverberation and voice of patriotic India. No one can forget the role played by the Nepalese patriots in the anti-imperialist struggle, though their number was not appreciable. In Nepal itself there was awakening in progress with each stage of the fight launched by India. It was natural for us, being closely associated as we were with the Indian struggle for independence that we felt relieved of a great burden when India secured her freedom. For ourselves we have found that the pillar supporting the Rana autocracy in Nepal had collapsed. In another context the present democratic front of the Nepalese is a derivative of the Indian democratic struggle because we have been all along inspired by examples of sacrifice and courage and sustained by sympathies of and facilities given by India. So wide is the community of interest as determined by geographical and historical association that as soon as India became free we were filled with unusual optimism and hope of emancipation. As such it is little surprising that the question of democracy in Nepal is viewed along lines of developments in India. It will be incorrect to try to consider the same in isolation as an entity separate from India. As was the case in the past Indian influences must work to put Nepal on the road to democracy once India is already on that road. Rather the logic is that if British Imperialism seated in India could insure the safety and security of the autocratic structure at Kathmandu, its withdrawal and replacement by a national democratic power should herald a new era of democracy for Nepal.

Yet there is the delay. Nepal looks like a hard nut and not at all yielding to pressure from within. India uptill now has not been able to rise to expectations the Nepalese have cherished of hers. This is more evident and astonishing when we see her leaders and Government caring more for security measures than for questions of freedom and social revolution. A sense of frustration is gripping the Nepalese people and some have even started to think that Nepal shall

remain unaffected by developments in India. It is true that the problem of democracy in Nepal is not so easy of solution as that of the Indian states which are rapidly dissolving before the onrush of democratic forces advancing in the wake of Indian Independence. It is a bit complicated on account of the status of independence Nepal so far enjoyed, and similar other factors but very few know that there are other forces as well working to counteract the influence of Indian democracy, which has led to the present helpless situation under which democratic India has to be a murmuring onlooker. In the following paragraphs we proceed to deal with these.

In British days Nepal always fascinated an average Hindu mind as the only Hindu Kingdom in the world, where it was thought that the Hindu culture and tradition were safely preserved. It was a source of pride and glory to millions of Hindus who had seen their community gradually disintegrating under the mighty impact of European civilisation. As the British maintained an iron curtain over Nepal, many had unconsciously lent themselves to believe that Nepal was a Hindu paradise on earth, where every body lived happily without fear of encroachment or extirpation by other communities. The obligation felt by a Hindu towards Nepal, and his keen interest in seeing its independence well intact, was natural in these circumstances, but unfortunately this maintained no distinction between the rulers and the people. To add to this, there was incessant flow of propaganda from interested quarters to gloss over factual condition as obtained in the country. No wonder that the ill informed Hindu public even regarded the anti-Rana agitation as inimical to the aspiration of the entire Hindu community of India.

We have here not to touch upon the Hindu Sabhait conception of the future of India, which was to create a strong Hindu State as a viable unit of guarantee against the Pan Islamic bloc formed with the Indian Muslims at the centre. In this set up Nepal as the home of the Gorkhas was not a negligible partner, and in order to ensure the flow of the Gorkha man power it was essential that the country should not experience any sort of political trouble entailing wide spread disturbances. Even those who were conscious of the short-comings and sins

of the Rana Family were, therefore, not inclined to support a political movement in Nepal as long as the threat of Muslim invasion was rending the sky.

The fear of the Pan Islamic bloc acting in behalf of the Indian Muslims in order to subjugate the Hindus, though very much unreal in the present altered circumstances, had not left its grip over some of them till the very yesterday. Before the partition many had dreaded the possibility of civil war, and hoped in the event of British quitting the scene leaving India in the hot bed of partisan warfare to call in the aid of the Hindu Gorkhas who they thought would come to their rescue as against the Muslims. That idea still persists in the minds of many of the diehard Hindus.

But the greatest obstacle the Nepalese democratic struggle faces in its task of enlisting popular sympathy for itself here in India comes from the intricate problem of Indian defence. Once the fear of Muslim aggression dies out, the Hindu mind will not be prejudiced to the democratic aspiration of the Nepal neighbours. The people of India will certainly like to see their bretheren in Nepal to break the feudal shackles, and march on to democratic freedom. But the Indian ruling class may not be disposed to relinquish military interest in Nepal. In that case it will take time before Indian public opinion mobilises fully against the present day autocratic rule, which seems in its turn nurtured and supported by the Indian Government.

To day a feeling is steadily gaining ground in Nepal that the Indian Government with their clever diplomacy to rule over Nepal without responsibility mean to contain progressive forces gaining ascendancy there and for that end will use a puppet government of unpopular backing, and that with them the greatest consideration will always be one of security and defence as against the northern neighbour and not the solicitude for the rights and welfare of the downtrodden Nepalese.

Now the question is what way the India Government Should act in determining their relationship with Nepal? This problem has to be settled at the earliest possible moment because with the change of government in Kathmandu from the hands of the Rana rulers to those of

King Tribhuwan who could be restored to powers mainly with India Government's help, the responsibility which Delhi traditionally bore in Nepalese affairs has shifted again to the Indian ruling shoulders who could without doubt influence the administration at Kathmandu for the ends they choose. Is it purely a national class self interest that actuates them? Or they seek fulfilment of some higher mission which does not recognise narrow barrier of personal interest? The future alone is the judge. But every thing will depend on the class composition of the Government at Delhi. If class interest is allowed to get the better of ideology and vision is blurred by thoughts of immediate benefit we will find little change in the policy now in force which will continue to be guided by purely class interests of the party in power. Today for want of latitude the child state of free India is circumscribed in the old groove of British creation, but this will not remain for long and if the men in Delhi view at any time the relation with Nepal in terms of Gorkha troops, and of India's security they will be only badly exposed. The people in Nepal therefore have yet little cause to be jubilant over the new conditions effected in Nepal if such a contingency arises. It may be that the present Government of India think different on the matter. It may be that they do not view the Indo-Nepal friendship as an alliance between Indian capitalism and Nepalese feudalism. But Indian reaction will not tolerate any other kind of relationship. Because it knows that for India's military interest Nepal has to be kept backward and its people ignorant it will toe the line of the British predecessor to make Nepal safe for autocracy of its own liking if not for Rana autocracy, and for its own military needs. The Gorkha has to be kept in backward surrounding ignorant and poor, for otherwise he may not feel inclined to join the Indian army, which he does for bread and unconscious of his own national and class interest. In affluence and enlightenment his mind is likely to work along a different line of thinking, and he shall not be used in the present way, under the same condition he will overthrow the yoke of the indigenous autocracy. Feudalism and capitalism have, therefore, a common interest to continue the present archaic state of Nepal. Both will willingly enter into a compromise with foreign imperialist interests on the same issue, and be helped to that end

with technical and financial resources. The people of Nepal will have to fight a hard battle before they succeed in breaking this unholy combination. If the present Government of India mean to extricate themselves out of the web they have found themselves caught, they will have too not an easy job.

