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KAISHER BAHADUR K.C

NEPAL AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1950

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Nepal
After the Revolution
of 1950

II

by

Kaisher Bahadur K. C.



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To the memory of
my friend Mr. Peter Aufschnaiter
as a grateful homage

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Chapter X

FINANCIAL INSTABILITY AND POLITICAL UPHEAVALS IN NEPAL

July 17,1953–July 27,1953

On the morning of July 17th I was disturbed to find at the Nepal Government Railway Counter that the exchange rate between the Nepali and the Indian currencies had reached the record high of 170 for 100 Indian Rupees with the result that the price of imported goods had gone up at the cost of the common peoples of Nepal. Then, too, I learnt in Indian newspapers that there were unrests in Western Nepal in support of the so-called Communist-oriented movement of Dr. K. I. Singh from Tibet.

A few political appointees returning from Biratnagar gave me the impression that they had been able to slow down the tempo of the no-rent campaign launched by the Nepali Congress Satyagrahis in the district of Morang, where the army had failed. Then they made scathing attacks on the Public Service Commission of Nepal for demanding qualifying standards from such able Congress workers. Pointing out to the reports of Indian newspapers I asked them whether they would be able to handle the armed defiance of the Government that seemed to be spreading in Billary and Kanchanpur without the help of the army. Now that I had observed the working of the Civil Service Commission of England I told my Congress friends very frankly that the party in power would not be free to choose its own staff, and that I was determined to do away with political jobbery in His Majesty's Government by screening them when I returned to the Commission.

Nepal Government Railway

Then we piled on to the Nepal Government Railway crowded by passengers on the foot-boards and over the roofs. I requested the Railway officers to provide extra compartments, which were lying idle in the adjoining sheds. They refused to do this simple job unless they got assurance from the Government for increment of their pay. Nepal would far rather go without Railways than increase the pay-scale of a staff who were responsible for such mismanagement. They must make efforts to deserve increment of their pay by doing their duty before they desired increment by improving their working methods to serve the interests of the public.

The Indian Army Engineers Working on the Road

Travelling by bus from Amalekhganj (Bhichakhori) we reached the Bhaisey-dovan where street signs and posters indicated that the Indian army engineers were working on the 72 miles stretch of military road between the locality and Thankot. But the headquarters of the Indian army engineers in the village of Dhokaphedi showed up only a few bull-dozers and lorries which compared unfavourably to the implements, machineries and vehicles for repairing roads in one section of the Alps in Italy. But even the midland mountains of Nepal seemed to present greater problems than the Alps, let alone the Himalayan giants which were increasingly inviting the attentions of the mountaineers of the world.

To and From Chisapanigadi

Early on July 18th I walked amid clouds and rains to the fort of Chisapanigadi where I learnt that there was outbreak of cholera at Kathmandu and that I should be careful about food and drink on the road. No longer there was the passport formality at Gadi for our entrance into Kathmandu, though the Customs made trouble about the Olivetti type-writer which I was carrying all the way from Rome for my personal use. As I proceeded the familiar aerial Ropeways were not functioning for want of repair. The hanging-bridge at the village of Kulikhani had lost nearly all its wooden planks. The machineries at the site of the proposed hydel-power station by the lovely waterfall proposed by the Swiss engineers looked forlorn and abandoned. The hotel serving hot Nepalese food had deteriorated to my great disappointment. Walking to the village of Markhu I was thrilled by the sight of the red-blossom of Asharey trees, which reminded me of the

countryside of Surrey in England. Travellers on the roads and villages complained that the Indians were the root-cause of the ills and contumely of present Nepal. The familiar sight of the traditional three cities were totally blotted out by the clouds as I descended from the summit of Chandragiri. On the whole I gathered the impression that the idea of "rubbing our shoulders with the Ranas" did not mean a thing to the peasants and porters of Nepal if it did not bring economic relief and the light of education to dispel the darkness of their life.

At Thankot-phedi (foot of Chandragiri mountain) my nephew Pratap and my cousin Ganesh Bahadur K. C. with the latter's old model Ford car had been waiting to take me home along the undulating highway. Congratulating me on being the third man in our family to go to Europe they gave me the impression that His Majesty King Tribhuvana and Prime Minister Mr M.P. Koirara were looking forward to meet me in their present predicament. Whereas the watch left in my pocket to record European time made 1-15 P. M. (time of Rome) my wrist watch made 6 P.M. Kathmandu time. A letter from Mr Rama Prasad Manandhar (Foreign Secretary) was waiting to tell me that he and the Prime Minister were eager to discuss the letter of Professor G. Tucci on the subject of the excavations of historical sites and scientific expeditions to Western Nepal. At the same time a press-note from the Prime Minister's office said that he was proceeding to New Delhi on July 19th to discuss with Mr J. L. Nehru on "Colombo-plan-aid to Nepal" in view of the rising tempo of anti-Indian activities in our country.

Blueprint for the First Five Year Plan

I was able to meet the Prime Minister on July 14th after he was back from his meeting with the Prime Minister of India. Beset by many difficulties he had little time to discuss the historical researches and scientific expeditions of Professor Tucci. On the other hand, he asked me to lend my hand in preparing a blueprint for the first Five Year Plan of Nepal which I promised to do with the help of experienced men of our Government and the Four Point and foreign experts. At the same time I told him that international guidance and assistance would be necessary for the implementation of such a plan. The ideals that had lighted my way in the field of researches had given me new courage to face Europe with Nepal's message of *dharma*, compassion, beauty and Truth in ancient Nepal. Then, too, I had taken up the gruelling subjects of Oedipian complexities, murders, possessions, outward success and luxury in mediaeval and modern Nepal. The assets of Nepal

had been her matchless multi-ethnic peoples. In view of the gulf that separated the rich from the poor in our feudal society we had no alternative but to draw up Five Year Development Plan with the aid of the Point Four and the British experts. I was happy that our Prime Minister had taken up the matter with the Indian Prime Minister at New Delhi. But the Indian experts would not be of such help to us. The preparation of the Five Year Plan was going to take a lot of time. Then we had to take up the matter at the international level at the United Nations as and when we became a member of the august body.

But Mr M. P. Koirala seemed to be preoccupied by the thoughts of the escape of Dr. K.I. Singh to Tibet and the so-called communist upheavals in Western Nepal. Administrative reorganisation and the contemplated police screening on the basis of my new experience in England were already secondary affairs. The Indian Ambassador appeared on the scene with the latest message from Mr J. L. Nehru to quell the Communist revolt in Western Nepal by the joint efforts of Nepal and India. This was out of bound for me.

On July 25th H. E. Summerhayes had invited me to lunch in his new British Embassy Building, which he had put after a long controversy with his Indian successor as to the right of occupancy of the original building at Lain Chaur established by the British after the Anglo-Nepal War. The Indian Ambassador had carried the day so that Mr Summerhayes had taken care to build the new British Embassy according to the best British tradition of their own. I thanked Mr Summerhayes for his kindness in adding to my present stature by inviting me to England by enabling me to gain the firsthand knowledge of the English peoples and English institutions as a member of his own family in Little Greenfield. Nepal and British had one of the longest associations, where monarchy had imparted stability to our respective countries. I had learnt much from the Civil Service Commission of England to improve matters in the Public Service Commission of Nepal and also to lend my hand in police screening in the near future. In view of our Prime Minister's casual talk to me, I looked forward to the British Ambassador's cooperation in helping us to prepare a blueprint for the first Five Year Plan of Nepal.

Finally, I felt felicitated to be told by the British Ambassador that I had created a good impression on all those I had met in England. A jack of all trades and master of none I returned with the feeling that Professor G. Tucci, Mr Summerhayes and Mr Paul W. Rose seemed to be preparing

me for playing the role of a man behind the censorship to deliver goods to Nepal from all the countries of the world at this transitional phase of human history. From my mind given to an extreme admiration of antiquity my present tour of Europe had led me to an extreme love of novelty. Present developments in Nepal, Tibet and India were tending to temper me to the golden mean, neither thinking too highly of what had been laid down by our ancestors in the scheme of a Samyak Society, nor carping at what was so well introduced by western men of science, technology and industry.

In view of the Shah-Rana rivalry since the conferment by the Queen upon Jung Bahadur Rana the office of Prime-minister and Commander-in-chief during the slaughter of Kot on December 12th 1846, the dreadful court intrigues during the reign of King Rajendra and King Surendra Bikram Shah was only a repetition of the old rivalry between the Thapas and the Panres for pelf and power distinguished by Oedipian complexities which mocked reality. The rivalry between the sons of Jung Bahadur and the sons of Dhira Shumshere led to the murder of Prime-minister, Rana Uddip on the fatal night of 22nd November, 1885 while King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah was a minor after the death of his father Trailokya Bikram Shah following a septic congestion in his ear at a young age. After the death of King Surendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva on the 17th of May, 1881 on the same year as his father Trailokya Bir Bikram Shah Dev King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Dev, born on 8th August 1875, ascended the throne in 1881 to reign till the 11th of December of 1911 when I was four years of age. After ousting his democratically minded brother, Deva Shumshere on the 26th of June 1901 Prime-minister Chandra Shumshere did not seem to have any problem with the minor kings of Nepal. We were told that Chandra Shumshere even asked for King Tribhuvana's audience, at his death-bed in 1929 and invoked His Majesty's pardon for the wrongs he might have done wittingly or unwittingly. But while Chandra Shumshere was in power, King Tribhuvana was made to take part in the opening of the Tribhuvana-Chandra College, Tokha Sanatorium or in the opening of the Military Hospital as a figure head.

When I received a letter from the Military Secretary saying that His Majesty King Tribhuvana would receive me in audience at 7-15 P. M. on July 27th 1953, it occurred to me how I was going to meet the King after my tour of Europe in view of what I had told him about my historical mission to Europe on my first meeting.

Chapter XI

PORTRAIT OF KING TRIBHUVANA

June 30, 1953–August 11, 1953

Born on the 30th of June, 1906 the King was older than me by about 8 months. My father happened to be connected with the Royal Palace during the reign of King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Deva, who had invited King-Emperor George V to visit Nepal on a hunting expedition after his coronation at Delhi Durbar on December, 1911. Born on the 8th of August 1875 King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Deva passed away on the 11th of December 1911 before his Royal guest arrived at the scene. By a curious coincidence of history King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Deva's great-grandfather Rajendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, grandfather Surendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, and father Trailokya Bir Bikram Shah Deva had passed away in 1881 leaving the infant king on the throne of Nepal.

I picked up Mr P. Landon's *Nepal* (Vol. I and II) to get a gruesome picture of domestic and political life that prevailed inside the palaces of Kathmandu when Jung Bahadur Rana emerged as a hero on the 12th of September, 1846 after the massacre of Kot. I also read how the hunting expedition of the King-Emperor was more important to Maharaja Chandra Shumshere than the death of the King of Nepal. Personally, I faintly remembered the great occasion of the Coronation of King Tribhuvana on the 20th of February, 1913, which placed His Majesty "on a pinnacle of such excessive honour that he resembled rather a deity than a man."

After the declaration of the first World War sometime in July 1914

Chandra Shumshere felt relieved that the boy king's accession made no change of any kind in the full authority with which our bearded Prime-minister, Marshal of the Gorkhas and Major General of the British Army continued to direct the whole policy of Nepal, foreign and domestic alike. Whereas I felt flattered to see my elder cousins in military uniforms on the eve of their departure for field service in India, I wondered how our young king felt about the two-hundred thousand combatant and non-combatant Gorkhas, who fought in France, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Salonika to cover themselves with glory in the high fighting traditions of our race inherited from the early time of Kirāta-gaṇas. Though I was happy to read through the pen of Mr P. Landon that the Gorkhas were good shots, expert with the bayonet and regular first-line troops and that they were extraordinarily well-behaved and disciplined—crime being conspicuous by its absence—very pleasant to deal with and the greater the hardship to be suffered the more cheerful they became, yet the intensive system of recruiting put into force by Chandra Shumshere had depleted Nepal of her youth, for which the Viceroy of India addressed the Maharaja “by the courtesy title of ‘His Highness’ in October 1920. As a figure head a great Durbar was held in Kathmandu in the name of King Tribhuvana on the 21st of November, 1920 to provide an occasion for presentation to the Maharaja and other officers of certain British dignitaries and decorations.

According to Mr P. Landon, “this appreciation of the honourable way in which the Nepalese had justified themselves in the battle-field of the Great War took the practical form of the distribution of two and a half lakhs of Rupees among the men on service in India as well as overseas. An increase of pay was also hinted at, leave was granted to every man at the rate of one month clear at home for each year's service in the line, and altogether it seemed that the Gurkha battalions were about to enjoy the long and undisturbed rest to which hard work had entitled them.

“Bare as this description is of the help that Nepal rendered to the Empire in the days of their greatest trial, a reader, however casual, cannot fail to understand the importance of this free-will offering of lives, service, goods and money in a cause with which Nepal was only connected because of her unwritten but long and undisturbed alliance with the Indian Government. Put into a few words it means that to a last man and the last *mohur* this mountain kingdom, without necessity or obligation, and knowing full well the results to herself should the Central Empires win the day, stood by our side from the first day until the last.

“Nay, it is not enough to say the last. After the war was over when half the world was content to retire exhausted to its homes and, as a Nepalese said to me, lick its wounds, the foolish invasion of India by the Afghans two months later again raised an ominous cloud of trouble on the north-west frontier. This trouble the Maharaja, whose private information of frontier conditions is no whit behind that of the Intelligence Department in Simla, foresaw and suggested that the disbanding of the extra troops, raised in his country during the late War, should be postponed as well as leave granted to the troops who had just returned. Still following the ancient routine in this matter, the offer was received with gratitude but considered unnecessary for his moment. But the Maharaja’s intelligence was right. Six months later, in May 1919, the Indian Government found itself face to face with a new Afghan war, and, unwilling as it was to call again upon the strained generosity of Nepal, had no other course open to it except to make another request for help, when the folly of Amanullah Khan darkened the Afghan border. The circumstances were peculiarly difficult. The regular Indian army was still largely depleted by the contingents that had remained overseas, and the suddenness of the attack from Kabul was rendered doubly inconvenient by the almost simultaneous outbreak of sedition in the Punjab. These two assaults upon the Indian Government had been intended to synchronise but, as is almost invariably the case with these hot-headed and ill-considered movements, each of them went off at half-clock. Though no coordination between them was actually achieved, and the internal revolt was crushed without difficulty, matters wore for three months an ugly complexion along the north-west frontier, for the Amir left no stone unturned to increase the religious prejudice of that turbulent district. The Maharaja under the circumstances might have found some difficulty in providing at once an adequate force to send to the assistance of India. But when fighting is in question there is never any trouble in obtaining the ready and cheerful—almost the gleeful—co-operation of the Gorkhas. Two thousand men moved at once from Kathmandu on 2nd June, 1919. Three days later, the Maharaja, in a letter to the Viceroy, reviewed the situation in India. He expressed his admiration at the vigorous measures taken to restore law and order within the Empire and his amazement at the foolhardy action of the young Amir. Speaking of the leaders of sedition in India and the apostles of Bolshevism outside it he used phrases that were not without importance in view of future possibilities as well as of the freedom from Swaraj intrigue that Nepal had enjoyed. “If any of the persons responsible for this attempt entertained the absurd idea of outside help and encouragement in their

unholy work, they must know how utterly absurd such an idea is to every sane man of every government. In case it should recur, or the peace of India be threatened from outside, and any assistance from us be needed and asked, then Your Excellency and your Government may rely upon the Nepal Government and myself for rendering such help as is possible for us to give."

The only event that was of importance in the Royal Palace at this time was the birth of Crown Prince Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva on June 11th, 1920 to the great rejoicing of the peoples of Nepal. We were told that the Ranas confined themselves to the study of the horoscope of the Crown Prince, which foretold the doom of the Ranas more effectively than that of King Tribhuvana. But the Ranas were absorbed in Prince of Wales's shooting expedition in the district of Chitwan to pursue the details of our Crown Prince's horoscope deeply. In the words of Mr P. Landon, "the days of the Prince of Wales's visit were spent in the pleasantest surroundings and in a luxury that was known to no Mogul on the march. The evenings were spent in concerts, exhibitions of Gorkha skill with Kukhri and music," whereas the days were devoted to round up the tigers and rhinoceroses in the ring of four hundred and twenty-eight elephants. The expedition had scientific aspect in that "a valuable collection of beasts and birds of Nepal had been got together for presentation to the Prince, and this was afterwards taken home and placed in the Zoological Gardens in London".

While the teachings of Yangse Lama from Tibet was agitating the minds of the youths of Nepal, Maharaja Chandra Shumshere signed a new treaty between Nepal and Great Britain on the 21st of December, 1923. Then came H. E. M. Levi, the son of the author of *Le Nepal* in three volumes, to decorate Chandra Shumshere with the dignity of a Grand Officer of the Legion of honour sometime in March 1925, on which occasion the Maharaja alluded to the splendid work done by M. Sylvain Levi "in lifting out of obscurity the ancient and glorious history of this little kingdom."

During the long administration of Maharaja Chandra many years used to pass without hearing or seeing much about our King Tribhuvana. Mr P. Landon gives a pen-picture of the King on a marriage ceremony on May 22nd, 1924. "It was a very hot day, and the coolest place was on the deep veranda outside the State Hall of the Maharaja's palace. Soon afterwards the Prime-minister entered with the bridegroom, He then returned to the main entrance to receive the King. Many Generals and persons of civil distinction meanwhile joined the crowd that was gathering on the

verandah, but most of them had their official work and position in the reception of the King or in the elephant procession which was to follow, and remained only a few minutes. The King of Nepal was then led to his seat by the Prime-minister. He is a man of about eighteen years and remarkably handsome; his life of exclusion is perhaps responsible for his paleness. He sat silent and motionless on his chair unless someone was being actually presented to him. He was dressed in a dark blue frock coat and white Jodhpore breeches, and wore a well-shaped yachting cap with a large device in diamonds. In his right ear was an enormous single ruby, and in his left a correspondingly large diamond; in the buttonhole of his coat he wore a large crescent composed of huge precious stones, of which I remember a diamond, a ruby, a sapphire or a topaz, and either a yellow sapphire or a topaz, each of them being about the size of the finger-nail. He had damaged his hand by a fall from his bicycle, and wore a black and white bandage. After a formal military ceremony, the elephant procession started from the Palace to the house where the bride was awaiting her fiance. The King's elephant came first, draped in magnificent "jule" of rose velvet and gold lace. The Maharaja followed on a beast draped with green velvet."

But the cloud of war between Nepal and Tibet jolted Chandra out of his honeymoon with the British during the first World War. Since Jung Bahadur the Ranas had shielded their archaic political systems on the basis of their collaboration with British Authorities in India. It was on his death-bed that Chandra realised his mistake of helping the Younghusband Mission and confessed his sins in the presence of King Tribhuvana.

Maharaja Bhim Shumshere

Maharaja Bhim Shumshere—the grandfather of General Subarna Shumshere and General Mahabir Shumshere—was successful in bringing peace with Tibet. A man of contradictions he brought a revolution in Chandra Shumshere's role of succession by including his own C. Class sons and grandsons which upset Chandra Shumshere's apple-cart, though he confirmed the latter's decisions on caste-dichotomy among the the Newars by going against the principles and practices of Samyak ceremony. Judging by the decisions of the Rana Judges and the litigants I had the impression that both had totally lost the link in the chain of Samyak Society, to which Sakyamuni had aspired by his Eight Samyak (right) paths and Mana Deva I achieved by recourse to the transition of the astro-psyche scheme of Bhairavi-cakra-pravartana. Then, too, Bhim Shumshere had allowed Mr

Krishna Prasad Koirala to return to Kathmandu, though he suppressed ruthlessly the rising of Prachanda Gorkha (Resurgent Gorkha), who laid plans to overthrow the Ranas by force and introduce a Parliamentary form of Government. But the discussions between the A. B. and C. Class Ranas came to a head after the death of Maharaja Bhim Shumshere till such time as Maharaja Juddha Shumshere took advantage of the Great Earthquake to oust the C. Class Ranas from the role of succession. According to Mr P. Landon, "Juddha is naturally less in the glare of publicity than are his two elder brothers, and it is enough here to note the confidence with which the Maharaj (Chandra) has entrusted to him the supervision of the Nepalese army." I have already described in my *Nepal and her Neighbours* how King Tribuvana played his constructive role in alleviating the sufferings of the peoples and also how he took an active part by helping the leaders of the Praja-parishad (People's Assembly) to rise against the Ranas at the cost of his throne during the most crucial period of World War II.

Maharaja Juddha Shumshere

Of all the sons of Commander-in-chief Dhira Shumshere, Deva Shumshere and Juddha Shumshere were conspicuous by their absence in the palace revolutions described by Mr P. Landon in his *Nepal Part II* Chapter XIII. Accident of birth had put Juddha on the pinnacle of power after the death of Bhim Shumshere. Obsessed by sex he had a number of concubines to sire a large number of children so that his highest ambition was to make money to provide for his indigent family when he became Prime-minister. Juddha did not have the benefit of English education of Chandra Shumshere nor the practical experience of Bhim Shumshere to face the situation, when Praja Parishad under the leadership of such fearless men as Mr Dasarath Chand, Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya and Mr Gangalal flouted the Rana Government by conducting its publicity distributing abroad and distributing leaflets in many parts of Nepal, which exposed the ruthless exploitation of the King and the country by the Rana rulers for their mean family ends.

These political activities had led Juddha to announce a reward of Rupees five thousand for any information leading to the arrest of the Praja-parishad leaders without any result. Back from my fact-finding tour of cottage industries and smarting from the grief of the strange suicide of my brother Kamal I had managed to get details of Rana persecutions from the members of the families involved in the movement to overthrow the Rana regime. One night Mr Dasarath Chand, who had now received the honour

of a martyr side by side with Mr Ganga Lal, Mr Sukra Raj Shastri and Mr Dharmā Bhakta after the overthrow of the Ranas, made himself bold to hand over a handful of leaflets to one of the police officers in the heart of Kathmandu itself. Working on the clue the police rounded up and arrested five hundred suspects mostly from the employees of the Royal Palace. Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya, who was then operating from Banaras, was trapped by a false telegram and his brave words saying that the "chain he was wearing for the cause of the peoples was infinitely better than the *tānā-mānā* (leather straps and epaulets) the officers and men were putting on for a handful of silver, had fired the imaginations of the Nepalese youths.

The Scene of Torture Under the Hukum of the Ranas

A summary trial of the prisoners was held in what is today the Radio Station within the compound of Singha Durbar under ruthless tortures and floggings under a Tribunal comprised by General Shankar Shumshere, General Nara Shumshere and General Ananda Shumshere. The trial revealed that the *Joolphey Kusundo* (long-haired man from the wild tribe of Nepal) in the eyes of the Ranas was most actively helping the revolutionaries to overthrow the autocratic Rana family, who was holding the *Hukum* from the King since Jung Bahadur for its own family to the ultimate advantages discomfiture of his own family. Historically *Hukum* is the sacramental authority of making offering in honour of Paśupati on the basis of *dharmā*, which was differently interpreted by different sectarians to suit their own welfare till such times as the soldiers bearing arms owed fealty to the sword of state who held the *Hukum*. The Nepalese people believed that there was no reply to *Hukum* as there was no remedy for death.

About two months after the trial Juddha set the most unique example of calling King Tribhuvana to the concluding session of the trial, in which the Rana Prime-minister had to have the *Lal Mohur* (Red Seal) from 'the handsome prisoner of the palace' to pass death-sentence on those very people, who had conspired with the King to overthrow the Ranas. The tragedy of Nepal for a long time had been the misuse of *Hukum* without the backing of *dharmā* (norm of law). Thus we see that it was a strange case of a bureaucracy, in which the Sovereign was asked to bear witness to people's risings engendered by the King all by himself. King Tribhuvana was, therefore, the first King of Shah Dynasty to encourage popular risings against the solar scion of the A. Class Ranas headed by Maharaja Juddha Shumshere, who held his *Hukum*.

Judging by the reports of the cross-section of our society I gathered the impression that this first upheaval of the people in the heart of Nepal had led to a vicious circle of subversive movements, hatred, oppression, unfounded propaganda and fear of a new flare-up in the land of the invisible but important poor Gorkhas and the Princess of Poverty, while the second World War was continuing. According to the view of the British Minister, which was of fundamental importance at this critical juncture of Nepal's history, suppression of the aspiration of the peoples of Nepal under the direct encouragement of the Sovereign, could not bring peace, freedom and security in this ancient kingdom however much they supported the Rana regime after Jung Bahadur under different political situations. His Majesty King Tribhuvan seemed to be determined to break the vicious circle by asking the Ranas to behave as good and decent officers with the common people and substitute the institution of democracy for the Rana institution of family autocracy by the backing of his *Hukum*.

In the peculiar situation all the accused, who had been lined up before the tent for their sentence, did not salute the Ranas but made their obeisance to King Tribhuvana as their act of fealty to the Sovereign to the growing temper of the Rana hierarchy who were sitting side by side with the King. At this juncture Maharaja Juddha stood up and addressed the King, "What are we to do with these criminals?" To this King Tribhuvana replied "You must consider their cases in view of the changing tide of time". This reply brought out the animal in the nature of Maharaja Juddha, who stood up in fury, went round the chairs and flouted, "Where is the ground to consider the cases of these criminals?" A wave of hope surged in the fading hearts of the prisoners to hear the immortal words of their Sovereign when their fate was trembling in the balance. Immediately after the exit of the Sovereign from the scene a henchman of the Ranas appeared before the prisoners to tell them that they would be released if they asked for "pardon" from the Rana authorities. But heroic Dasarath Chand stood up to say that he would not ask for pardon come what may. This created a rift in the opinion of the Tribunals, who had to pass the judgment without the *Lāl Mohur* (Red Seal) of the King. But Mohun Shumshere ordered one of the Judges to read out the verdict of death with confiscation of property on Mr Dasarath Chand on that fateful day of January 23, 1941 which the leader took with a wild laughter of victory with his immortal words—"What is death sentence in the cause of a nation?", which sent a cold shudder down the spine of the Ranas. That laughter had the ring of the wild laughter of the King of the Kirātas to defeat the sinister designs of the hero of the Brahmannic epic of the Mahā-

bhārata. That laughter of Mr Dasarath Chand had brought new dawn of hope of liberation in the minds of the peoples benighted by behind-the-scene murders and Oedipian excesses during the dark century of Shah-Rana-rivalry, in course of which the flowers of Nepalese nation had met their Waterloo in the streets of Kathmandu, which defied reality if they were not historically true. The intrepid laughter and words of Mr Dasarath Chand and heroic smile of Mr Ganga Lal, though I was not there to hear and see them, created the impression in me how men of high personal rectitude could defy the criminality of those in power who appropriated *Hukum* from the Sovereign to use it by proxy for their own mean ends. "What is death sentence in the cause of a nation?" summed up, in my view, that immortal spirit of the invisible but important poor men of Nepal, who had kept the Fish-tail Banner of Nepal flying from the heroic period of the Kirāti kings down to our own times.

I have already described in my *Nepal and her Neighbours* how the end of the war was in sight by early 1945. There was an increasingly uncomfortable realisation among the Ranas that the political events, which favoured them during the administration of Maharaja Chandra after the first World War, was now taking an ideologically contrary course at the conclusion of the second World War. There was no longer the wonderful allocation of Maharaja Chandra when the Gorkha regiments had returned during the latter half of February 1919. But the political consequences of the second World War were cataclysmic for Juddha who, nevertheless stayed off mutiny in the army by hanging a Subedar at Kathmandu to show his moral and intellectual bankruptcy. The return of hundreds of thousands of widely travelled Nepalese troops from different theatres of the second World War presented a considerable problem of economic rehabilitation and political threat as they were inspired by new hopes and ideals. Now that the British had expressed their intention of quitting India by relinquishing power to the Indian political parties Maharaja Juddha appeared to have advised Mr J. L. Nehru to remarry and settle down with a new bride like, for example, Jung Bahadur. He was surprised when Mr Nehru told our Maharaja that a man marries only once in life and he had already done it. It was inconceivable to the Ranas that all the political prisoners of India along with the Nepalese domiciles of Banaras, Darjeeling, and Calcutta had been released. With their history of collaboration with the British in suppressing the Indian Mutiny and Indian independence movement, the most shattering blow to the Ranas was the British announcement in June, 1945 that they would let representatives of prominent political parties form a popular Government in India. Sorely oppressed by these developments

Juddha, who claimed to be the scion of the solar race, relaxed his attitude to the *Joolphey Kusunḍa* and even thought of surrendering *Hukum* to the Sovereign, from whom they had obtained it since Jung Bahadur to the opposition of the ruling clique of the Ranas. Disturbed by the prophecy of his approaching death from the astrologer who had correctly forecast his accession to power, and haunted by conscience for his crimes against the “flowers of the nation” to show his animal strength by hanging them this present version of Oedipus, whose character, heart, generous qualities and progressive ideas were forged in the Brahmannic environment of the “divine right” of the “twice-born” had decided to retire to the holy place of Ridi as a Royal saint in order to atone for his sins. With Juddha’s exit from the Rana hierarchy in November, 1945, Maharaja Padma Shumshere, who had to assume responsibilities for the emerging challenges to the Rana regime from the King and the multi-ethnic peoples of Nepal, made history by declaring himself to be servant of the State. But he was beset by the difficulties of “*Gotra* affiliations to the sons of Maharaja Chandra and Maharaja Juddha” who made life impossible for him at the point of their guns. While I was fired by the immortal words of Messrs Dasarath Chand and Ganga Lal in the face of the palace intrigues, I received a summons from the Foreign Office to represent the King and country in Tibet, which I had to do without taking leave of King Tribhuvan.

As a student of the *Chronology of Nepal*, the *Life of the Buddha* and Bhāravi’s immortal classic of the *Kirātārjuniye* I left Nepal for Tibet with the feeling that the history of Nepal was growing like the ever-green grass of Kailāsa and that the prisoners of the palace and the political prisoners in the gaols had taken inspirations from my *Description of the Countries and Peoples of the World*. Evidently, the Master of the Battle had been preparing me for a different role from the melodrama of mean politics on the filthy stage of Nepal.

Back from my tour of office in Tibet I had the unique opportunity of presenting my report to His Majesty King Tribhuvana and Maharaja Mohun Shumshere on December 25, 1949, but the Sphinx-like faces of the two worst enemies revealed to me nothing when I offered my coins in fealty to the King at this strange encounter. As my nephew Mr Shankar Bahadur K. C. was in gaol for his direct contact with King Tribhuvana on behalf of the Nepali Congress headed by Mr M. P. Koirala at this period, Maharaja Mohun wanted to exploit my experiences in Tibet to play off the King and the Congress. I knew that this was the most ominous period for the Ranas

as they still had their “beaks, talons and wings” to save them, so that we could not make out friends from foes in this unreal world of make-believe. Born and brought up in the atmosphere of Brahmannic orthodoxy and Rana heritage of palace revolutions, Maharaja Mohun tried to stick to power on the strength of *Hukum*, which the Sovereign was now claiming for himself. Maharaja Mohun knew that my political stock was rising on account of my experiences and studies in Tibet. The Ranas in the role of succession seemed to view the dramatic development in Tibet as an excuse for remaining in power than as a reason for surrendering their *Hukum* to the King in response to public demands.

I recalled how God had given me strength to take advantage of the brief midnight encounter to report about the effects of the political upheavals in India and China and also how I had played my role in Tibet to see that Nepal could provide a way between the two giants of Asia as heretofore by recourse to the lost horizon of our Samyak Society. I did not know in what light the King and the Prime--minister took my advice, if at all they understood what I told them. After all my advice during the fleeting Rana regime, Maharaja Mohun compromised the long-range interests of Nepal by declaring the Rana regime as a bulwark against Communism in his meeting with Mr Nehru in February, 1950. Finally, King Tribhuvana defeated the temporary expedients of the Ranas by his bold experiment in democracy.

After King Tribhuvana had helped us to “rub our shoulders” with the Rana scions of the solar race, Mr M. P. Koirala had chosen me for the role of confronting Mr J. L. Nehru in New Delhi on the burning question of Tibet. In this confrontation I was shocked at the political ineptness of the Indian leaders. As a man behind the censorship I had observed King Tribhuvana’s political experiments till H. E. Mr Summerhayes, Professor G. Tucci and Mr Paul W. Rose brought about my tour of Europe in order to broaden my vision. The King had given me his audience before I left for Europe and had replied to my reports most graciously. So time had passed and I was disturbed to hear that King Tribhuvana’s health was failing, which was the most important factor in Nepali politics at this turning period of our history. While the displaced Ranas gloated over the aggravation of the heart disease saying that His Majesty was not going to live enough to reap the benefits of *Hukum* wrested from them, the King delegated full powers to Mr M. P. Koirala on the eve of his departure for Europe.

King Tribhuvana's Audience

At the appointed time King Tribhuvana received me in the night gown in his private apartment, which was delicately done to his taste after European style. His Majesty asked me to occupy a seat on the same sofa and was sorry that I had doffed my shoes at the gate. King Tribhuvana offered me a cigarette but it was a sacrilege to smoke before His Majesty as a government servant. Then I presented to His Majesty copies of my lectures on Ancient and Modern Nepal and briefly reported about my impressions of the monarchical institution of England and also how it was necessary to strengthen our Public Service Commission on the line of England. Seeing how Europe had reacted to the achievements of the invisible but important Gorkhas, Tenzing and my lectures I took a poor view of the feverish political activities of the various parties which were centred on His Majesty's coming itinerary against the background of Dr. K. I. Singh's escape into Tibet. But King Tribhuvana addressed the shifty politicians with the honorific of *tapāi* (right honourable) whereas he addressed Government officials like myself as *timī* (you) and officials and men of the Royal palace as *tan* (thou). Recalling my cleverness for presenting my coins of fealty between him and Mohun Shumshere on December 25, 1949, the King described with a mischievous smile my feature and behaviour at that particular moment, and said that I had learnt the devious art of diplomacy in Lhasa as the author of the *Description of the Countries and Peoples of the World*. I was happy to find that the King had carefully noted the vital points of my report on that fateful meeting. In reply I reminded His Majesty how the last days of the Ranas were abnormal times of a strange civil war, in which the Ranas had held the authority of *Hukum* from the demi-demented King Surendra Bira Bikram Shah Deva and used it for winning pelf and power by the most ruthless men among their family at the expense of His Majesty and peoples of Nepal. A slip in those dreadful days meant death for such "flowers of the nation" as, for example, Mr Dasrath Chand and Mr Ganga Lal and life imprisonment for other patriots despite His Majesty's *Hukum* to consider their cases in the light of the changing situation. Those were the days of the concluding phase of the World War II, when the Ranas nicknamed His Majesty as *Joolphey Kusundo* and had also contemplated deposition had it not been for strong views of the British minister in favour of the Royalty of Nepal. I congratulated His Majesty for piloting our "ship of state" at the cost of his crown during the worst phase of Rana autocracy, when Nepal was foundering.