In order to acquaint oneself with the trend of forces working in Nepal today it is also essential to study at length its position in the context of the new international set up. The Nepal of today has very much to be worried about in this set up, for the new forces that got release after the second World War will in no circumstances assert without hurting certain vested interests. Their source of agony has been the changes in both sides of the frontier where feudal elements are finding themselves in utter defeat. Even before, the British Government having withdrawn from India the autocrats of Nepal were brought face to face against the national liberation forces which are vigorously challenging status quo all over Asia. The implication of the Indian changes had certainly been to make the Ranas nervous about their support from Delhi if not actually placing them on quandary vis-a-vis the new men ruling there. Even if things had not gone right to the extent they were expected to do, it is true that to Nepalese autocrats Delhi at the moment was not the same as it was in British days. Of course, the situation has changed since the last year's political changes in Kathmandu, and the King who today has his powers restored to him and his Government enjoy support and backing of the Government of India and also of a section of Indian public opinion behind them and in return are totally dependent on the extent of that assistance and backing for their existence. But developments in the north due to the Chinese situation has been an unnerving factor. The liberation of Tibet is not only a possibility but a certainty which will without doubt send its repercussion in Nepal across the southern border so soon as it matures. A few months hence the undemocratic Government of Nepal will face an unprecedented situation whose enormity cannot be assessed at present. Unless they obtain a counter-acting support from other forces, the very fact of presence of a hostile triumphant element on the border will set the men at Kathmandu to grow panicky. This also speaks for the alertness ex-

hibited by the Government of India who are reported to be very seriously considering the strategic factor of the entire situation.

The Himalayas will not stand a barrier to ordinary course of commercial and cultural contact between Nepal and Tibet. Such contact is not only regular and almost easy but dates back to the dim past of the ancient age. History is full of records to show that even armies in thousands have crossed the high altitude without countering much difficulty. It will offer, therefore, no consolation to hide one's failure to grasp the situation under cover of the argument that the high altitude of the region is impassable. History and facts do not support this argument and consolation built on the same.

Lhasa is only 250 miles away from Kathmandu and the southern border of Tibet touches Nepal at a point 58 miles north of the Nepalese capital. In matter of distance the communist state is the next-door neighbour of Nepal as soon as Tibet went communist. But more than that the Thaksay tribes inhabiting border areas, whose cultural and racial affinity with the Tibetans is very close will be sooner affected by communist ideology. One can very well understand to what a highly attractive and strong temptation an ordinary inhabitant of Nepal will find himself drawn in these circumstances. Because he is frustrated at present, it is not unlikely that he may unconsciously be driven to welcome the ideology of the communists promising speedy liberation from the medieval slavery now existing. The Chinese Communist Government will in all certainty openly condemn the anti-communist Government of King Tribhuvan and offer active sympathy for the people's struggle, which will be an additional attracting factor.

But the developments in Tibet will not be allowed to go unchallenged as the present activity of the Anglo-American Powers indicates. There is definitely emerging in Asia a counteracting force sufficiently equipped to give a battle to the victorious communist forces, and the forces entrenched in Kathmandu do look to this situation as a factor giving hopes of security for themselves. It may not be possible to check Tibet going communist in view of the insurmountable odds which they face in the defence of this area but it is not

unlikely that the Imperialist Powers will set up a strategic line of defence in the territories bordering the Peoples' Republic of China, in which case Nepal is sure to play a major role and to the mutual advantage of the feudalists and the reactionaries at home and outside. Of this more we will speak a little later.

Anti-communist public opinion both in Europe and America has already expressed itself in emphatic terms in stressing the urgency of measures designed to arrest the progress of communism to countries beyond Tibet. To all border states again arms aid is being supplied and all social reactionaries are being bolstered up as allies. And in this context Nepalese autocracy is a prospective candidate for this universal aid against the common foe of all the like forces, and it is enlivened with new enthusiasm and prospect of relief from the growing anxiety which it experienced with the news of the victory of Chinese democratic forces.

Democratic India will have therefore to stand on guard if she wants to safely preserve Nepal from being made an Anglo-American base of operation against international communism now with rapid strides revolutionising Tibet. This is not only because the people of Nepal will suffer most, that may not matter much from purely India's point of view, but because the newly acquired freedom of India as well will be threatened, if bases are obtained in Nepal, unless of course the Government at Delhi will be ungrudgingly cooperating with the Western Powers and we are sure that they will not. Any strangle hold the Imperialist clique of Anglo-America gets in the Himalayan region will go to place the gun turned on the Indo Gangetic plains. The question of military bases does not belong to distant future. Nepal occupies a strategic position in between the two countries, and now China has turned communist, its strategy cannot be underrated. Previously the British authorities were in no anxiety to secure bases in Nepal, because Tibet was their sphere of influence by international agreement and China was their loyal ally and also diseased. Nepal then came in their estimate as a reservoir of military man power, and there its importance ended. But with virile communism on the other side of the Himalayas totally submerging Tibet a country immediately close, Nepal is more than a supplier of Gorkha troops. England and America



understand thoroughly the significance of the Himalayan region in the future defence arrangement and it is not unlikely that they shall immediately apply for construction of military bases. There is no ground to discount this possibility and also the fact of willing approval to this arrangement by the Rulers and Indian elements controlling them who will read into it their own salvation and removal of the threat to security. At present the matter has not come to the fore because America and England are trying their level best to isolate China from the main current of Asian national struggle forgetting, however, the fact that the spearhead of this struggle is in sympathy with the spirit of the Chinese Revolution. But as soon as they fail and such indications are not wanting, Nepal will and must seriously engage their attention. Then the membership of the U.N.O. secured by Nepal will come to their aid inasmuch as if occasion arises to fortify positions in Nepal there will be no more obstacles to be faced on technical grounds. In a regional arrangement of the type now talked India shall have to play a major role and any speculation to keep her out of the same is unwarranted. But we know that the India of Anglo-America's liking will be not the real people's India. Either therefore conflicts occur and India opts out or the India Government themselves take a lead and cooperate with the Western Powers to establish bases and allign with reactionary leadership, in which case the democratic struggle of Nepal will have to encounter the most formidable obstacle with the staring prospect of being ruthlessly crushed for the moment. Because the feudal Rulers and their monitors think that the Indian ruling class will in its own interest participate in any defence arrangement set up by the Western Powers, and that India is likely to play a major part under the auspices of America, they do not feel inclined to add much weight to the susceptibilities of progressive sections in the matter. This also explains the disconcertedness which marks their attitude on the question of civic rights in their country.