Evidently, our Guardian God Paśupati seemed to be preparing for a different role, when Maharaja Padma Shumshere deputed me to Lhasa as His Majesty's representative, which gave me unique opportunity of studying Tibet and Tibetans against the background of heaving China and India. On my return after the accession of Maharaja Mohun Shumshere the Ranas recognised my special position in the emerging situation, though they were aware that my book was getting popular with the political prisoners and that my nephew Mr Shanker Bahadur K. C. had contacted His Majesty with the plan and programme of the Koirala group of the Congress. Then Maharaja Mohun Shumshere sent me to delicate and difficult jobs in Sikkim, Bhutan and India under the surveillance of their trusted men. The day I returned to Kathmandu from my mission in India His Majesty had taken refuge in the Indian Embassy to the great confusion of the Rana hierarchy.

The following morning some people advised the Ranas to approach His Majesty while they prepared for the Coronation of Prince Gyanendra on the plea that the Throne of Nepal could not remain vacant. Even when we were commanded to sign the document of deposition and the Coronation of King Gyanendra Major Nripa Jung and myself most humbly requested Maharaja Mohun to put the Sword of State on the Throne of Nepal till the recognition of accession by the Powers concerned, whose Ambassadors had presented credentials to His Majesty.

Mohun committed the worst mistake of his life by declaring on the line of his late father Maharaja Chandra Shumshere before Sir Esler Denning that the peoples of Nepal were not fit for democracy and that they were prepared to fight the Nepali Congress rebels who had been armed and encouraged by foreign powers. Under the circumstances the Nepalese army fought with courage against the Nepali Congress volunteers till such time as Mr. Nehru spread a private report among the C. Class Ranas that all the financial assets of the Rana family in India would be frozen if they did not stand and deliver to His Majesty King Tribhuvana. This led to the mass resignation of the C. Class Rana officers in protest against the oppressive policies of the A. Class Ranas in the role of succession. King Tribhuvana smiled when I proceeded to say how this revolt made the handle-bar moustaches of Maharaja Mohun and General Babar droop and also how they asked me to bring about a compromise between the A. and the C. Class Ranas.

The military contest would have been fought to its bitter end had not Maharaja Mohun Shumshere admitted the failure of his Government to obtain

foreign recognition of King Gyanendra and placed the Sword of State on the Throne of Nepal on the day of the Spring Festival where His Highness the Maharaja appeared in Chinese robe. His Majesty's public statement on January 10, 1951 signifying approval of Maharaja Mohun's proclamation settled the issue. We felt a great sense of relief when His Majesty returned to Kathmandu, which ended the hundred years old nightmare of the Rana rule by helping us to "rub our shoulders" with the scions of the solar race on a footing of equality.

A new chapter opened for us when the Rana-Congress Coalition Government unanimously recommended me to be a member of the Public Service Commission of Nepal. I reminded His Majesty how Sirdar Gunjaman Singh administered to me the oath of fealty to work with *imān dharma* (the correct pride of the norm of *dharma* under the traditional inspiration of the Licchavi King Māna Deva I). When Mr M. P. Koirala became the first popular Prime-minister of Nepal I was included in the Delegation to parley with Mr J. L. Nehru on the vital issue of Tibet during the Sino-Indian Honeymoon period of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai (Indians and Chinese are brothers). During the period of confusion I offered my felicitations to King Tribhuvana for choosing me to put the image of new Nepal in Rome and England, though Mr Govinda Narayan offered to write the text of the proposed lectures for me. But I told His Majesty how Nepal was a land with the curse of *Sati* on her and also how all the politicians, officers and Indians were already jealous that the Foreign Office of England had invited me and given me the treatment of a diplomat, though I did not hold diplomatic passport from my Government. Then, too, I apprised His Majesty how our official delegation to England were wasting their valuable time and money in the Night Clubs, gambling dens and races instead of studying the Constitution of England which suited us.

I had done my best to learn some useful things from the Civil Service Commission of England and was determined to endure the political neutrality of the Service at this period of confusion.

After all was said I told His Majesty how very much concerned we were about his health and also how the Ranas felt about it. "What do you think about it, K. C.?" queried King Tribhuvana. In reply I told His Majesty how alcoholic drinks were necessary to drown the sorrows of abnormal times. But the change had brought new pressures and new responsibilities and how the destiny of Nepal depended upon the health of the King, which, according

to the doctors, was deteriorating. Before His Majesty bade me farewell he asked me whether I was prepared to shoulder the responsibility of becoming Nepal's Ambassador to the Peoples Republic of China and smiled a beneficent smile when I said, "Yes".

I came away with the feeling that King Tribhuvana was without any malice against his enemies, that he did not lend ears to the tricks of sycophants, that he did everything by consultation and that His Majesty was the first ruler without Odeipian complexities after Jaya Yaksa Malla. King Tribhuvana was really a great King, who never so much as thought of "feeding fat the ancient grudge." Knowing the abject nature of the selfish courtiers and politicians to the core, the King did not harbour any ill-will against anybody and condemn them but tried to save Nepal and salvage the Nepalese by his unique example. His Majesty's only defect was that he could not say "No" to anybody, which reminded me of the lines of Robert Browning in Pippa Passes:

A King lived long ago in the morning of the world;
His locks were white as Heaven is now;
And the King's locks were curled.

I had greatly added to my knowledge of men and things but the economic reality of Nepal dawned on me when the Ministry of Finance stopped my pay on the eve of the fortyfirst death anniversary of my father on July 31st. To add to my domestic worries I had to finance the education of my boy Surendra at Patna and pay doctor's bills for the treatment of my sister-in-law, who was suffering from cancer. My nieces were growing and it was time that I should get them married.

On the political front King Tribhuvana was physically unable to exercise direct authority when peoples and parties were waxing hot over the nationality of Tensing and also demanding the expulsion of the Indian advisors and the Military Mission of India from Nepal. The Indians retaliated by writing divisive articles in the columns of the *Statesman* dated August 4th and 6th saying that *Madhesiā* (inhabitant of the plain) was an abject term, that the inhabitants of the Tarai were most heavily taxed and the communication of the Tarai was appalling which, however, had 600 miles of border with India. Mr Tandon did not seem to realise in his rambling article the importance of motivation as a technique of change in the social milieu of our Samyak Society. Neither did he seem to understand the importance of our Guthi-cooperatives and Kipats where capital was formed and

where the selected body of Panchayats operated the finances as a part of the group to advance the needs of the Guthis during the period of the Great Earthquake in 1933. The *Birta* lands had become a problem to the Government because the Brahmannic hierarchy had supported the freeholds on the basis of the pernicious dictum of *Dvaipāyana*. On Mr Tandon's admission our administration deteriorated considerably with the influx of the foreigners since the revolution of 1950, where the rich Marwaris cooperated with the Brahmannic hierarchy to exploit the Nepalese peoples and invest all their black money in India. He spoke of the increasing burden of taxes for the Marwaris whose motivation spelled the doom of the principles and practices of our Samyak Society. However, Mr Tandon admitted that there was no Zamindari system in Nepal in the sense of the permanent settlement of India. Nepalganj was the only place where the evils of the permanent settlement had survived in the shape of *ukhadā* to pester us.

Social psychologists had defined "motivation as a bodily state which impelled actions towards a specific condition so that a drive or a set of drives could be reduced or relieved. The human body needed many substances, conditions and activities ranging from vitamins to sexual releases." Briefly, man had physiological and psychological needs which concerned with our very self and our relation to our Society, which were embodied in our Samyak ideals for VIKĀSA (progress—both mental and spiritual for growth and self-fulfilment with the sense of belonging to the group comprised by the Gaustikas or Guṭhiyars).

Unlike the Indians the British people had realised that man was a bundle of needs and that their needs motivated the British behaviour. Why was the Gorkha fighting for the Allies or why was the Poday worshipped as the Prince of Poverty to our own times ! In such a scheme of Samyak Society the last word to ask would be "how the multi-ethnic Nepalese, as for example the Gorkhas who fought the battle or the Sherpa who helped mountaineers to climb the highest mountains or for that matter the Podeys who deposited the wealth and ornaments of the temples in his humble home in the name of the gods of the Āgama—stood as motivators of human behaviour ? The art of motivation had become a way of life with the invisible but important poor people to the wondering gaze of the world while the A., B. and C. Class Ranas had been forgiven by King Tribhuvana and forgotten without recourse to bloodshed. Flexible King Tribhuvan valued his precious multi-ethnic peoples so deeply and understood them so truly that His Majesty looked on with sympathy when the Gorkhas

marched in battle array or was by the death-bed side of Maharaja Chandra to forgive him for his crimes or help the peoples during the ordeals of the Great Earthquake or to face Maharaja Juddha as a *Joolphey Kusundo* to inspire the immortal words of brave Dasarath Chand or baffle Maharaja Mohun and the A. Class Ranas by one bold move in the chessboard of Asia or decorate Tensing Sherpa with the title of *Supradipta Mānnyavara* or depute me to put up the image of Nepal in the international forum when occasion called for it. Like a doctor diagnosing the patient's health King Tribhuvana deserved credit for diagnosing the emotional and mental health of the Nepalese peoples for their effective development along modern lines under the overall scheme of the lost horizon of our Samyak Society.

Chapter XII

DELEGATION OF SWEEPING POWERS TO M. P. KOIRALA August 12 - December 29, 1953

On and from 1953 King Tribhuvana's failing health compelled His Majesty to delegate sweeping powers to Prime-minister, Mr. M. P. Koirala to see whether the latter could make the Government function all by himself before he left for Calcutta on August 12, 1953 for a medical check-up. The political activities and indiscipline among the mushrooming parties and civil servants seemed to be growing. The absence of the King as an active mediator between the various political factions added to the political confusion on the scene of Kathmandu. In such a situation I called on the Prime-minister to learn that the Indian authorities in New Delhi had become so irrational as to write letters couched in a language which, under normal conditions, could not be addressed to the Prime-minister of an independent country. But all such letters were unsigned for fear that we might release them to the International Press Agencies. Under the circumstances, he had appealed to King Tribhuvana at Calcutta, so that His Majesty was going to meet Mr J. L. Nehru on August 14th. Evidently, the political situations in Kashmir, judging from the newspaper reports, seemed to be getting ominous saying that there was no Indian flag and also that no Indian National Anthem struck up when the Indian leader visited Srinagar, with the result that Mr Sheikh Abdullah was awakened from sleep shortly after 4 A. M. on the 9th of August at his Gulmarg house and the police served him with a warrant of arrest.

I then borrowed Mr D. F. Karaka's book known as *Nehru the Lotus Eater From Kashmir*, which said that "the fetish of enhancing the

prestige of India abroad seems to be a personal weakness with the Indian leader resulting from the complex that his India must be made to look as a great land as any in the world. The foreign policy of India was based upon her innate suspicion of the Europeans, the so-called resurgence of Asia, but at the same time more fear of Pakistan than that of China. The Indian diplomats were inclined to believe that Mr Mao Tse-tung had no territorial ambitions outside his own frontiers and alleged that Mr. Nehru was impressed by China's good intentions because, when the Chinese accidentally crossed the border in 1950, they were polite enough to apologise for their mistakes and their soldiers were made to restore every little item, which they pilfered and pillaged from the northern villages of India. After all, what is a little fraternisation between understanding neighbours ! Things took a somewhat different turn, when the Chinese war-lords kept paying far too much attention to their cultural affinities on their Indian borders, while they easily ignored those dubious regions which divided them from the U.S.S.R. To understand what was happening in these parts, it is necessary to review in fuller details the recent events which transferred large tracts of sleeping areas into active communist pockets. With the liberation of Tibet by the Chinese, the autonomous province, which at one time could exchange diplomatic missions with other nations, found its foreign affairs controlled by Peking directly, and no one in India was in a position to question Peking's decisions. Possession is the tenth part of the International Law. However, I had firm faith in King Tribhuvana's judgment on dealing with men and things from my several reports and audiences despite His Majesty's deteriorating health.

As the Sanskrit text of *Abhisamayāṅkāra Vyākhyā* by Vimukti Sena had gone to the press in Rome I called on Gururāj Hemaraj Panditj to get a photostat copy of the work from his library for a comparative study, which he promised to lend me after his return from Banaras. On August 19th the Royal Nepalese Mission to the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth returned to Nepal after an extensive tour of Europe.

My First Meeting with Füror Haimendorf

More useful than the return of the Nepalese mission from my point of view was the news of the arrival of Mr and Mrs Haimendorf at Kathmandu to make anthropological studies of the caste and kin of the various tribes mentioned by Mr B. H. Hodgson in his *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of Those Countries*. At this very outset I congratulated the British version of Füror in the field of anthropology at

Colonel Proud's cocktail party. On his enquiry about the tribes of Chepangs and Kusandas in Hindu-Buddhist contact zones of our country, I told the Professor that they occurred between the forests of Chitavan and Kalleri Ghat. The evils of caste dichotomy had been disappearing with the exit of the Ranas from the scene albeit they still saw God through their own eyes in the overall scheme of *āgama*. The rapid contact of distinct ethnic groups under the liberal polity of King Tribhuvana had disturbed the divisive tendencies of caste and creed kitchen status and sex taboos of the Ranas so that all of them looked alike in uniform and served under the name of the Gorkhas in the Nepalese, British and Indian army contingents. The same was true of the Nagarkotis of Newari origin, albeit the Ranas tried to divide the urban community of the Newars of the Three Cities of the valley by encouraging desire for amelioration of individual and group status under Brahmannic hegemony in contravention of Darwin's *Origin of Species*.

If the reactionary Brahmannic ideologies of Anuparama Gupta Gomin and Licchavi king Vasanta Deva had produced Bhāravi to hark back to the glorious rule of the multi-ethnic Kirāta-kings, the subsequent inscriptions of the Licchavi king Jaya Deva as well as those of kings Jyotir Malla and Pratapa Malla down to the rise of Jung Bahadur under the reign of Shah kings, had made it impossible for us to appeal to authentic history with their predilection to the solar and lunar fictions of king Sagara and his ilk. The conflict between the Vedic Brahmins and the historical Buddhas had produced Gautama Buddha, who laid the noblest edifices of human thought by turning the Eight-spoked Wheel of Law.

We see the struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism in the long chronology of Nepal till the social ideology of *Om mani padme hum* (I am in the syncretism of the Jewel in the Lotus) under Śaivite inspiration of the astro-psyche scheme of death known as *kālachakra pravartana* replaced the old concept of the Three vase Jewels (namely, Buddha Dharma and Sangha) after the Piprahavā-Buddhist vase epitaph. Such scientists as Mr B. H. Hodgson, S. Levi and G. Tucci had noticed the unity in diversity of the multi-ethnic tribes of Nepal despite their variety in their physical feature, their dialects, their outlook on religion, their domestic habits and customs and by their indomitable fighting qualities. I was so happy that eminent anthropologists from Europe now were trying to illuminate from different angles the problems of the contact and interpenetration of distinct ideologies and ways of life.

The Municipal Elections of September 1, 1953

I was losing all the flavour of my early youth with my advancing years as I looked on the scene of Municipal Elections of September 1, 1953. This was the period when the Communist party was banned while the squabbles among the leaders for pelf and power had diminished the prestige of other political parties. Most of the 73 candidates, who contested the elections, campaigned as independents, although all the mushrooming parties supported their favourites according to their political inclinations. As the central valley of Kathmandu was the political barometer for the kingdom of Nepal, King Tribhuvana wanted to observe from a distance which way the country was thinking and going in His Majesty's absence from the Capital. As Kathmandu was the nerve centre of Nepal, the attention of the entire country was focussed on this election, which assumed national importance. The parties carried vigorous campaigns where most of the voters went to the polls. The results of the municipal elections showed that there was no support for Mr M. P. Koirala's National Democratic Party in the Municipal elections, where six of the seven Communist-backed candidates won vis-a-vis four Nepali Congress and Nepal Praja Parishad candidates, one Gorkha Parishad and four independents. This made it dawn upon the Prime-minister that the political adventurers were no good when it came to the counting of heads of the voters, who voted their candidates to the corridor of power by the ballot rather than by the bullets of the Ranas.

The victory of the Communist-supported candidates gave a handle to all the non-communist parties to exert pressure on Mr M. P. Koirala, who now thought of including representatives of other parties to strengthen his Cabinet. The Prime-minister took off for Calcutta on September 12, 1953 to apprise King Tribhuvana of the results of the Elections, so that His Majesty returned to Kathmandu on September 17 to make the necessary political arrangement before proceeding to Switzerland for further medical treatment.

Reading what I had of the Parliamentary Electoral System of England, there was no organised political parties in Nepal, each laying rival policies before the electorate. But this was not a general election. Nevertheless, the Communist-supported candidates had won the elections to the annoyance and dismay of the other democratic parties. By tradition, the leader of the majority party had to be appointed as the Prime-minister by King Tribhuvana. There was no large minority party to provide the official opposition to the Communist-supported candidates. Under such a difficult situation King

Tribhuvana had no alternative but to constitute a Regency Council, consisting of two Queens and Crown Prince Mahendra with limited powers while Mr M. P. Koirala was entrusted with full responsibility for seeing whether Nepal could find a way between Democracy and Communism on *Samyak* (correct) lines. On Sunday September 20th His Majesty King Tribhuvana left for India *en route* to Europe. I was happy to feel that our Sovereign was travelling by M/N Victoria from Bombay, where I hoped he would find the needed rest to reflect on the destiny of Nepal at this turning point of world history. Every officer up to the rank of a Secretary was present at the air-port. There was big commotion when some party members displayed Black-flag to His Majesty. The benign King forgave the miscreants, for they did not know what they were doing.

There was the annual festival of Indra-yātra (festival of Indra) by the hoisting of the pole of Indra and the display of the images of Indra at all the important places of Indra-griha (Yengāla) on and from September 21st. I knew that the festival owed its origin to the image of Indro-nāma-Divākara (the Sun of power under the name of Indra) set by the Guha Mitra in Te-vahāl way back in 480 A. D. On the following days the peoples of Nepal were much too busy with the festival of Kumāri (Vestal Virgin) to think of politics.

Then the peoples of Nepal were busy celebrating the Harvest Festival of Dasain but we were disturbed by the information that some hooligans had looted the sheep and goats brought by the Tibetans and that one of the Tibetan shepherds had succumbed to the injuries received in the scuffle that followed. This was the first incident to mar the good relationship subsisting between the Nepalese and the Tibetan peoples who were living in peace and accord except in times of war. This was the time when the Government of India was advising the Government of Nepal to close the northern frontier in the wake of the incident of Dr. K. I. Singh. On my way to the Kot I saw a posse of policemen guarding the sheep and goats, where the buyers far outnumbered the supply. The price of the sheep and goats were soaring.

On October 21st Sahu Triratnaman called on me to say that the Chinese had installed a remarkably mild and affable administration in Lhasa and had taken up the development of Tibet very urgently. All the Tibetan Shapes (Ministers) were in their old places and Rakasyar—the relative of the King of Sikkim had been made a Commander-in-chief. However, the cost of living

had gone up about 14 times with the influx of about one hundred to thousand Chinese, who were building a new Lhasa towards Dhulo-lingka. Trade had considerably appreciated with the near-completion of the road between Lhasa and Chamdo, and the Chinese authorities in Tibet had been assuring the peoples in Tibet that the food-situation would improve considerably with the linking of China to the Tibet region by roads. The Chinese communists, whether they were civilians or liberation army men, were working without pay for the reconstruction of the Tibet region of China as they termed *Botta*. The barren area in the suburbs of the oval valley of Lhasa had flowered like a garden, as all the Chinese personnel devoted a part of their time to manual labour. Some five hundred Chinese girls had now arrived at Lhasa to help the Tibetans. Giving his opinion about the road-making operations of the Indian Engineers in the Tribhuvana Raj Path, Mr Tritanaman gave me the impression that the two operations on either side of the Himalayas were worlds apart so far as the will to do the job and achieve the results were concerned. Talking about Dr. K. I. Singh Mr Triratnaman told us that the Chinese were doing nothing to carry on subversions in Nepal through his agency. So far the Chinese and the Tibetans treated Nepalese as well as heretofore. Under the circumstances, Mr. Triratnaman opined that the sooner we opened diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China the better for Nepal. After my confrontation with the Indian leaders in New Delhi I had also advised my Government to take up the question of Tibet directly and separately with the People's Republic of China in due process of time.

Assessment of the European and American Press on Tibet

“The European and American public believed that the development of Tibet was taken so urgently because the Chinese wanted to draw the feudal kingdoms of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal from the orbits of India. China had less than 30,000 troops in Tibet, and these are used mainly as labour forces to build roads—the first in the country's history. Two highways have been constructed into Sinkiang and Sikang and another towards India. The Chinese have pulled their military headquarters forty miles out of Lhasa. They have left the administration in the hands of the Kasag (Tibetan Cabinet). The Dalai Lama is still recognised as the supreme temporal and ecclesiastical power. In fact, the Chinese are now using the Dalai Lama who has made several declarations favourable to the Communist regime. As a reserve for emergency they are also building up the Panchen Lama. In theory a Triumvirate of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and a Chinese General

instruct the Kasag. Actually Mr Mao Tse-tung's personal representative, Chang Ching Wu remains in Lhasa with a political Commissar, General Than.

“By mild and polite Government the Chinese have made themselves surprisingly popular. Their troops have behaved in exemplary fashion. The fame of their road-building programme has spread beyond Tibet. They have constructed new schools (and respectable Tibetan ladies are working as teachers). Chinese has not been made a compulsory language. Ruined monasteries have been rebuilt and others have been subsidised. Even guerrilla resistance in East Tibet was only gently squashed and its leader generously treated.

“China is using Tibet as a forward base for political penetration, not military threats. Tibet is too remote and its terrain too difficult to be made into a spring-board for armed aggression. There is not even an air-field in inner Tibet. But word has been disseminated throughout the Himalayas about the friendly and helpful Chinese administration. With political ferment sweeping all Asia, some of the states hitherto dependant upon India are thinking of shifting their allegiance. The ruling families of Bhutan and Sikkim reflect increased sympathy with China. And in Nepal, – home of the fighting Gurkhas and Mount Everest, – unrest is in the air.

“After India became independent, Mr Nehru promoted ‘putsch’ in Nepal ousting the tyrannical hereditary Prime Minister. Since then instability has prevailed; reform has been inadequate and discontent is growing. A rebellion is rumoured to be shaping up under a Chinese puppet named K. I. Singh, who is said to be in Tibet.

“All China needs is to accomplish disruption of India and the outflanking of SEATO is to establish hegemony over one of the little protected states south of the Himalayas, – Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Once that is done India becomes indefensible. And New Delhi is losing popularity as Chinese influence subtly gains. Already the Nepalese accept Nehru's aid with much the same begrudging reluctance he takes ours (American aid), saying, ‘Remember, no string is attached.’

“From the Himalayan states southward to Calcutta is less than three hundred miles extending over flat politically confused Bengal. Bengal, notorious for its uneasy political atmosphere, was disrupted by partition between India and East Pakistan. Religious hatred and political ferment there have been encouraged by the Communists from Calcutta—main outlet

for Chinese propaganda in India. To keep the atmosphere ripe for subversion the Communists are endorsing independence for everyone in the Chinese frontier area from the Naga headhunters of Assam to a free Gurkhanistan to include Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Darjeeling district of India.

“Trouble is plainly brewing not only for India but along the western border of the fledgling SEATO coalition. East Pakistan, part of the alliance, is directly threatened. But while the eventual danger is evident, the community of western nations would mark an important advance towards the security and cohesion of Europe.”

Totally unaware of the Samyak tradition of the Himalayas the European seemed to feel that, if ever China was able to subvert its way across the hundred gates of the Himalayas, the road across the flat plain of Bengal to Calcutta would be open and that the existence of India and South Asia would be menaced. In an atomic age all the normal mischances of living had been multiplied a million-fold, which man's very triumphs in science and invention had brought about. Unthinking acts of the dictators had brought about two world wars. The European Powers had formed the NATO and SEATO to save Europe and Asia from Communist aggression. In such a situation the special task and duty of the multi-ethnic Himalayan peoples was to remind powerful nations on either side of our borders how the *Samyak* (correct) thinking of Śakyamuni Buddha had led to two more cycles to solve the problems of human aggressiveness by recourse to *Samyak Dharma* (correct norm of law). Despite our Samyak tradition among the men in the street, who had lived side by side in perfect harmony for many years, were now rising in rebellion against each other. So far the issues of the boast of heraldry, power, wealth, intrigue and bloodshed had been confined to the narrow clique of the Ranas. King Tribhuvana had emerged as the most unique king to change the gruelling history of Nepal after the introduction of the fantastic chronology and Brahmantic idioms of the Licchavi King Jaya Deva and that by embracing the man in the street as His Majesty's brother. But he was now travelling to Europe in the company of General Kaiser and Brahmans who supported the fantastic chronology of Jaya Deva in contravention of the authentic chronology of Nepal supported by the immortal classic of *The Kirātārjunīye*.

King Tribhuvan had reminded his countrymen of the glorious history of Nepal by his example and also held out the promise of their creativity by talks and arguments in their village councils and Panchayats so that the

multi-ethnic tribes of Nepal may not use their fists. Nepal was a country of humble peasants and soldiers of God. There was a break in the tradition after the reactionary reign of King Jaya Yaksa Malla, but in Nepal the people had preserved the Guthis on selective and contributory principles, which created the capital to operate them. Alongside the recent Municipal elections had recruited their members on elective principles. Rural people had not developed mechanisms to cope with novel situations with the impact of democratic change, which was now causing severe tensions. The loss of a social and cultural anchor had led to neurotic and psychotic diseases among the members of the caste people, so that Mr M.P. Koirala had to stand up to his kitchen-status contrary to the principles and practices of his socialist brother, Mr B. P. Koirala, who saw justification in violence aimed at freeing oppressed peoples of Nepal under a *Hukumi* political system which limited their self-fulfilment. Seeing how the liberation of Tibet had taken a different course, King Tribhuvana had found it desirable to welcome Tensing Sherpa in a coach drawn by four horses and decorating him by the order of *Supradipta Mānnyavara* in Nepal while Nehru was stealing the show in England by putting the Sherpa's photo side by side with that of Mr M. K. Gandhi and by bribing him to shun his nationality. On the other hand, the members of the Nepali Congress Committee had done nothing beyond pestering Mr Edmund Hillary with such questions as to who set foot on the summit of the world first, and by passing a resolution subsequently that the new Government headed by Mr M. P. Koirala was the product of palace intrigue and was as undemocratic and unrepresentative as the Councillors' regime. Linked with International socialist movement the ideologies and idioms of the Nepali Congress Working Committee were going to bring Nepal face to face with Communist China without solving our human problems at this transitional phase. It was impossible to bring about rapid economic development without setting up communication in our difficult country where industrialisation had appeared as a phenomenon on the southern fringes of Nepal, which had led to an increase of crime. I have seen in Egypt that the people were not equipped to deal with the tempo of change. The Gorkhas of the midland mountains had distinguished themselves as the "Unknown soldiers of Paśupati with the fighting slogans of *āyo gorkhālī*" (the Gorkha has come in the field of battle) during the two world wars without adding an inch to the territory of Nepal. I wondered how the promise of hectic pace of economic development was going to help the Poḍeys at the lowest rung of our social scale, whose slogan of *Ajā jaya* (Victory to my hoary tradition) harked back to the lost horizon of our Samyak Society. In such a scheme social

aspect of planning was as important as straight economic planning for Nepal's progress in the overall scheme of the unwritten law of *Saddharma* (true doctrine). Like their Rana forerunners the Socialists were endeavouring to capture power on the plank of freeing the oppressed peoples of Nepal. The Congress leaders did not have to suffer martyrdom, for example, like Dasarath Chand, Gangalal or Tanka Prasad who suffered, when they smuggled themselves into Nepal on the strength of foreign arms. Seeing how King Tribhuvana had taken up the challenge of the Ranas and ultimately freed them from the brute that was in their nature by his own example, the right path for Nepal, at this transitional phase was to find the way between Communism from the north and Democracy from the South by recourse to the lost horizon of our Samyak Society. By instinct, experience and tradition King Tribhuvana had given more power to Mr M. P. Koirala than had King Surentra Bickram Shah Deva to the Rana Prime-minister Jung Bahadur, so that he may deal with all the democratic parties independently of the King during His Majesty's tour abroad.

So far, I had confronted the Indian leaders in New Delhi against the background of my experiences in Tibet and what I had read about the Chinese leaders. The party politics in Nepal presented a dismal scene. Confronting leaders of neighbouring countries and fresh from my tour of Europe I had the feeling that King Tribhuvana was one of the most unique leaders of mankind to challenge comparison with the most outstanding leaders of the neighbouring countries. As a king he had suffered insult and injury at the hands of Maharaja Juddha Shumshere when His Majesty encouraged the brave sons of Nepal to free themselves from the yoke of the brutal Rana regime. Ambitious to capture power in the name of the Congress party, Mr B. P. Koirala considered it beneath his dignity to negotiate with Mr M. P. Koirala, whose party comprised a splinter group of the original Nepali Congress party with this difference that Mr M. P. Koirala did not use his power in dealing with his rivals like, for example, Jung Bahadur. King Tribhuvana had most appropriately given unlimited power to Mr M. P. Koirala, so that he may keep the talk going among the parties by keeping the fists down in order that they may advance democratically. Under the circumstances party politics in Nepal took on the aspect of a fancy market, where leaders of most parties higgled and haggled with Mr M. P. Koirala for a coveted seat in the Cabinet albeit by attacking him in the public. Working on the principle that the man in the street was his brother on the basis of our Samyak ideals in contravention of the Rana theory that "blood was thicker than water," King Tribhuvana had advised Mr M.P. Koirala to get the discussion of democracy going, so that he

may combat the issues of wealth, power and Oedipian complexities, which had contributed to the inhuman aggressiveness of the Ranas. King Tribhuvana had no lust for wealth and power nor he ever acted with the thought of revenge against the Ranas. I had told His Majesty how things were developing in China and Tibet and the King had personal experience of the working of the minds of the Indian leaders. King Tribhuvana was a solitary monarch in the history of mankind who had suffered the spurns and contumely of the Ranas with infinite patience at the cost of his Crown to salvage the Nepalese peoples from the "curse of Sati", and put up the image of Nepal as a "show case of a Samyak Society" albeit as a "stunted yam sandwiched between two cold stones". In short, the mental make up of King Tribhuvana reminded me of the immortal lines of the *Kirātārjunīye* Canto XV stanza 52 reading "Vikāśamiyurjagatisamargaṇā Vikāśamiyurjagatisamargaṇāh/" meaning "the arrows of the Saviour (Paśupati) of the material world, which is full of peoples, had illuminated the path of progress, and that luminous factor (*sattvanguna*) had warmed up and felicitated the minds of the peoples (Kirātas, Yakṣas, Śākyaas, Śākas, etc.) by its expansion."

Arrival of Mr. A. F. Dundas and Secretary General Mr. John A. F. Enalls, of the World Federation of Students of the United Nations Association

The Minister and the Secretary of Education both were unimpressed by the report of Mr A. F. Dundas for improving the knowledge of English in the educational institutions of Nepal. On the other hand, the teachers and students of Kathmandu took a great deal of interest in the lectures of the distinguished visitor from England. Then I took Mr. Dundas to our Manuscript library to show him the Sanskrit works of so many divine souls, which helped me to laugh at the lust, avarice and all the vices of our dictators, politicians and rich men who did not know this happiness.

On November 2 I took Mr A. F. Enalls on a spin round the valley to show him the ensemble of art and architecture of Nepal handed down by our distant ancestors from generation to generation. Where possible I told Mr A. F. Enalls how each of these composite masterpieces represented a purification of the world. The common message of the ancient stupas, temples and vihāras was their existence through all the vicissitudes of history with the victory of each individual artist around such moments over his servitude, spreading like ripples on the ocean of time and implementing art's eternal victory over the varying doctrines of human beings and their situation.

Then I took Mr Ennals to the summit of Go-śringa hill (Swayambhu-nātha) and told how the foundation of the stupa contained the mortal relics of the first historical Buddha Vipassi, who is believed to have cast the earliest seed of Lotus on this particular spot from the adjacent mountain of Jāmācho (śilocca), which after the tenth century A.D. was worshipped as the monument of Ādi-Buddha (Primordial Buddha). Pointing to three other peaks of Dhyānochha, Phulochha and Mātrochha, I pointed out to Mr Ennals how the monuments on and around them represented the hoary traditions of Buddha Śikhin, Great Mother Goddess and Yoginīs respectively mentioned in our *Chronology*, *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and Jaina literature. Pointing to the hill of Dolāchala jutting out towards Swayambhu hill with the temple of Dolaśikhara svāmin (Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa) from the east, I told the distinguished guest how the Malava-gaṇas (tribes) had set up the image of Garuda-mounted Hari close to Kailāsa, where the Kirāta-gaṇas (tribes) had set up the temples of Paśupati to worship him as the Guardian God of Nepal.

Unlike Delhi the valley of Kathmandu had no ruins, where our multi-ethnic peoples had fought the iconoclasts to preserve their composite gods, stupas, vihāras and temples under common Samyak principles, which could make Nepal a show-case of peace and concord for the United Nations if we were allowed to maintain a dialogue between the peoples of the north and the south in this transitional phase of world's history. The United Nations must see that the darkness of ignorance did not breed fear of conflicting ideologies from the north or the south in a nation, which had been living in the environment of the Mahānkālas (Death of deaths) to stare death in its face for the sake of its Samyak ideals. Nepal was a land of *dharma*. The Nepalese nation had a character and that character was modified by that "strange religion of the *Lingum* and the *Juggernaut*" which the spectacle of stupidity, slavery, extravagance, barbarity and inhumanity of the invaders at different epochs had not been able to quench. Pointing to the precipices of the hills around Kathmandu I told him how I had climbed on most of them to find relics and images according to the Tibetan religious geography of Nepal over the forested slopes infested with poisonous mountain snakes, leopards, bears, red-deer, antelopes and other denizens of the woods to the chirping of friendly birds to warn me of their presence. I had discovered ancient terracota figures and images of the Walking Buddhas at the most unwonted places, where their devotees arrived at the appointed dates to offer them worship. There, too, I had met hunters and shepherds, who told me that their eyes had been diverted from their animals by the sight of most

beautiful images over the sheer rocks, where my feeble feet refused to carry me. Mr Ennals seemed to be impressed when I told him that the irreconcilable contradictions and wraiths of Communism and Capitalism might find a meeting ground if they carefully looked into this kaleidoscope of Nepal.

Arrival of Mr C. J. Hayes at Kathmandu

The next important event in my diary was the arrival of Mr and Mrs C. J. Hayes of the British Civil Service at Kathmandu on November 19 to lecture to our officers and men about the political neutrality of the service to impart stability of administration against the background of the serious setback to the democratic experiment in Nepal. We managed with the Prime-minister's consent to arrange a lecture to be delivered to all the officers at the State Hall of Singha Durbar on November 20, 1953. He delivered a fine lecture on the role of civil servants in a Constitutional monarchy. I was happy that our officers put very pertinent questions to the distinguished visitor from England who replied to them magnificently. The great expansion in State activity after the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1950, and the consequent increase in the numbers of the civil servants and the scope of their duties was bound to lead to further reorganisation. Every Civil Servant understood that there should be no political jobbery to replace the free choice of the Ranas to appoint their officers by favour or purchase. Recruitment had to be made by open competition on the basis of a developing educational system and co-ordination between the various departments had to be improved. I was satisfied by the outcome of the lecture which pleased every officer to the chagrin of our politicians. On the following day I took Mr and Mrs Hayes on a sight-seeing tour of our valley.