But the same should serve a warning to the progressive elements in India. Although this is a little digression I am dealing this point at this stage, because this is so important from the point of views of the peoples both in India and Nepal. Let there not be any more

illusion about the fruitful results of the re-approachment between the reactionary forces in those countries. India will only benefit to that extent at the cost of her own people. The most important thing to be borne in mind is that as the feudal cum capitalist Rulers will realise that close cooperation with India will not ensure their rule in Nepal they will the next moment betray Indian national interest. All the considerations and solace shown in that cause will vanish like vapour. But herein lies the danger of the present foreign policy adopted by Delhi and it is time that Nehru and his other democrat colleagues get rid of their reactionary policy advisors. The Indian democrats must know that the reactionaries are at present playing a double game of crookedness obviously to lull India into believing that Kathmandu has shaken off its yoke of London, and is ever prepared like an emancipated brother to share India's joy and sorrow. Howsoever trustful India may feel to be, progressive elements will find numerous occasions of headache as long as there obtains feudalism however diluted in Kathmandu. There is no denying the fact that any complacency exhibited on this account by the Indian progressive circles will ultimately benefit the feudalists and encourage them as at present to tighten their feudal hold and exploitation, while the same will keep hanging a grave menace over the head of progressive India.

There is also much to be said against the way the Nepalese problem is being handled at Delhi at the present moment. The nature of negotiations show that the mediators are more anxious to bridge the gulf existing between two reactionary groups of feudalism rather than to encourage popular forces. Things are being settled without consulting the true representatives of the people as if they do not count in this dealing.

The Government of India who earlier professed to act in furtherance of democratic ends are also not treating the matter as they should have done. While they have sent advisors to frame security laws and effect reorganization of the army they do not seem to have realized the need to introduce checks on the powers of the new monster of autocracy which they themselves helped to establish. It seems independent

judiciary and public service commission are yet far from their mind and this attitude of theirs to ignore this fundamental question is creating doubts in the mass of the people about their intentions. Do they also have in mind the same old policy of keeping backward the Nepalese people like the British rulers ?

There is already much of anti-Indian Government feeling in Nepal. As the Government of India are backing a very unpopular group of persons, and this also must be admitted that these would not have been in power today but for the assistance rendered by Nehru and his colleagues, the people in general have rightly or wrongly formed an impression that the rulers of India do not mean to change the old policy pursued by British Delhi towards Nepal. But this very policy alone determined the backward character of Nepal, and even as the restoration of normal conditions are aimed at this is creating greater doubts in the minds of the people. The cumulative result of full one year's diplomatic and other activities of the Delhi authorities in regard to Nepal has gone to cause mass resentment, and it is really a painful surprise that the same people who only a year ago wanted the Government of India to support and render all sorts of help to them are losing faith in their bonafides. It is no use escaping from the factual situation as it emerged. They are at present the single predominant influence in Nepalese affairs. The Government of India can not minimise the extent of anti-India feeling current in Nepal by merely putting forth a plea that the Nepalese have their own Government established by law independent of India. I think they have gone too far to brush aside the issue by arguments or legal quibblings. If they want to save the situation and prove their sincerity, they must see that in future party politics is reduced to a purely Nepalese internal affair and all internal and external safeguards of democracy introduced, and a suitable background created for a fair and impartial election, which obviously the present arrangement is unable to bring about. Any political party to claim their support must also establish its rights by winning the confidence of the majority of the people. The Government of India in their turn run little risk of being misunderstood if they show readiness to respect the verdict of the Nepalese people at the polls. They have a tendency to overlook

political issues, which is also equally wrong and misdirected. Let them not overstress economic issues at the cost of popular rights. To the Nepalese people the one important issue is that of democratic rights and of a fully popular government to guarantee the same. Could not the India Government help the Nepalese to achieve this objective at the earliest possible moment? This would ensure stability and strengthen security internal and external, which the Government of India most ardently desire. I think this is a test case for the India Government to prove their sincerity and the next few months of the interim period will show where their fingers lay.

---

## CHAPTER X

### WHITHER NEPAL?

**A**ND now when everything is said and emphasised and all sides of the picture presented to the view, the question readily comes, whither Nepal? Even as the inevitability of democratic changes drives home, this question cannot be avoided. It will rise as to the shape this change will take over, whether it will be a compromise half way change or full fledged social revolution.

But there are many uncertainties. Will any change in that direction emerge sooner as we impatient people expect? Will it take too long a time to have emerged unnoticed with noted changes, for which we may not need exert ourselves? True, the present regime is the crux of the problem, and we like to see the end of it. It is, however, a problem which has been very much mixed up with that of the democratic revolution. Any sham reforms will not introduce appreciable changes in the social texture of the country. But for a thorough going democratic change to work out we must have a suitable background. Are we up to it? Are we sufficiently equipped morally and materially to face that task? Are not there national and international enemies to impede its smooth development? That it is not going to satisfy the people except through a complete change of the state of affairs nobody has any doubt. So again the fundamental question poses, whither Nepal? This question is coming to the fore more and more as time lapses.

The enormity of the task involved lies in the fact that its answer cannot be given off hand. But one thing is certain. In the almost instable fluid stage which obtains at present the movement can turn either sides. It can take a path of ignominious compromise with the feudalists. It can directly enter the phase of the social revolution. The course will depend on which forces are better organised, on whether the organised force is that of reaction or of progress. Reaction in the form

of feudal Shah cum Rana Coalition is already entrenched and is being propped up by external forces. Its downfall will certainly be reflected in the advance of the progressive forces. To the extent that the latter grow strong and consolidated autocracy will find itself weakened and battered. The problem here is to lay out a strategy which will ensure unchequered career of progress to the movement. Obviously it demands closely knitting together of all the democratic elements. At the same time opportunist elements trying to gain ascendancy in the movement at the moment of success must be held back, for feudal autocracy might try to sabotage our efforts by playing their invidious game behind these elements, and we have very well seen how today they have been ruling the roost, after they thrust themselves in the area with the lion's share of the exploits. Any individuals or groups who exhibit reformist compromising tendencies are the most undesirable components of the freedom fighters' army. One does not know when these will change sides and betray the camp they so long belong to. For Nepal this question has special importance. The more backward and politically undeveloped a country is, the greater is the field for opportunism to thrive, and people can be the more beguiled into accepting reforms and compromise as a real advance towards the goal, though as a matter of fact there is not only want of progress but at a critical moment there is betrayal and the whole democratic movement is sabotaged. From the very initial stage if we did not evince alertness, and let go the cause of the progressive camp by default the country will not be a whit nearer towards the attainment of its objective. With the advantages they secure in the present circumstances if the opportunists succeed in building up a force of their own in passing themselves as friends of the people, the real democratic elements of the country will suffer a great deal, and the liberation of the country will be delayed. The Nepalese people must on no account give encouragement to opportunist elements and every effort must be made to strengthen and consolidate the forces of democracy and progress so that the other is overwhelmed and annihilated. Any loophole not attended to will so complicate the issue that the present autocratic Government will instead of meeting a speedy end get a further lease of life at the back of organised opportunism.

It may be said that because there is relatively poor and slow rate of awakening the task of organising the conscious section of the people along a strictly progressive democratic line should be deferred for the future to a more propitious date. This is a wrong presumption based on insufficient understanding of facts and harmful at that too, for it not only underestimates the potentiality of a developing situation but also belittles the scope of work in a thoroughly irresponsible manner. It cannot be denied as we have also repeatedly stressed that the major retardaire influence on the progress of the anti-feudal struggle is that of the medieval state of social life. This, however, is not such as cannot be overcome by patient and laborious corrective antidotes. In fact much of educating and enlightening work would follow at a swift rate the start of organisational activity. So the primary question in present circumstances, however, is that of building an organisation howsoever inadequate the number of those coming forward for that purpose may happen to be. One thing certain is that this number will rapidly increase. And the attendant situation is likely to be pregnant with possibilities of tremendous significance. It is, however, not a question to be left entirely at the mercy of chance. The party strength should not merely depend on those voluntarily coming to join the struggle. From the very beginning a ceaseless endeavour must be made to expand this strength to include all available anti-imperialist anti-feudal elements of the conscious people. Two things are indispensable for this scheme to be worked out successfully. Our appeal to the people must be based on a broad democratic programme, which simultaneously does not give quarter to compromising and reformist tendencies. The second is avoidance at all cost of all controversial topics and items of details in the programme, that are likely to encourage division in the democratic camp. A balance between those who are too liberal in outlook and those who want to go too long a distance irrespective of the idea of practicability will be more than necessary. Forward sectarian attitude on questions of programme and organisational activities is as much injurious to popular interest as the trend towards moderation and compromise. If the latter strikes at the very root of the habit for struggle and reduces the mounting tide of anti-feudal

feeling to timpotent gaze of sterile expectation the former isolates the vanguard from the people and makes it yield ground to inimical elements.

We have to guard ourselves against both. If we closely study the current and under-current of feeling working in our midst, we will find that while many have a tendency to relinquish the path of struggle for petty concessions from the rulers, a few however insignificant in the numerical strength have no less insisted on impracticable programme of action, which after some time keeps them away from the main stream of Nepalese public life. Our task should be both to encourage uncompromising struggle and desist the people from studying to extremst wilderness. The latter is a more important task for the present, because the strayers have been the persons who could be very much valuable for our struggle which being in the very prime of the career cannot afford to lose a single component element. We often notice a tendency in most of the emigrant young men to be drawn into the vertex of Indian politics and this they persue by entirely ignoring the need of their mother land. Either this is a legacy of the past age of victimisation or of extremist thinking, but this is responsible for much of the slackness of work in India and as the major part of theoretical and practical aspect of the movement is conditioned from here this depletion of the numerical strength of the cadre appears very undesirable. There is no doubt that the habit of considering Nepal as a subsidiary factor is nourished by the traditional callousness of the Nepalese towards their own problem, which is partly born of backwardness and of feudal snobbery inculcated from the aristocratic Ranas. The sooner this is curbed the better will our movement fare in its arduous career. If we could rally under one banner all the conscious elements of the Nepalese people and their drift to unnecessary entanglement checked wherever manifest it would solve the question of numerical paucity at least for the present period of start and initiative. And as a preliminary for the fulfilment of that objective our immediate watchword must be 'Nepal first'.

Another likely source of sectarianism and of unrealistic attitude on questions of practical importance is too much emphasis on theo-



retical development without regard to the practical side of work. It does not matter if one or two individuals develop an exclusively keen interest in acquiring theoretical knowledge of the subject. But this should not be allowed to grow into a general habit of a professional intellectual. If a large number of persons do not mind political business of the organisation not only the agitational work amongst the mass of the people will suffer but there will also be attracted to the organisation concerned very very few cadres. Coming to our own example it must be admitted that the main obstacle to the organisational growth of the party has been lack of earnest workers in sufficient numbers. Were we to suppose that the habit of neglecting practical work of the organisation gains ground the harm produced will be tremendous indeed. It will serve no useful purpose in having as members of the party men who would want to grow like a palm tree leaving their associates and the people much below on the ground. The kind of exclusiveness is mostly manifest in the mentality of our students who are also encouraged to neglect practical side of work for fear of victimisation while they return home. Theoretical development should proceed side by side with the development of the cadre within hard practice. Any divorce of theory from practical field leads further to isolation of the workers from the masses of the people, makes him impervious to patriotic sentiment and impels him to develop middle class tendencies, and ultimately to relinquish the field for the line up within the old set up. We cannot view such a contingency with any feeling of equanimity. At the very first stage this particular defect in the system of organisation likely to engender a state of divorce between theory and practice of work must be removed.

The character of our struggle being anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, our aim should be to draw in our camp all such elements as are in reality against feudal cum imperialist set up. Any tendency formed on sectarian attitude that is likely to divert even a single element of this type to feudal camp or to passive neutral attitude actuated by sheer self defence goes against the spirit of the united front. This sort of sectarianism is another undesirable factor. We cannot fight enemies where there are none, and make enemies out of our own

friends and allies. It will be imperative to have a sense of tolerance, and of a correct appraisal of the situation in distinguishing class friends from class enemies as well as individual friends from enemies. Nothing would be more injurious to our cause than a mistake in that direction in branding friends with enemies, for it tends to diminish the intensity the struggle of the democratic camp. The very spirit and requirement of the united front demand that it should not be split on inconsequential, superficial and unreal polarisation. Keeping in view the aim of conducting the process of democratic revolution to its ends, we must be prepared to accommodate each and every group and individual of anti-feudal leanings in our ranks, and push them up to whatever length they are ready to accompany. No one group or individual likely to be of help to the cause should be left out until there is in evidence a defined opportunist or reformist tendency from those admitted. A broad based democratic front of all truly anti-feudal elements must be forged as an organisational instrument of fight against the feudal autocratic regime and attempt to drive a wedge at this stage must be resisted. One additional advantage of the united front in present conditions of Nepal is the possibility of its development towards classless structure, as there is no dominant wealthy class in its set up. When all the groups assembled have a tendency to close up their ranks as consciousness develops it will be erroneous to think in terms of divisions at this stage. Besides the questions of adjustment may wait to be solved at the appropriate moment. The overthrow of the autocratic regime and of the groups supporting the feudalists being our primary aim, the question of forging a united front and keeping it intact is most significant.