They seemed to be very much thrilled by the sights and scenes of the valley against the backdrop of the Himalayan giants with their splendour of snows, which they longed to visit if they had time to make it. Mr Hayes gave me the impression that Nepal was cleaner than India. As for roads we could make them if we had money.

On November 21st I organised a banquet to meet Mr and Mrs Hayes, where all the celebrities of Nepal including the Prime-minister, Ministers and Ambassadors had been invited. All the guests were happy that I had given a good banquet. The Prime-minister, Mr M. P. Koirala told me that my banquet was better organised than any Government parties on the occasion of the visits of foreign guests. On the other hand, the Indian Ambassador asked me what I was doing, with a finger on his lips.

I saw off Mr and Mrs Hayes on November 22, 1953 after a fruitful visit to Nepal, which focussed attention on the Public Service Commission of Nepal.

Discussion with Dr. Toni Hagen on his Travels in Nepal

The last act of the drama in November, 1953 was my meeting with Dr. and Mrs Toni Hagen with their handsome Swiss nurse at the site of the famous twenty-two dragon-faced water-conduits spouting water from the pond with the image of "Sleeping Nārāyaṇa on the coils of the Endless Snake". We were interested to see that a few snakes had been making a bunk on the bed of the Endless Snake. Contrary to the story that the image of the Sleeping Nārāyaṇa was sculptured by King Pratapa Malla to avoid his visit to his Divine Counterpart of Buḍhānīla-kanṭha, the surrounding images of the Great Mother Goddess and other Buddhistic monuments and deities gave me the impression that the statues had been sculptured during the Licchavi period. I was happy to learn that the fine-looking Swiss nurse kept a faithful record with her camera of all the festivals that took place in and around the holy spot at the foot of the Nagarjun hills.

So far Dr. Toni Hagen had done 31,000 square miles of Nepal out of the estimated total of 56,000 square miles of our mountain Kingdom. which was four times the size of his Switzerland. He had come to Nepal in 1950, in connection with the bilateral programme of Swiss Technical Assistance. Then The Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations had commissioned him to undertake the first complete geological survey of the entire country. A geologist by profession Dr. Hagen's camera had captured the essential aspects of the Nepalese landscapes and the multi-ethnic Nepalese peoples comprised by the Kirātas, Thārus, Gorkhas and Sherpas, among whom the learned Brahmins, Lamas and Bonpo priests worked side by side. Magnificent pagoda temples and Gompas rose beside primitive village of ancient tribes whose archaic economy had not changed for centuries from all steaming tropical lowlands of the Tarai through the backbone of the Nepalese midland mountains up to the arctic snow-regions from where the Himalayan giants kissed the clouds.

Finally, Dr. Hagen told me how there was a great similarity between Nepal and Switzerland, not only in their physical features but also in political matters, where the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Swiss peoples had been able to maintain her independence against her powerful neighbours. With the memory of my brief visit to his great country on my tour of Europe, I was happy to hear from Dr. Hagen that the problems of a sterile and mountai-

nous country--the best possible use of the soil, protection from landslides and floods, communication and transport--were the same for both the countries. Now that there were experts in Nepal to take care of the ethnological, demographic, orinthological, zoological and arboreal curiosities of Nepal, I had contributed my mite for collecting "materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture in a land of ageless stupas and pagodas. In the context of general ignorance about Nepal I was sure that the scientific explorations and expeditions were going to spread a better knowledge of Nepal than the gold and glitter of the Ranas and political vocabulary of the politicians.

I was up with the memory of a dream on the 4th of December, 1953, in which I heard the voice of King Māna Deva calling me to make a comparative study of his inscription at the base of the basrelief of Viṣṇu with the big step and the inscriptions of Aśoka in Lumbini. On waking with the sensation of two fangs going deep on my shoulder, I made a comparative study of the two inscriptions and published the results of my researches in the *Nepal Guardian* under the title of "The mystery of the basrelief of Tribikrum and the accompanying inscription of Tri-ganga near the temple of Paśupati on the suburb of Kathmandu, Nepal which led to startling conclusions with regard to the legend of King Bali and Vāmana (the Midget in Three Vedic Steps) in the overall scheme of Bhairavi-cakra-pravartana" way back in the fifth century A. D.

On December 11, Their Majesties the Queens of Nepal opened the Tribhuvana Rajpath, which the Indian Ambassador proudly declared to be a road of over 80 miles to link the peoples of the Tarai and midland mountains, "who were so near, yet so far." In a party to open the British Library organised by H. E. Mr Summerhayes I was interested to learn that I and Professor G. Tucci were branded as anti-Indians by the henchmen of the Indian Embassy, who regarded my lectures and activities in Europe and writings in the *Nepal Guardian* with grave concern whereas the peoples of Nepal including our Ambassador in New Delhi had taken fancy to them. They were the more concerned because the Chinese and Russian thinkers and writers had taken my lectures in good light, so much so that the Indians had advised our Government to put a stop to the further visits of Professor G. Tucci to our country.

Death of Hemaraj Pandit and General Bijaya Shumshere

The month of December, 1953 closed with two parting kicks to Nepal. Disappointed by the turn of events in Nepal His Holiness Hemaraj Pandit had

gone to the holy "Tirtha" for a change. On December 26 I was sad to learn that His Holiness had passed away without allowing me to get a photostat copy of the *Abhisamayāṅkāra-vyākhyā* by Vimuktisena. Born and brought up amid the tragedies of death in my family in the environment of Mahānkālas (Death of deaths) I had the feeling that Nepal was the holiest place in the religious geography of Asia and that my life was a preparation for death with Proust's definition of "love as Time and Space measured by the heart." The "progressive leaders" of political parties had bracketed His Holiness with one of the "three Māhilā (second by birth) reactionaries" comprised by Generals Babar and Bahadur Sumsheres. Whatever his attitude towards life while he lived, His Holiness had left behind a sizable library embodying Sanskritic birch-bark-leaf-manuscripts, which summed the greatest number of great ancient ideas. Deprived of their "fangs and talons" Generals Babar and Bahadur had "winged down" to hibernate in Bangalore and Indore respectively without leaving anything to the posterity of Nepal except their huge mansions of brick and clay. Unlike the advanced peoples of Europe, the tragedy of the investment policy of the Nepalese aristocracy and merchant princes was to invest all their "black money abroad" by exploiting the Nepalese peoples at home. So far nobody had any confidence in a country, where the Ranas had set the worst examples of insecurity by their Oedipian complexities. Under the circumstances King Tribhuvana called for a new orientation and for the serious application of democratic thinking to overcome the hurdles of *Hukum* in Nepal's path of progress to Samyak ideals. I hoped that His Majesty King Tribhuvana was going to bring something new from his present tour of Europe to solve the needs and problems peculiar to Nepal at this period.

I was shocked to hear on December 29 that General Bijaya had died of electrocution at 9 A. M. and that Mr J. L. Nehru was at the moment in Nepalese Embassy in New Delhi administering physical exercises rather than prayers to resurrect our dead Ambassador. There was a leakage of the electrical current and the water was above the danger level when His Excellency entered the bath-room at 9 A. M. The servant, who waited outside the gate, heard the splash of water followed by a brief groan, which was the premature end of the promising career of the youngest son of Maharaja Mohun Shumshere, who was preparing to be transferred to London as His Majesty's Ambassador after a successful tour of office in New Delhi. Whereas His Excellency's A. Class kinsmen seemed to be happy at his unexpected end for his part in bringing his fathers reactionary regime to a fitful end,

we were most grieved that there would be few competent men to replace the late Ambassador.

By all standards of diplomacy General Bijaya was most appreciative when I confronted the Indian Prime Minister in 1952 on the problems of Tibet, which we decided to take up with the Government of the People's Republic of China after the hot encounter. He had made the Nepalese Embassy in New Delhi a living thing by slipping Nepalese passport into the pocket of Mr Tensing Noorkey when the Government of India tried to shine in borrowed feathers by broadcasting his Indian nationality. General Bijaya was most appreciative of what I said in Rome on "Ancient and Modern Nepal". Mysterious is the working of God with the Book of Death. According to the All India Radio there was going to be a State Funeral for His late Excellency with military honours at 4 P. M. The Nepal flag flew half-mast and our offices were closed at 1 P. M. as a mark of respect to His Excellency's memory. Never was I so unhappy as on that fateful day to think how a strange accident in the bathroom had brought an end to one of the most promising men among the Ranas as the turning point of Nepal's history under the sovereignty of king Tribhuvana.

Chapter XIII

DAYS OF FRUSTRATION AND APATHY

January 1 – April 30, 1954

The New Year's Day 1954 opened with a brisk shower. After sending my New Year's greetings to my Christian friends I went through Mr H. Harrer's *Seven Years in Tibet*, which did not take note of my activities in Tibet whereas my Tibetan, Sikkimese, Bhutanese, Chinese, British and American friends remembered me. There was Students' Re-union and poets' meeting on January 2, 1954 at which many budding students including the Prime Minister recited their poems contrary to the tradition of the Rana Prime Minister with their glittering swords, decorations, beards and moustaches *albeit* with the old retinue of guards and retainers. Another new feature was that the talented girls and ladies of Nepal read out their songs and writings which appeared to be more solid than the writings of Lowell Thomas, Harrers and French journalists who were carried away by their emotions. After seeing off early on January 4th, 1954 our Prime Minister at the Gauchar airport for his trip to New Delhi in anticipation of His Majesty king Tribhuvana's return from Europe, I returned to my office to interview the candidates who had shown themselves well at the examination in open competition. Some of the candidates, who had passed the examination with credit, were found to be shy and deficient in interviews. It was gratifying, however, that we were holding open competition and interviewing students independent of ministerial control. While the political activities had reached feverish height, we were much more interested in carrying out amendments to discriminatory caste laws codified by Jung Bahadur and in celebrating "Prithvi Jayanti" in honour of king Prithvi Narayan Shah, who had given a political unity to his

“stunted yam” with the surging tide of British imperialism. With the cooperation of the International scholars we had fairly divided the history of Nepal into Ancient period comprised by the Kirāta kings to the rise and fall of the Licchavis, medieval history comprised by the Khasa kindgom of western Nepal and Tibet and the Three Malla kingdoms, and Modern Nepal comprised by the ancestors of king Tribhuvana after 1768 A. D. Peoples in general were getting increasingly interested in Mr Surya Bickram Gewali’s research works on kings Drabya Shah, Ram Shah, Prithvi Narayan Shah, Bira (brave) Balabhadra, Amar Simha Thapa and *Nepali Birharu* (Heroes of Nepal). Shri Narahari Natha had now brought out a new edition of king Prithvi Narayana’s *Divyopadeśa* (sacred advice of king Prithivi Narayana) for the unity of our multi-ethnic nation at a time when the party politicians were trying to rip our country apart. After great effort we were able to celebrate “Prithvi Jayanti” on Sunday January 10, 1954 to offset the fissiparous tendencies of our politicians who did not seem to have any drive and direction at a time when the Indians in Nepal seemed to be disturbed by the Pakistan-American pact.

Visit of Her Majesty the Queen of Sikkim, Princess Kula and Yuthok Dzasa to Nepal on a Pilgrimage

I learnt on January 11th that Yuthok Dzasa had alighted at Kathmandu and that he was very anxious to meet me. On meeting him I learnt that the Police Inspector of the Sikkim State Mr T. D. Tsering, who was in uniform and travelling with a pistol and a dog to escort Her Majesty and party, had been detained at the checkpost of Chisapani-gadi. Her Majesty the Queen of Sikkim and Princess Kula arrived late at night after a great deal of hardship on the journey and had proceeded to lodge in the house of Mr Punyavajra, who was the abbot of Khasti (Khasa-caitya) dedicated to the memory of Buddha Kaśyapa, which site was presently known as Baudha.

The following morning I called on the acting Premier, Mr Naradmuni Thulung and explained to him how the kingdom of Sikkim occupied a very strong and strategic position as our next door neighbour situated between Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and India. The Royal party had come on a pilgrimage on the basis of the psychological perception of Nepal’s world view reflected by her architectural monuments, composite images of gods and goddesses, Nepal’s chronology going back to the reign of the Kirāta dynasties, legends, mythologies, history of the Seven historical Buddhas and the syncretic culture under the inspiration of the Śaivite “religion of the *Lingum* and the

Juggernaut for more than three thousand years of recorded history. I had already spoken in Rome about our discovery of the “materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture.” Now that China had become a very strong factor on our northern border Nepal could play a dynamic role with our glorious tradition to maintain Nepal’s status as a bridge between north, central, south and south-east Asia as a preserver of our ancient tradition in the scheme of our Samyak Society in this bi-polar world. As a Kirāti from the district of Bhojapore he was most impressed by what I told him, with the result that he put a phone call to Gadi to treat Mr T. D. Tsering with respect, fix the Royal guests from Sikkim at the Government Rest House and called on the Royal guests at Bauddha with a Government and private cars to conduct their tour of pilgrimage in Nepal with as much respect as the Government treated Their Majesties the King of Bhutan and Queen Kesang in New Delhi during the corresponding period.

Our Prime Minister wore a defeated and disgusted look when he arrived at the Gauchar air-port from New Delhi on January 13. Evidently, the success of the Communist party at the Municipal elections and the pressure of the Nepali Congress and other political parties to recompose the Cabinet had already added to his worries. This was the time when Mr B. P. Koirala had found a strange bed-partner with Bharat Shumshere, who had nearly done him to death to worry the Prime Minister. Neither was the Prime Minister happy when I told him about the treatment we accorded to the Royal guests from Sikkim at par with the treatment accorded to the King and the Queen of Bhutan by the Government of India during the corresponding period in New Delhi in consultation with the acting Prime Minister, although it was a private visit. Judging by his profile after his party’s defeat in the Municipal elections and his visit to New Delhi, Mr M. P. Koirala seemed to be disturbed by the concept of the federation of the Himalayan States, which had been broached by His Majesty king Tashi Namgyal of Sikkim and Mr L. R. Josse of the Gorkha League on a number a of occasions since the independence of India. The idea had received a fairly wide publicity in both the Indian and international press agencies to the chagrin of the Indian leaders, who had introduced divisive tendencies among the Sikkimese, Bhutanese and Nepalese by the trick of the ballot. The isolation of the British leaders and their Indian successors from the facts of history explained the contradictions in their concepts of the “Five Fingers of China” ventilated by Mr. P. Landon in his “*Nepal* in two volumes.” I now got the impression from our Prime Minister that the concept of the “Federation of Himalayan States according to the leaders in New Delhi, was a Communist Plot concocted by

the People's Republic of China to subvert the Himalayan peoples. Now that the Liberation army of China was on our borders and Dr. K. I. Singh in Tibet, we had to be capable of bold and wise decisions on the footsteps of the Chronology of Nepal and the Annals of China. This was no time for us to assume "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" attitude at the mercy of short-sighted and scheming politicians, who were ready to do anything to reach their mean goals. I told the Prime Minister how His Majesty King Tribhuvana was a man of far-reaching decisions, who had transformed the history of Nepal by his example. Our King had no love for power, and it was the duty of politicians to rise above low political tricks and instinctive taste for gaining and sticking to power at the cost of our hoary Samyak (correct) ideals. The Queen of Sikkim, Yuthok Dzasa and Princess Kula had come here to bow and worship at the sacred shrine of Paśupati and the stupas of the historical Buddhas according to the Tibetan religious geography of Nepal, and not to bow down to Mr Lenin or Mr Gandhi in our country. The eminent saint of the Śākyas had forged the link in the chain of our Samyak Society, which King Māna Deva had realised by founding the "heroic state". No body could challenge this fact of history, if we know how to interpret it by recourse to authentic historical documents handed down from generation to generation.

Then I returned to conduct the pilgrimage of the Royal party to the temple of Paśupati and to the stupa of Swayambhunātha, where they offered their prayers with devotion. Then they asked me to take the party to the burning-ghat known as Karavira-smasāna to the south of the Sākta temple of Sobhābhagavatī by the bank of rivulet Viṣṇumatī, where the Ranas had shot Mr Dasarath Chandra and Gangalal to death a few years ago. By any standard this Dakṣiṇa-smasāna had remained the most holy spot, where the party from Sikkim paired their nails, cut a lock of their hair and burnt them on the funeral-pyre, so that they may have no rebirth in this trouble-filled world. At the same time I reminded them how I stretched myself full length on the stone of the cemetery of the monastery of Yerpa in Tibet for the same reason. Then I took the party on a spin to Buḍhānilkaṅṭha to show them the image of "Sleeping Nārāyana lying on the coil of the Endless Snake, the Śaivite Lingas traced in Licchavi script by the prayer of King Māna Deva, Śhri-devī and Manu Deva and the image of the Walking Buddha (Anāgata Buddha or the Buddha Messia with a step) which proved how Nepal had preserved the sculptures of the three faiths from very ancient times. This was beyond the bound of politics as we understood politics in the twilight period of a bi-polar world. Our shady politicians did not know that

Nepal's norm of "Samyak Dharma" (correct doctrine of law) had made our country the bastion of heroic state comprised by the Kirāta-gaṇa rājyas and the Buddhistic Janapadas.

We proceeded to Tribhuvana air-port at Gauchar to welcome back His Majesty king Tribhuvana home from his tour of Europe on Friday January 15, 1954. Peoples of Nepal had gathered from far and near to give His Majesty a heartfelt reception with the thunderous applause of "Tribhuvana Maharaja dhiraj ki jai" (Victory to king Tribhuvana) as the C. V. C. touched down the Gauchar airport at 12-15 P. M. (Nepal time). His Majesty looked better after the change in Europe. But the atmosphere of political instability seemed to weigh on the king's mind when His Majesty spoke about the political uncertainty in Nepal. With the solicitude of a father to the prodigal politicians of Nepal His Majesty said that the existing situation had filled the peoples of Nepal with a sense of frustration and apathy which was going to prove fatal if we did not put our house in order with national interest in view. Then I took the Queen of Sikkim and party to the Royal Palace to sign the Visitors' book with my personal note that they were on a private visit of pilgrimage to Nepal. The Prime Minister seemed to eager to pay his call personally on the Queen of Sikkim, though he also opined that the party should call on the Ambassador of India. On the party's behalf I replied that the party was much more interested in visiting the haloed site of Rikeśvara situated near the summit of Simghanjyang and the villages of Tistung and Palung on the Tribhuvana Rajpath than in calling on the Indian Ambassador. The officer-in-charge of the Tirbhuvana highway called me to discuss the purpose of the visit of the Queen of Sikkim to Rikeśvara and hinted that Nepal did not have direct diplomatic relations with Sikkim and Bhutan. After my lectures on Ancient and Modern Nepal diplomats in the Indian Embassy appeared to read meaning in between every word I spoke. I told my Indian friends that the facts of the Tibetan religious geography of Nepal were much more hopeful for the unity in diversity of the Himalayan and the trans-Himalayan peoples than the India-Government fear of Himalayan federation. Nepal had her chronology and China had her annals independent of the jejune political colour in our respective countries. History would have her way in the long run despite the shady machinations of politicians. Nepal could not remain in isolation under the patrol of Indian military mission with a military road-link to India at the cost of the hoary tradition represented by Rikeśvara. With their usual tendencies to make large promises and smooth excuses, the officers of the Indian Mission evaded the issue by telling me that the visit could have materia-

lised, if I had given a longer notice. At the same time the unanimous news of the collapsing state of my cousin brother Mr Ganesh Bahadur K. C. took me posthaste to his house where we were disturbed to find that his pulse had disappeared and he was breathing heavily on his last journey of life. With proper medication his condition improved for the time being, though he was not out of the woods. That was the way of life, though the smallest atom of truth represented somebody's bitter toil and agony, for which our earthen stupas bore eloquent testimony to the truth-seeker's grave.

On the following morning Dr. Toni Hagen arrived in the morning to take a letter of introduction to my cousin Sri Bahadur K.C. in Jumla and say farewell to me on his long trip on foot. He knew Nepal better than any foreigner, though he told me about the growing pains of the peoples and the possibility of closing our frontiers with the coming of the Chinese Communists on our northern frontiers. On the other hand, I told Dr. Hagen that our researches in Lhasa had indicated that the present village of Jumla was the capital of Western Nepal and Western Tibet under Khasa-kings as Zan-Zun, which bore the brunt of Islamic, Kashmiri and Mongolian invasions after the downfall of the celebrated Licchavi dynasty of Nepal. Our research workers had already made some spadework in the mixed religion and culture of the region, where the Brahmannic and Buddhistic civilisation had dovetailed and merged to oppose the iconoclastic tendencies of Islam. I told Dr. Hagen how happy I would be if he very kindly brought back to me some evidences of that civilisation for my enlightenment. That very day the Royal pilgrims from Sikkim were proceeding to the site of the holy stupas of Namobuddhāya (vulgo Nam-muda) in the district of East No. 1 beyond Sāngā-bhanjyāng, which was close to the Śakta-temple and image of Devī Bhagavatī Vijaya-śrī in the wind-swept village of Palānchauk. Nāmmudā (Namobuddhāya) was supposed to be the seat of the famous Buddhistic legend of Vyāghri-jātaka saying how the Buddha had saved from starvation a hungry tigress with her litter of seven cubs by offering the flesh from his own body. Every pilgrim from the Buddhistic countries regarded the stupas with as much devotion as Swayambhunātha, Baudhanātha and Lumbini. I found the Royal party from Sikkim most happy after the visit when I took them on a spin to the city of Lalitpur on January 19th showing them the wealth of most ancient stupas and the ensemble of architecture and images in the Durbar square of the city decked with strange water-spouts, which had been operating for more than thousand years, to which the inscriptions of the donors testified. Then I brought the Royal party to Singha Durbar, where they were very much more interested in seeing

their exaggerated frames in the convex lenses of the Mirrors in the State Hall than in the storming of our Ministers in the Gallery Hall, which had given the worst worries to our ailing King. Then I left the Royal party at the Guest House with Nepalese merchants, so that I may personally see to the arrangement of the buffet-dinner-party at my house in farewell to them.

After formal introductions we briefly discussed Parliamentary procedures in England based upon the system of debate upon questions put from the chair and resolved in the affirmative or negative against the background of the pandemonium prevailing in the party system of Nepal. Voting in the House of Commons was carried out under the direction of the Speaker, and it was his duty to pronounce the final result. If an equal number of votes was cast, the Speaker gave the casting vote in such a way as to avoid change and leave the question to be decided on another occasion. This brief discourse was followed by drinks, ball-room dances and songs to the tune of dance records. In a way the Rana officers did much of the dancing to the envy of the Ministers who had learnt to make political issues of irrational emotions which could not be settled on the basis of any rational, external criteria. After dinner our Ministers, secretaries and officers were happy to learn that the Himalayan kingdoms were monarchical states, whose origins and traditions were to be found in the history of each of them.

Demand for a National Government

Early on Wednesday January 20th, 1954 I said farewell to the Royal party from Sikkim with great self-confidence about the feasibility of using Samyak socio-political models in the pursuit of our objectives as an alternative to Communism from the north and Socialism from the south, though it was more my wish than a policy of our Government. But to my astonishment Mr M. P. Koirala left Kathmandu to take part in the Kalyani Session of the Indian Congress, which was calculated to create anti-Communist climate with the remark of our Govt. that the Chinese sold wheat and sold barley. The parties and peoples of Nepal severely criticized the Prime Minister for his present political stance in the current mood of Indian leaders.

On one of the coldest days in January 26, I was disturbed to learn that my sister-in-law was suffering from malignant growth in her nose and that my cousin brother Ganesh Bahadur K. C. had passed away at 4.30 A.M. News of disease in the near and dear member of my family and death of my cousin brother at a tender age paralysed my mind till the 29th of January, 1954 when His Majesty king Tribhuvana led a procession personally to the

Tundikhel to lay the foundation stone of a Memorial in honour of the heroes of People's Revolution of Nepal comprised by Messrs Dasarath Chand Gangalal, Sukraraj Shastri and Dharmabhakta, who had laid down their lives for the cause of the people and country during the feudal regime of Maharaja Juddha Shumshere. This was the time when squabbles among politicians had sapped the vigours of their mind so that king Tribhuvana took the step to revitalise the politicians who were stagnating in the "shady sadness of our vale" without the light of sacrifice to guide them. This reminded the nation of the dauntless laughter of Dasarath Chand with the immortal words: "What is death-sentence in the cause of a nation ?" in his crowded hour of glorious life.

While the freelance politicians were having free-for-all at the Tindhara Pathsala Hydepark of Kathmandu practically everyday in February, I was thrilled to read a booklet known as "*Hamrā wa Hamar Vanwā*"(we and our forests) in Tharu dialect written by Mr Birendra Kumar Tharu of Hazari Mall High School of Raxaul. This was the first effort of the patriotic tribe of Tharu to show how near the Tharu dialect was to the national language vis-a-vis the Hindi of the plains. I was equally interested to read a book known as *Danphechhari* (Grandala) by Dharmaraj Thapa who had travelled the habited parts of Nepal collecting songs from the multi-ethnic rural population of Nepal. Then, too, I read with interest *While Memory Serves* by Lt. General Francis Tucker in honour of the Gorkhas and *Mount Everest* by Mr Edmund Hillary and Sir John Hunt, which put Nepal on the map of the world.

The spring festival of Vasanta-panchamī on February 8th brought the news in the elegant party of the Commander-in chief that General Padar Bahadur K. C. had returned from Malaya after a successful tour of office and that our Government had given permission to Dr. David Snellgrove to make a study of the Tibetan monastery of the village of Solukhumbu at the foot of the Mount Everest. While we were trying to devise new vehicles for broadening the base of our traditional Samyak Society with a global rationale, the political situation seemed to be moving to a crisis with the demand of the parties for a national government to combat the growing Indian influence in Nepal. The King was already disturbed by the trend of politics of Nepal, where the Garkha Parishad, the Communists and the Nepali Congress were trying to make marriages of convenience, while the Praja Parishad, Nepali People's Congress and Nepali National Congress stood on the side lines. The Prime Minister seemed to be isolated and refu-

sed to meet me when I called on February 15th. I was sad to learn that the man chosen by king Tribhuvana to achieve democratic goals for his nation in Samyak way viewed political development in the Indian way after his visit to Kalyani. He had grown secretive with the collapse of his ramsacle National Democratic Party. Although there was no realisation of new development orientations in the concept of any party at this time, yet the Prime Minister was not thinking of combating the mass poverty and unemployment by carrying out the much needed land reform at the expense of prevailing power structure in the rural areas. Invested with more power than Maharaja Jung Bahadur, Mr M. P. Koirala did not have the vision to balance the political and social forces by adopting new approaches to foster economic growth in response to the need of the poverty stricken Nepalese nation. The Prime Minister and General Mahabir Shumshere camouflaged the concept of a national government as a means of maneuvering different parties into position of subservience to themselves in the best tradition of Jung Bahadur under a democratic garb. Rejected by their own party the two most powerful men acted with ambivalence, when the Nepali Congress Working Committee nominated representatives to participate in the new National Government. Though all the parties were in ferment, yet a balanced assessment showed that they had no policy and plan to respond to the new challenges from India and China and of the categories of problems related to co-existence and interdependence. Despite the continuing pervasiveness of national interests and the constraints imposed by national politics, none of the parties showed the realisation of the fact that the Nepalese peoples had to perceive their interests in a Samyak way.

The reactionary Gorkha Parishad was much too anti-Chinese and the Communists were much too anti-Indian to be taken into the fold of the National Government. The Nepali Congress had too strong a socialistic base with international backing to keep the country an area of peace. Whereas every party combined to fight the Ranas, the National Democratic party, the Nepali National Congress and Nepal Jana Congress had splitted from the parent organisation for their own particular reasons. Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya, who led with Mr Dasarath Chand the oldest political party of Praja Parishad with the backing of practically all the gaol-returned patriots, had to seek the aid of the Gandhi-capped and Khadi-clad Mr Bhadrakali Mishra to develop his organisation as a party to appeal to the multi-ethnic masses of Nepal who had survived in unity in diversity under a coherent ideal of Samyak Society. Under the circumstances, a selective overview of the political parties in Nepal showed that the realisation of new deve-

lopment orientation needed new approaches which made the decision making authorities free from the suspicion of China and India and responsive to the need of the country situated between the two Giants of Asia.

As a king who had carried on his struggle single-handed against the Rana regime Tribhuvana wanted to absolve Nepal from the curse of Sati by rescuing the invisible but important poor down-trodden and low-caste men at the lowest rung of the ladder of society. His Majesty had disarmed the brute in the nature of the Ranas by his noble example and the most liberal Shah policy. But to the King's dismay the emergence of party politics produced ignominious leaders and political opportunists, whose personal ambitions and party strife tended to give a blow to democracy at its finest hour. Thus on Nepal's *Swatantrata-divas* on Thursday, February 19th, 1954 king Tribhuvana's Royal Proclamation terminated M. P. Koirala's one party National Democratic Party Government and introduced a 'national coalition' Government in response to the prevailing political mood of Nepal comprised by Messrs M. P. Koirala (National Democratic Party), Mahabir Shumshere (Independent), Naradmuni Thulung (National Democratic Party), Kaiser Shumshere (Independent), Dilli Raman Regmi (Nepali National Congress), Tanka Prasad Acharya (Praja Parishad) and Bhadrakali Mishra (All-Nepal Jana Congress). The Nepali Congress did not participate, though they were given three seats in the Cabinet.

More important than the formation of National Coalition Government was the news from Lhasa of February 21st saying that the Government of Tibet was not going to send the annual payment of Rs. 10,000 to the Government of Nepal on the basis of the treaty of 1856 A. D. I had frankly told Mr. Nehru on January 1951 about the divergence between Nepali and Indian points of view to the effect that we would be taking up the question of our treaty with Tibet separately with the People's Republic of China when there was occasion for it. The most important question for Nepal was China's attitude toward Nepal's rights in Tibet under the treaty of 1856. Thus when New Delhi formally terminated direct relations with the Dalai Lama on September 15, 1952, we still valued our rights highly and received an emissary of the Dalai Lama on March 7, 1952 bearing the annual payment of Rupees ten thousand under a Tibetan party led by Sey Kushoe Phunkang. I personally had taken the party to the Prime Minister to tell him that there was no immediate prospect of substantial modifications in the age-old relations between the Government of Nepal and Tibet, though the latter had signed an agreement in Peking on May 23, 1951 on measures for the Peaceful

Liberation of Tibet. I was told that the People's Republic of China was thinking on exchanging diplomatic relations on a reciprocal basis with Nepal at a time when New Delhi was trying to control our relations with China in their own concept of sphere of Indian influence. But the Nepalese politicians and parties were too preoccupied with the growing power of the Communist Party of Nepal to think of international issues dispassionately.

On Monday February 22, I called on the Brahminic hierarchy of Mr M.P. Koirala, Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya, Dr.D.R.Regmi and Mr Bhadrakali Mishra to acquaint them with the new situation that had developed in Tibet and also how we should take up the question of our treaty of 1856 A. D. with China independent of India at a time when Mr Nehru had been referring to his current talks on Tibet with Peking against the background of Pakistan-U.S. Military Pact in the present context of the political development in Kashmir, where the frontiers of five important countries tended to converge. Whereas Mr M.P. Koirala saw my point, Dr.D.R. Regmi and Mr Bhadrakali Mishra did not show innovative minds with their usual bias for the Indian views. So much had been said so often and by so many on the murky affairs of Tibet that it required an expert to know what exactly was happening in the country of the snows. It was discouraging to discover that the dissident Congress party censured the King for offering only three seats to them without a meaningful love for Nepal and its unique Samyak system of Government at a time when efforts were being made by India-supported men to create confusion in our country. Of all the Ministers Mr Bhadrakali Mishra showed his self-importance by overriding my suggestion for taking positive and constructive steps towards the stability of the Himalayan kingdoms and the eventual realisations of the zone of peace, freedom and non-alignment based on the principle of non-intervention by outside powers in the affairs of the Himalayan region. On the last day of February, 1954 I received Professor G. Tucci's book *Tra Giungle E. Pagode*, which was dedicated to me and his companions specially for my help in his researches in Lhasa and on his trip to Western Nepal.

Visit of Śhankarāchārya to Nepal

The third day of March brought 37,000 Indian pilgrims along with Śhankarāchārya from South India at a time when I was making researches in the history of the Pāsapatācāryas of Nepal. The temple of Nepal's patron God Paśupati was venerated not only by the Tibetan Religious geography but also by the Hindus of India. On this very day I read in the American

newspapers that the scalp of Yeti had been discovered and photographed in Nepal. It was gratifying that the civilised world was trying to learn about the monsters of Nepal in a country where Paśupati (the Master of the Battle of the Brute) had justified not only the preservation of the extraordinary variety of plants, birds, mammals and herbs, but also monsters and devils to relax the minds of the affluent people from their often unhuman demands of industrial business and lines of production in their factories. A good picture of Yeti's scalp or the animals, plants and archaeological matters commanded a better value in the international market than the skins of snow-leopards and tigers during the Rana regime. This metamorphosis of the big game hunters of the Rana regime to the hunter with the camera during the king Tribhuvana's regime appeared to me very significant in creating an awareness of the need to preserve wildlife as opposed to just exploiting it for meat and sport.

Unlike the Ranas, king Tribhuvana did not like the sport of *Shikar* or encourage it. His Majesty was fond of dogs and wild animals and birds as pets in his miniature zoo in the Royal palace. His Majesty's idea of conserving the wild life of Nepal found its first practical and aesthetic expression in the establishment of the Jawlakhel Zoo with the animals and birds provided by the Royal palace during the administration of Maharaja Juddha Shumshere. Except in the company of the Ranas for offering oblations of rhino's blood to the dead ancestors I seldom heard or saw king Tribhuvana taking active part in Rana's pastime of driving 'rhinoceroses, elephants, tigers, leopards, bears, wild boars and indeed the entire fauna of this happy hunting ground of big game'.

For a comparative study I took up Mr P. Landon's *Nepal Vol II* to read an account of hunting in the feudal Rana regime as follows.

"Ultimately within the chosen area, which may measure some thirty or forty miles in length and perhaps ten in depth, a multitude of animals is concentrated and allowed to grow accustomed to its new surroundings. The Nepal Terai, where it has not been reclaimed, presents a scene of the thickest and most tangled vegetation to be found anywhere in the world. The very reeds and bamboo grass through which the elephants make their painful way are in many places eighteen feet high. Underfoot the going is treacherous. Swamps are frequent, and the natural prudence of the elephant, which mistrusts the effect of its own bulk upon any unsteady soil, adds to the difficulty of forcing a way through.