We have got a very fair chance of a well laid anti-feudal united front. Ranacracy was the object of universal hatred as it had monopolised all powers and prerogatives into the hands of a section of the Rana family. Every one outside the immediate influence of the ruling circle was interested in democratising the system of administration to the extent that this monopoly was ended, and the non-Ranas enjoyed full civil rights including the rights of securing the most exalted post of the realm on consideration of merits. Things have not changed under the new set up, as it has been only a case of changing hands of

the administrative personnel ; in place of the hereditary Prime Minister and his coterie of cousins there have appeared in the scene the hereditary King and his Rana cum Bharadar associates. So the old problem remains the same ever. It can be made a common cause for all anti-feudal parties and individuals including the many anti-Shah cum Rana forces and even for those who have ceased to be hereditary rulers and have come to put faith in democratic ideals. Of course the latter are not reliable allies having been moved by personal grudge and by personal ambition to monopolise the powers in the same manner as is done by the privileged few. But we cannot ignore the fact that every other group can be brought in the fight on the basis of a programme aiming at completely depriving the ruling section of their hereditary privileges and to end that system efforts must be directed to efface differences in the class interests in the anti-Rana cum Shah cum Kinsmen Camp, but always remembering that these may be sharpened as new experiences appear, and when the hegemony of the duniyadar is seriously threatened. At the present moment the forging of a strong anti-feudal front is extremely needed because it will ease the situation in favour of a large scale political struggle against feudalism without at the same time introducing complications.

The greatest enemy of the Nepalese democratic movement is opportunism and fear complex and not the antagonism between classes within the anti-feudal anti-imperialist camp. These twin evil forces have had to be combatted with all the resources at our disposal and this should receive priority in our programme of action. Any insistence on issues other than that of dealing with the aforesaid evils will only complicate the situation and make the task of liberation difficult to execute, while the state of popular awakening will continue to be poor as ever. This will be an unnecessary diversion from the principal task of attempting to generate widespread popular awakening at the initial stage of a militant struggle against entrenched feudalism which will not be fulfilled unless we devote a major part of attention to it. As there is no rich middle class in our social structure the problem of completing the democratic revolution becomes comparatively much easier, even though there may be hurdles on account of certain unfavourable forces. And to add to that this prob-

lem itself is a product of the second stage of struggle and will come for solution only after the popular movement passes a milestone of popular awakening. But opportunism and fear complex will not allow our movement to pass a step further as long as they remain to affect its body politics, for without preliminary awakening no popular movement makes progress and these two factors are the greatest impediment to any state of popular awakening. As natural in the circumstances of backwardness we are also being a great deal handicapped mainly on account of fear complex of the conscious people and of opportunism practised by some in our midst. Before we take up the question of class antagonism existing into the anti-feudal camp, we must strive to defeat opportunism and root out fear complex so that the anti-feudal front takes shape in a favourable ground, created by popular feeling against the rulers. Before such a situation ripens, before there arises an appreciable volume of anti-feudal feeling it will serve no useful purposes harping on mutual differences amongst the groups. But this situation will not emerge without hard and consistent work. These evils are there as a chronic disease eating into the vitals. The Nepalese are so fear stricken that they have developed a mind to cherish emancipation by external forces. Opportunist elements in the newly rising political parties have further accentuated this feeling of helplessness by statements of the nature creating popular confidence in the rulers who are presented as enlightened men wanting very much the social and political uplift of the people. As long as this tendency of looking to others for help stays Nepal will not proceed far on the road to democratic revolution and consciousness will always be lacking so that people will be held back in the fight against autocracy. We must use all our efforts to eradicate this tendency, our people must be enabled to learn to stand on their own legs, to look to their own strength and to realise that they have sufficient strength in order to fight out the menace of autocracy. This is the primary task and all others follow after when this is achieved. Once the Nepalese people prove their mettle opportunism also automatically dies out and the democratic revolution will not be left incomplete now that the class fitted for the task will come forward with full realisation of the background,

Unmindful of the immediate needs of the situation some people are apt to overlook these factors and carry on activities of a sectarian type much isolated from those whom they have to influence and enthuse. However laudable and advanced this type of achievement may be it will not receive wide response as long as there is not a field created for the same through a process of popular awakening. It is not enough to adopt a programme of advanced character if the same were not to be worked out in accordance with the dictates of the situation. Any attempt to push an untimely programme of action will prove abortive and will only delay the fulfilment of the task. Whatever the mass of the people find it difficult to grasp or feel inclined to repel out of fear or unreceptive mind if thrust on them will meet with unfavourable reaction, the people receding farther from the approaches of such ideas and influences. The same if however given in palatable doses and administered in a convincing manner shall draw them closer and give them a feeling of identity with the cause preached. We are passing through the very first stage of popular awakening, which has not yet developed to a degree likely to create a ground for any other activity except that designed to expand and deepen this same factor. We shall be contributing not a little to the task of building up a progressive force by concentrating efforts on the achievement of preliminary conditions for without this no further advance is possible. This must therefore receive our first attention. We cannot afford to indulge in any other activity until this is completed.

It is time for all the progressive elements to weld together and blaze a new path avoiding pitfalls of extremism and the menace of opportunism in our midst. These cannot afford to remain divided, and a sectarian isolationist tendency at this hour has now to be condemned as something very wrong and injurious to the cause of the people. All truly anti-feudal elements must stand as one body against the enemy. They must have one united front of political parties, one flag and one leadership experienced and authoritative. In the last chapter we have enumerated the ways to form a political party of our requirement. Such a party must immediately come into being.

There is enough of separatist tendency in our midst and our political leadership has not matured, unfortunately many of age and experience

and of talent have also not found their way into the popular movement which continues to suffer from an all round shortage of professional revolutionaries and is progressing very slowly and not without unhappy stumblings.

Under these circumstances it is natural that there are mistakes and errors of judgment as to the steps taken in our agitational and organisational activity and there are deviations of ideological character on either sides. Tiny political groups have also come to stay owing to similar conditions. But this chapter of mistakes, of immature judgment, of opportunist tactics and extremism must end immediately and the gaps bridged. All the anti-feudal elements must work under a single banner and under one leadership so that the fight against autocracy of the feudal forces is well consolidated. All considerations compell the acceptance of the creed and programme of a party which should be organised to include the suppressed mass and rally as one man under its wings.