“After the arrival of the Maharaja’s guests (King George V and party), two score and more of points, according to the information received at headquarters, are arranged, where the kills are tied up, and news is immediately sent in of the presence of tigers and the other beasts the Maharaja (Chandra Shumshere) has had beaten in for his visitors’ sport. Part of the game thus collected is stalked or ridden down in the open. But the most characteristic feature, and that by which the Nepalese Tarai shoots are known to the outside world, is the enormous ring of elephants by which the tigers reported overnight from the various ‘kills’ are encircled and held prisoner till the dawn and the arrival of the guns. At times as many as two hundred and fifty elephants are employed for one circle. As the tiger is approached, the ring is contracted until a living wall of elephants, side by side, prevents the escape of the brute from the enclosed jungle. Immediately upon the arrival of the visitors ten or a dozen specially trained elephants are introduced into the circle thus made, which may be anything up to two hundred yards in diameter. These proceed at once to form the line and march into the patch of jungle in which the tiger is hidden, snapping the smaller trees like matches and treading out the undergrowth. It is astonishing to see the skill with which the hemmed-in beast will often attempt to hide from this close search. But eventually, of course, he is discovered—much perhaps to the dismay of the particular elephant that happens to rouse him from his lair—in making a dash for liberty the brute has to run the gauntlet of the waiting rifles. In any case he has but a scanty chance, and a moment’s halt or hesitation is fatal. Sometimes, indeed, a tiger will charge the ring of elephants, and may succeed in creating a momentary panic, in the course of which he slips through to freedom. Sometimes he will spring upon the head of one of them and force him out of his ring; but an elephant, though he may be desperately mauled, is quite capable of dealing with a tiger, and in few cases does the latter manage to make his escape. Leopards more often succeed, as the fear displayed by the elephants seems to increase in inverse ratio to the size of the animal making for them. It is amusing to watch the squealing panic that will at times be produced along the hundred feet of the elephant ring by the unexpected appearance of some jungle-cat no larger than a Scotch wildcat.”

I found it comforting to turn away from such barbarous description of hunting to the study of the ecology of animals, which may help us to understand our own environment during this healthful Tribhuvana Era. For, most of the species of birds and animals in Nepal were here long before the nomads moved in this country to interfere with their lives. Could we

look up to nature for insight in solving the great problems, which had thus far defied all political approaches ?

Politics of the National Coalition Cabinet

Turning to politics, the new government seemed to be upset by the inter-cabinet disputes among the ministers, who had neither the Rana's obsession for hunting nor King Tribhuvana's love for the study of the ecology of birds and animals. I had brought ideas from the Public Service Commission of England to reorganise the Secretariat by screening the political appointments made by the Ministers. The ideas appeared to have appealed to the Home Minister Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya, who resented the Prime Minister's dominant position in the Cabinet to appoint his favourites in the Government service. Then I called on Mr Govinda Narayan on March 6 to learn from him that my lecture in Rome was more favourable to China than India. I told Mr. Narayan how despite the wealth of archaeological remains Nepal's candles of Asiatic civilisation had not so far been subjected to a thorough, planned and scientific archaeological surveys with the result that the Government of India had withdrawn the factual report of Dr Fuhrer on the disappearance of the 18 reliquaries of the Śākyas who fell fighting against Virūdhaka on the basis of Mr P. C. Mukerjee's fissiparous report of his tour of exploration of the Antiquities of Terai, Nepal. On the other hand, the accounts of *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* of the fourth century B. C. testified to the veracity of the report of Dr Fuhrer. China had faithfully kept a record of the Vinaya literature. Seeing how we had preserved the worship of the Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati and the synthesis and antithesis of old religious ideas in the scheme of Vyūha to our present day, an indepth study of Nepal's materials for the study of history and culture needed a close hard look specially at a time when we were sandwiched between two great powers of Asia. I assured Mr Govinda Narayan that my comparative study of the religion and culture of Nepal was neither favourable to India nor to China. It was definitely favourable to Nepal at this critical juncture. My idea of handing over the excavation of Tilaurakot (Kapilvastu) to the Is.M.E.O. had greatly perturbed the Indians. During the remaining days of March I had discussions with Mr M. P. Koirala, Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya and Dr D. R. Regmi about how the Public Service Commission could be made effective, till the Home Minister took the initiative in challenging the Prime Minister's authority by demanding an immediate reorganisation of the Secretariat, the preparation of the budget, a proper audit of accounts, decentralisation of the control of the Prime Minister's department of General

Administration, a code to define the powers and privileges of the Ministers and secretaries and the establishment of an effective and independent anti-corruption department to watch over the tenants by putting the Kitab-khana and the Department of finance of the purview of the General Administration.

We had the opportunity of meeting king Tribhuvana on the occasion of the Holi-Durbar at 12 P. M. on March 17th, 1954, which was stripped of the madness associated with such festivals during the Rana regime. While the King was modernising Nepal I was unhappy with the controversy within the Cabinet, and by the news of the arrest of Mr B. P. Koirala, who refused to present a national front by associating his Nepali Congress party with the Government. Fortunately there was no All Fool's Day for me, when the first day of April dawned on Nepal in 1954. On the other hand, the peoples of Nepal were greatly disturbed by the news that the Indian Military Mission was going to stay.

Advisory Assembly

April 13th, 1954 coincided with the first of Vaisakh 2011 Vikrama Samvat, when king Tribhuvana issued a Royal Proclamation announcing the formation of an expanded Advisory Assembly in order to associate a measure of public cooperation to read a lecture to the Cabinet which was riven by animosities among the Ministers. The King had conceived this second Advisory Assembly on a much wider scale than its predecessor of 1952 with a view to promote the growth of democratic institutions in our country. For the first time after the Rana regime special representation was provided for the invisible but important untouchables, peasants, porters, labourers, women and intellectuals and members were nominated from every administrative districts on the recommendation of the Bada-Hakims with the result that the size of the Assembly was increased from 61 members in 1952 to 113 members in 1954 including the Ministers.

All political parties except the Communists were granted representation. The so-called National Democratic Party, the Praja Parishad, the Nepali National Congress and the Nepali Jana Congress among the Government parties were allotted 45, 12, 8 and 1 seats respectively. The opposition comprised by the Nepali Congress and the Gorkha Parishad received 11 seats and one seat respectively with the result that they refused to participate in the Assembly on the ground that they were under-represented.

His Majesty's Indian private secretary, Mr Govind Narayan was now leaving and we complimented him for the help he had given to the Public

Service Commission. He also congratulated me on the historical researches I was doing in view of the future of Nepal. Before returning to his next assignment in New Delhi we had discussions about the multi-ethnic composition of the Himalayan peoples of Nahan, Tehri Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan as well as Daflas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis and other Mongoloid tribes inhabiting the frontier tracts of Assam, who were going to assume increasing importance in days to come. On one of these days I was happy to see the portrayal of the indomitable character of Amar Singh Thapa during the Anglo-Nepal War, when the worst type of intrigues were playing at the Court of Kathmandu to defeat the heroes of Nepal at home. Judging by the bold conception and successful acting of the drama of Amar Singh I gathered the feeling that Nepal was finding her way out of dirty politics to heroic horizons.

April 20th synchronised with the festival of the mystical cult of Tuṇḍāl-devī when Dr. Helmnt Hoffmn asked me to explain to him the system of Kāla-cakra with the aid of a diagram, which he was carrying. I told the learned Professor that the astropsychic system of death known as Kāla-cakra was new quest of 'Anādinidhāna' (state of timelessness) with the new method of the 'Jewel in the Lotus' represented by the spell of 'Om mani padme hum' in the wake of Dharma-cakra pravartana represented by the Three Jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. I was myself working on the subject to show the dimension in depth of the human mind and discover the human values represented by our precious multi-ethnic peoples. On Saturday April 24th I took him round Khāsti (Baudhanāth) to explain to the learned German Professor the true significance of the Spell of the Jewel in the Lotus by reference to the basreliefs of the gods and goddesses in 'Yab-yum' (copulation) over the stupa calculated to achieve ecstatic state of 'Two-in-One'.

The Screening of the Police Forces of Nepal

After the involvement of the undisciplined and disaffected recruits of the para military force that Mr B. P. Koirala had created out of the military wing of the Congress in the revolt of Dr. K. I. Singh, we found it necessary to carry out the screening of the political incumbents and reorganise Police Service of Nepal. The Home Minister, Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya and the Defence Minister, General Kaiser Shumshere discussed with me on April 26th as to how best we could do the screening and organise the police service in view of my present experiences in England. I told General Kaiser

how he had personally observed the tradition of the British police in England. The Home Secretary had a general duty to exercise his powers to promote the efficiency of the police. He is empowered to require a police authority to retire a chief constable in the interests of efficiency, to call for a report from a chief constable on any matters relating to the policing of his area, and to cause a local enquiry to be held into any police matter.

Uniformity in the conditions of service and in the administration of police was achieved through detailed police regulations which were made by the Home Secretary. The police regulations covered such matters as ranks; the qualifications for appointment and promotion; probationary service; retirement; discipline; hours of duty, leave, pay and allowances; and the issue and use of clothing and personal equipment. Some of these were first negotiable on the Police Council for Britain; the others were discussed on representative advisory bodies along with any general questions affecting the police service. The Home Secretary was advised on all matters concerning police efficiency by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary and ten inspectors, of whom two were specially concerned with crime and traffic, one acted as the Commandant of the Police College and one was in charge of the Police Research and Development Branch at the Home Office. The other six inspectors were each responsible for the inspection of a number of forces, and must be satisfied of their continuing efficiency through annual inspection, ad hoc visits and consultations when particular problems arose. The inspectors reported to the Home Secretary on the condition of all the forces, with the exception of the Metropolitan police force. All police authorities received a Government grant equal to half their net expenditure. The Home Secretary was empowered to withhold the grant, in whole or in part, permanently or for such time as they may determine, if they were not satisfied that a police area was efficiently policed, that a police force was properly maintained and administered or that the rates of pay or allowances were as prescribed and approved by them.

Police Officers

The Ministers were greatly impressed by what I had learnt in England and asked me to draw up plans and procedures in consultation with the Indian Adviser to screen the police officers. But unlike the Commander-in-Chief Kiran Shumshere Rana, the Inspector General, Mr G.B. Yakhumba showed his mettle by telling the Ministers that we could do police screening and its reorganisation independent of Indian advisers. Then we told our

Honourable Ministers that we would make a draft for the screening and also recruitment of police officers, police duties and co-ordination between the police forces and carry out police screening on and from April 30th. I found the literature on Law and Order handed out to me in London very useful for my task of making my draft, after which everything went on satisfactorily in matters of police screening. Then, too, I was ready with the form for the screening of the police officers in consultation with Mr G. B. Yakthumba.

Chapter XIV

DEVELOPMENTS TO EXERT IMPACT ON NEPAL'S FOREIGN POLICY January 23, 1954 – September 27, 1954

I have pointed out in my *Nepal and her Neighbours* how we upset Mr Nehru's Apple-cart in 1946 by sending the mission of Mr Tsuno - lien Shen to Kathmandu during the last days of the Ranas. This involved the resumption of Nepal's diplomatic relations with China after 1911. Then the Nepali and the American Ambassadors had concluded on January 23, 1951 an agreement under the Point 4 programme and the U.S. Technical Cooperation had established an office in Kathmandu in January 1952, which institutionalised the American aid programme. Then king Tribhuvana sent me to Rome and England in order to put up the image of new Nepal in the international forum. Then, too, the Government of India did not obstruct the most important form of British economic assistance to Nepal by recruiting the Gorkhas for service in Malaya, though they closed the recruiting depots in India. The Government of India also supported Nepal's membership of the United Nations on the lines of Kuomintang China, though they discouraged our diplomatic relations with Pakistan, People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. The new foreign Minister seemed inclined to toe the line of the Indian Government despite the growth of anti-Indian sentiment in Nepal.

The facts were that the Dalai Lama had sent the annual payment of Rupees ten thousand in 1952 with a friendly letter which, in our opinion, reflected the views of the Government of the People's Republic of China

despite the flight of Dr. K. I. Singh into Tibet. Then, too, the important men in Lhasa had approached me informally through Sahu Triratnaman concerning their vision of our 1856 treaty of peace between Nepal and Tibet. Unlike India, Nepal had unbreakable religious, cultural, historical and economic ties with Tibet. As an expert on Tibet I had joined issue with Mr Nehru, Mr Girija Shanker Bajpai and Mr Ayyangar on our status in January 6, 1952. Whereas Mr M. P. Koirala followed my suggestion to the effect that we should take up our 1856 treaty of peace between Nepal and Tibet with People's Republic of China, we were disturbed by the attitude of Dr D. R. Regmi who seemed to be influenced by India's new treaty with China. For, at the present moment the Government of India had signed a treaty with China on the new basis of Dr. Soekarno's Pantasila (the five principles of peaceful co-existence) in contravention of the real Panca-sila enunciated by Śākyamuni.

Visit of King Tribhuvan to New Delhi and Aide-Memoire

This new treaty between India and China had an immediate impact upon the political leaders of Nepal, so that His Majesty King Tribhuvana flew to New Delhi on the first of May, 1954 for discussion with the Government of India with our new Foreign Minister. After his talks with the Indian leaders Dr D. R. Regmi told newsmen on May 8th in New Delhi that Nepal would do the right thing if People's Republic of China decided to take up the question of diplomatic relations with Nepal. We wondered what 'this right thing at the right moment' implied. But I was flabbergasted to read the aide-memoire on May 9th. which read as follows:

1. There should be intimate and perpetual contact between the Governments of India and Nepal with regard to their foreign policies.
2. The Government of India will consult the Government of Nepal in matters of foreign policies in so far as they affect each other.
3. With a view to a co-ordinated foreign policy, the Government of Nepal will consult the Government of India in regard to any matter relating to relations with foreign powers.
4. The Government of Nepal will consult the Government of India particularly in matters relating to the relations of Nepal with Tibet.
5. Indian Missions abroad will undertake to represent the Government of Nepal wherever the Government of India wishes.
6. All Foreign Missions of the Government of India will be instructed to give all possible help and assistance to Nepalese nationals.

(7) The two Governments will exchange information relating to foreign affairs.

Evidently this aide memoire had been drafted solely by the Indian Government, which went beyond the spirit and context of the 1950 Indo-Nepali treaty and letters of exchange signed by Maharaja Mohun Shumshere and Chandresvar Narayan at Kathmandu on July 31st, 1950. It imposed additional obligations on both the Governments contrary to the geo-political situation of Nepal as 'a stunted yam between two cold stones'. This was in tune with the arm-chair politics of the men in the corridors of power in New Delhi, who fought shy of my lectures in Rome on 'Ancient and Modern Nepal'. However, I was happy that Prime Minister Mr M. P. Koirala had held on to the view that Nepal's relations with Tibet was independent of the control of China and India on the basis of our treaty of peace of 1856 A. D. It was impossible for us to surrender our rights as India did with her Sino-Indian treaty, without first taking care of the property and welfare of our subjects in Tibet by a direct talk with the leaders of the People's Republic of China. In such a scheme Mr Nehru could not speak of Nepal as a sphere of his influence, as we took our stand in the United Nations that Nepal had gone to war with Tibet independent of the Government of India and China as late as 1856. More because we had fought the Sino-Tibetan invasion in 1790-92 and Anglo - Nepal War in 1814-1816 to preserve our independence. Presently, Nepal had become the sick man of Asia in the aftermath of the Revolution against the background of the gruelling Rana history so that king Tribhuvana wanted the Nepalese to see the light on the other side of the tunnel. The Ranas had silenced all discussions on an assumption of the infallibility of '*Hukum*', which they used against the King to their ultimate discomfiture. The Nepalese prized their independence with the knowledge that its price was 'toil, tears and blood.' The Pāśupat Yogins had realised after the Piprahavā-Buddhist vase epitaph that it was convenient to have a Virupākṣa as well as Śākyavardhana to bear the responsibilities of humanity. We had to bear in mind that the problem of a Samyak Society required an in-depth study and profound analysis against the background of western democratic ideologies and revolutionary democratic policy of Marxism-Leninism.

There was a confusion in New Delhi and Kathmandu at the contradictions of the speeches of Mr Matrika Prasad Koirala and Dr D. R. Regmi as to whether the advice of our 'elder brother' concerned the revision of our

1856 treaty of peace with Tibet or whether we were going to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Unable to fathom king Tribhuvana's depth of diplomacy our Foreign Minister denied press reports to the effect that the Nepalese Prime Minister was considering diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, for which the Chinese leaders in Tibet had already sent out feelers through unofficial agencies. This was the time when India was sitting on the fence and applauding the North and South Vietnamese while the Viet-congs were carrying all before them just before the Geneva Conference. Whereas the leaders in New Delhi seemed to be guided by the Christian conceived ego as all embracing norm of democracy, it was our purpose to reveal the basic dimension of our Samyak Society where the man at the lowest rung of the ladder of society had shown his ability to govern himself by recourse to the co-operative organisation of his 'Guthi' and survive in his own scheme of 'Āgama'. But we were disturbed by the long stay of king Tribhuvana in New Delhi till such time as Mr Tanka Prasad was summoned to the Indian Capital for consultations.

The Celebrations of the Birth, Enlightenment and the Great Passing of Sakyamuni

The full moon-night of Monday May 17th, 1954 synchronised with the Great Passing in the history of mankind, which was now declared to be a National Holiday in defiance of the Brahmannic injunctions to the contrary. This was a great step to create conditions for a more effective communication of the Eight Samyak (correct) ideals without hiding the existence of a fundamental divergence from the social, political and gnoseological shortcomings of Vedic Brahmanism. This was the time in China when the Marxist-Leninist had flouted President Lincoln's thesis about the Government of the people for the people and by the people. The leaders of India were trying to find an answer to the question whether western democracy was a desirable political form in accelerating the development of the newly emerging states of Asia. But India had banished Buddhism whereas China had preserved her Annals and the ancient books of Asia in the form of Chinese translations despite the impact of Marxism-Leninism. The Hinayana and the Mahayana forms of Buddhism had confronted in China whereas Nepal had followed Buddha's Samyak ideals by the synthesis of the anti-thesis of Buddhism and Vedic Brahmanism by founding a 'heroic state' in the overall scheme of Pāśupata-dharma. We needed tolerance from China and India to prove the validity of our Samyak Society as the key pre-requisite to moder-

nisation and survive as we had done heretofore between the two Giants of Asia.

Return of King Tribhuvana from New Delhi

After returning from New Delhi on Monday 20th His Majesty king Tribhuvana held an investiture Durbar on Monday May 24th, where a Delegation from Singapore presented a sword of state to our King. Many officers and men were decorated on the occasion. At the Prime Minister's buffet-dinner party on May 27th His Majesty king Tribhuvana seemed to be very much upset by the way things were going in Nepal. I took the opportunity to inform His Majesty how the two conditions of stability and change in the scheme of modern democracy had been acting and reacting on the equilibrium of our Samyak Social system as it had been handed down by our ancestors. In order for our present action to produce its conservative and its innovating effects, it was necessary that it had a certain possibility to influence the behaviours of our multi-ethnic Nepalese peoples. For this purpose we were developing a new model in our police-screening to influence the motivations of the individuals whom the norms were addressed to, in order that those norms may be basis of a consensus as generalised as possible. Born and brought up in the tradition of the Ranas, many of our leaders and officers preferred sensual pleasures, riches, power and public honours without knowing the virtues of our Samyak tradition, which was the parent and preserver of the equilibrium of our multi-ethnic society. Our ancestors knew that the psychology of the creative was really feminine psychology associated with the Great Mother Goddess, - a fact which proved that creative work grew out of the unconscious depths of our mothers. We must now be able to tell the invisible but important poor men that they should not be afraid of the upper-caste men and that their life was going to be worth-living and healthy with the new devices of science.

The month of May closed with the news of the internment of Mr Fazlul Huc, who was once the chief Minister of Bengal, as a traitor.

Visit of the Parliamentary Delegation of India

The Parliamentary Delegation of India were greeted by anti-Indian posters and placards, 'Down with Indian Imperialism', 'Indian Military Mission Quit Nepal', 'Amend Kosi Project Agreement,' 'Remove Indian Checkposts from the Nepal-Tibet Border' and the like anti-Indian slogans in the wake of Mr Nehru's declaration that Nepal formed part of the Indian

sphere of influence and that the foreign policy of Nepal and India should be coordinated. On June 3rd, 1954 our Prime Minister gave a press interview to the effect that there were certain geographical compulsions which demanded closer relations between India and Nepal. Answering criticisms by certain political parties of the presence of the Indian Military Mission, the Indian Advisers and the Kosi project agreement, Mr M. P. Koirala said that in the natural development of both the countries mutual goodwill and affection were absolutely necessary. The Indian Military Mission had come to train and reorganise the Nepalese Army 'at our own request made during the Coalition Government in 1951.'

As regards the Indian Advisers, there was not a single adviser in the Administration of the Government. There were certainly some Indian Officers, who were here for technical assistance. They were under the Director of Technical Aid of the Government of India. There was a counterpart of such an organisation, known as the United States Operation Mission. As Nepal had to develop in many spheres it would certainly need experts not only to-day, but also for many years to come, till such time as Nepal possessed adequate know-how.

If a country took help in the same manner from different countries, it would be 'deliberate travesty of truth or utter ignorance' to interpret it as foreign interference in an interdependent world.

'Granting even there were advisers, it is for the Government of Nepal to accept their advice or reject it. I definitely know that those people who shout at the top of their voice about India's interference had sought the help of the Indian Advisers themselves to the extent of taking them into Cabinet confidence and associating them in every administrative execution. During recent times these practices had completely stopped and it ill behoves these very gentlemen now to cry of Indian interference.' Coming to the Kosi Agreement, our Prime Minister said: 'If one is determined to understand a plain situation, nobody ever can help him realise the fact. India could have very well put the barrage a couple of miles below the present agreed site, if it had no consideration for Nepal. The sovereignty and territorial rights of Nepal have not been impaired by the Kosi Agreement.'

The Kosi Agreement, he proceeded, had the advantage of saving the fertile and good lands on the western side which to the tune of one thousand Bighas per year, were swallowed by the floods of the Kosi. It would also give

irrigational facilities on the southern side of Saptari district, which did not get water from the Chandra Canal in Nepal Terai. On the eastern side, the Government of India offered to construct a separate canal, which would entail an expenditure of three crores of rupees. The Government of Nepal wanted to utilise that money for the Trisuli Hydro-Electric project, giving it higher priority than irrigational project in the east.

Nepal had purchased (leased) land at Jayanagar and Raxaul in Bihar for its Railways, but that had not improved Indian sovereignty rights over that land. Similarly if India purchased (leased on reciprocal basis) for irrigation dams, which would also benefit Nepal, that could not impair Nepal's sovereignty rights over the lands. Besides, in Kathmandu some time back, land had been sold to the British Embassy, but that did not mean Britain had acquired sovereignty rights over the land. Such purchases were done in every country and there was nothing unusual about it, Mr Koirala concluded.

But the BBC described the demonstrations against the Indian Delegation as entirely spontaneous. The peoples of Nepal had now realised that the Ranas had sucked the country dry so that we had to start from the scratch and that there were a number of developments which were going to exert tremendous impact on Nepal's foreign policy. The pace of change set in motion by the flight of Dr K. I. Singh to Tibet and the upsurge of the national feeling in Nepal went faster than either Kathmandu or New Delhi had originally contemplated. This transition was not due to initiatives on the parts of India or China but solely due to the awakening of our peoples.

Advisory Assembly

On Monday June 7th I attended the Advisory Assembly where Crown Prince Mahendra read out the speech of king Tribhuvana. Prime Minister Mr M. P. Koirala had become the leader of the House while Mr Balchandra Sharma, the General Secretary of the National Democratic Party was elected Chairman of the House. The Assembly proceedings were marked by vigorous debates accompanied by sharp criticism of Mr M. P. Koirala's Government. The intra-Cabinet disputes manifested themselves on a magnified scale in the meetings of the Advisory Assembly with time. The new Government seemed to suffer from the animosities within the Cabinet so that party representatives were inclined to engage freely on attacks on individual Ministers or personal basis. We also heard that the dissident Nepali Con-

gress party attacked the King in several of their meetings contrary to the tradition of Nepal.

The Advisory Assembly on June 13th adopted the Parliamentary procedure of the House of Commons in England to discuss the King's speech. Our House of Advisers seemed to have learnt that the King summoned, prorogued and dissolved the Parliament and as a Constitutional monarchy, it was well for us to follow the model of England rather than of India. For, Nepal, like the United Kingdom, was a monarchical state, whose origins and traditions went back to the history of the Kirāta, the Śakyas and the Licchavi kings. Its continuity had seldom been broken in its three thousand years of recorded history. In spite of interruptions in the direct line of succession from the Kirāta to the Licchavis or the Khasas or the Mallas or the Shahs during different periods, the hereditary principle upon which it was founded had never been abandoned.

But unlike the representative assembly of the House of Commons elected by universal adult suffrage, present members of our Advisory Assembly were selected on the recommendations of the mushrooming parties, who had not laid rival policies before the electorate. But we had not developed Parliamentary procedure of England, which was based upon custom and precedent, supplemented by standing orders governing details of practice in our Advisory Assembly. Whereas the official language in the British Parliament was standard English, some of our members considered it a pride to deliver their speeches in Hindi to the neglect of Nepalese language, which everybody understood. The tribal representatives put a counter to speak in their own dialects if the minority of the Hindi-speaking community in the Terai preferred to speak in a foreign language. Besides, the widely rumoured rifts in a divided Cabinet was leading to pandemonium. The so-called party whips exerted little or no control over their party members, so that there was no party discipline. The leader and the Chairman of the Assembly could not put up an orderly system of debate by putting questions from the chair to resolve it in the affirmative or negative. The members spoke from wherever they were sitting independent of the control from the Leader of the House or from the Chairman. In such a situation it was impossible to think of orderly voting under the direction of the Chairman of the Advisory Assembly and of pronouncing the final result. On seeing and hearing the wild rumblings in the Advisory Assembly, I gathered the feeling that Nepal had a long way to go in defining the function of our Advisory Assembly and evolving parliamentary procedures.

King Tribhuvana's Deteriorating Health

After the adjournment of the Assembly we called at the Royal Palace to learn with growing anxiety that His Majesty's heart diseases had taken a turn for the worse. Judging by the mass prayers offered by men of all castes and creeds in different monasteries and temples, the multi-ethnic peoples of Nepal seemed to feel that king Tribhuvana was the only person, who could save the country from the malaise created by the political parties. King Tribhuvana had delivered us from the incubus of the Rana regime, but his health was failing precisely at the time when we needed our Father of the Nation to guide us to the path of democracy.

At this juncture the new American Ambassador had arrived at Kathmandu to sound the Government of Nepal whether we were joining the SEATO organisation to meet the growing Communist threat from Tibet. According to the Correspondent of the Statesman the American Ambassador had expressed his anxiety over the rejection by the Prime Minister and the Government generally to join the SEATO and had totally refused American aid with such strings. Dr. David Snellgorve was now back from his trip to Namchebazar to tell me that the Indian officers at the checkposts near the monastery of Thyangbochey were trying to create wrong impressions on foreigners about Nepal and that our national assets were being squandered aimlessly. Another interesting event was the press conference given by the Indian Ambassador to the effect that India had given aid to Nepal to the tune of 8 crores of rupees. There was a general debate in the Advisory Assembly on the subject, where some members said that the Ranas and the rich merchants of Nepal had exploited Nepal to invest thousands of millions of rupees in India to the entire benefit of Indian mercantile community. It was about time for the Nepalese Capitalists to change their investment policies, and that India should see her way clear to reconsider the unequal 1950 treaty of trade and transit with Nepal. Evidently, the members were trying to cope with life and worked in an increasingly complex society. The first hectic period of liberation from the Rana regime seemed to be giving way to the general maturing process.

After offering my condolence on the sudden death of heart failure of the American geologist, Mr Walker at the office of the U.S.O.M. I climbed the Swayambhu Hill to offer my paryer from the holy height for the recovery of king Tribhuvana. On June 22nd, when the were taking part in transplanting the seedlings of rice in our field, Mr. Peter Aufschnaiter arrived back from

his tour of Athārasaya-kholā (1800 rivulets) to tell me that all the rivers were in spate, bridges swept away by floods and roads in an awful state of disrepair and that there was fighting among the local peoples to take their place on an equal footing with their upper-caste exploiters. There was a large export of foodgrains to Tibet causing shortage of all essential commodities in the midland mountains of Nepal. For many of the poor villagers money counted more than anything else. Judging by the profit they were making by the export of foodgrains to Tibet, the villagers on the border were inclined to feel that such exports from the fertile belt of the Terai would yield them far better profit than by exporting our foodgrains to India. With enough money from such exports the common villagers thought that they could live independently of their usurers, plan the future of their children and take their place in the society on an equal footing with the "Thālus" (rich and powerful bullies of the village who oppressed them).

Whereas the Indian officers of the checkpoints were looking for relief without doing anything to improve the lot of the poor villagers, the energetic Chinese officers and men on the other side of the frontier were creating very good impression upon the villagers by their politeness and fair-dealing. With the arrival of the Chinese Liberation forces on the so far undilimited Himalayan frontier vis-a-vis the Indian officers on the traditional checkpoints of Nepal, the common villagers found the pace of change fast and confusing. According to Mr P. Afuschnaiter the Politburo was already working over the midland mountains in the garb of monks. He claimed to have met three monks, who, judging by their mousy and rainy appearance and the tone of their speaking, appeared to be Khampas. Their dresses were yellow and spotless and not the maroon red of the Tibetan monks. They wore peaked-hats with flaps like the Tibetans and they told lies about the pensions and privileges of the Gorkhas to disturb the climate of peace and stability of the multi-ethnic peoples of the midland mountains of Nepal.

Arrival of Premier Chou En-lai at New Delhi on June 25, 1954

The last act of Asiatic drama in the rainy month of June was the visit of the Chinese Premier to New Delhi in order to explore the possibility of other South and South-East Asian countries signing treaties based on the Five Principles of Peaceful co-existence enunciated on the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet vis-a-vis the SEATO. This new Pancasila of President Soekarno included mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affair, equality and peaceful co-existence.

On June 27th an American writer, who claimed to be writing the *Life of Tensing*, called on me to verify his statement to the effect that the hero of the Mount Everest epic was a Nepalese by birth, Tibetan by ethnic origin and Indian by adoption. In reply, I told my American friend in a happy mood that His Majesty king Tribhuvana had treated the Sherpa to a unique honour of receiving the "Tiger man" in a coach drawn by four horses and pinned the decoration of "Supradipta Mānnyavara" as a Nepalese citizen whereas Mr Nehru had tried to win him by the trick of the ballot-paper and money. But whereas we had a colony of Sherpas to beat Tensing's record, I did not mind India shining in the borrowed feathers of Nepal, albeit to the opposition of the Britishers and New Zealanders who organised the expedition. In any case I requested my American friend to go on record with his statement at a time when the Chinese and the Indian premiers had been talking about calling a conference of the Prime Ministers of India, China, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon to widen the area of non-aggression and peace to the exclusion of Nepal. On June 28 the Prime Ministers of India and China issued a joint statement to express their apprehension of the developing war in Indo-China and call for peace on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence contained in the preamble of the India-China treaty of peace on Tibet, whereas President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill reaffirmed their intention of setting up the SEATO. Against the background of these developments Mr Chou En-lai's visit to New Delhi appeared to me a master-piece of timing and strategy.

We felt a shock of earthquake at 3-30 A. M. on June 29 and solar eclipse on June 30th amid non-stop rains for 18 hours, when the peoples of Nepal assembled in all the sacred rivers of Nepal to wash away their sins of omissions and commissions in this transitional phase.

Conferment of the Title of General on Prime Minister

Our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister welcomed the Chou-Nehru joint communique. On Tuesday July 6th I was happy to meet Mr Edmund Hillary at a party of H. E. Mr Summerhayes to learn how he and Mr McFarlane nearly lost their lives in the Himalayan explorations. This happened to be a bad year for the mountaineers, as the Api Himalayas had claimed the lives of Dr. Robert Bignani, Dr. Rosenkrantz and Dr. Barenghi in western Nepal where Sgr Ghighlione was the sole survivor. The murderous Himalayan giant Dhaulagiri had claimed the life of 26 year old leader Lt. Francisso Ibanez of the Argentine expedition while the Japanese and the Americans

had failed in their attempts to reach the summits of Ganesh Himal and Cho-o-yu. While I condoled for the death of the explorers I felt that these Himalayan expeditions and the Yeti-hunt had been increasingly putting Nepal on the map of the world.

This was the time when the members of the Assembly were speaking freely in different dialects to the confusion of everybody. The 9th of July happened to be His Majesty king Tribhuvana's birthday when decorations were announced for many prominent people. Increasingly disturbed by His Majesty's failing health we took part in offering mass prayers and performing propitiatory rites for the speedy relief of our beloved King. The demonstration of loyalty to the King was spontaneous in view of the squabbles among the party members for their own self-aggrandisement. Then, too, king Tribhuvana confounded the politicians by conferring the military title of General of the Army on the Prime Minister who now wielded more power than either Damodar Panre, Bhimsen Thapa or Jung Bahadur at the zenith of their power, albeit under a democratic set-up. This aroused the jealousy of the contender for the title, Mr B. P. Koirala who now joined hands with Mr Bharat Shumshere of the Gorkha Parishad and representatives of other parties, who had showed their resentment over Mr M. P. Koirala's dominant position. None of the representatives of the opposition, who schemed to throw Mr M. P. Koirala from the saddle by hook or by crook, did so far have the vision of continuing to make progress through preservation of Nepal's traditional national identity by rededicating themselves to promoting our country's welfare at this grave hour of His Majesty's illness.

On the same day I met Dr. Toni Hagen who was decimated beyond recognition from an attack of jaundice after his tour of Jumla. The rains had come much too early and there was a chain of bad-luck for him on the journey for lack of provision till he reached Jumla where the porters had failed to arrive as originally arranged at Kathmandu. But for the help of my cousin Sri Bahadur K. C., who was the Bada-hakim of Jumla at the time, there were chances of his collapse from the disease he suffered. In the absence of good doctors at Kathmandu, Dr. Siddhi Mani and Father Moran were nursing and treating Dr. Hagen with satisfactory results. I was sad to learn that the people in the hills died of the most common diseases which could be cured by simple drugs and injections in the twentieth century. He further confirmed that the Indian officers and men in the check-posts of the Mustang and Manang Bhotas of Nepal were inefficient and behaved badly with the people while the Chinese worked with new zeal to help people

with modern medicines, and built roads on the other side of the border.

On July 10th I saw a number of one-year-old horses grazing on the lawns of Singha Durbar from the stud-farm of Langtang. This had been closed under the advice of the mechanically minded Indian military advisers who had already cut down the number of *Pipas* (porters and camp-followers) drastically. Under the advice of the check-posts the Government of Nepal had also stopped the export of foodgrain and other essential commodities to Tibet in contravention of our treaty of 1856, which allowed free-trade or barter between the two countries to the great benefit of Nepalese merchants and peoples. The ugly political developments in the capital had made the people in the hills most suspicious so much so that they refused to accept Nepalese coins which was a legal tender in Tibet before the Sino-Indian treaty on Tibet. The Tibetan monks were now asking the Nepalese peoples on the border with "Mimas" so that they may pray and perform propitiatory rites on the proposed visit of the Dalai Lama to Peking.

The big news on July 15th was the trial of General Mrigendra Shumshere in the Supreme Court in which the Chief Justice and the Judges had showed independence in delivering judgment like Daniel despite the advice of the Government to the contrary. With the establishment of an independent judiciary, the Chief Justice and the Judges showed their guts by acquitting General Mrigendra whose forefathers had appropriated the power of judiciary as the Supreme Judge to oppress the people. While he was being garlanded profusely by the members of the Gorkha Parishad to the plaudit and applause of the Nepalese public, a small bunch of police appeared on the scene with their van to rearrest the General and send him to the Naku gaol. Nevertheless, everybody appreciated the judgment of the Chief Justice.