---

## EPILOGUE

AND our situation is not a little eased by the fall of Ranacracy, for we have seen that its alternative has been the king's autocratic rule with a shadow of democracy. The recent changes in Nepal as they came to be adopted in the name of democracy have been very much illusive. They have given a garb of popularity to a regime that is autocratic in essence. This regime has obtained the blessing of the powerful India Government who claim the Himalayas as their natural frontiers. Unlike its predecessor Rana Government, King Tribhuwan's Government is more firmly established as to external allies because of the favourable attitude of the Government of India. If the latter have thought that through the King and his Congress Government alone, India's strategic and other interests in Nepal, which are not negligible, could be safeguarded, then the fight against autocracy will be attended with difficulties greater than what they used to be earlier. And their attitude on all such questions can be guessed if it is not too pretty clear. As is evident from a close study of their foreign policy they do not seem to be interested in Nepal with a view to safe-guard and protect the democratic right of the people as we understand them. Stable government and peace in the land may be incompatible with anti-people administration from a long point of view, but as a temporary factor, and in the larger all India setting these can be achieved without substantial changes in the existing social conditions and through a government of the type we have at present. It is quite possible that King Tribhuwan's autocratic powers will be maintained for a long time to come even through India's assistance and exercised by a reactionary clique unless otherwise countered by a popular movement of a wider dimension. The Nepalese people will have to fight their freedom battle on two fronts. If the Nepal Government is able to secure the support of the Delhi authorities, the hither to available mass and press sympatty for our struggle will be greatly curtailed. We have now to conduct our struggle

keeping in view this patent fact. Our responsibility as fighters of freedom is all the more increased. We cannot ignore the fact that while in India we face the risk of our agitation being ignored, and of the prospect of its scope consequently very much narrowed down because of the lack of adequate support, we also find that conditions inside Nepal continue just the same as under the autocratic rule of the Rana family. India's alignment with the Government of Nepal has certainly gone to complicate the situation as against the progressive forces of the country.

We are as yet being deprived of the fundamental safeguards of democracy and civic rights are there more on sufferance of the rulers than on any constitutional guarantees. The one year of Congress Government in Nepal has been a failure if its achievements in that direction were to be viewed. It could not even set up an independent judiciary, and the governmental machinery is being run more or less on the same old basis as a narrow party concern. But it could not be wholly an unpremeditated affair. We must take the state of the continuance of the status quo ante as something deliberately willed and enforced in order to keep the reactionary forces ever in the ascendancy. Similarly one would be only living in a fool's paradise if he entertains the prospect of early election to the constituent assembly, that he would also expect to be fair and impartial. Those who desired the downfall of Ranaocracy did not mean seriously to tackle the question of democracy. Rather in their view only a change of hands at the top loomed large. And we have tasted the bitter fruits of their design. We have seen what a tremendous task it is to fight a reactionary government acting in the name of democracy, when it is also backed by a powerful democratic neighbour. It is a tragedy that the Government of India were being made an unwitting partner to the deal under a misapprehension that the same was in the interest of the Nepalese people. But how could we believe that their eyes did not discern the anti-people character of the settlement, when they happened to evince so much interest in security matters in relation to the interim arrangement?

But it is very unwise to bring in the Government of India for anything done in Nepal, and accuse them of interference. The interest



in and intimate association of the Government of India with the Nepalese administration is natural. They cannot simply keep their hands off Nepal in view of the proximity, and their high stakes involved in strategy as well because of the common barriers. The contention of the Government of India that Himalayas are their natural frontiers does not appear to be unjustified. They cannot also afford to neglect the mediæval texture of administration to stand as it is, and if they feel that they are duty bound to reorient and reorganise it by sending experts on demand they have not surely outraged the freedom and discretion of the Nepal Government. Similarly the task of training the Nepalese in the art of parliamentary government will fall on Indian shoulders and certainly the Government of India shall not shirk it and none should question their bonafides in this matter if the same is rendered in a spirit of selfless helpfulness. After all Nepal shares with India common ties of blood and culture, and is living within the same Geographical periphery, and they are directly effected by developments in Nepal as by developments in any other part of the domain in their jurisdiction. But that by itself should not give them a cause for persuing a policy of active support to a reactionary regime and help it continue mediæval conditions or even to foist an irresponsible faction dictatorship in that course. As the principal factor to cause the end of the Rana regime they owe it to the Nepalese people and the world public opinion to make sincere efforts for the early establishment of a fully representative democratic government in Nepal. All other considerations are secondary. Without meaning offence to India, and detriment to her interests in Nepal, this must be understood that the Government of India in seeking security interests in Nepal and nothing but security interests are giving an opportunity to their critics to level to them the charges of ignoring democratic issues in their dealing towards Nepal. These charges might not be substantiated with reference to concrete examples, and there might not have been any technical breach of neutrality as to group politics of the country, but it is true that the way they applied their good offices in setting up the present Government in power cannot be said to be entirely above reproach. It was very wrong of them to have helped the seizure of the reins of government by a

faction of politicals who stand without principle and programme, even though they be of their choice, while the majority of the conscious Nepalese were kept out of the settlement. It was a mistake which brought in its trail untold misery to the people of Nepal. Even they might have realised by now that peace has not returned to Nepal, and the wave of popular feeling against the settlement is mounting and the stock of goodwill which they earned during the course of the struggle is undergoing rapid exhaustion.

Apart from its anti-popular character the interim arrangement had three main drawbacks. (1) By placing in power only such of those as had tended to create disturbances it had put a premium on anti-social activities which rose by a spate soon after the interim Government was set up. (2) Those left in charge of administration were further very much inexperienced in the art of modern Government and ill equipped as to efficiency and character to handle the same, which in its turn went a great deal to make a mess of administration in every thing come across. (3) With the sterilised position of the Rana group, the arrangement had come to bear the character of one faction rule much in the same way as the Rana family had shaped its rule towards the end of the fifties of the last century soon after the Kot Massacre.

For Nepal of the present day conditions this was the most unsuitable scheme of political settlement, and it was just natural that the objective aimed at got themselves defeated in an attempt to rush through an unrealistic programme. If the unrest and confusion that appeared in the scene subsequent to the start of last year's disturbances continue till now unabated, nobody except the framers of that scheme could be blamed. By its very nature it was bound to produce unhealthy results, and it did. But the wonder is that the interim agreement was permitted to stand with a full knowledge of consequences likely to follow it, for the failures were writ large on its very face as democratic issues had been totally ignored, and any one could notice that allowance was not given to Nepal's national interest.