Awakening of Nepalese Peoples to Economic Realities

This was the time when the inflation of Nepalese currency vis-a-vis the Indian currency had hit the peoples hard by the phenomenon of spiralling commodity prices. Whereas the Nepalese currency had lost its position as a legal tender in Tibet, the Indian currency was still a legal tender in the Terai region of Nepal with the result that the Indian businessmen, Indian nationals under the employment of the Government of Nepal, Indian airlines and the Cinema houses demanded payment in Indian currency to add to the economic difficulties. While the rich merchants and the Ranas invested all their money in India, the Reserve Bank of India held all the foreign exchanges earned by the export of Nepalese goods overseas and by the Nepalese

peoples in foreign countries. As an entrepot of trade between Central Asia and India, Nepal had realised the value of money as a medium of international exchange in our trade with the trans-Himalayan and cis-Himalayan peoples from the time the punch-marked coins were invented. The traditional coins of Nepal of different ages with their unique symbols, weights and measures bore eloquent testimony to this undeniable fact down to our own day.

In view of the interesting phase of development I was encouraged to find that Sirdar Gunja Man Singh had already been thinking of tackling the growing inflation and spiralling prices by driving the Indian currency out of circulation, controlling foreign currency earnings by our National Bank, restoring our traditional trade with Tibet by signing a fresh treaty with the People's Republic of China, putting up industries in Nepal and by encouraging Nepalese and foreign capitalists to invest their capital in Nepal. This was a forthright criticism of India-dominated Nepal Government role in aggravating inflation, which thwarted the pace of national development. Then, too, Nepalese economists raised many pertinent economic questions in the changing context of the political scene.

The First Dairy in the Village of Tusal to Produce Pasteurised Milk

On July 25th Mr Shultex came along with Mr Paul Rose, Dr H. B. Wood, Mr and Mrs Alexander, Mr and Mrs Buchnan, Mr Lohany and Mr Ram Prasad Manandhar to pick me up for a trip to the village of Tusal, where the enterprising Swiss had established a dairy for the collection of milk from the local venders at a fair price and pasteurise it for sale in the urban areas to the opposition of the money lenders. The peaceful village of Tusal lay to the north of Banepa in East No.1 where the Dairy had been set up with a capital of Rupees thirty thousand. It was raining when we walked to Tusal from the urban habitation of Banepa. All of us were soaked to our skin when some Americans wanted to attend the call of nature. As they could not use nature's commode by their habit, we had difficulty in procuring chamber-pots and toilet paper to help them. Some Americans complained of the sand in their shoes and limped along. Every inch of the journey was spectacular to the Americans, which was a day-to-day affair for the Swiss. Every local milk-vender I met on the road looked forward to the extension of the work to his own village, which augured well for the success of the enterprise, as Mr Szultex had raised the price of milk to the benefit of the cow-herds. Mr Szultex organised a sumptuous lunch for us at 2.30 P.M. Everybody appreciated the cheese made from yak-milk which was produced at the Swiss Dairy farm in the Himalayan region of Langtang. The Swiss Scientific Co-opera-

tion Mission had been planning to organize a Central Dairy for pasteurisation to supply the needs of the urban population in the not too distant future. Finally, we congratulated Mr Szultex for his enterprise in creating a nucleus in the village for providing pasteurised milk, ice-cream and ghee to the benefit of the local people. The road was slushy and all the rivulets were in spate and wooden bridges tottering to their collapse on our way back. The local people told us that the flood had carried away men, women, cows and even buffaloes believed to be strongest swimmers among domestic animals.

The scene of the valley of Nepal after a non-stop rain of 36 hours on July 27th was devastating. An old man told me that the situation this year was as bad as the flood in Vikram Samvat 1960 (1901-1902) when Kadalchowk in the heart of Kathmandu had been submerged. We heard on July 30th that incessant rains had brought death and destruction not only to Nepal but also to Tibet and North Bihar and the United Provinces of India as in no period within my living memory. With sorrow I heard the sad news that the fair valley of Gyantse, which lay at the cross-road of four valleys with 33 populous villages in Tibet amid groves of poplars and willows, had been overwhelmed by the most unexpected visitation of flood, which wiped out the entire Indian garrison of the fort of Gyantse including the tomb of the British sergeant, whose groans had frozen my blood on my way back to Nepal. Then, too, I was most distressed to hear that my friend Rai Saheb Pemba Tsering, who was on his way from Lhasa to dispose of the Government stores of the Indian military establishment of the strategic village of Yatung, had died in the unexpected flood of Gyantse. I wondered whether the ghastly sound of strangled shrieks and wails I heard in the solitary scemetery of Gyantse was the portent of change that was now sweeping the Peaceful Himalayan countries. It was equally strange that the Tibetan Dzong and the upper Bazar with the Gorkha office of Gyantse was unaffected by the flood. The rivers of Nepal had also devastated the Indian provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces and locusts had appeared to defeat man's vaunt of the success of the Green Revolution. Strange are the ways of God in a world where facts of life are stranger than fictions.

So far as I was concerned lack of petrol due to breaches in Tribhuvana Rajpath had limited my locomotion for hunting inscriptions on Saturday July 31st. Out in the wide world a new phase had entered international relationship with the signing of Anglo-Egyptian treaty for the withdrawal of the British troops from the Suez Canal Zone. The ancient kingdom of

Kashmir with a Hindu ruler and Moslem subjects had presently become the bone of contention between India and Pakistan. The Government of India raised her voice against the French and the Portuguese possessions as vestiges of colonialism, which the Communist powers encouraged.

Step to Upset Language Controversy

A Tibetan Lama from Kuti (Nyanam) came to tell me in all sincerity that Tribhuvana was a peerless King and that he would do his best to cure His Majesty of his fell disease provided he was allowed to manufacture the medicine from ancient herbs on traditional lines and have His Majesty eat it by his own hand. He did not want payment in cash or kind for the treatment. With the completion of China-Tibet road to Lhasa Chinese rice had poured into Tibet and that the rice from Nepal was rated as of low quality by comparison. I conveyed the Lama's message to the Royal Palace by the way of information. The growing controversy over the use of Hindi in the Assembly had made it necessary for us to set up text-book committee for preparing text-books in our own language for the education of our young students in the Tarai and the Himalayan Highlands with the aid of American experts. This was the first practical step to upset the language controversy among the politicians.

In view of the General elections to be held in the not too distant future the Public Service Commission held open examination for the recruitment of officers for the Election Commission and also took active part in the selection of cadets for military training on the basis of merit.

Dirty Politics

While we were taking concrete steps to put Nepal on the path of progress there was anti-American demonstration with the slogan "Quit Asia" before the American library at Kathmandu. We were told that the effigies of President Eisenhower and Mr Dulles were burnt in Lalitpur. Mr Chindwin told me that the interested politicians were aiding and abetting the Communists to heckle the foreigners who had come to help Nepal. On August 9 our Foreign Minister welcomed the statements of the Governments of India, Burma and Indonesia to the effect that they were not joining the SEATO. While all the parties attacked the recruitment of the Gorkhas I was happy to learn that the British Government was establishing recruiting centres at Dharan and Butwal to rehabilitate the ex-army men, and that

Daman Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana was being recommended by the Nepal Government to be the Nepalese Ambassador to London. But controversy within the Cabinet abruptly came to our attention when our Home Minister issued a public order prohibiting the officers of his Ministry not to curry favour with the Prime Minister in retaliation for the latter's order not to heed the former's instructions on administrative matters. Caught in the strange political tangle the Secretaries were at their wit's end and were shuffled, shunted and scuttled. His Majesty had to intervene for the reconciliation of Ministers on such a petty matter. This was the Budget Session in our Assembly, so that the Prime Minister had presented the statement of expenditures for the financial year 1953-1954, which, according to our calendar, had ended on July 16, 1954. In their all-out effort to undermine the Prime Minister, they had worked to defeat the Accounts Bill of the Government to the growing resentment of Mr M. P. Koirala with the result that the relations between him and the Assembly members worsened as time passed by. The remark of the Prime Minister on August 8th to the Press reporters saying that the defeats of the Government in the Assembly were largely due to members' lack of familiarity with parliamentary procedures brought counter-statements by the members of the Assembly to take back his "undignified and unparliamentary remarks". It was good that the members of the Assembly had learnt to discuss hotly on different issues affecting their districts with heads intact on their shoulders in a country when the like behaviours under the Ranas had cost the patriots their life and property, albeit Mr M. P. Koirala was now more powerful than any Rana Prime Minister.

Strangely enough the Indians did not celebrate their Independence Day of August 15th in the Indian Embassy. Mr Nehru pleaded from the Red Fort that India had no guns or bullets to counter that of Portugal in Goa. On this day the members of our Assembly felt very much elated to defeat the Home Minister's Bill for giving extensive powers to magistrates and public officers though they had no organisation to control the public. Unable to go out of Kathmandu and act for the relief of men affected by floods, Mr Bala Chandra Sharma, the Speaker of the House and Chairman of the 15-member Flood Relief Committee appointed by the Assembly, resigned to make political capital out of the difficult situation as a protest against the lack of cooperation from the Government. However, the Government recessed the Advisory Assembly on August 17 so that the members may show their worth in individual capacity by carrying relief works in the flood-affected areas of the particular districts of the country they claimed to represent.

Assessment of the Results of the Session of the Second Advisory Assembly

The immortal classical poet Bhāravi has shown in his dramatic work of *The Kirātārjunīye* that all human actions had the elements of desire passion, reason, habit, compulsions, nature and chance to motivate them. The Government parties demonstrated widespread disaffection and stressed the need for administrative reforms and dynamism for the successful execution of projects undertaken for national development. The pattern of the debates assumed the form of a struggle between the government benches and various members who often treated those in the corridor of power as if they were on trial for their incompetence. It was difficult to see how far the members of the Advisory Assembly reflected the temper of the multi-ethnic peoples of our three zoo-geographical regions with their own peculiar needs and problems of quick and efficient communication over the hills against the background of staggering poverty, disease and illiteracy. King Tribhuvana had realised that successful administration was the pivot of a Samyak Society and that our administration should be increasingly tailored to meet the requirements of the common people, which entailed that the Public Service Commission, the Police screening, the Independent Judiciary and the Election Commission functioning on the line of England. King Tribhuvana was deeply aware that our country was in short supply of talented men, and what was most needed at this point was the instilling of such qualities as promote dynamism and initiative that were so vital for the progress of Nepal. Red tapism and general reluctance to take decisions without reference to the Rana authorities had to go, and the Nepalese administrators must reach the level where they could plan their action imaginatively and take prompt action rather than play safe without any initiative even where taking a decision was clearly warranted by circumstances in a physically difficult country.

But the Ministers and party members of the Second Advisory Assembly encouraged their own party members to take an anti-government position for improving their individual position, where they could be certain of support from rebels in the Prime Minister's party as well as from their own ranks. The party members did not so much as discuss the need for administrative reform in our context of all-round development. There never was a discussion on the closing of the Nepalese Residency in Lhasa or about the historical, religious, geographical and ethnic affinities of the Himalayan peoples. Many members took India's interests in Nepal for granted whereas the strong presence of the People's Republic of China in Tibet as well as our treaty of peace with Tibet made the discussions on Nepal's constitutional

future irrelevant in the context of Nepal's independence. The Governments of the United States of America, the Colombo powers and Switzerland with India had substantially increased their economic aid commitments to Nepal. But economic aid, though essential, was "a mighty bloodless substitute" for Nepal's long history of independence. Few, if any of the Ministers or the members of the Advisory Assembly thought that the coming of the Communist China on our northern border was a windfall for Nepal. We could turn our history to our advantage if we could present the authentic documents to prove that we were a distinct identity from either China or India. The history of economic development as well as of foreign aid had just about begun. Very few politicians thought about our traditional trade with Tibet, albeit our merchants clamoured for restoring the road-link to Lhasa, which was usurped by the military expedition of the Young Husband Mission. Such seeming indifference to political detail and psychology could invite serious consequences in Nepal if we did not take up the question of the delimitation of our traditional frontier with Tibet betimes. As an entrepot of trade between India and northern countries from time immemorial Nepal was not altogether dependent upon India and that she had fought wars against her northern neighbours as well as with British India to protect her independence. Nepal had evolved composite gods to win the allegiance of the northern countries and her southern neighbours when India rejected Buddhism in favour of Brahmanism and China accepted Buddhism and had preserved the most ancient literature in the form of Chinese translations. Statesmanship in the large sense would have avoided the intra-Cabinet disputes and the struggle between the government benches and the members who opposed the Government without rime or reason. Thus whatever hopes the ailing King had of supporting the shaky coalition government by introducing the Assembly till the election, all these hopes had given way to dark forebodings and despair by the end of the second session of the enlarged Advisory Assembly. The Indian press reporters headlined the news that nothing in Nepal was stable except the Tribhuvana Rajpath. Indeed, our invisible but important poor men, who mattered had to be reawakened to the reality of our traditional Samyak Society to make them unreceptive to influences from democratic India and Communist China. For, self-examination, if it was thorough enough, was always the first step towards change. Even after the teachings of Śākyamuni, the Pāśupat Yogins had learnt that man at bottom was a wild terrific animal, who had been tamed and trained by the transition to the astropsychic scheme of death after the Piprahavā vase epitaph. I was gradually discovering that the knowledge of this great truth would make our

multi-ethnic peoples different from what they were during and after the reign of king Jaya Yaksa Malla.

Party Politics was not Everything for Nepal

On August 29th I entertained Mr Raymond Lambert, Miss Cogan and other members of the Swiss Mountaineering party to a buffet dinner at my home. They seemed to enjoy our Nepalese food. Talking with them after my visit to Europe, I had lost the sense of East-west incompatibility. As I proceeded to the Gauchar airport to receive Professor G. Tucci on August 31st, I was thrilled by the sight of the colourful camp Mr Lambert had put up there in preparation for his scientific expedition over the Himalayas. They were eating rice and curry with red chillies as we did in preparation for their journey. As the aeroplane landed I was happy to welcome Professor G. Tucci, Miss Bonardi and Dr. Guttuso. Mr Lokanath had also arrived by the same aircraft to advise the Nepalese Government on the currency problem of Nepal.

Crisis of National Identity

Seeing how Dr. Toni Hagen had suffered on his journey from Kathmandu to Jumla I tried to get into touch with the officers in charge of the districts of Jumla and Pokhara to find out the condition of roads for the scientific expeditions of Professor Tucci on that part of our tiny kingdom. But the wireless did not function. Then I got into touch with the officer-in-charge of the district of Sallyana to give me what information he could on the state of road between the valley of Pokhara and the highlands of Jumla, from where the Khasa kings ruled western Nepal and western Tibet. I have already stated in detail how I had helped Professor Tucci's first scientific expedition to the interior of Nepal as far as the Tibet-Nepal border in Mustang so that we may gather as much historical and geographical information about our border with Tibet, which had become the bone of contention between our two countries during the reign of the Mallas as well as the Shah dynasty of kings.

Against the background of the visit of the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas to Peking and the confusion on the issues at Kathmandu and New Delhi, we found it best to follow the clues of Tibetan inscriptions and Tibetan documents to find out how the Khasa-kingdom of Western Nepal and Western Tibet with his capital in Jumla had kept the banner of Nepal flying when the administration of Kathmandu had fallen into disarray. I had already convin-

ced king Tribhuvana that the history of Nepal was not confined to the limits of the Three cities, though king Prithvi Narayana Shah Deva had given a political unity to a country, in which the early kings of the Kirātas, Sākyas, Kolis, Śakas, Khasas, Licchavis, Ābhīras (Avars) and the Mallas of our mediaeval period had enabled the multi-ethnic tribes to see God through their own eyes. The purpose of this expedition was to find out, on the basis of the mediaeval record, how far the waves of Tibetan Buddhism had influenced the history of the frontier states after the murder of King Glang-darma of Tibet. We knew that some of the border regions carried great weights in the history of the relations between Nepal and Tibet from very early times and were disputed by both countries for many centuries. We also knew that such ancient places as Kapilvastu (Tilaurakot), Lumbini and Gokarna were the cradles of Asiatic civilisation, and we planned to carry out their excavations through the Is.M.E.O. so as to resolve the disputes between Dr. Fuhrer and the Nepalese archaeologists on the one hand and Mr V.A. Smith and the Indian archaeologists on the other. Then, too, we had discovered a large number of Licchavi inscriptions, which provided a link between the early period of our religion and history with the existence in flesh and blood of the invisible but important poor working peoples of multi-ethnic origin. The Is.M.E.O. had already taken steps to publish the Nepalese inscriptions in Licchavi characters after my lectures on "Ancient and Modern Nepal" in Rome. In the meantime Professor L. Petech was working hard on the Medieval history of Nepal.

This period of political confusion between the waves of Marxism-Leninism from the north and constitutional democracy from the south was extremely difficult and complicated for our people. The multi-ethnic Gorkhas had proved their guts by fighting on the side of the Allies against German Imperialism and Fascism respectively. In such a context, the peoples of Nepal had to be reawakened to the hopes and ideals of the lost horizon of our Samyak Society if we had to survive between the two giants of Asia as heretofore. But due to the almost total lack of far-sighted administrators and skilled personnel capable of managing our kingdom, its national economy and army, king Tribhuvana was confronted with problems of considerable difficulty. Beset by personal conflicts in the Cabinet M. P. Koirala Government had fallen into chaos.

Nevertheless, the history of the development of Nepalese intelligentsia with the cooperation of the invisible but important poor men provided brilliant illustration of the integral unity of our Samyak society and its religion

and culture. From the very first days of the overthrow of Rana king Tribhuvana had declared that Nepal lacked skilled personnel to put our backward economy into shape. The king wanted to foster a new intelligentsia by cultivating intellectuals from the educated middle-class people and by reeducating the Poudhari workers and peasants in the process of building a Samyak Society. Of particular importance in the initial period was king Tribhuvana's correct attitude towards old intelligentsia like, for example, myself, although the Indian Ambassador was dead against me for my intellectual pursuits and activities. But the physical constitution of the Father of the Nation deteriorated and a trip to Switzerland for His Majesty's treatment had been decided upon. At a buffet dinner party at my house on September 14, I had a general discussion about the affairs of Nepal with Professor G. Tucci, Mr L. S. Price, Mr and Mrs Paul Rose, Mr and Mrs Alexander and Dr. S. B. Wood against the background of His Majesty's declining health and the trip of the Dalai Lama to Peking as well as of the political pandemonium in Nepal and India. As the guests helped themselves to a treat of macaroni with mayonaise prepared by Miss Donardi, we had the pleasure of discussing Nepal's crisis of self-identification with our sudden and unplanned debut into international society, in which New Delhi had defined the post-revolutionary situation as a period of "special relationship" vis-a-vis the development in Tibet. As the architect of modern Nepal king Prithvi Narayana had understood the tactical implications of his beloved "flower garden as a stunted yam between two cold stones" on the basis of his studies of the records of king Jayasthiti Malla. The fresh discoveries of the inscriptions of king Māna Deva and Narendra Deva convinced the Nepalese of the importance of Tibet and China to Nepal. Then, too, the Nepalese intellectual elites were increasingly learning the importance of the ancient name of 'Kôli-grāma' (village of the ancient Kôliyan people) and its transition to 'Indra-griha' (home of the Aryan god Indra) way back in the fifth century.

In such a context the phrase 'special relationship' became anathema to the proud Nepalese public because of its presumed denigration of Nepal's claim to national sovereignty. Accustomed to the hoary tradition of a 'SAMYAK Society' the situation became even more unpalatable to the multi-ethnic Nepalese peoples because of the obvious lack of confidence in their own political leaders who squabbled among themselves and even went so far as to solicit Indian advice and arbitration on purely domestic matters. Whereas the Indians felt that 'special relationship' was essential for reeducating the Nepalese to the ideals of democracy as they understood it vis-a-vis

Communism in Tibet, the Nepalese felt that this type of patronising and Chauvinistic relationship at the expense of the history, culture and tradition of Nepal made of India more of a threat than a protector of Nepal's independence.

More because Gandhi-capped and Jawahar-vested Ministers had encouraged the Indians to take Nepalese nationality and clamour for the introduction of Hindi in the Assembly. There was no Chinese population and the Tibetans did not present any problem to Nepal. Now that the Government of India had claimed even Tensing Sherpa as an Indian by the trick of a ballot paper, independent and democratic India constituted a far greater challenge to the national identity of Nepal than either the British Imperialists or the People's Republic of China. The Tibetans and the Khuchras (*Banautas* meaning cross-bred between Nepalese fathers and Tibetan mothers) had so far presented only a straight-forward political problem which could be handled with relative ease vis-a-vis the marriage compacts and covenants of our Brahmannic hierarchy with the high-caste peoples of India. This posed a different kind of problem in both religious and cultural terms, albeit we had evolved composite gods to combat the narrow ideology of Brahmanism when India banished Buddhism from India. The Ranas did not dine with the Tibetans, the Chinese and the British on the same table, though they considered it a pride to enjoy equal kitchen-status with the Brahmins and Rajputs of India. Our new leaders had imbibed all their political ideas from the ideals of Mr M. K. Gandhi whose concept of Ramarajya had driven Mr M. A. Jinnah to found Pakistan. In this sense independent and democratic India presented a far greater challenge to Nepal both psychologically and politically than the People's Republic of China. Under the circumstances the multi-ethnic peoples of Nepal had no alternative to assert their differences with the Indians till such time as we could recover the lost horizon of our Samyak ideals to put our relations with India and China on an even keel. The peoples of Nepal demonstrated against the Indian Parliamentary delegation, the Indian Military Mission and the advisers spontaneously in order to justify Nepal's national independence. It was not the timely intervention of the Government of Nepal that prevented the peoples from burning Mr Nehru's effigies on the trail of wild rumours to the effect that the Government of India was trying to control our foreign affairs, defense and finance.

Under such circumstances I was able to organise the tour of Professor G. Tucci more efficiently than in the first instance on September 20th 1954.

with the tacit approval of China and India though the Governments of the United States of America and the United Soviet Socialist Republic regarded Nepal as belonging to the Indian sphere of influence. So far, the Russians had rationalised their vote in the U.N. against us for including some of their satellites of eastern Europe. At this stage the Peking Radio on September 23rd announced that the arrangement of the People's Republic of China to establish diplomatic relations with Nepal and Afghanistan had gone far ahead, which appears to have changed the views of the Soviet Union about Nepal.

Education Planning

We had presently gathered adequate information from the outlying districts about the state of education and I was asked to write the first few chapters on the history and culture of Nepal and also help Dr. N. B. Wood in the capacity of a critic member to compile the report on Education in Nepal with a long view of the future of the Nepalese. I was disturbed to find that the Brahmannic pundits of Nepal were totally against me for my assessment of the history and culture of Nepal on the basis of inscriptions and authentic documents. Now I was face to face with the present generation of Brahmins who had supported the Ranas on the basis of the myths of the epic of *Mahābhārata* which convinced them that they were descended from the Divine dynasty of Sagara. This reminded me of the struggle between revolutionary Buddhism and revolutionary Brahmanism from the period of the historical Buddhas down to the period of king Māna deva when the warrior-king was successful in laying the foundation of a Samyak Society in transition from the Samyak teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha. But there were Vedic revivalists like, for example Anuparam-Gupta Gomin, who based themselves on the myths of Bhārata indited by Dvaipāyana, to attack the Buddhists. Bhāravi in his classical work of the *Kirātārjuniye* had rehabilitated the salubrious Samyak ideals of the Buddhist civilisations under the reign of the Kirāta-kings, but King Jayadeva had subscribed to the myths of the *Mahābhārata* till the Licchavis were overthrown from power after the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. While the inscriptions of king Śiva-deva II in Lagan tola, Bhrigāreṣvara and Gorkha showed increasing contact with the affairs of Tibet, the Tibetan sources revealed the names of important Nepalese in the court of Lhasa from the evidences of inscriptions obtained by Professor G. Tucci and Mr H. E. Richardson on the tombs of the Tibetan kings. On the evidences of Tibetan documents of this period Professor G. Tucci had left for Jumla to find out how far the Khasa kings

of Western Nepal and Western Tibet had been successful in combining Buddhism and Brahmanism against the background of the previous cults and beliefs of the various tribal communities.

This expedition was going to fill the vacuum in the story of Nepal of this dark period, when the Nepalese king Aramuddi defeated the Kashmiri king Jayāpida on the bank of the Kālī Gandakī in western Nepal. The story of the *Rājataranginī* tells that the invader shut up in one of the forts of the regioā was rescued by one of his ministers, who heard the songs of Kashmir dolefully intoned by Jayapida from his captivity. Professor S. Levi regarded this predecessor of Richard Coeur de Lion as a Tibetan. I had reason to feel with S. Levi that the story was authentic, albeit we had to find out authentic documents to bear testimony to the rise of the Khasa kings of Western Nepal and Western Tibet, who ruled the valley of Nepal from their fortes in Western Nepal and who conducted the tour of Atiśā to Western Tibet at this dark period of our history. The history of the central valley of Nepal, which stopped for us round about 750, was rescued from oblivion from the sudden appearance of king Aramuddi in the Gandakī region and the conduct of the tour of Atiśā to Tibet by the King of Nepal who ruled from his capital of Palpa. Could we be able to fill the vacuum of more than two hundred years between the Licchavis and the Khasas. A Khasa myself, the learned Brahmins took exception to our researches in the history of the Khasa bastards while they arbitrarily claimed the Ksatriya prince Śākyamuni (Siddhārtha Gautama Buddha) as a Brahmin. The Pundits wanted us to believe that the Buddhistic birth stories of *Rāmajātaka* and *Dasaratha-jātaka* were fabricated by the Buddhists to cast a slur on the baseless legends of the Brahmannic Vamśas (dynastic chronologies), which the “Vipras” (Brāhmaṇas) had introduced to Nepal since the region of the reactionary Licchavi King Vasanta-deva in refutation of the authentic Kirāta-chronology and the Śaka and Māna deva Millennias. These Brahmins wanted us to accept the chronology of the Licchavi king Jayadeva as unchallengeable and absolute. It was passing strange that the conflicts in the minds of a Brahmin and Khasa had persisted with us since the time of the historical Buddhas.

In the Brahmannic scheme education did not mean teaching people the facts of history on the basis of authentic inscriptions and documents. My plan was to teach the Brahmins to behave as they did not behave. It was not teaching our youths the shapes of Vedic or Buddhistic “Maṇḍalas” (diagrams tend the tricks of spells leaving them to turn their beliefs to roguery and their literature to lust for women, power and pelf on this side of the grave by teach-

ing the people that the Brahmanas owed Divine origin with a permanent seat in Indra's heaven with a passport for everybody who paid them in cash or kind. On the contrary, the scientific spirit of our time demanded that we should make scientific researches in our lost horizon of Samyak Society and reawaken our people to the perfect exercise of the Five Ms of our existence which resulted in the continence of the common man's body and soul. I found it a painful, continual and difficult work to be done by warning the Brahmins to follow in the footsteps of history. This was an impossible task under the swords of the Ranas, but king Tribhuvana wanted me to do the difficult work by example rather than by the Brahmannic precepts. My manuscripts went back and forth many a time but there was not the sword of the Ranas to descend upon my shoulders to decide the issue. No doubt, this was a great change. I wondered whether I could ever realise my dream of putting up the new image of Nepal after scientific researches in our history.

In the meantime our harvest festival had arrived with the "roll of drums" on the 27th of September to load the poor peoples of Nepal with a heavy burden of debt when it left.

Chapter XV

KING TRIBHUVAN'S VISIT TO EUROPE FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT

September 28, 1954–November 29, 1954

Now that the Queens were accompanying His Majesty king Tribhuvana on his treatment in Europe a three member Regency Council comprised by his three sons namely, Crown-prince Mahendra, Himalaya and Vasundhara had been announced on September 25th with powers similar to those of the Regency Council presided by the Queens. This was time when the Americans did not object to our opening diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, but themselves they wanted to come and establish an American Embassy at Kathmandu in those days of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. I had the feeling that Nepal would be safe under a Samyak Society, if the Chinese and the Americans established their embassies at Kathmandu. But the king's departure for Europe was delayed at the last moment by a new ministerial crisis between the Prime Minister and Ministers Mr Tanka Prasad, Dr. D. R. Regmi and Mr B. K. Mishra. Mr M. P. Koirala had threatened to resign if there was no understanding of the national interest shown by his Cabinet colleagues—both in the domestic as well as in Nepal's sphere of foreign relations. The Advisory Assembly did not show any robust sense of safeguarding the country's legitimate national interests. The Nepali Congress was determined to disturb peace and tranquility within our borders. The Ministers as well as the members of the Advisory Council were not able to sink their differences and give full backing to the Government in initiating and implementing Government proposals that had direct bearing on the continued well-being of the multi-ethnic Nepalese

nation. The members did not know where they stood beyond combining to defeat the Government on every bill it presented to the House. When some of the members spoke in Hindi, peoples of other tribes and communities spoke in their respective dialects to add to the Babel of tongues. It had no legislative record. There was no high quality discussions on any issue and no positive and healthy development that augured well for the system as a whole. The entire session reflected political immaturity on the part of the legislators who did not appear to be highly motivated, articulate and knowledgeable individuals with an integrated sense of purpose in matters of national and international importance.

On the Eve of King Tribhuvana's Visit to Europe

I was called to the Royal Palace on the eve of His Majesty's departure to be told that I was popular with all the Ministers and practically with every section of the Society despite my drawbacks, and that I should use my influence with the squabbling Ministers to bring homogeneity and understanding among them so that they may speak and act meaningfully. The ailing king seemed to have infinite faith in my ego for the reason and sanity of a Samyak Society and His Majesty very thoughtfully advised me to use my influence to control the wild passions of "Idā and Piṅgalā" in the nature of the newly independent Ministers and members of the advisory Council. As a preliminary step I advised His Majesty to call all the Ministers and work out a reconciliation among them with the ultimate national interest in view. Finally, the King reiterated the idea that I should prepare myself to take up the job of Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the People's Republic of China at this critical juncture of Himalayan history. This was the period when the great idea of small nation was going to have far greater effect on our neighbours than the gun-boat diplomacy of the powerful nations. We had already taken the first step in the international forum of Rome and that we had to write books in support of the ideas of a Samyak teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha to reawaken our multi-ethnic peoples to the lost horizon of our Great Samyak Society by recalling the achievements of the invisible but important poor men of our country in every field of human activity as so many examples to support the idea. I did not have the premonition that this was going to be my last audience of the Father of the nation.

On October 1, 1954 the King called a special meeting of the Prime Minister and Ministers and brought about a reconciliation among them.

As a result the Ministers issued a joint statement saying that 'minor differences of opinion were unavoidable, though the press reports on such matters had been unduly exaggerated.' Prior to His Majesty's departure for treatment in Europe, they claimed to have renewed their pledges to His Majesty's departure for treatment in Europe, they claimed to have renewed their pledges to His Majesty to work in absolute harmony and cooperation for the proper functioning of the Government and for the peace and progress of the country.

In order to remove misunderstanding in the public mind King Tribhuvana issued a proclamation on October 2 to the effect that the Ministers had pledged to sink their political differences and to work in harmony for the all round improvement of the peoples of Nepal. Then, His Majesty bade farewell to his subjects. On October 3, 1954 there was huge crowd at the Gauchar air-port to see His Majesty off, when the kindly King picked up Mr Shankar Bahadur K.C. to remind the latter of his first meeting with him at the Royal Palace on behalf of the Congress Party and what was incapable of proof itself was not going to be proof of anything else. This sage remark of King Tribhuvana set me thinking as nothing else in my brief span of life here-to-fore. Then, too, I was happy to hear that the way had been cleared for establishing a diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Nepal and People's Republic of China.

In the Northern Border

While we celebrated the harvest festival of Dasain at Kathmandu in the first week of October, there was widespread unrest in every part of the country, which made the going difficult for the coalition Government. Many people expressed fear in Nepal as well as in India that the Chinese may take advantage of the political confusion in Nepal to mount a communist guerrilla war on our country. More than freelance politicians our martial race needed strong police and military forces to combat subversions at home and incursions from without. In such a situation economic aid had to be complementary with and subsidiary to military organisation according to the best tradition of a 'heroic state'. We received 'Tikā' from the Crown Prince on the day of 'Vijayā Dasami' on the 7th of October in the Royal Palace, where we discussed the possibility of technical aid from our northern and southern neighbours with a short cut to industrialisation. Then the I. G. P. Mr G. B. Yakthumba invited us to a treat of buffet-dinner, where I heard that a hard-headed Nepalese merchant of Kuti had driven his 'Banauta' half-

brother to revolt. There was no motivation in this strange case from the party of Dr. K. I. Singh. While the Chinese tried to solve the agrarian problem by setting up communes and controlling free-business by nationalising it in Tibet, a handful of business-men controlled our distribution system to create scarcity of commodities to give a boost to the sellers' market at the expense of the buyers. No politician thought of tackling the problem of shortages, price-rise and the inflation of Nepalese currency. At this stage the Bada-Hakim of Pokhara informed me that the Chinese officers on the borders were ridiculing us for our incapacity of manning our frontiers and of taking care of our business in Tibet. Talking about the indiscretion of the Indian officers he told me that a certain villager had contracted to supply milk to an Indian check-post officer. One day a member the contractor died with the result that he could not provide the milk in time.

Infuriated by the delay the check-post officer proceeded to the house of the Contractor with a Lathi, belaboured the bereaved and milked the cow himself.

Our officers from other check-posts informed us that the Indian check-post officers sent information direct to the Indian Government, molested village women and consumed things that the villagers would like to have for themselves. The European explorers confirmed that the Indian check-post officers posed themselves in the midst of plenty and spread unfounded rumours about scientific pursuits and exploration of the Europeans. By comparison the Europeans, according to our officers, were more popular than the Indian officers and men because they paid as well as the Chinese, did not consume the meagre ration of the villagers nor ask for luxury, heard complaints from the poor and the destitute and mixed freely with the men of the mountains.

Hearing all this I had the feeling that we could stand still in a flooded stream, but not in world of men peopled by newly independent Indians. Communist Chinese, Khampas and Europeans and Americans of different creed and colour. On the last analysis the Communists and the Capitalists on the basis of their respective propaganda seemed to be ready to be savages in their causes. But the difference between the Nepalese people and foreigners was the choice of a "Samyak" (correct) cause. At a time when men of different ideologies were striving to exploit the very real fears of our social problems in Nepal, King Tribhuvana and Mr M. P. Koirala appeared to have met Mr Nehru on October 17th and were told to wait on the question of Nepal-China relations till he returned from his tour of Peking. In the prevailing atmosphere of cordiality and peace China and India had signed the

Sino-Indian agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet-region of China and India whereas it was our policy to sign a separate treaty with China on the basis of 1856 treaty of peace with Tibet. We had not yet written off Tibet as India did by voluntarily giving up her rights by signing the Sino-Indian agreement on 29th April, 1954, though Mr Nehru asked us to toe his line on "historical and practical considerations." We had watched the growing military might of China during the Korean War between 1950-1953. After that, the People's Republic of China was busy helping the Viet-Minh in the latter's war with the French in Indo-China. I had personally been in touch with the Chinese Commissioner in Tibet to know something of the Chinese mind in relation to Nepal.

On the other hand, the Indians seemed to think that we were far too backward to take care of our international relations, but king Tribhuvana had very rightly appointed astute General Daman Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana to be the Ambassador to London and concurrently to France and the U.S.A. so that he might encourage foreign investors to develop Nepal's natural resources and establish industries to produce commodities to minister to the need of our people. Whereas India had contributed Rs. 50,000 to our flood relief, we signed on October 23 a flood relief aid of 20 million dollars with Mr Paul W. Rose against the clamour of the Indian press that our Government had become pro-American.

Mr Nehru was now in Peking, where the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas were treated as important guests in a banquet thrown by Premier Chou En-lai on October 20th in honour of the Indian leader. Commenting on Mr Nehru's visit the Japanese newspaper *Ashahi Shimbun* opined that the Indian leader must find out during his visit if there were conditions within Communist China, which could wipe away the fears of Asia concerning the intents and purposes of Chinese leaders. At the same time Mr Nehru must make those objective advances which could establish peaceful co-existence and expand peace-area. But before Mr Nehru returned, the condition of king Tribhuvana's health compelled His Majesty to leave for Europe in an Indian plane.

This was now the festival of lights in Nepal when we worshipped the birds and animals and took the spot of vermilion from our sisters to ward off death. But my sister-in-law was suffering from the fell disease of cancer, which had taken the toll of my father, mother, eldest brother and my sister-in-law who had been of great help to our family. She was now a haggard lady

beset by sores on her nose and jaws. The bold and beautiful woman looked bewildered by pain, which the doctors were not in a position to relieve. "That is the way of life" I recalled from Buddha's saying and make good use of this "temple of God" while it lasted.

**Results of Mr Nehru's Visit to Peking as Mr Prem Bhatia Described
it in the Statesman Daily of the 24th October**

Mr M. P. Koirala looked sooty when I met him at Singha Durbar on October 29 with a front-page photo of the Dalai Lama chatting with Mr Nehru in Peking. The report under the caption of 'the Close-up of the Top-leaders and the Lamas' in the *Statesman* daily of October 24, read: "One of the most interesting places we saw in Peking was the Central Institute of National minorities. This is housed in a huge building outside the city, with the dry brown western hills in the background. During our visit another large wing of the Institute was being constructed, but we were told that two thousand students, representing more than forty minorities including students from Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. We visited the class-rooms and watched the students at their studies. The Prime Minister seemed to be particularly impressed in the use of what looked like the Persian script by pupils from Sinkiang. Three main subjects are taught at the Institute—languages, political science and the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. There are also research and recreation groups and temple and mosques. Apparently the intention is to give the national minorities facilities to get together in a common field of instruction, at the same time retaining their separate national entities and characteristics. The advantages are obvious. Boys and girls from Tibet and Sinkiang return home after their period of study shaped and formed in the ideology of New China. Thereby they constitute so many excellent Ambassadors.

"No attempt is made to iron out their national personalities. During our visit to class-rooms we saw male Tibetan students dressed in their costumes, complete with felt-hats which they wore during their lessons. Boys and girls from Sinkiang retained their colourful dresses.

"There is a small but beautiful museum of representative arts and crafts and costumes to familiarise each minority with the costumes and habits of the others. The students gave Mr Nehru a tremendous welcome. The Prime Minister seemed charmed by the feast of colour and healthy variety and posed for many photographs."

Then, Mr Prem Bhatia described the People's Court, which was much on the line of the 'Salam' of the Rana Prime Ministers to deliver judgement to the people directly. Talking about the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas Mr Bhatia proceeded, "Both the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas, of whom we saw a great deal without interference, continue to use their national costume. They are greatly respected in Peking and every attempt is made that they are. On my return to Hong-Kong, I saw an edition of the Island's biggest newspaper, which repeated the usual stories of the Lamas being in prison in China. In the light of what we had seen in Peking, this read like a fantastic fiction."

After seeing the photo of the Dalai Lama and Mr Nehru exchanging greetings with smiles published on the front page of *Statesman* daily dated October 24th, 1954 Mr M. P. Koirala told me very happily that he was leaving Kathmandu on November 3rd to meet Mr Nehru at Darjeeling, where he hoped to discuss our diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China against the background of our treaty of peace with Tibet.

Non-cooperation Movement

But this happened to be the most difficult period for the Coalition Government. As the Regency Council did not pass the Budget for the current year, the Government Bills had been deferred. While the Government was beset by conflicts in the Cabinet and in the Advisory Assembly, the Nepali Congress took advantage of the situation by launching a non-cooperation movement on the basis of a six-point programme for the abolition of the "farical Advisory Assembly", protection of civic rights, life and property and preservation of peace against the background of the risings of the local branch of the Prime Minister's Democratic Party in the district of Palhi and the revolutionary activities of the followers of Dr. K. I. Singh. They clamoured for the reduction of the price of rice, which was rising, currency control, reduction of the exchange between the Indian and the Nepali currencies, establishment of an independent judiciary and protection of national independence and preservation of the morale of the Nepalese nation. Mr Ranadhir Subba of the Gorkha Parishad and the Communist-controlled parties joined hands with our Prime Minister in attacking the programme of the Nepali Congress. At this Mr M. P. Koirala suggested that the Nepali Congress could implement their programme by joining the rank of the Government rather than by non-cooperation. If the Communist party called for preparation for a real revolution of the workers and peasants on the basis of ready-made ideologies of Marxism-Leninism, the Gorkha-Pari-

shad discredited Mr B. P. Koirala and Mr Suvarna Shumshere as creations and puppets of the Indian Government on the basis of the spirit of militant Gorkha nationalism. The Praja Parishad led by Mr Tanka Prasad and the Nepali National Congress led by Dr. D. R. Regmi tried to evolve the ideology of New Democracy as a way between Indian and Chinese political systems, but they had no knowledge of the lost horizon of our Samyak Society, which preserved the unity of the multi-ethnic Nepalese peoples through the vicissitudes of history. On the whole the oppositional politics were aimed at the signatories of the Delhi-Compromise, the intervention of the Indian army units in the capture of Dr. K. I. Singh and India interference in the affairs of Nepal, which compromised Nepal's independence and sovereignty.

As a result of these confused thinking, there was non-cooperation movement in the district of Palhi organised by the local branch of the Prime Minister's National Democratic Party. Mr B. P. Koirala announced a nation-wide non-cooperation movement by appealing to the Nepalese peoples to refuse to pay taxes, to boycott Government offices and to observe general strikes. There were revolutionary activities in all parts of the country, so that platoons of our police and army units had to be sent to different parts of the country to suppress the violent actions of the followers of Dr. K. I. Singh and their like who believed in the use of force to overthrow the Government.

India's Special Position in Nepal Claimed

In the midst of our difficulties the Oracle in New Delhi declared in a press conference after his return from Peking that he had received assurance from Premier Chou En-lai to the effect that 'Nepal was an exclusive Indian sphere of influence, and that People's Republic of China had given political asylum to Dr. K. I. Singh in a normal way, but she had no intention to use the Doctor to lead a pro-communist armed movement in Nepal. On the question of Nepal's diplomatic relations with China the Indian Prime Minister reiterated his familiar plank that Great Britain had controlled Nepal's foreign relations, which did not take note of the Nepal-Tibet War of 1856 independent of China and the British power of India at the zenith of its power. However, Mr Nehru gave a green-light to the Government of Nepal to open diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. *The Times of India* daily in its issue dated November 15, 1954 quoting the Indian Prime Minister reported:

“So far as Nepal is concerned, it is a well-known fact—and it is contained in our treaties and other engagements with Nepal—that we have a special position not interfering with independence but not looking with favour on anybody else interfering with their independence either. You will remember that, before India became independent, Nepal was not independent in reality. It was very much under the British Government, not internally I mean, but in regard to external factors. When we became independent, we went much further in recognising the independence of Nepal than the British Government had done, but it was even then—and this was before the change in Nepal when the old Rana regime was still there--India’s special position in foreign affairs in Nepal was recognised. As for diplomatic relations between Nepal and China, this is a matter which the Nepalese Government, no doubt, will deal in its own way. I don’t think that Dr. Singh will function in the future” concluded Mr Nehru. The *Statesman* reported that the People’s Republic of China, U.S.A. and U.K. had recognised India’s special position in Nepal.

Under these unfavourable auspices the Home Minister suggested an immediate political conference of all democratic parties to decide how best we could take up the challenge of subversive elements at home and foreign interference with the result that Crown Prince Mahendra found it advisable to convene another session of the Advisory Assembly on November 17 with an inaugural speech to arrest the fissiparous tendencies in the nation. In discussing His Royal Highness’s inaugural speech on November 21, Mr Vedananda Jha had challenged the claim of our Nepali language to be regarded as a National language in lieu of Hindi amid a tense atmosphere in the Assembly which was now trying to see the light on the other side of the tunnel. Discussion on Crown Prince’s inaugural speech continued until November 23. However, the highlights of the Assembly were 134 amendments relating to criticisms of the Government policy towards such useful subjects as land reforms, exchange control, flood-relief measures and a resolution to abolish caste discrimination in all its forms and manifestations.

Telegram from Professor G. Tucci About Inscriptions and Temples in the Vicinity of Jumla and Dullu

I was happy to learn from Professor Tucci’s telegram dated November 22 that he had made some of the most important discoveries in the course of his second scientific expedition concerning the dynasty of king Prithvi Malla with a geneological table, to which the documents of Tibet had given adequate

clues. I was happy to welcome the learned Professor back to Kathmandu on November 25th, when I handed over a few more Licchavi inscriptions at the base of basrelief of Bhava and Bhavānī right before the gate of the temple of Rama and his sons and around discs showing evolutionary changes in vowel marks which helped us to draw our own conclusions about the period they were sculptured. On the other hand, Professor Tucci showed me some of the specimen of king Prithvi Malla's inscription in Ranjanā characters, which opened with the spell of 'Omn maṇi padme hum' in Sanskrit language intermixed with old Nepalese language and dated in Śaka year 1276 corresponding to 1354/1355 A. D. I had already known about the inscription from Babu Ram Acharya, but Professor Tucci's edition differed in some points from that of Pundit Nayaraj Panta. I was also happy to hear how he had discovered stone temples, sculptures and inscriptions all over the country, which were similar to the Jamadagni Temple of Baijanath in Kangra (Kīragrāma), Dvarahat, Joshinath, Kedarnath and Badrinath over the Himalayan region. These Malla kings of Western Nepal and Western Tibet provided a better link to the language, literature and solidarity of Nepal than the ferment of politicians which made headlines in the *Statesman* daily and other newspapers of India. The lives of the Pāśupat-yogins, the Vedic Brahmins and the historical Buddhas, as they lived them, were passed on to the Licchavis and the Mallas, whether in physical or mental forms, tinging the lives of the invisible but poor Nepalese peoples to our own day. I felt that our researches should throw adequate light on the path of politicians so that they may live for truth and service of their fellow men on the Samyak way in the spirit of 'Omn maṇi padme hum'.

The reality of death had stared my sister-in-law in the face of November 26, when her long suffering from cancer was over at 10-30 P. M. The memory of her life returned to me when she lay dead on the bank of river Vāgmatī before the funeral pyre. For a while I was haunted by fear but the service of my relative Loke Bahadur rehabilitated me to my usual frame of mind. So, life and death was infinite ocean where the memory of service in the name of Paśupati sustained us in our brief sojourn of life.

On the 20th of November we were invited to a cocktail party at the British Embassy, where we found Mr Paul Rose nervous because the Indians did not allow the American aircraft to land at the Gauchar airport with the supplies destined for the flood-stricken people to Nepal. We also learnt that the Indian Ambassador was leaving shortly and that Mr and Mrs Summerhayes were going back to London late in March.

First Royal Hotel in Nepal

Mr Boris had established the first successful hotel in Nepal to cater to the needs of tourists and foreign guests at Bahadur Bhavan in the locality of Thamaail. Professor Tucci preferred to put up in the Hotel, which seemed to be better organised than our Govt. guest house. Very much worried by the controversy over the Nepali language in our Advisory Assembly I had the pleasure of discussing with the learned Professor about the origin and roots of Nepali language which, according to the *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary* of Professor Sir Ralph Turner, was nearer to Sanskrit than Hindi or Bengali or Marathi.

The Origin of Nepali Language

Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages the first reference in the *etymological dictionary of Sanskrit* presently being published in Germany was to Nepali. This prominence given to Nepali in the world of scholarship could not but be gratifying to the multi-ethnic Nepalese peoples despite the controversy of the politicians in the Assembly. Judging by the un-Sanskritic words, specially with regard to place names, judicial courts and customs, in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal, we got proof of the fact that the early Kirātas had migrated with their Great Mother Goddess and Paśupati (Śākyavardhana) through the Terai region to the central valley of Nepal from their highly urbanised society represented by the ancient cities of Harappā and Mohenjodāro, whose destruction has been celebrated in Rigvedic hymns. In their migration further east both the Kirātas and Dravidians seem to be subdued by the Aryan invaders with the result that the early migrants were compelled to adopt the speech, vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar of the Śākyas and Kolis who claimed solar origin. Similarly, words of undoubted Dravidian and Mundā origin are to be found in Buddhist Prākṛit and Licchavi Sanskrit, whose participial constructions of verb were strongly reminiscent of Dravidian with a category of words with earsplitting cerebral sounds which were, no doubt, strange to the Aryans. Since language is not an instinct but a system of specific signs learnt afresh by each generation. We could notice the change from the early Buddhist and Brahmanic literature down to Licchavi inscriptions. Broadly speaking such great philologist as Sir William Jones had suggested that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic and even the Keltic of Ireland, Wales and Northern Scotland displayed similarity of vocabulary and grammar which could be explained on the assumption that ultimately they were derived from a single language, although

no documentary evidence of such a language still survived. My study of philology in my B. A. Honours course had been widened by subsequent generation of comparative philologists who included Tocharian to the expanding list on the in-depth study of the Buddhistic texts brought back by Sir Aurel Stein and other scholars from Central Asia.

Evidently the Indo-Aryan group of languages, to which Nepali belonged, came with the Indo-Aryans, who were knocking at the gates of Peshawar to spread their language in the Gangetic basins of India way back between 1500 B. C. and 1200 B. C.

Whereas there is no mention of Nepal in the hymns of the Three Vedas, we find adequate references to Nepal in the Buddhistic literature of Vinayas (rules and disciplines) based on the Life of Śākyamuni Buddha. After the great grammarian Pāṇini fixed the norm of hieratic Sanskrit the talented Gomin (Ābhīras-Avars) and Kauśiks wrote beautiful literacy works culminating in Anuparama-Gupta Gomin's hymn to Dvaipāyana and the immortal classic of the *Kirātārjunīye* by the profoundest of Sanskritic poets Bhāravi.

We had a clear view of the historical changes from the time of the historical Buddhas who delivered the sermons in the Prākṛit language of the peoples. There was a great controversy about the teaching of Buddha Śākyamuni in the very first Buddhist Synod of Rājgriha where the Theravādins had recorded the teachings of the Great Pilgrim in Pāli, which was the refined court language of Magadha (North Bihar). It was in the form of Pāli literature that the Elders (Theravādins) took Śākyamuni's teachings to Ceylon, Burma and Indo-China, where they formed the orthodox school of Hinayāna (Lesser Vehicle) after the Brahmins had banished Buddhism from India. At the same time, the followers of dissident Upāli carried the early Buddhistic sermons handed down in Prākṛitic language of the people to found Mahāyānic schools in countries of Central Asia, China, Japan, Mongolia and Tibet. It was interesting to note that the earliest Mahāyānic texts were translated into Chinese from Prākṛit and then from Sanskrit, which was a refined version of Prākṛit. Whereas we found Sanskrit as the most powerful vehicle of expression in the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal and the immortal classic of the *Kirātārjunīye*, and the works of Kālidāsa we do not notice any change in the Pāli texts of the Hinayāna school.

The present discovery of our scholars and Professor G. Tucci in Jumla ann Dullu was a link in the long chain of our language and literature with the constant shiftings of the political boundaries, the movements of pilgrims, the

interaction of different cults and the requirements of exogamous marriage which gave birth to the sturdy mixed race of the Khasas. As already stated all the Aryan languages had much in common owing to their common origin, so that Nepali stood at the end of long string of dialects stretching along the foothills of the Himalayas on the firm foundation of Prākṛit and Sanskrit, which everybody understood. Presently we were seeing the development of a purely local dialect of the district of Gorkhā into a language of administration for the kingdom of Nepal like Prākṛit and Sanskrit during the Buddhistic and the Licchavi periods into which our laws and literature were written down. In the present context Nepali was growing to be a sturdy vigorous tongue from the changes which continued through the mediaeval period of the history of Nepal with several local forms of speech agreeing with the line of development adumbrated by the Licchavi inscriptions and the inscriptions of the Khasa kings of Western Nepal and Tibet. Particularly remarkable at this stage was the loss of intervolic consonants for literary or religious purposes thus 'Omn maṇi padme hum' becoming "Omn māṇe pémè huṃ". The transitional scripts from the old Brāhmī to Devanāgarī to our own day reflected the changes through which our language and script passed between the beginning of the Buddhistic era, when Krimi-Varmma taught Brāhmī-lipī (Brāhmī letters) to Buddha Śākyamuni. The Aśokan edicts in Nepal bowed down to the Prākṛit language while our Licchavi and Khasa inscriptions retained the vestiges of trivial languages like, for example, Nevāri, Limbu-kurā, Rāi-kurā, Magar-kurā, Gurung-kurā, Bhotey-kurā, Thāru-kurā, Thāmi-kurā, Chepāng-kurā, and their ilk which seem to be related to the Tibetan. If our early inscriptions show considerable dialectal variations our manuscripts have preserved the languages and scripts of different ages to show the absorbing capacity of the language of Nepal.

But this was the time when the Bengalis of East Pakistan had been putting forth the claim of Bengali language and literature vis-a-vis the Urdu language. In such a context it was possible for us to show on the evidence of the fresh discoveries of our scholars and Professor Tucci that Hindi was one language, Nepali was another and that our language could be more adaptable to scientific changes from western world than, for example, Hindi if we did not allow it to be a pale reflexion of Sanskritised Indian languages.

I saw off Professor G. Tucci on November 29th after one of the most useful scientific expedition, when there were attempts to increase the number of Kāyasthas and Guārs in the Cabinet who clamoured to make Hindi a national language of Nepal.

Chapter XVI

TREND OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

December 1-30, 1954

Going through the international reports at this period, I got the impression that the Western Powers had been pointing out accusing fingers at the Indian democracy for not being able to keep up with the speed of progress the Communist countries had achieved in countries liberated by them. Reviewing the political situation between 1950-1954 the International press felt that the People's Republic of China had greatly improved her image by liberating Tibet and by taking part successfully in the Korean War, which had given a tremendous edge over the cause of Indian and other democratic countries of Asia. While learned Indians tinkered with the hair-splitting dispute about China's 'suzerainty and sovereignty over Tibet', the Indian Government seemed to be trying to find scapegoats and attack the Nepalese leaders for their failure to rule the Nepalese people democratically. As a reply to the world opinion the Government of India said that they had built a military road linking Kathmandu with Raxual and that they were planning to spend a vast amount of money spread over a period of several years provided the Nepalese leaders could take advantage of it by coordinating Nepal's public enterprises. The Government of India seemed to be calculating progress in terms of money at a time when real progress should have been measured in terms of 'toils, tears and sufferings'.

Heading to Crisis

In the meantime, the Nepalese Cabinet seemed to be heading for another

crisis. The Government of India favoured the idea of increasing the number of Kāyasthas and Guārs in the Cabinet and encourage the use of Hindi in the Advisory Assembly at the expense of the representatives of the midland mountains and the Himalayan highlands. For thousands of years Nepal and Tibet had lived by customs, usage, tradition and religion, so that the peoples of Nepal were holding large demonstrations against the declaration of Mr Nehru to the effect that China had recognised the special position of India in Nepal. Nepal-China friendship associations were cropping up fast when India postponed the Sino-Nepalese talks for six months on the ground that His Majesty king Tribhuvana was away. As the home of the historical Buddhas Nepal had exercised a religious spell over Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, the Himalayan countries and also over China, and political privileges had accompanied religious and cultural ideas. In such a context, there was bound to be rivalry between India and China on the question of Himalayan states. But the bureaucrats in New Delhi seemed to be tinkering to separate history, politics and geographical realities into three unrelated compartments by the simple act of encouraging the Terai Congress to declare that Nepal was the sole concern of India and that they would oppose the ever-growing Chinese and the American influence in Nepal. Under the difficult political circumstances Mr M. P. Koirala on December 11th made a strong plea for merger of all major parties on the grounds that the necessary cooperation and homogeneity was lacking in the Cabinet. At a time when the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lamas were planning to return to Tibet through the Chianghai Highway by automobiles, he was sorry that there was so much confusion in the political atmosphere of the country. Working in a temperature of twenty degrees below zero the Chinese road-builders had cut through a ten-mile mountain pass on the last section and were now ready to welcome the Pontiffs of Tibet to Lhasa. We also heard that the leaders of Kremlin had invited the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas to visit Moscow with the same entourage of 900 members that accompanied them to Peking through the north-western route linking Lhasa with Moscow via the Central Asiatic countries, which was nearer completion. On the other hand, China had built roads and had been patrolling Ladakh and western Tibet with a view to forestall any likely collusion between the Tibetans and the Mongols. In such a fluid situation over the Roof of the World, the American President Eisenhower had declared that the U.S.A. could not buy one hundred per cent security in every part of the world, where some one wanted to start trouble.

Accusing some Ministers of the Cabinet that they had no overall politi-

cal objective, on national policy, no correct strategy and total unreadiness to assess the international situation and meet the challenge of the time, our Prime Minister said that he was no longer capable of leading such a Cabinet and that he would decide the future of the Cabinet in another fortnight. But on December 17th the Home Minister Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya opposed the Prime Minister's call for the merger of major parties by suggesting an alternative of calling a national democratic convention to achieve the unity of democratic parties by excluding the Communists and reactionaries like, for example, the Gorkha Parishad. In an attempt to isolate the National Democratic Party, Mr Tanka Prasad brought a meeting of the prominent members of Nepali Congress, Praja Parishad, Jana Congress and Nepali National Congress in order to explore ways and means for forging unity among the parties.

If Messrs Vedananda Jha and Bhadrakali Misra were trying to tilt the balance of the multi-ethnic tribes of the Terai in favour of India, the major powers seemed to be interested in the multi-ethnic Gorkhas of the midland-mountains who had defended the cause of the Allies against the Fascist in the Second World War. The far-sighted British had seen that Nepal with her composite religious foundations and tiger-men was a key to the Himalayan situation, while Mr B. P. Koirala threatened Satyāgaraha on Gandhian lines by declaring that the Gorkha Parishad was working hand in gloves with the Communists. Frankly, it was impossible for me to follow the Babel of party politicians in our multi-lingual and multi-national country who found unity in diversity by seeing God through their own eyes in the traditional scheme of a Samyak Society. The victory of the Assembly in December 23rd over the M. P. Koirala Government on a non-official resolution demanding the cancellation of the Government's power to enact laws without consulting the Assembly when it was not in session—smacked more of mobocracy than of democracy. In democratic countries of Europe where the executive was voted to power on a platform presented to the electorate and where the Government represented and protected the interests of the electorate, the action of the Government assured its own support till such time as the Opposition convinced the people by press and propaganda that the Government in power had failed in its prime duty of administering to the interests of the peoples which automatically meant that the Government had initiated a process of alienation and betrayed the cause of the articulate public to assure its own defeat. We were just about laying the foundation for the office of the Election Commissioner. This first defeat of the Government during this session

showed that the nominated Assembly was a broken reed, which gave a severe blow to the Cabinet.

But unlike the Indian democracy and the Chinese proletarian dictatorship Nepal had remained a kingdom throughout its long history, who maintained its power only through the allegiance of the army and the police to the Master of the Battle, country and king in the overall scheme of a Samyak Society. The multi-ethnic and multi-lingual army manned our frontier on a voluntary basis very much unlike the volunteers of the divided world. The Samyak Society in our Shangrila was designed to protect the identities of the various groups by seeing God through their own eyes in the composite images of various deities of the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan beliefs.

For the first time in the history of Nepalese peoples, who heard about attempts to plunder the temple of Paśupati, and that the Museum of Nepal had lost valuable images and antics, which indicated that some of us were losing some traditional human values represented by our Samyak Society. Under the particular circumstances it was the duty of our Government to protect the Samyak tradition of our multi-ethnic peoples who had their own dialects, culture and identities. The root of the trouble in our Himalayan country was that the Indian policy was one of assimilation—which was a negation of the nationhood of the Himalayan peoples and her small kingdom.

While parties and processions were moving about in the streets of Kathmandu with such slogans as 'Death to the Ministry of Matrika Prasad' a message from Lhasa said that two highways linking the Chinese provinces of Sikang and Chinghai to Tibet, which was more than 2500 miles in total length, had now been completed. In the National Committee of the Chinese People's Consultative councils the Dalai Lama had pledged his support for the liberation of Taiwan by qualifying his remarks to the effect that the two highways were going to bring closer unity between the Chinese and the Tibetan peoples.

Up to the end of 1954 Pakistan and India for historical and religious reasons had become natural enemies. At this stage China was not allowed to figure in the thinking of the Indian leaders in New Delhi. The two nations were carved out of the Indian peninsula preceded by mass killings, riots and atrocities that made every Pakistani and Indian hang his head in shame. The aftermath of the partition had witnessed the wholesale murders in the Punjab and the reprisals in Bengal and Bihar, from where Moslems rushed to Nepal for refuge. Maharaja Mohan Shumshere and General Sir Babar Shumshere

had to deny their pro-Pakistani feelings to the Government of India before they moved down to Bangalore to settle there. Time had not healed the scars of mutual distrust and loss of property between India and Pakistan when Mr Nehru visited Peking to receive a Royal reception.

Tension in the Himalayan Countries

Kashmir had a long history of independence like Ceylon and Nepal, and India and Pakistan had gone to war in 1947, when the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to India under the instrument of accession that governed the political relations and future of the erstwhile Indian states. While one third of the kingdom of Kashmir was under the control of Pakistan, Mr Nehru decided to refer the issue to the United Nations of a plebiscite. By all standards the battle in Kashmir was strange in that the British Commander-in-chief led the opposing armies, who had access to each other and were reported to have held talks every evening to discuss the day's events. The Kashmir deadlock remained unsolved despite interminable U.N. debates and the intervention of the United Nation's mediators. Partition had left many problems between India and Pakistan, some of which could cause major military clash. But the confrontation in 1951 had convinced Pakistan that they should achieve military parity with India if they had to free themselves from the constant intimidatory tactics of India. So that in 1953 Pakistan signed a Mutual-aid treaty with the United States of America to join the security pacts of CENTO and SEATO to contain Communism. The Secretary of States, Mr Dulles seemed to believe that Pakistan on the southern boundary of the Soviet Union was an invaluable base and they gave massive military aid to Pakistan to the chagrin of India. Evidently this was a dangerous portent to India and Mr Nehru repeatedly warned that this act was unfriendly to India and that it was going to lead to war in the foreseeable future. But Mr Nehru's warnings did not carry conviction to Mr Dulles and Mr Eisenhower who offered similar aid to India, which was scornfully rejected by Nehru in order to remain non-aligned between the two power blocks. As a result, American dollars for the construction of military bases, Patton tanks, F-85 fighter aircrafts, radar equipments, medium and heavy artillery guns and the latest type of infantry weapons were provided to Pakistan to equip a powerful task-force while American U-2 spy aircraft and the 7th fleet operated from Pakistani air-fields and naval bases. Under the circumstances the problem of the Himalayan state of Kashmir, whose frontier abutted upon China and Russia, could no longer be solved by India peacefully as Pakistan's Western Allies sided with Pakistan.

Thus 1954 was a difficult year for India when Mr Nehru visited Peking to win respect for his non-aligned policy. Without knowing the inner working of the Chinese mind, who had four thousand miles of frontier with the Soviet Union, the Indian leaders seemed to think that the U.S.S.R. was not going to stand idly by if an American aided and equipped army invaded India. They took Nepal and the other Himalayan kingdoms for granted and discussed with the Chinese leaders about India's spheres of influence without realising that the Himalayan countries had established the earliest contacts with the Chinese peoples and that the Annals of China had records of diplomatic exchanges with the Himalayan kingdoms from the middle of the fifth century A. D. Thus while the Indian leader was extolling the 2,000 years of Sino-Indian friendship in Peking Nepal and other Himalayan states were getting suspicious of India, and everybody was eager to maintain good relationship with People's Republic of China. All the Himalayan states were interested that the Chinese were surveying and building roads through the Aksai Chin, and also how the People's Republic of China had made strides in developing its national economy by self-reliance while India stagnated in misconceived financial stringency despite her incalculable assets. It was a matter of wonder for us how the leaders of China had inspired masses of famine-stricken, backward, semi-colonial, and semi-feudal country into a new China.

Mr Chester Bowles' Report

On December 29th the third Indian Ambassador Mr Bhagavan Sahay presented his credentials to H. R. H. Crown Prince Mahendra and I returned from the function to read the Ambassador's report by Mr Chester Bowles, who had written two interesting chapters on Nepal namely, 'A Revolution comes over the mountains' and 'Point Four Aid for Nepal' which reflected his views of his visit to Nepal on February 1952 as follows: 'Diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Government of Nepal had been established with the Rana Government in 1947, and in 1951, after the Revolution, our first Point 4 technician—a mining Engineer entered the country.

'As do mountain peoples everywhere, the Nepalese struck us at once as friendly, open and self-reliant. We were all impressed by the marked difference in appearance of those northern neighbours of the Indians. They were generally shorter and fairer skinned than the Indians, and their high cheekbones and slightly-slanted eyes recalled their mixed Mongol and Hindu descent. The dress of the people was also different from that of India and the

familiar Indian Dhoti was replaced by warmer clothing more suited to the mountain temperatures.”

Talking about the Gurkhas he recalled the story of the Khud race in 1907, when the Nepalese soldiers defeated the Scottish infantry in a cross-country. He felt that there could be few places in the world with a climate more perfect than that of the Nepalese valleys. But the continued presence of the Chinese Communists on its northern borders made what happened in Nepal all the more important to India and to the whole of non-communist world. If Nepal should fall before an invasion from Tibet, or from internal communist revolution, the Communists would be poised right on the Indian border, above the great hinterland and less than 400 miles from Delhi. Then he wrote about the contrast of wealth and poverty in Kathmandu. In order to prevent infiltration, subversion and a sudden coup d'etat of the Communists the Government of India put her own troops side by side with the Nepalese Gurkhas in the Himalayan passes on the Tibetan frontier. But despite the helpful assistance of India, the new interest of the United States and the vigorous efforts of the Nepalese peoples to improve the living conditions in Nepal, everyone becomes aware of an undercurrent of restlessness. It is apparent that the people are willing to give their new Government a fair chance, but the situation can deteriorate if their hopes of democratic reforms are dashed again. As elsewhere in Asia the people of Nepal will not be long satisfied with the trappings of political democracy unless they can use their freedom to attack the ancient plagues of hunger, ignorance and disease which still oppress them.

Talking about the Point Four Aid in the Himalayas Mr Bowles said that Nepal lacked people with any kind of technical training, either for the administration of Government itself or for guiding the people in the improvement of living conditions. 98% of the people were uneducated to begin training in administration, health, agriculture and other fields. In a country of 50,000 square miles there were only about 170 miles of roads over which an automobile could be driven. Total electric power only amounts to 1825 kilowatts despite the fact that the snowfed rivers plunging down from the Himalayas offer an abundant source of cheap power. Health problems are staggering. 40% of the people have malaria. Tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery, hook-worm, elephantiasis, trachoma and venereal diseases are rampant. In the fact of this there are only 650 hospital beds in the entire country, only three doctors with the equivalent education, fifty more with some training and ten nurses. Modern equipment, drugs and other medical

supplies are almost unavailable. In 1953 more than half the land was owned by large land-owners charging rents averaging 50% of the crop. Village money lenders charged interest from 20% to 100% annually. There was no accurate Government record of revenues and experiences, and other statistics were almost nil. Every tiny patch of land, which was level or which hard work could make level, was cultivated and much of it irrigated even at the height of 8,000 feet. Nepal had skipped the stage of animal-drawn and automatic transportation and had finished straight into the air age. Nepal has leaped in one bound into the 20th century. Even the palace of the Ranas had no heat, no refrigeration, no adequate cooking facilities and no toilets.

'It is so easy to show quick progress here', said Mr Paul Rose— an experienced extension worker, 'practically all the ploughing is done in Nepal by simply breaking the earth with a wooden pick. Very few of the villagers have ever heard of a plough with a steel ploughshare. If we could just show these people how to make and use simple tools, how to sow in rows and get to use natural manure the increase in food production would be tremendous. The wheat and rice grown in Nepal were pure strains and were subject to continual blight and disease. 300 types of seeds imported from the U.S. yielded 30% to 40% increase over the average yield.

For improvement of the lot of the people of Nepal Dr. George Moore had written essays on *Malaria Control and Child Care* and Father Moran had opened a school at Godavari. I found the book extremely interesting at a time there were indications for the final showdown between the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet. The stage seemed to be set for political change when the General Council of the National Democratic Party passed a resolution on December 30, 1954 that it was impossible to work in the Government in the present form.

Chapter XVII

MONTHS OF CHAOS AND TURMOIL

January 4, 1955–February 27, 1955

Reports from Lhasa said that the prices of food had dropped considerably in Tibet due to the arrival of large quantities of rice, flour and live-stocks from China in convoys of trucks using the new motorable roads, and that some of the truck-drivers were Chinese women. By this time China had been linked with Tibet by two major roads, capable of carrying heavy traffic of men and materials. Then, too, a railway line to Lhasa had been contemplated and detailed survey operations had commenced. Baffled by the U.S.A. Pakistan defence pact in the face of Chinese success in Korean war and in aiding Viet-Minh in their war with the French in Indo-China, the Government of India instructed the Lhasa Agency officials to transfer to the Chinese Authorities the military communication and postal rights in Tibet which they inherited from the British as a result of the Anglo-Tibetan treaty of 1904. This upset the Tibetans who sent telegraphic messages to the Dalai Lama in Peking asking him to return to the Tibetan Capital as early as possible. We also heard the Dalai Lama was now seeking permission to meet Mr Nehru before fulfilling his plan to visit Russia. But by defending the Sino-Indian agreement of 29th April 1954 Mr Nehru had wounded Tibetan sentiment. The Government of India seemed to be inclined to think that 'historical and practical considerations had necessitated the step in recognition of the existing situation in Tibet'. Subsequent to this Mr Nehru and Marshal Tito issued joint statements about their peace moves and motives, which baffled the U.S. and the USSR.

We celebrated January 4th as a half-holiday to honour our poet laureate Pundit Lekha Natha Paudyal who had given a face-lift to modern Nepalese literature in the face of the Terai Congress bogey for Hindi. All the poets and writers of Nepal, including Father Moran lent their hands in drawing the chariot bearing the venerable poet with great enthusiasm. Everybody spoke in Nepali to honour the poet. Mr M. P. Koirala presented a purse of Rupees five thousand, which the poet contributed to the development of our language and literature. We were moved when the poet spoke in a tense atmosphere about the unique place of Nepalese language in the present controversy. Except for a handful of Terai Congress the peoples of Nepal seemed to be growing in their conviction that Nepali was one language and Hindi another. No doubt this was greater gain than the day to day squabbles of our politicians on our road to national resurgence after the slump of the Rana regime.