Not only these, but there were definite trends of undemocratic nature in evidence in the activities of the ruling clique. The main-

tenance of a parallel military force organised out of the riffraff of the so called insurgents in their command as an entity separable from the standing army of the State went against the fundamentals of democracy. This was purely a party organ of military character, which could not be justified by any twist of argument within a democratic frame work of administration. Nor the appointment of the inexperienced youngsters belonging to the ruling party to civil posts of responsibility complied with procedure and code of a democratic government, which ever bases its work on the principle that a political party is something very much different from the state and that the two cannot be identified. This is obvious that by a method of foisting faction dictatorship on the government the men in the saddle were throwing all the principles of constitutional government to the winds.

The interim Cabinet as it stands is the executive and legislature combined in one body, and in the absence of an independent judiciary it is also the highest Court of the realm. In these circumstances to intrust it with absolute powers without providing checks and balances from within its own frame work was to betray the very ideals for which the people fought and sacrificed. But the sapling of faction dictatorship was planted on the plea of necessity, and today we have a pure and simple autocracy ruling the roost and riding roughshod over the democratic aspiration of the people. It is universally feared that the Government of the Nepal Congress faction will continue to use its irresponsible powers to perpetuate its hold of administration by denying free election, and all other courses of action for the change of government.

The interim period is very important for the reason that it is the morning of the day that will bring fulfilment of popular aspiration for democracy and progress. It is, therefore, very necessary that a well thought start is made at this time to create a background for the working of the constitutional government which is to hail after the interim period is over. We are not so much cocerned with economic issues as such as with the question of laying a foundation of the democratic institution. All schemes of economic development can wait for the duration of the interim administration. After all these will not be

fulfilled within a short space of a year or so, and elections can very easily be held during the same interval if sincere efforts are made. American Point Four Aid or Colombo Plan grants will be quite ineffective for a long time to come for similar reasons, and they may also be negotiated by the government setup by the constituent assembly. Even detailing of projects will take more than a year's time, and this can be put off for the day of a fully popular government if it is to come within less than twelve months. But for the interim period to be a success from this point of view, it must be purged of all the evils that go in with a faction regime. There is all need for a strictly all party government or in the alternative for a non-party one, because the cabinet will then provide within itself all factors of checks and balances ensuring smooth running of work on a truly democratic pattern. A well balanced fully representative government is also the only choice if conditions are to be prepared for a fair and impartial election. The present medieval conditions of terror and intimidation which the ruling party is exploiting by wielding a big stick policy will ease as soon as state power ceases to be an exclusive concern of a single party. An average Nepalese is apt to feel frightened when it comes to displeasing the men in power. He must be immunised from fear complex and the process in this direction is to have men of independence exercise governmental powers. The present one party government will create difficulties in the way of a free election. These are not side issues, and a mind which ignores them with an over emphasis on economic prosperity is surely not moving in order to make Nepal safe for democratic experiment. Let us see how far the men with power and responsibility who have so far tried to handle the situation with undemocratic measures, preventive detention, police firing and the like, will realise the gravity of the problem and set aside their own self interest for the larger cause of democracy. It is also to be seen how the India Government react to the muddle in Kathmandu and assist the democratic forces to assert themselves as against the entrenched forces of reaction whom they alone helped to ride in power. It is a common belief in Nepal that the Government is being guided on all questions of importance by the Indian Ambassador and his staff. Do they not realise that they have so far failed to act in the

interest of democracy as in the interim arrangement they brought their influence to bear with a view to over emphasise the role of a party that had comparatively the least popular backing? Will they continue to guide through and lend their weight to measures of repression as adopted by the Nepal rulers whom they helped to power?

The next few days stand as the testing time for all. But we have no faith in those who have already betrayed democracy at the altar of opportunism and alligned themselves with feudal reactionaries. It will also be in vain to look to the India Government for correcting things in this hapless country to the best of their power as long as they are in their present mood because they have already announced their policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of Nepal. This is, of course, a riddle for with the same breath they declare that they cannot sit tight over untoward developments, and their Kathmandu Ambassador not infrequently pledges to act for democracy whenever it is threatened. How they will reconcile their professions as champions of democracy with their present policy of active support to an irresponsible faction regime is beyond our imagination to contemplate. Be that as it may but in the past their influence was obtained to introduce the obnoxious security laws and to the creation of the para military Raksa dal, which greatly curtailed the newly wrested civic rights. Even in their interest it is unlikely that the Government of India will in any way exercise their influence to undermine the arrangement they themselves created, and exert to unseat the men whom they placed in power.

Thus the Nepalese people face heavy odds in their fight for democratic rights. Of late, the Ranas are showing a tendency to close up their ranks, and the ruling party is wooing the disgruntled of them and are trying to befriend communal elements and use them to make up the loss of following they have sustained as a result of the split in their own ranks. This creates another grave problem. And then the tribal question can easily be exploited for the ends sought by reaction, and Nepal has more than 30 P. C. of population living in tribal conditions. There is already the thorny problem of Newar versus Parbatia conflict, which is very old, and feudal elements will try to

reap advantage out of this by playing one racial community against the other. The Terai inhabited mostly by newly emigrated populace from the adjoining districts of Bihar and U. P. is restive to seek autonomy and failing in that direction a merger with India. We cannot forget that Nepal is still a nation in the making and some important integrating forces are yet to appear. If disintegration starts at this stage the entity that is Nepal at the moment will be surely broken into pieces. To curtail liberty King Tribhuwan's choice of the party in power is also raising the bogey of Rana restoration and one does not know where all this babel will lead to. It is a welter of confusion. Therefore unless the progressive forces forge a united front to meet the challenge of reaction, the Nepalese people will find in no distant future like being landed in fire out of the frying pan. The present occasion calls for unity, utmost unity amongst all those elements who wish well of Nepal. We have also to repeat the old recipe for utmost caution in our work and for a broadbased united front of all democratic groups and individuals directed to fight feudal reaction at the earliest. And if Nepal is to be saved from the destructive activities of medieval forces, such a united front must be forged at the earliest possible time. As we have already given an outline of the character and composition of the proposed united front, we stop here as to further talks about the same.

Our fight is primarily for civic rights. Let us, therefore, concentrate our entire resources of the struggle to win the same, and secure early election to the constituent assembly to devise a framework of the future democratic constitution. All other considerations are subordinate to this fundamental problem. We must also not raise unnecessary complications and raise international issues in this simple fight for democracy in Nepal. We must direct all agitational and structural aspects of the struggle to achieve our end mainly against Nepalese autocracy. It will be foolish to implicate India Government in this conflict howsoever we may feel hurt by their policy of masterly inactivity. Our attitude towards them should be one of trying to convince them as to the correct line of action vis a vis creating democratic conditions in Nepal. The cry of Indian interference will only tend to strengthen the present regime because in that case none in

the Government of India will deem it their duty to exercise their influence in behalf of the people. Those who will persue anti-people policy will find their position absolutely secure.

Some immature minds are apt to be encouraged by the buffer like situation of Nepal to entertain a temptation to use Chinese diplomatic connection of this country to counteract the growing Indian influence in what they call the internal affairs of Nepal. They seem, however, to forget that Chinn is least likely to be drawn into the controversy in a matter which concerns solely Nepal and India because of Nepal's intimate association with India. As we observed in the beginning of this chapter, India's interests in Nepal affairs are not unnatural. Nepal is connected with India as a part to the whole in respect of geography, culture, history and race. Any Central Government in India will like to view Nepal as a part of the entire Indian socio-political pattern if only for the security and defence arrangements. Even if the Government of India for some reason or other consented to the establishment of a Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu, this is apart from the fact that this contingency is not likely to arise in immediate future even though Nepal is entitled to open contacts with China by virtue of its formally independent status, any other desire of approach with China will only tend to irritate them. One may not agree with the kind of foreign and defence policy persued by Delhi at the moment, but to expect of them to allow Nepal to run counter to this line is to be fantastically unrealistic. Nepal's independence has no meaning to official India in these matters as far as its geographical position determines. It cannot have its own independent foreign policy like any other part of India. It will be better therefore if instead of desiring to counteract the Government of India's influence on Nepal by Chinese diplomacy, those of us directed criticism against Delhi's foreign policy itself and made an appeal straight to the Indian people.

In the chapter "Nepal and India" we have already sounded a note of warning to the Government of India against committing mistakes in future. Condition in Nepal is gradually deteriorating, and the Government of India will have to bear their share of responsibility for any unfortunate occurrences. They are today the most

important factor in Nepalese politics and they will be looked upon as combatants in any future conflict between the rulers and the ruled of Nepal if they persist in their policy of supporting an unpopular regime. The Nepalese people will be compelled to face them in a fierce struggle as they faced the Ranas in case they acted to injure Nepalese popular interest by any means. This is, however, left to be decided for the future. We do not want to prejudge the issue. For the present we cannot shut our eyes from another side of the picture, and that is the democratic make up of the Government of India and the fact of its being led by a genuine democrat of Nehru's standing and calibre. Here let us remember that we should not at least fail to notice while in a mood of despair one good feature of our relationship with India as far as it emerges in close contact with a highly developed democratic structure of administration. Unless the Government of India degenerate into a fascist clique, which is very unlikely, they must in due course sooner realise the nature of mistakes they committed in the past in dealing with the Nepal problem; they will find that the arrangement they helped to bring into being was made in contravention of democratic principles. Possibly the present grivous state of affairs is more due to the fact that the Government of India had been misreading the situation of the insurgent days much as they did that of the earlier. Theirs is an acadamic method of acting through diplomatic channels; much as they do in cover to evade keen gage of the outside world on the vexed question of Nepalese politics it comes to look as a deceptive tactics to achieve their own selfish objective. It is a fact that the Government of India had proceeded from a wrong assumption in their dealing with that country at the time of the Rana rulers. They had regarded Nepal as an independent entity with its own juristic existence like any other independent country, and accordingly they were very cautious and took special care not to give the rulers of Nepal any cause for resentment. Later they realised that in British days Nepal enjoyed independence all but in paper and therefore they changed their attitude from one of complete noninterference to that of seeking control over the defence and external relations of Nepal. It may be that they are labouring under some misunderstanding



while adopting a policy of active support to the present Government of Nepal. Of course, the expected awakening in itself may not shower blessings on the Nepalese. Much will depend on the manner they react at the time, on with what end in view they shape their policy at the time, But it is hoped that as a democratic power they will be alive to the needs of encouraging Nepalese democratic forces in the next phase of settlement.

Nepal is a multiple problem. It is at once feudalism, poverty, lack of political consciousness, autocracy, staring Imperialism and medieval exploitation of land and labour. In this context we face the gigantic task of finding simultaneously a solution for all these problems. To add to this almost insuperable multiplicity of purpose the solution is endowed with, there is that gnawing paucity of resources and of patriotic experts to handle the task, which renders the burden on the back of the person charged with responsibility very much crushing. It is like this : To a country which is not yet a nation, he has to inculcate the habits of thinking in terms of nationalism and check the tendency towards territorial disintegration likely to appear in such conditions ; in a semi-colony ever ridden with a chronic disease of feudalism he has to sow the seeds of social revolution and effect speedy conclusion of the chapter of exploitation, which means amelioration at the earliest date of the economic condition of the people ; in a land where people are suffering from proverbial docility he has to create enthusiasm and courage over new prospects of redemption to fight for their existence and to utilise the vast unused and unharnessed natural resources of the country ; and lastly but as the foremost solution he has to evolve a party organisation and apparatus to conduct a bitter struggle against entrenched autocracy getting its sustenance out of medieval conditions. Yet confusion is worse confounded because he has to plough a virgin soil and a lonely furrow. It will not do without whole hearted resoluteness, faith, unity and ideological integrity of a band of selfless workers to overcome obstacles and lead the country on to a path of democracy, progress and happiness.

Revolutionising Nepal is an uphill task no doubt, but the end is not far off. The process has already begun, and the motion of

revolutionary forces is in evidence. Even behind the feudal disturbances these are taking shape as happened in Nepalganj, Biratnagar and Bhairawa where for all practical purposes the struggle in the aftermath of the so called insurrection had worn the character of a peasant cum labour mass movement fighting for land and minimum wage. Inside the Nepal Valley this has taken the shape of a student and youth mass movement for the attainment of civic rights. The Nepalese people to all our knowledge are not taking the situation lying down and a mighty revolutionary favour is gradually yet surely seizing them up.

The problem of Nepalese democracy is also likely to find its solution on the international plane. Popular forces are gaining in strength in every part of the world. The people's camp of Russia and China is grown into a formidable power strong enough to counteract the pressure of the Imperialist Governments. Near at hand Nehru's India in refusing to allign with Anglo-American powers is steadily even though indirectly contributing to the consolidation of democratic forces and feudalism in the sub-continent is daily receiving hard blows. No period of world history in the recent years was so favourable to the cause and aspiration of the Nepalese people as the present.

The newday is breaking. But how soon it will break will be determined by the circumstances the Nepalese people themselves force to bring out, by how far their conscious section act on proper lines and make a concerted move in that direction.

---