But local politics was getting out of control as the Nepali Congress insisted on carrying out a Satyāgraha if their six-point demands were not conceded. These demands elicited strong criticisms from the Prime Minister. While I was going a head with the selection of candidates for the office of Election Commissioner Mr Ranadhir Subba of the Gorkha Parishad declared that the demands of the Congress were vague, and he suggested that the different political parties should set January 1956, as the goal for holding general elections. Both the rightist and the leftist parties accused the leaders of the Nepali Congress of trying to improve their bargaining position in future negotiations with the Prime Minister. Under the circumstances all the parties opposed to the Prime Minister and the Nepali Congress appealed to the Crown Prince to form a caretaker Government till the elections.

There were interminable round of dinner, drinking and dancing parties where I met leaders of different parties and told them how I was much more interested in the avi-fauna, sculptures and in the motivation of the heroes and heroines of Nepal than in the announcement of nation-wide non-cooperation movement by Mr B. P. Koirala to boycott the Government offices, to refuse to pay taxes and to observe general strikes on and from January 10th. The Communists and their supporters joined the movement, despite their criticism of the Congress Party. On the same day, the Prime Minister assumed to himself the Home portfolio from Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya. The Nepali Congress leaders hailed their victory on receiving a letter from Crown Prince Mahendra stating that the demands of the Nepali Congress

for an independent judiciary, general elections and peaceful conditions in the country would be implemented shortly.

There was quite a sizable gathering to celebrate Prithvi Jayanti where I discussed the excavations of Kapilvastu and Lumbini under the auspices of the Is.M.E.O. with Yogi Śrī Narahari Nath, who had returned with 300 inscriptions from Gorkha and western province. In the meantime the Burmese had pledged to contribute a large sum of money for building operations in the birthplace of Buddha Śākyamuni. But on the same day we were disturbed to learn that angry Communist-led mobs had raided the office of the Nepali Congress and insulted Mr Khadga Man Singh, charging them with betraying the people's movement. But on January 13th we were happy to hear the news that the Chinese Liberation army had rid the bandits of the region of Mānasarovara so that the Buddhist and the Hindu pilgrims travelled to the Holy places under the most perfect arrangement for pilgrimage.

Whereas the leftists groups continued their campaigns independently with violence, I was much more interested in the eruption of the members of the traditional Eighteen Guṭhis (Goṭis-Gauṣṭhikas) for holding the Samyak Ceremony at the foot of the Swayambhunāth (Go-śringa) hill for which we had been ordered to attend at 11 A.M. on Friday January 14th 1955.

Genesis of Samyak Thinking in Nepal

Since Śākyamuni turned the Eight-spoked Wheel of Samyak (correct) Dharma (norm of law) as a revolt against the revelatory teachings of Vedic Brahmanism there are 18 Goṭis (Gauṣṭikas-Guṭhis – Trade Guilds) in the Śākyan Capital of Kapilvastu to translate Buddhistic teachings into practice in our work-a-day world. According to the accounts of the ancient Buddhistic text known as *Mūla-Sarvāsti-vādu vinaya* indited in the fourth century B.C. the Śākyas and Kolis had dispersed from their capital after the attack of Virūḍhaka, and some of them had founded Koli-grāma (village of the Kolis) in what is Kathmandu to-day. Profound international scholars had discovered that the Vinayas (rules and disciplines of Buddhistic teachings) containing also the life of Śākyamuni Buddha were of the highest importance for the study of the earliest Buddhist literature and its development. The Chronology of Nepal makes specific mention of important events of the Buddhistic Janapadas during the reign of the Kirāti kings. More because

the Vinaya of Mūla-Sarvāsti-vādins are found in Chinese and Tibetan translation from Prākṛit and Sanskrit sources while the records of Ceylon of the same Buddhistic literature are preserved from Pāli School of Magadha.

As I began making an in-depth study of the 18 Viharas of Kathmandu as well as the traditional Viharas of Lalitpur and Bhadgaon, I was interested to find the mention of the 18 trade corporations in the early Licchavi inscription of the valley and also of the Buddhistic worship from the period of the seven historical Buddhas down to the transitional period of the Licchavis, when the most interesting images of Avalokiteśvara were sculptured and preserved in the Holy of Holies, some of whose bases were traced with Licchavi characters. There, too, some of the stone-chaityas were inscribed with Buddhistic confessio-fides and the Buddhistic dictums of donations in contravention to the Dvaipāyanic dictum in the Brahmanic charts. It was evident that the decline of the Licchavis in Nepal was due to the resurgence of Brahmanism from the period of king Jayadeva. After the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. epigraphy, numismatics and foreign sources ceased abruptly in the central valley of Nepal till about 1000 A.D. when we occasionally heard about the victory of king Aramuddi of Nepal over king Jayāpida of Kashmir or of Atiśā's travel to meet king Anantakirti in Western Nepal for his journey to Tibet. During my tour of office in Tibet I realised the importance of a better knowledge of the religious, cultural and political history of Nepal for the evolution of Tibetan religion and culture. The present scientific expedition of Professor G. Tucci and Yogi Śrī Narahari Nath had brought evidence of the Khasa kingdom of Western Nepal and Western Tibet, which provided one of the most interesting examples of the action and interaction of Śaivism, Brahmanism and Buddhism to produce the Samayak culture under the universal spell of 'Omn svasti maṇi padme hum' to provide one of the most recent examples of the subjugation of the creators of a great urban civilisation by a less sophisticated but more virile and dynamic population of nomads and hill-peasants, who claimed Suvarṇagotra (gold-race) origin. Thus while the descendants of the sophisticated and aristocratic Śākyas and Kolis kept their faith in Śākyavardhana and Śirimā and their stupas intact with the embellishment of the changing doctrines of passing generations, the Kirātas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Khasas and Śakas of Suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race origin) excelled in the organisation of the Government and succeeded in bringing the whole of Nepal under the control of a central authority. This achievement traceable to the reign of the Kirāta kings and their modern version of Khasas and Chhetriyas as pro-

tectors of Dharma (norm of law), history and culture of the invisible but important poor men of Nepal by worshipping their monuments had remained a unique feature of the history of Nepal till the invasion of Sultan Shamsuddin Illias in the middle of the 14th century A.D. which helped unify our feuding aristocracy. Unlike the rulers of the Kirāta-gaṇarājyas, Buddhistic Janapadas and the powerful confederation of the Licchavi, Ābhīras (Avars), Hunas (Huns) and Khasa rulers of Western Nepal and Western Tibet, the new comers did not respect any rival to their Almighty Allah.

The disaster of the Moslem invasion made the quarrelsome Nepalese aristocracy realise the value of national unity and they rallied round the central authority of king Jayaraja Malla to throw out the Islamic invaders and rehabilitate the country. Once more king Jayasthiti Malla from the western confederacy of the Malla kings was welcomed by the peoples of Kathmandu valley, married princess Rājalla Devi and made powerful by the union, he restored the ancient monuments and re-established diplomatic relations with the powerful emperors of Delhi and Peking. After the glorious days of the Licchavis, king Jayasthiti Malla paved the way to further contacts with the Ming Dynasty and influenced China by Nepal's religion and aristocratic creations. Most unfortunately the division of Nepal by Yakṣa Malla among his sons and the consequent surrender of our national shrine of Paśupati to the south-Indian priests were indicative of the shifting horizon.

Samyak Ceremony in Modern Nepal

The victories of the Gorkhas under king Prithvi Narayana Shah during the rise of the British power made the great leader realise the political status of Nepal as a 'stunted yam sandwiched between two cold stones'. He reunited Nepal and restored the flame of freedom with the traditional conviction of its own righteousness against the fabricated ideologies of Kiplings and Quizzlings who supported Imperial Britain's righteous wars against the 'lesser breeds without the law.' But king Prithvi Narayana died in 1771 A.D. before he could realise his dreams; and his dynasty produced minors, so that the bureaucrats flew at each other's throats till the Ranas waded through the blood of their kinsmen to their position of pelf and power which they held for more than a century before they were overthrown from their Role of Succession by the joint efforts of king Tribhuvana and the Nepalese peoples.

All old nations have a tendency to develop certain social taboos and complexes, and one of the main problems arising from the Brahmannic

hegemony was the coexistence of different systems of status evaluation of caste in a Samyak Society which had got rid of Virupākṣa-kāma-jaṭilatā (Oedipus complex) by recourse to the day-to-day method of worshipping the Five Ms. of our mortal existence in the overall scheme of 'Kāraṇapūjā'. The immortal Sanskrit poet Bhāravi has summed up the practical workings of the lost horizon of Samyak Society in his classical work of the *Kirātārjunīye*. I had already read the name of Bhāravi in connection with the delimitation of the boundary of a monastery in one of the Inscriptions of king Śīva deva and Aṃsuvarman before the temple of Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa, which gave strong indication that the poet was born and brought up in Nepal. But my investigations in the vicinity of the temple did not yield positive results except for the discovery of a number of broken images of Buddha Messiah (Anāgata Buddha known as the Walking Buddhas) and the vestiges of Buddhist Vihāras on the banks of river Maṇimati.

It, then, occurred to me that the Brahmannic revival, which had begun with the rise of king Haridatta Verman, had with varying fortunes, reached its zenith with the ascendancy of Anuparama-Gupta Gomīn and king Vasantadeva who was the son of king Māna deva and Jaya Sundarī of the origin of the Mālava-gaṇas ruling central India at the time under king Naravarmma. Judging by the inscription of Dhrūva-sangha-vārtta there was a revolt against the Brahmannic revival with the pernicious dictum of Dvaipāyana vis-a-vis the Buddhist formulary of donation obtaining in the earlier inscriptions of Chāvahil to restore the liberal tradition of Kirāta-gaṇas sung by Bhāravi in his immortal classic of the *Kirātārjunīye* in the interests of the invisible but important poor Kirātas, Yakṣas and Kinnaras against the background of the Brahmannic epic of the *Mahābhārata*. In view of the storm and stress of the most revolutionary period of the early Licchavi kings, and also of the vicissitudes in the fortune of the multi-ethnic Himalayan peoples, the mention of Bhāravi in the inscription of Śīva-deva and Aṃsuvarman appeared to me most significant, specially because the poet had put before us the hopes and aspirations of the historical Buddhas and Kapila's Sāṅkhya system of philosophy to synthesise the anti-thesis of Buddhism, and Vedic Brahmannism in the crucible of heroic Pāsupata-dharma, which the Kirātas, Yakṣas, Śākyas and Kolis worshipped in their own particular way. The synthesis of various gods in the scheme of 'Vyūha' (fortress) showed great quickening of human intelligence at this period.

Then, too, I had delved deeply into the Celestial songs of the *Bhagavad-gītā* by no less critics than Mr Bālagangādhara Tilak and Mr M. K. Gandhi,

and Dharmakṛiti's *Pramāṇavārttikam* of about the seventh century A.D. to attack, on the basis of syllogism of Buddhistic logic, the "worship of the five-lingas" in the scheme of Kāraṇapūjā (worship of reason and nature), both of which led to mythology in the midst of sober history. With the political weakness at the centre, I have already stated how the many principalities had fought one against the other to the ultimate disintegration of Nepal till the rise of the Khasa kingdoms of Western Nepal and Western Tibet. The invasion of Islam wrought a new havoc till king Jayasthiti Malla restored Brahmannic hegemony under the influence of South India. The division of Nepal by Jayasthiti Malla's son Yakṣa Malla among his three sons ushered in the Three Malla-kingdom period to the disintegration of Nepal till king Prithvi Narayaṇa Shah compelled the warring tribes and nobles to submit themselves to the suzerainty of the principality of Gorkha.

Judging by king Prithvi Narayaṇa Shah's writings the new leader seemed to be influenced by the works of king Jayasthiti Malla. But there are no indication in the great king's 'Advice to posterity' that Prithvi Narayaṇa had studied the development of Samyak Society from Śākyamuni Buddha to the heroic state of the Kirātas described by Bhāravi in his classical work of *The Kirātārjunīye*. Nevertheless king Prithvi Narayaṇa's description of Nepal as a "flower garden" comprised by the multi-ethnic peoples of various castes and creeds in the overall scheme of composite norm of "Saddharma" (true doctrine) show his realisation of the evolution of the concept of "Dharma" (norm of law) vis-a-vis the American concept of Revolution against the British at about the same period.

A Comparative Study of the Evolution of the Nepalese Peoples with the Resurgence of the Gorkhas and the American Revolution against the British

It is remarkable that the resurgence of the Gorkhas under the leadership of king Prithvi Narayaṇa Shah and the American War of Independence occurred in the second half of the 18th century A.D. Like the American leaders of independence, one of the most notable aspects of king Prithvi Narayaṇa Shah's Administration was his intense suspicion of European intrigues in our neighbouring countries. After establishing himself at Kathmandu, king Prithvi Narayaṇa Shah set to work at once upon the complete pacification and reunification of the Nepalese peoples. He drove out the Capuchin Missioneries of Italy, closed Nepal's passes to all European merchandise and encouraged domestic industries and productions. In a letter

to the Dalai Lama the Nepalese king advised the Pontiff of Tibet that, in return for free access of Nepalese exports to Tibet, the Lamaist Government of His Holiness should join with him in forbidding the imports of anything that was associated with the growing political ambitions of the 'Phiringis' (European predators), who had wrested Bengal from the Islamic conquerors.

Most unfortunately for Nepal, king Prithvi Narayana Shah died a premature death in 1771 about four years earlier than the American War of Independence before he could work out the solution of the Himalayan problem of standing on our own legs between Imperial China and the British Power in India. But, under the military inspiration of king Prithvi Narayana Shah the Gorkhas went ahead in their career of conquest without adequate historical religious, political, economic and social preparations along the traditional Samyak lines between 1770 and 1816 A.D. Realising their military superiority over the Himalayan tribes, they extended their boundary over a vast stretch of territory without much of an opposition. Intoxicated by their military successes the multi-ethnic Gorkha warriors lost their traditional sense of perspective and encroached upon the territories of Bihar and the United Provinces, which brought them into conflict with the British Authorities of India. From my study of the history of the American War of Independence I knew how hard George Washington and the American Generals found it to fight British Colonial Policy even with the military and naval aid of the rival French Power. Although I had discovered records of French help to reorganise our army and war industries during the corresponding period, yet our land-locked country could not expect military and naval aid from the revolutionary French people on the same scale as the American leaders received during American War of Independence. Contrary to king Prithvi Narayana Shah's practice of restoring Buddhistic monuments of Nepal and of remaining in peace with Tibet and China, the Gorkhas under Brahmmanic hegemony alienated the feelings of the Lamaist Government of Tibet by indiscriminately attacking Tibetan territories and plundering the rich Tibetan monasteries, which brought against Nepal the Sino-Tibetan combination and war of 1790-1792 A.D.

Nepal and Sino-Tibetan War of 1790-1792 A.D.

Already in 1788 A.D. Bahadur Shah had sent the Nepalese Governor of the district of Morang to invade the Kingdom of Sikkim under the instigation of the immigrants from Nepal, who remained outside the framework of the local Tibetan-Lepcha Society under resurgent Brahmmanic hegemony.

Although many of the immigrants hailed from the multi-ethnic tribal communities of midland Nepal who acknowledged the Lamas and the Pundits equally in their rites of initiation, they had now been influenced by high-caste ideas of purity and exclusiveness stemming from the Brahmannic hierarchy of India.

In our volatile history of the status of the married and the unmarried women, nuns and spinsters from the days of Pārvati, Māyādevī, and Sitā, few somersaults have been more stunning than the total reversal in Nepalese attitudes towards the problems of sex after king Māna deva's elopement with Vijayasvāminī which shook the world way back in the fifth century A.D. I had also made significant in-depth survey of the statue of mass marriages of young girls of eight known as Gaurīs to the bel-fruit which represented the Suvarṇa-Kumāra (the Golden Prince from the Suvarṇabhūmi or Gold country) to free them from the sin-complex of widowhood associated with the Vedic sanction of marriage before the sacred Fire. After more than a thousand years of cumulative human experience in the wake of the introduction of Samyak-dharma by Śākyamuni, Māna deva seemed to be racked by doubts when he weaned his mother away from her determination to burn herself in the funeral of his dead father Dharma deva. The chivalrous king had seen it clearly that dogmatic beliefs were often the handmaids to catastrophe in the conduct of day-to-day human affairs. Like the Kirāta, Yakṣa, Kinna-
ra, Śaka, Kuṣhāna and Khasa kings Māna deva wanted to be true liberator of mankind by showing our people the Samyak-way to live by developing the psychic powers of the Five Ms within ourselves, rather than basing ourselves upon the Vedic and the Buddhistic dogmatic schools and hating mankind. The immortal Sanskrit poet Bhāravi had written about the heroic Samyak Society in his classical work of the *Kirātārjunīye* vis-a-vis the epic of *Mahābhārata*. But the Vedic Brahmin and the Buddhistic scholars had indited the Celestial Songs and the *Pramāṇavārttikam* respectively to combat the psychological implications of the concept of Sthāṇu-Śiva. The attitude of the Brahmannic Government of Bahadur Shah and the Nepalese immigrants of Sikkim did not in any way help us to explain the dominant role of Samyak-dharma and the particular psychological situations that led to the Great Samyak Society in the fifth century A.D. This was the lost horizon. Neither did the immigrants to Sikkim and the Tibetan-Lepcha people of Sikkim like to live the life as our multi-ethnic peoples lived in the midland mountains and the Himalayas to produce the miscellaneous peoples whose caste improved with economic or political

power in the Brahmantic Society. The Nepalese merchants of Tibet gave birth to the Khuchras by their union with Tibetan women. Provision for the issue from intercaste marriages was far more elaborate in our Samyak Society than in any Brahmantic society of India. Miscegenation was a permanent and accepted feature of the Nepalese caste-system even from the time of the Kirātas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras and the historical Buddhas, some of whom were of Kaśyapa origin.

In the Himalayan highlands the kingdoms of Sikkim had a king of Tibetan origin speaking Tibetan language and following Tibetan religion and culture. The intolerant attitude to inter-caste unions evinced by the Nepali-speaking inhabitants of Sikkim was at variance with the practice of the Khasa communities of Nepal. But the Thakuri aristocracy under purely Brahmantic hegemony supported the Nepali community and attacked Sikkim. Stunned by the action of Nepali rulers, the Lamaist Government of Tibet bought the Gorkhas off by the promise of annual tribute and the cession of chunks of territories at the passes of Kuti (Nyanam) and Kyirong, for the possession of which there had already been several wars between Nepal and Tibet. Then, on the flimsy pretext that the Tibetans had insisted upon the circulation of Tibetan black-mohur (coin) at an unfair rate of exchange on Nepal's northern borders, an expeditionary force of 18,000 Gorkhas marched through the pass of Kuti over one of the most difficult roads of the world, pushed 257 miles with great rapidity under inclement weather and captured and looted the monastery of Digarcha (Shigatse) contrary to the tradition of their ancestors who had helped to build them and embellish them with mixed divinities and Nepalese art. At this the Dalai and the Panchen Lama of Tibet sought the aid of Peking, who insisted on the restoration of the plunder of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo. But under the purely Brahmantic influence at the court of Nepal at this period, the leaders at the court of Kathmandu seemed to have forgotten the wholesome advice of king Prithvi Narayana, who had also helped to restore the Buddhistic monuments according to the Samyak-tradition of Nepal.

With the British knocking at the southern gates of Nepal, it would have been a great diplomatic victory for the Nepalese Durbar had they consented to negotiate with China and secure those northern passes of Kuti and Kyirong. We can very well guess the imbalance at the Nepal-Durbar with the sickening tales of court intrigues, self-preoccupations of the nobles,

prophecies of the naked Fakirs, personal vanities and Oedipian complexities in the nature of the Nepalese hierarchy, when our Government received Imperial China's Delegates with discourtesy and added insult to injury by rejecting the wholesome offer. This brought about the Sino-Tibetan coalition under the overall command of Duke Fu-K'ang-an, who had been making military preparations to oppose the militant Gorkhas in their career of conquest. The Chinese General despatched a large army of 72,000 officers and men, who overwhelmed the over-confident and war-crazy Gorkhas upon the open highlands of Tibet. There was no alternative for the brave Gorkha Generals, Damal Damodar Pandey and Bam Shah but to conduct as efficient retreat as was possible under winter conditions, and hope to defend their mountain passes with such vigour as still to leave the way for a settlement favourable to Nepal.

The Gorkha expeditionary forces could not cope with the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Sino-Tibetan soldiers on the cold, windy and open highlands of Tibet. So in 1790 the Nepalese Generals made a diversionary retreat through the defiles of Hatia and Khartah in order to avoid direct confrontation with the Sino-Tibetan troops on the plains of Tingri and deflect the course of Sino-Tibetan advance to our Capital through the comparatively shorter pass of Kuti (Nyanam). This strategy cost us 2000 troops, but paid very good dividends when it came to the ultimate defense of Nepal in 1792 A.D.

Comparative Study of the Nepalese Inscriptions and Documents and the Sino-Tibetan Inscriptions and Documents

A comparative study of the documents and inscriptions of Nepal and the Sino-Tibetan inscriptions of Lhasa as well as the descriptive account of *The Expeditions against the Gorkhas in the Ch'ien-lung reign* compiled by Wei Yuan show how skillfully the Gorkhas made use of the Himalayan terrain and environment to surprise, harass and thin the enemy ranks with the superb tactics of Guerrilla warfare known to our warriors through the periods of the Kirāta, Licchavi and Khasa kings. And all the accounts of this period agree that the skilful Gorkha war-veterans made the Sino-Tibetan troops pay heavily in the difficult Himalayan terrain till such time as they could lure the enemies on the narrow defiles of river Tadi right across our fortress of Nuwakot in West No. 1 and take their final stand over the bridge of river Betravati, where the officers, rank and file of the enemy were so demoralised as not to

care to recommence the struggle. One thousand well-armed Gorkhas secreted themselves on the opposite shore, and thence attacked the Sino-Tibetan troops, who were crossing a treacherous bridge over the stream of Betravati. Pressed by their own troops from the rear and opened by the death-defying Gorkhas with their war-slogans of the Master of the Battle in front, the enemy commanders had no alternative to training their own guns from behind to force the decimated and demoralised troops on to the bridge. Till this time our Gallant General Damal Damodar Pandey was said to be playing lido and only left it to command the war-crazy Gorkhas with his lion's roar to cut down the mooring chain of the bridge. As a result, a large number of the enemy forces were thrown into the surging, swift and cold stream of Betravati near the confluence of the rivers Tadi and Trisul-Gandaki. The bravery of the handful of the Gorkhas under Damodar Pandey against the combined Sino-Tibetan forces could be counted as one of the epics in the defence of Nepal, which could challenge comparison with the action of the Greek king Leonidas in Thermoplae. This was where the Sino-Tibetan advance stopped and peace negotiations between Nepal and China were begun.

But the Home Government of Nepal was not as firm and gallant as our soldiers in the field of battle and had sought the aid of the British power without realising that the Imperial Government of China had sent intimations to the British Indian authorities to attack the kingdom of the Gorkhas simultaneously with them, so that the two Governments may divide between them the land of the Gorkhas after peace had been restored. Crafty Lord Cornwallis refused to give us any aid but deputed Colonel Kirkpatrick to act as a mediator. The Englishman arrived too late to play active role in the negotiations but his scholarly accounts of Nepal are illuminating for the period.

It would be also interesting to quote the Chinese account for its assessment of the political conditions of Nepal.

“At that time the enemy's country bordered on the southern side upon the Indian land named ‘P’i-leng (A Chinese and Tibetan transcription of the Nepalese form of Phiringhi for Frank by which name Nepal described the Europeans). This land had long ago become Britain's dependency and repeatedly had had quarrels with the Gorkhas. When Fuk'ang-an at the head of his troops had entered the enemy's territory, he sent to all the countries bordering on the Gorkhas, i.e. Che-meng-hsuing (Sikkim) and Tsung-mu-pu-lu-k'e (Bhutan) on the south-east, Pat-tso-mulang (the kingdom of

the Sikhs) on the west and Chi-kar-h (Bengal) and P'i-leng (Phiranghi) on the south,— the intimation to attack the Gorkhas simultaneously, promising to divide between them the Gorkha's lands, after peace had been restored.”

Judging by the intriguing border and international situations, the Sino-Nepalese treaty of 1792 signed at the fort of Nayakot, the Government of Nepal appear to have secured important religious, cultural and economic advantages before the Sino-Tibetan forces reached Kathmandu. Whereas Mr P. Landon has by-passed the terms of the Sino-Nepalese treaty of 1792 recorded by Padma Jung Bahadur Rana in the *Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur Rana*, Yogi Sri Narahari Natha has presently published the authentic treaty with all its implications which I translate as follows:-

1. That the Emperor of China should henceforth be considered as father to both Nepal and Tibet, who should regard each other as brothers;

2. That after due investigation by the Chinese Government, the full value of the merchandise plundered from the Trade Corporations of Lhasa would be paid to the Nepalese sufferers by the Tibetan authorities;

3. That all Nepalese asubjects, exception the armed soldiers, would be permitted to travel and restore business establishments and factories and to carry on trade within the jurisdiction of Tibet and China;

4. That if either of the two fraternal states should covet the territories of the other by resort to arms, the Representatives of the two Governments would report all particulars of the dispute to the Imperial Court of Peking for arbitration;

5. That if Nepal be ever invaded by foreign power, China would come to the assistance of Nepal;

6. That the two fraternal states may send to China some produce of their country every five years in token of their filial love;

7. That the Imperial Government of China would reciprocate by sending to Nepal a friendly Delegation with presents, and would also make necessary arrangements for the dignity and comfort of the Nepalese Delegation to and from Peking.

Apart from religious, cultural and fraternal bonds to perpetuate the traditional ties of friendship between Nepal and China from the time of the Buddha, Licchavis and the Mallas, the entire retinue of the Nepalese car-

ried an exemption from all customs and 'likin' dues to and from Peking like, for examples, ambassadors of our days so that our highly placed officers eagerly sought for the privilege of visiting China. The Mission was treated with great courtesy in Peking and the business profits were considerable. The entire treaty was conceived and executed by the regent, Bahadur Shah, on the diplomatic line charted by king Prithvi Narayan Shah.

A Comparative Study of Nepal's Samyak-dharma vis-a-vis American Declaration of Independence

Great things were happening in the world after the French Revolution and the American declaration of independence at about the same period. Whereas the Nepalese, Chinese and the Tibetan documents refer the spiritual sanction from God to bear witness to our treaties, I was interested to study the Preamble of American Declaration of Independence for a comparative study of the attitudes of the Eastern and Western peoples. Haunted by the bitter memory of British domination, American peoples had attached great importance to the 'Declaration of Independence' in their history of independence. Whereas the Chronology of Nepal pointed to a string of three thousand years of independence enjoyed by our multi-ethnic peoples in the scheme of a Samyak Society ruled by the Kirātas since Śākyamuni confirmed the validity of the states of Himavant (Himalayas) by turning the Eight-spoked Wheel of Law, the multi-ethnic peoples of America treasured their document, by which thirteen original states to the American Union broke their colonial allegiance to Great Britain in 1776 A.D. though they stemmed from the parent stock of Europe. I was happy to find that this document was full of Jefferson's fervent spirit and personality, and its ideals were those to which his life was consecrated. On reading it I was happy to find that it was the noblest of American State papers. Though open to controversy on historical issues, it was not as flawless as 'the Chronology of Nepal' which gave an account of the miscegenation and rule of the nomadic tribes or urban population. Compared to Śākyamuni's declaration of Four Noble Truths and Eightfold paths of Samyak-dharma which bound the peoples of Asia in fraternal bonds, Jefferson's political theory seemed to be borrowed from the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704 A.D.). Both Locke and Jefferson wrote simply of political equality and political freedom, on which our mushrooming leaders after the Revolution of 1750 based themselves. But unlike the universal scope and appeal of the concept of Samyak-dharma in the deepening and widening astro-psychic scheme of death in all its dimension to the transition to Bhairavi-cakra, the idealistic formulae of Locke

and Jefferson were at variance with the actual condition of the time even within the limitations of political freedom and social equality for the Negroes and the Red Indians. Our revolutionary Rip-Van-Winkles based themselves in their party manifestoes on the phrases of the American document which had been applied as humanitarian formulae to the ghetto homes resulting from the abject social conditions of the poor workers in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. It was easy for the leaders of Nepal and India to borrow the preamble and party manifestoes from the American Document, whose appeals were reasoned enough to carry conviction and fervent enough to inspire enthusiasm among them at the present stage of political development. The rights of man lent dignity to the rights of Englishman as it disputed ancient European philosophy of life with a rare literary skill and unrivalled political address, which relieved minute criticism of a bureaucratic administrative system with the result that its limitations ultimately gave birth to the philosophy of Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883 A.D.) whose ideas had been shaking us from our northern borders. Compared to the principles and practices of Samyak-dharma in its overall scheme of development from Śākyamuni to Bhāravi the Lockean theory applied with inexorable logic to the aspirations of the American peoples to freedom from foreign yoke in 1776 A.D. But it did not apply to non-political conditions of human liberty during the crazy days of the Three Malla kingdom of our history when king Rama Shah wrote his codes to deliver justice equally among the divided states and when Prithvi Narayana stepped in to combat the fatal curse of Sati which made the Malla kings antagonize the principles and practices of Samyak-dharma under purely Brahmanic hegemony. A curious incident in this struggle was the presence of 12,000 British and Indian Sipahis brought by Sirdar Saktiballabha whom the Gorkhas cut down for the unification of Nepal. On the other hand, king Prithvi Narayana had made the noble offer of a huge beam to serve as the core of the superstructure of the stupa of Svayambhunatha even during the period of the deadly struggle between him and the Three Malla kingdoms. It was not a Trojan horse as Mr P. Landon would have us believe, but to judge king Prithvi Narayana by his 'Sacred Advice to Posterity' based on his studies of king Rama Shah and king Jayasthiti Malla (1382-1395 A.D.) he respected the Buddhistic stupas and Viharas and Brahmanic temples equally. There were occasions when the faith of the soldiers of king Jaya Prakash in the sacredness of the holy persons of Nepal saved the life of king Prithvi Narayana when he was mortally wounded. Unlike the soldiers of the American War of Independence who fought to ward off their distress among a population mainly of good

English blood and instincts on both sides, the multi-ethnic soldiers of Nepal fought to preserve their 'saddharma' (true law) and country under a desperate situation. The Gorkha kinsman of the Three Malla kings of the Valley had seen that the semi-demented kings and selfish and power-hungry nobles of their respective courts were not in a position to hold a balance between Tibet and China on the one hand and the intrigues of the European powers in India. After the retreat of the British forces to help the dismemberment of Nepal king Prithvi Narayana returned to his work of reunification with the thoroughness and ruthlessness of the Germans on their attack of Belgium in 1914 to the effect that the brutalities carried out on a small scale rendered the capture of the next large town a far easier affair. So bitterly were the Malla kings hated for their intrigues with the British power, Oedipean crimes and of plundering the treasure houses of the temples of Paśupati that the valley of Nepal lay at the mercy of king Prithvi Narayana. Whereas the Malla kings had the fatal gift of antagonising every interest of Nepal by allying themselves with the flattering villains of their Durbars and persecuting patriots king Prithvi Narayana had defeated the British forces and encouraged the family of such brave men as Mahindra Singh among the Nepalese, who had fought against him with valour in the battle of Chaukot. After the battle king Prithvi Narayana took under his protection the family of Mahindra Singh with rare generosity that justified his punishments of the Quizzlings and traitors who tried to betray the cause of his 'flower garden' of multi-ethnic peoples. As a far-sighted ruler king Prithvi Narayana Shah knew well how to take advantage of every opportunity; and Destiny as well as his faith in Saddharma appeared to have steadily strengthened his position at this critical juncture of Nepal's history. We cannot but agree with Mons. S. Levi's estimate of this eminent king to the effect that 'Prithvi Narayana was a man who stood on his feet wherever he was. To a boundless ambition he added a tenacity of purpose which never tired. He saw situation at a glance, made his decision at once and acted with cold determination. To those who had been of service he showed himself generous; to those who opposed him he became a brutal savage. So far as he was concerned religion, priests, the gods themselves were nothing but instruments put at his service for the empire he coveted.'

Concept of a Classless Society and its Aftermath

The last act in this great drama deserves Nepal's attention because it shows the motivation of the kings of Nepal in victory and defeat or in life and death,

call it superstition if you may. The Oedipian complexities of the three Malla kings had now infected the entire valley. In our land of festivals the citizens of Kathmandu were celebrating the lively and colourful religious ceremonies of Indra-Jātrā on the 29th of September, 1768, when the troops of king Prithvi Narayana entered the capital without opposition. At this king Jaya Prakash fled to Lalita-pattana and, taking with him the king, Tej Narasing, he sought refuge in Bhaktapur, which still held out. The folly of king Yaksha Malla in dividing his kingdom among his three sons and in surrendering the national shrine of Paśupati to the south-Indian priests in contravention of the hoary tradition of the "Ghaṇṭā Karṇas" had now yielded its poisonous fruits. Bitterly convinced of their follies the three kings gathered there a force of some importance and fought the troops of king Prithvi Narayana tooth and nail. Though brave Mahindra Singh Rai had laid down his life fighting, yet the Tibetan mercenaries were useless to combat the attack of the Gorkhas, who had already defeated the Indian Sipahis at Kathmandu and the English contingent at Hariharpur. Mad with rage the valiant Malla kings rebuked king Prithvi Narayana with Royal Dignity, but Prithvi Narayana invited the king of Bhaktapur to remain upon his throne, which he refused. On the other hand, the king of Bhaktapur asked for permission to retire to the holy city of Banaras, which was readily granted. Then the Gorkha king summoned the seven traitors of Bhadgaon and punished them severely after denouncing them for their betrayal. Prithvi Narayana then asked the mortally wounded Jaya Prakash what his last wishes were. The dying king replied that he wanted to die in the Āryaghāta before the temple of Virūpākṣa in the vicinity of the temple of Paśupati, which summed up the purpose of his existence. No matter how much or how little the world might have been with king Jaya Prakash Malla, yet king Prithvi Narayana was stirred by the last wishes of the dying King to enquire further what he wished as a comfort for his last hours. In reply the dying King sent back the curious request for an umbrella and a pair of sandals, which, in the imagery of Nepal, signified the universal reign of the Guardian God of Nepal while the sandals signified the footprints of the Buddha. Mr P. Landon records, "The umbrella and the shoes were sent, but with an accompanying message: 'I send you what you have asked for, but I forbid you to make use of them during the lifetime of either myself or of my son,'"

It appears to me that the last sentence was the fabrication of the Brahmins of Maharaja Chandra's court to condemn the revolutionary king Rana Bahadur Shah who confiscated their rent-free Birtas to finance his wars. On

the other hand, the request and the noble gift were indicative of the unbroken Samyak tradition of Nepal which the Kings of Nepal supported wittingly or unwittingly from the time of the Kirāta kings. If we analyse the Chronology of Nepal, the glory of the Himalayan people's republics did not lie in the conquest of large empires but in living in peace and honour with the multi-ethnic tribes under the Fish-tail banner of a Samyak Society described by Bhāravi in his immortal work of the *Kirātārjuniye*. Consciously or unconsciously, this last act of the two kings summed by their answers to Nepal's quest for the dimension in depth of human values. Jaya Prakash's request at the last moment of his life before the temple of Virūpākṣa in Ārya-gḥāṭa bore testimony to the universal reign of Śiva and to the "footprint" of the Buddha" in the scheme of a composite religion which had also absorbed the Vedic gods of the Sky. As a harvester Bhāravi had emphasised the inter-ethnic and inter-cultural contact situation prevailing among the Kirātagaṇas vis-a-vis the conservative Brahmannic Society of Indraprastha (Delhi) based upon the role of kinship and caste which had led to the tragedy of the Pāṇḍavas.

In the present context of the bipolar world the Samyak Society, in terms of modern democratic polity, was a Classless Society, where Government by discussion and popular participation seemed to be organised from the rock-bottom level of Gauṣṭhikas (cooperative organisations of peoples), who contributed in cash, kind or labour to enjoy absolute freedom and sovereignty to pursue their calling in a manner chosen by them. It was remarkable that the Samyak Ceremony was still held once in twelve years to our own day, but the drive and fire of Samyak-dharma was lost under the continual attack of the Brahmannic obscurantists who had been sedulously propagating the theories of ritual purity as an explanation of class and caste precedence. The super-race theory of the Vedic Aryans depended mainly on the political power of the Aryan Emperors like, for examples, Darius, Xerxes and Alexander the Great despite the cult of Śirimā (the Great Mother Goddess) and Śākyavardhana (Paśupati) and Samyak (correct) teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha. The mixed tribes of the Kirātas and Suvaiṇagotra (gold-race-origin) peoples were opposed to the subjection of the Aryan Empires by producing a more virile, dynamic and war-like population of heroic peoples in the scheme of a Samyak Society. The fame of such cradles of Asiatic civilisation as Kapilvastu, Srāvasti, Lumbini, Rāmagāma and Koligrāma had spread to Central Asia as a result of the Buddhistic Missions of Hemavata School of Buddhism, and attracted the attention of the Śaka, Indo-Greek and

Kuṣhāna kings. But the multi-ethnic Kirātas never bowed down to any power from without. The celebrated poet Aśvaghosa, the authors of *Lalita-vistara*, *Paripricchā*-literature and *Kārāṇḍavyūha* sung praises of the Himalayan republics asking the fraternal kings of the Śakas to liberate themselves from the shackles of the “Six enemies within themselves” before they could hope to liberate other peoples and tribes. The multi-ethnic peoples of the Himalayas had realised that “Saddharma” (true doctrine) was a great force in fact, the only motive force-provided they got a man to see God through his own eyes and not through theirs. Then, too, Bhāravi’s Kirāta makes it clear to Aijuna that the Samyak Society would cease to function if it did not produce brave men in a heroic state to defend its hopes and ideals. But this was a lost horizon during this twilight period of medieval Nepal, albeit the victor and the vanquished carried the conviction of Nepal’s continuity. So that Prithvi Narayaṇa’s “Advice to posterity” was not “a declaration of independence” from the British colonial power in the American sense, but a record of the reforms of Nepal carried out by kings Jayasthiti Malla and Rama Shah after the Islamic invasion.

Anglo-Nepal War of 1814-1816

After securing peace with Tibet and China along traditional lines on the northern frontier, the military activity of the Gorkha to the north-west continued with vigour. In 1794 A.D. the Gorkhas added the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon (Kartripura) to the kingdom of Nepal during the regency of Bahadur Shah. According to Mr P. Lahlton “the boundary of Nepal extended from Kashmir to the kingdom of Sikkim and the present site of Simla was Nepalese”. When King Prithvi Narayan Shah subdued the Malla kings, the Gorkhas were led by a band of tough and competent generals, who were forged in the fire of national unity with the full realisation of Nepal’s position as “a stunted yam sandwiched between two cold stones”. But the coming events cast their shadows before when the then Governor of the district of Jumla--Ranjit Kumar brought revolt against the Gorkha conquests by his maladministration at home and by his political intrigues with the ruler of Kangra and the rising power of the Sikhs of Lahore, which put Kila and Kangra under the permanent obligation of the kingdom of the Sikhs. Nevertheless far-sighted Bahadur Shah with the backing of such loyal followers as Dhananjaya Khatri overran Kangra and got one of the daughters of the ruler of Kangara in marriage to king Rana Bahadur Shah along with the bride’s eldest brother to be at the service of Nepalese court.

“Up to 1795”, says Mr P. Landon, ‘King Rana Bahadur Shah was treated almost as a cipher by his uncle (Bahadur Shah), but he then declared himself sovereign, arrested his uncle Bahadur Shah, and at once inaugurated a policy of egoism and violence, accompanied if not mitigated by a genuine appreciation of the fine arts, and at the beginning a marked patronage of the Brahman priests— so long, it should be added, as they acted according to his wishes. The Nepalese apparently recognised in him a reincarnation of Jaya Prakasha, whose return to this world was, it will be remembered, Prithivi Narayan’s intention to prevent.” I wonder how the incident of the gift of “umbrella and sandals”, which spoke for the universal reign of the Master of the Battle and the footprint of the Buddha, could be used by Mr P. Landon to justify the Brahmannic concept of reincarnation to defend the pernicious prophecy of Dvaipāyana promulgated since the time of Licchavi king Vasanta deva to secure the Birta-possession with their Faustian practice of “Kāṭṭo-khāney ceremony” vis-a-vis the Buddhistic chart of donation and also to secure the ritual purity of the Brahmins as an explanation of caste and class precedence vis-a-vis the Samyak ideals.

By all accounts Jaya Prakasha was a great revolutionary, who was riddled by the irremediable confusion of court intrigues, malice, foreign levy and military opposition both internal and external. Worn out with political anxiety and religious apprehensions this pious and industrious sovereign seemed to be oppressed by the “curse of Sati” so that he could not see the light of Samyak ideals on the other side of the tunnel. The unbridgable gap between the “Umbrella and the Footprint of the Buddha” needed a Samyak (correct) solution, but the solution offered by the high-caste Brahmins to the low-caste and down-trodden was the promise of Heaven or condemnation to “be re-born and survive as worm in the dung-heap for sixty thousand years”. These unpalatable religious, social, economic and political realities undermined the military campaigns of the brave fighters of the Three kingdoms. The crucial religious, social and economic issues required practical solution representing the need of the advancing times. If it drove the invisible but important “Ghaṇṭā Karṇa” to hark back to the lost horizon of his “Samayk Society,” this was enough to drive the Malla kings of the Three Kingdoms mad in their defeat. What could be done and achieved by our leaders in their dilemma? This was the time when the Government of Nepal had to be organised with enough political power and moral strength to reawaken our brave peoples to the glorious ideal of Samyak Society described by Bhāravi in his classical work of the *Kirātārjuniye*. Our past belonged to the brave

king of the Kirātas who embodied the will and power as a Paśupati-bhaṭṭā-raka (fraternal kings) so that the Vedic Brahmins and the Buddhists alone could not solve the vicissitudes of the continuity of our multi-ethnic peoples. Our political and social system had not been tested after the inception of the last Nepali-Era which was said to yield gold from the sands of the rivers of Nepal if they were gathered at the propitious moment. There could be no alternative to our drawing upon the deepest reserves of the heroic Samyak Society obtaining in the early Himalayan Gaṇarājyas and Janapadas (People's Republics) in order to resist our greedy enemies and not to be confounded by internal and external difficulties. The test was a great one and it needed a historical solution. For, never before the heterogenous population of Nepal had confronted the consequences of the British-type industrial and technological revolution under purely Brahmannic moorings.

For a while king Prithvi Narayana had rekindled the hopes and ideals of the Nepalese peoples who flourished under moral and mental discipline of our traditional Samyak Society. He had realised the weakness of the Brahmannic assumption that there was solution of every problem in the Almighty Viṣṇu's heaven of Vaikuṅṭha. On top of this optimistic theory, the overriding consideration of Nepalese life, as "a stunted yam sandwiched between two cold rocks", we were confronted with national and international problems, which could not be solved by the prowess of the Gorkhas in the battle-field in the fastly advancing world around, if we did not put our house in order. Caught in the predicament of Sino-Tibetan power on the north and the surging tide of the European powers in India Prithvi Narayana had foreseen in his advice to posterity that our Government at the centre had to find ways and means to remedy the undeniable grievances of caste as well as the economic imbalance between the rich and the poor, if we had to support the Gorkha fighters in the battle-field. The far sighted King had experienced that the Malla kings of the Three Kingdom period had lost their battles more on their weak home-fronts than in the battle-fields.

Under the circumstances both Jaya Prakash and Prithvi Narayana had foreseen that solutions for our deep and general malaise were to be sought not so much in the time-scale of the Brahmannic resurgence as under the "Universal Umbrella of the Master of the Battle and the Foot-prints of the Buddha." How could our leaders redress the grievances and backwardness of the downtrodden low-caste people and their moral inferiority consequent upon the strict division of caste-status since the reactionary reign of king Jaya Yakṣa Malla ? There was no possibility of a national

consensus of the Kirāta or Licchavi kings to appropriate the Birta (liege-free holdings) held by the high-caste Brahmins and nobles, level down caste-status and use the funds accumulated in the traditional Guthis (co-operatives) for national reconstruction in the Brahmannic environment at the period. But king Prithvi Narayana died in 1771 to guide the nation along Samyak lines.

At this stage we leave our readers to study for themselves the two volumes of Mr P. Landon's *Nepal*, which give us a panoramic view of Imperialistic intrigues and the cold callousness of the tyrannical high-priests, egomaniacal kings and half-demented nobles with the brute in their nature under the cover of Brahmannic obscurantism, which mocked realities in Nepal after the death of king Prithvi Narayana and the removal of Bahadur Shah from the political scene. Lost to their sense of self-righteousness the murder of the heroes of the Sino-Nepalese war by their Thapa rivals set the worst example of family vendettas and court-intrigues, albeit the invisible and unknown soldiers of Nepal showed the traditional guts of the Kirātas in the battlefield to attract the notice of the British warriors, who had vanquished Napoleon.

Despite Mr P. Landon's attempts to whitewash the Ranas and their predecessors who paved the way for Rana's usurpation, there is no way of expunging the Administration's domestic records and their foreign policies when India was a patchwork quilt of states on the eve of the Anglo-Nepal War.

Political State of India After the Sino-Nepalese War

The trouble with the Indian Government at this time was due to the fact that the East India Company was due not in a strong position in North India. In fact the whole of India was in a state of political ferment. The brave Sikh power under the leadership of Ranjit Singh was waiting their hour to strike while the Scindia and Holker in Central India revolted against British suzerainty. The Peshwas and the Pindaris of the Deccan allowed a continuous policy of revolt. These stirrings in the patch-work quilt of Indian states coupled with the Brahmannic prophecies of the coming doom of the East India Company in Nepal encouraged the war-crazy Gorkhas to move away from their military preoccupations on the east and the west to the British territories on the south, where they occupied 200 villages in the district of Gorakhpore without opposition. The "Nation of shop-keepers" were too busy with the military and naval engagements against the French Emperor

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821 A.D.) to take the stirrings in India seriously. After the Napoleonic drama culminated in the disaster of Trafalgar and Waterloo respectively, Lord Moira, the Governor General, abruptly demanded in 1813 the evacuation of the villages occupied by the Gorkhas after 7 years of silence, and on April 1814 the British troops reoccupied the 200 villages without opposition. In retaliation the experienced Gorkhas attacked the British in the month of May when their enemies were suffering from heat, malaria-fever and rain. At this the British sent an ultimatum, which the Gorkha authorities refused even to answer under the advice of two British deserters, Brown and Bell. Thus a state of war existed between Nepal and the East India Company.

At the outset, the Governments of the East India Company in Lucknow crippled the king of Avada (Oudh) by exacting twenty million rupees to finance the British army in their campaign against the Gorkhas.

According to Mr P. Landon's accounts "Lord Moira himself planned the campaigns. His strange strategy suggested the division of forces under his control into four separate armies from east to west under Major Generals Ochterloney, Gillepsie, Wood and Marley respectively. Of these four divisions, at first only that under General Ochterloney was successful. Of the others the tale is dreary reading indeed. The Generals broke down either in health or nerves; they were victims of every spy in enemy's pay; against and again movements that should have been simultaneous were defeated by the defection of one or more of the combined forces. It was, of course difficult to use scouts in the thick jungles of the Terai, but again and again the company's men found themselves confronting well-placed forts which they were unable to storm or even approach; marching and counter-marching characterised the manoeuvres of the eastern divisions.

"That under General Gillepsie suffered from no such want of vigour and decision. But he, too, found himself opposed to the fort of Kalanga near Dehradun. The defences were solid, the place was defended by six hundred men. Gillepsie determined to take Kalanga by assault, and arranged for a simultaneous attack by the four columns into which he divided his men. But Gillepsie was an impatient old gentleman. When morning dawned he ordered the signal to be fired earlier than he had given the columns to expect, and three out of the four failed to hear it. The attempts of the fourth column failed with heavy loss. Seeing this Gillepsie sent up three companies of the 53rd and a dismounted squadron of his cavalry and, true to his reputation

for gallantry, he led them forward in person. The 53rd, who were in a sullen mood, would not advance. It may have been that Gillepsie had underrated the practical impossibility of scaling the high stone-built of Kalanga, but the fact remains that he went on with the dismounted squadron. He was killed within thirty yards of the fort-gate.”

The gallantry of brave Balabhadra in defending the fort of Kalanga with six hundred men, women and children forms part of an epic of warfare comparable to the heroic spirit of the King of the Kirātas described by Bhāravi in his *Kirātārjunīye*. The fighting qualities of the brave Gorkhas forced the British Division to their base in Dehradun with heavy losses, where they waited a battering train of latest military equipments to reduce the fort of Kalanga. But the Gorkhas showed against their capacity to live with Death when they defended the fort amid bursts of shell-fire which took a toll of 520 soldiers. It is remarkable that hunger and thirst, rather than the shell-fire, compelled the Gorkhas to evacuate the fort, when the brave General emerged with his men, women and children to quench their thirst in perfect military trim with a martial spirit unbeatable and unbeaten in the annals of mankind.

General Ochterloney Adopts George Washington's Fabian Policy to Harass the Gorkhas

The defeats suffered by General Gillepsie's successor General Martindell in his attacks on the Nepalese fort of Jaithak on the 27th of December of the same year forms another glorious chapter in the history of mountain warfare, which made the British Generals change their views about the fighting quality and the military strategy of the Gorkhas, whose ancestors had produced a galaxy of warriors like, for examples Sthunko, Māna deva, Narendra deva, Aramuddi, Prithvi Malla and Prithvi Narayana to inspire their deeds. Alkhanzir has written a glorious account of the battles against the Gorkhas. Meanwhile General Ochterloney, learning, perhaps, from George Washington's strategy in America against the British, resorted to Fabian policy to harass the Gorkhas under General Amar Singh Thapa on the left bank of the river Sutarudra (Sutlej).

General Amar Singh Thapa Knew About the British Doctrine of Lapse

As a far-sighted statesman General Amar Singh was inspired by the works and deeds of king Prithvi Narayana to build a mighty Nepal with a long corridor at the base of the Himalayas from Burma to Kashmir. As a warrior

he has left an indelible stamp of his valour but the nature of his report to the Prime Minister at Kathmandu began to suggest that the members of the Home Government were leading a soft life without organising their country on a war-footing by making diplomatic alliances to combat the British Doctrine of Lapse and by setting up proper communications to supply the army, and that they knew nothing about the hard facts of war. On the other hand, the secret reports of General Ochterloney to the Governor General contained a frank admission that the soldiers of the East India Company "could not be brought to match the Gurkhas". With perfect understanding of each other's weakness the two contending Generals made honourable terms at Malaun on the 15th of May agreeing to evacuate the territory from Satarudra (Sutlej) to river Mahakali which forms the present boundary of the kingdom of Nepal with India.

But the Government of Kathmandu refused to ratify General Amar Singh's terms due to be signed on November 1815 A.D under the influence of the crystal gazing Brahmins, sooth-saying mendicants and arm-chair Darbarias, who predicted the downfall of the East India Company under the hammer of the Sikhs on the west and the Marhattas on the south. Thus on January 1816 the experienced British General Ochterloney, learning the lesson from General Morley's futile frontal attack on Kathmandu on the previous year, outflanked the Gorkhas in the Siwalik pass of Churia by pushing a detachment of light-infantry through a goat-track with the result that the Gorkhas had no alternative to retreating to the fortresses of Makawanpur and Chisapani-gadi. Outflanked, outnumbered and betrayed by the arm-chair politicians of the Nepal Durbar, the Gorkha fighters still offered their resistance on the basis of their heroic Samyak-tradition against impossible odds. For, Ochterloney's forces alone consisted of 13,000 soldiers, and they were reinforced by the troops under Colonel Nicols and Kelly. Like in the Sino-Nepal war of 1792 the Gorkhas came to terms with General Ochterloney on the 28th of February 1816 about two stages from Kathmandu. Since 1792 and 1892 Nepal has respected both the treaties with China and British India, though Jung Bahadur went to war with Tibet in 1856 independent of the British Government of India and Imperial China and also rescued the British from the debacle of the Sepoy Mutiny to gain important political advantages for Nepal.

Paradox in the Behaviour Pattern of the Gorkhas in the Battlefield as Soldiers of God and the Arm-chair Political leaders of Kathmandu

The fantastic Gorkha fire-works in the field of battle and the brutal

rivalry of the ruling factions at home during the Three Malla-kingdom period and of the Shah Dynasty after the death of king Prithvi Narayan Shah were the greatest political puzzles of Nepalese history until king Tribhuvana fought the brute in the nature of the Ranas and of the Brahmannic hierarchy to restore the Samyak ideals in the overall context of democracy and communism. If for their individual qualities alone, the Gorkhas had won as much admiration of Wilhelm Kaiser, Hindenburg and the generals of Hitler and Mussolini by fighting on the side of the Allies in the Second World War as they had covered themselves with glory in the Sino-Nepal, Anglo-Nepal and Tibet-Nepal wars to the great wonder and admiration of the opponents who fought them. We have already described how king Tribhuvana knew the secrets of a Samyak Society and tried to reawaken Nepal to the glorious discipline of Nepal which kept the Fish-tail banner of Nepal flying.

Like king Tribhuvana in our own time, the profound British Envoy, Mr B. H. Hodgson, who was the first European to study our strange religion and judicial customs against the dramatic catastrophes of Bhimsen Thapa's end, summed up the qualities of the Gorkha fighters vis-a-vis the British Indian soldiers in his report to his Government as follows:

“These highland soldiers, who despatch their meals in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turban before cooking--laugh at the pharaisical rigour of our Sepoys, who must bathe from head to foot and make “pujā” ere they begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours--the best part of the day. In war the former carry several days' provisions on their back, the latter would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible goblins and wizards and evil spirits.

“In masses, the former have the indomitable confidence, each in all, which grows out of national integrity and success; the latter can have no idea of this sentiment, which, however, maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril better than all other bonds whatever.

“I calculate that there are at this time in Nepal no less than 30,000 Dhakherias (unemployed stalwarts), or soldiers off the role by rotation belonging to the Khas, Muggers and Gurung tribes. I am not sure that there exists any insuperable obstacle to our obtaining, in one form or other,

the services of a large body of these men; and such are their energy of character, love of enterprise, and freedom from the shackles of caste, that I am well assured their services, if attained, would soon come to be most highly prized. In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in India, and if they are made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit and unadulterated military habits might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay, and noble pension establishment would serve to counterpoise the influence of nationality."

Mr B. H. Hodgson's suggestions of a trade treaty with the caste-dominated Government of Nepal as well as the enlistment of the Gorkhas in the British army,—seemed to be prompted by his studies to deal in a practical manner with the danger of militarism of Nepalese peoples that threatened Pax-Brittanica. From this period victory went to the terrifying people with Oedipian complexities in their character, who laid the foundation for the rise of Jung Bahadur and his sex-obsessed, greedy, patricidal and shortsighted successors, and not to the invisible but important poor tribal peoples who thrived under Samyak discipline. The British had now known that the Gorkhas thrived under Samyak discipline in contrast to the greed, superstition, boast of Brahmannic heraldry, blood-thirstiness, sensitiveness to ears rather than to reason and Oedipian complexities of the men at the apex of power under Brahmannic hegemony. This presented a sad contrast to the qualities of head and heart of the poor and honest peoples who produced fantastic fireworks in the battle to win universal acclaim the soldiers of man and God. The British also knew that the Gorkhas of Nepal were constantly renewed when they were awakened to their glorious past in order to undertake their great adventures.

Unlike the ruling cliques, who were as muddled as the murk of Hell about the fundamental ideas of our Samyak Society, the far-sighted British people investigated the chronology of Nepal and Mr Daniel Wright edited the history of Nepal in 1877. The truth is that, even in this age of science, man needed symbols and put up shrines to express his aspirations. Also unlike the Moslem invaders the British did not destroy our religious and architectural monuments; and their spirit of enquiry led them not only outwards but inwards also. Like the Kirātas, Śākyas and the Licchavis the Britishers had discovered that life was full of contradictions and that the universe was in a state of flux by its atomistic nature. The chief discovery the British had made in the battle-fields of the Anglo-Nepal war was also to encounter their true self far above the divisive clashes of nations and races.

As a result of the comradeship grown out of those murderous encounter in Anglo-Nepal war, the Gorkhas took part in two world-wars on the side of the Allies and came out better men than they went, when they returned home as the unknown soldiers of God.

There was no way out for us but to solve this puzzle of the vicissitudes of human continuity of the Kirātas, Śākya, Kolis, Licchavis, Āvirs and all the ancient races by living in the midst of Death or Death of Deaths vis-a-vis the absurdities and the contradictions of the same people at the apex of power under purely Brahmannic hegemony. In my own life I was distressed by the obsession of the Ranas for kitchen-status, for amassing wealth and power and their weakness for gambling, enslavement of women, perjury, forgery, double-dealing, patricidal habits, expensive rites of expiations for their sins and the Faustian dreams of “Kāṭṭokhāney” ceremony, which made the whole performances smack of cannibalism while man at the lowest rung of our Society had emerged as Princes of poverty with the slogans of “Ājā-jaya” (Victory to my tradition) to the jeer of the status-seeking members of their society under Brahmannic hegemony. Nevertheless, the Poḍeys guarded the “Piṭhas”, took care of the properties of their gods and goddesses, kept the secrets of their “Āgamas” and received worship on important occasions as “Ghaṇṭā-Karṇa Pāsupatāchāryas” (Bells-in-the-ears Professor of practical psychology). They survived by the most useful callings of flying in the face of Brahmannic superstitions and social taboos. These contradictions in Nepalese Society fired my imagination to make an in-depth study of our Samyak Society.

Genesis of the Incidents of January 14th, 1955

To return to the incidents of January 14th, 1955, I had the feeling that the traditional Eighteen-Buddhistic Corporations seemed to be so commercialised by the Vandyas (Tantric priests of the rich community of Banras) and by the Buddhistic priests under Brahmannic hegemony, that they had lost all the time points of the Samyak Buddhas, which formed the basis of Samyak Society. This was the date fixed for holding the Samyak ceremony at the foot of the Swayambhunatha hill according to the 12 year cycle. I had taken part in the Samyak Ceremony from my childhood up and was greatly moved by its Samyak ideals when Yangtse Lama from Tibet told us about the correct doctrine in lieu of Sanātanadharmā with disastrous consequences during the reign of the orthodox Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere. I had also steadily observed the decline of the Samyak Trade Corporations manned by the working people till the Great Earthquake, when, however, the Jyāpus

(farmers), Kumāles (Koliyan people who had now become potters), Syāmi (oil-pressers), Khusa (palanquin bearers), Nau (barbers), Kau (blacksmiths) Bhā (performers of funeral duties), Gathu (gardeners), Tepe (cultivators), Pums or Chitrakars (painters), Duhim (basket-carriers), Balāmi (field-workers), Pulu (funeral torch-bearers), Chhipā (Dyers), Giri, Kanphattā, Dom, Kusule, Danyā or Jogi (mendicants, musicians, tailors and the like professionals), Kasain or Khadgi (butchers), Kulu (drum-makers), Chāma-khalaka, Halahulu and Poḍeys (sweepers and guardians of the Piṭhas of the temples) and the Eighteen traditional Trade Corporations combined with the Guṭhiyars of the Khas and other mixed communities to build Nepal while the prosperous Gubhājus and Vandyas (Banras) financed the reconstruction of Nepal along Brahmennic lines. Before I take up the assessment of the divisive case engendered by the Ranas, I would like to give up observation of the behaviour pattern of the various communities after 1950, which saw the collapse of the Rana rule and return to liberal Shah polity under king Tribhuvana. Coincidentally 1950 also happened to be the year in which an opulent man of the community of Udās decided to pay the expenses of Samyak ceremony. As money, rather than Samyak tradition, provided the motive force behind this particular Samyak ceremony, all the Udāsas impressed upon Mr Samyak Ratna (the donor) the necessity of using only the Gubhājus (priests) of their own community for the religious worship in contravention of the custom of performing the ceremony by priests of Āchārya-guṭhi. Thus, the main faction of the Gubhājus of Āchārya Guṭhi were infuriated by this decision and passed a resolution along democratic lines forbidding all the priests to attend this particular ceremony on pain of excommunication.

In the preliminary Samyak ceremony of 1951 the rich and fine-looking Banras ignored the threats and attended the ceremony to the chagrin of the Gubhājus of the Āchārya Guṭhi set up by king Jayasthiti Malla to guide religious function of the Eighteen Buddhist Trade Corporations by creating priestly hierarchy of Deo, Bhatta and Jha Brāhmins side by side with the Gubhājus and Vandyas (Banras) in the new scheme of Brahmennic hegemony. Under Jayasthiti Malla's new order the Mallas, Śhresthas, Amātyas, Josis, Pradhāns, Rājbandāris, Māskeys, Rāj Lawats, Rājvamsis and all the hierarchies in the Licchavi warrant of precedence tended to become merchants or Government servants. Whereas the most ancient tribes of the Kirātas, Kinnaras, Yakṣas, Kolis and Khasas had become farmers, soldiers, hewers of wood, bearers of palanquins, sweepers, oil-crushers, stone-cutters, potters, mountaineers and their ilk, after king Yaksa Malla surrendered the national

shrine of Paśupati to the South-Indian priests. The traditional Pāsupatāchāryas nevertheless, survived as Ghṛṇākarnas (Bells-in-the-ears priests) in defiance of the Brahmannic hegemony with their slogan of “Ājā-jaya” (Victory to the tradition of Samyak Society). Study of inscriptions, sculptures and ancient literature had encouraged me to study this most interesting anthropological drama as it unfolded on the scene of Nepal under the new bottle of democracy.

Presently, the Rājguru of Kumaon origin was still the headpriest while the Brahmins and the C. Caste Ranas had ousted the A. Caste Ranas from the corridor of power. After bitter experience the Rājgurus, Prohitas and the Gubhājus had become wiser than in the reign of the Ranas. But equally they could not ignore the direct challenge to their Jajamans (religious incumbents) by the emerging democrats. But while the Brahmannic hierarchs yielded readily, the Tāntric Vandyas (Baras) opposed the change most vehemently when it came to the ritual performance of the initiation, marriage and funeral rites of their clients in a country where the quest of “Anādinidhana” (state of timelessness) from the state of “salilanidhana” (corporeal remains) obtaining in the Piprahavā Buddhist-vase-epitaph had been consummated by the everyday method of the FIVE MS to reduce the Original Sin of Virūpākṣa-kāmajaṭilatā (Oedipus Complex).

Under the new spell of democracy the influence of the Āchārya-guṭhi set up by king Jayasthiti Malla had declined considerably to control the performance of the initiation, marriage and funeral rites of the members of the Eighteen Vihāras of Kathmandu. According to the rule prescribed by king Jayasthiti Malla the initiation rites had to be performed at the age of 8 or 9 for boys, and mass marriages of the Gauris (virgin girls) to the Suvarnakumāra (Golden Prince from Suvarnabhūmī or the Gold Country) had to be performed at the same age by getting them married to the symbol of the Bel-fruit. But after introduction of democracy the educated boys and girls of the comparatively rich community were the first to shun the traditional practices to the disappointment of their orthodox parents. Late in 1952 one of the Udās Gubhājus applied to Mr M. P. Koirala for permission for his son to undergo initiation in one of the Eighteen Vihāras. The Brahmannic Prime Minister with his usual predilection for democratic ideals declared that the Vihāras and the temples belonged to everybody and gave the necessary permission. At this the rival factions turned out in force to darken the horizon of the new democratic climate, so that armed police had to intervene to quell disorders and allow the ceremony to be completed according to the injunction of the Brahmannic Prime Minister.

For a while the Prime Minister advised that the continuation of religious feud would do more harm than good to any side and he ordered for meetings to arrive at compromise by discussions democratically. The only point at issue was the priest-jajamani relationship in the context of buying and selling Jajamani rights by the Gubhājus where the new climate gave the Jajaman freedom of choice in calling the priest he wanted. Neither side would yield to the other on this vital point and all the efforts of the Prime Minister to bring the parties to reason ended in deadlock.

The matter assumed a serious turn on Friday the first of the month of Magha 2011 corresponding to the 14th of January, 1955, which was the date fixed for the holding of the Samyak ceremony according to the twelve year cycle at the foot of Gosringa-parvata (Swayambhunath hill). On the appointed day crowds of Gubhājus, Vandyas (Banras) and Udasas had assembled at Hanumandhoka when the Samyak Buddhas from the Fifteen Vihāras arrived on the shoulders of their respective devotees to be carried to the traditional site for holding the Samyak. The Banras and the Udasas, who paid the subscriptions of this expensive ceremony, tried to carry off the images of Samyak Buddhas to the meadow of the Swayambhu hills to the opposition of the orthodox Gubhājus of the Āchārya-guṭhi. Fighting had broken out on a large scale when we arrived at the scene and the police had to intervene. We tried to persuade the leaders of various parties by telling them from our experience how the whole trouble lay in a carefully hatched plot by the late Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere to do away with the Samyak teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni in Nepal after the episode of Yangtse Lama in 1923. It was all the fault of the divisive code of Jung Bahadur and the Ranas who acted on the basis of the division of caste among the Buddhist community of Nepal since the time of king Jayasthiti Malla. Why did the Ranas banish the Buddhist monks who ruled out the idea of kitchen-status from the Buddhist communities ? Did the ancient images of Śiva and Buddha wear sacred threads of Viṣṇu ? Why did Jung Bahadur and Chandra Shumshere lay emphasis on the evil system of "Patia" on merchants returning from Tibet and on the Gorkhas returning from their active services in the different theatres of the two world wars, when both the Rana Prime Ministers visited Europe with impunity ? Did not king Tribhuvana release all those incarcerated for the infringement of sex rules under Brahmannic hegemony ? The Ranas knew that of all the Newars the strongest were the affluent Banras and Udasas vis-a-vis the orthodox Gubhājus of the Āchārya-guṭhi which king Jayasthiti Malla had created as a class by themselves to

combat the evil effects of the invasion of Islam at that particular period. But it was evident from the case of Yangtse Lama in 1923 that Chandra Shumshere plotted with his headpriest to set the quarrel of caste going for his own selfish interest. The Father of the Nation had taken steps to lead us along the traditional Samyak lines and Nepalese would be fools if we did not realise the basic fact that king Tribhuvana rid the Nepalese nations of the Original Sin in the nature of Nepalese nobles by his suffering, sacrifice and and noble example.

We then brought the matter to the notice of Crown Prince Mahendra, who immediately deputed his private Secretary Mr Lok Darshan Bajracharya to call a meeting at once of all the leaders of the factions to reach a settlement without fail. After a long and heated discussion the sixty-three leaders of the different factions arrived at the following three conditions to end the long-standing dispute:

1. The Udas Gubhājus, who had been expelled from the Āchārya-guṭhi and from various Vihāras and Sanghs (communities), should be taken back and without conditions.

2. The Samyak ceremony should be celebrated according to ancient rites and customs.

3. All Gubhājus should take back their respective Jajamans (clients) according to the rules of Āchārya-guṭhi.

This put an end to the long-standing court disputes about the kitchen-status of the different Buddhistic castes on the plank of Gubhāju/jajaman (client) relationship. There was no mention in this document whether it was permissible for the Gubhājus to partake of rice from their Udas-Jajamans without fear of expulsion from the Āchārya-guṭhi.

The Prime Minister Submitted the Resignation

On January 16th, 1955 I was distressed to learn from a friend that Subba Bakhat Bahadur had passed away in Kalimpong on his way back from Lhasa and that the person expressed considerable alarm that the attempt of the India Government to control the foreign relations, defense and strategic communications by playing the ruler and the ruled alternately was fraught with grave possibilities for the future of the Himalayan states. The question of the Indian interference in Nepal assumed serious turn when the Indian leaders gave the name of Bhārat to India and cited the myths of the Indian

epic of *Mahābhārata* to back up their ideological renaissance. On the other hand we put up the cogent claim that it was Śākyamuni Buddha who had delimited the country of Himavat to king Bimbāsāra of Magadha, and according to the classic of the *Kirātārjunīye* the Kirātas had guided the destiny of Arjuna and of his Bhārata. Moreover, the concept of Mahābhārata (Greater India) was later than the concept of Jambudvīpa obtaining in the Aśokan inscriptions. As a cultural entity we held that the composite religion and culture of Nepal transcended the political boundaries. In such an atmosphere the Indian Military Mission and the role of Indian politicians came in for severe attacks when, however, Nepal welcomed Professor Jules Dentry and Mr Raymond Lambert for their exploration of the virtually unknown Himalayan region of Langtang along with ethnological, botanical and geological researches in Central Himalaya.

On January 19 the Prime Minister in his additional capacity of a Finance Minister presented Nepal's budget for 1954-55 to the Advisory Assembly, which showed a deficit of 194 crores in Nepalese currency and a surplus of Rs. 29 lakhs in Indian currency, so that he announced taxation proposals with an increase of 10% surcharge on land-revenue, 10% on all imports from abroad and 5% for imports from India, 6% on petrol and aviation fuel, license fee of Rs. 10' for radio-set, 50% increase on the rate of telephone and wireless communication, and excise duties on matches produced in Nepal.

The members of the Advisory Assembly strongly criticised the Budget. The provisions calling for 10% surcharge on land-revenue and the exemption of the rent-free Birtas from taxation were strongly criticised as an insult to the party manifesto and resolutions. In the midst of the Budget discussions we learnt that the People's Republic of China had consented to our proposals for treaty relations but Mr B. K. Mishra postponed the issue till the return of king Tribhuvana from Europe.

On Saturday January 22nd I planted four roses in my garden and also heard how General Kiran found surgical operation for cancer comparatively cheaper in England than in India. I had a horror of this fell disease which had already claimed many members of my family, and I heard with interest how the Cancer Institute of London had discovered that there were more cases of cancer in Norway, Finland, Sweden and Scotland than in Britain. The scientists had been making a study of all related factors from tumor-producing substances to nutrition, smoking, personal habits and radiation while some scientists seemed to be examining the virus-theory.

Talking about his own experience the General told me that, like Mr Kilburn who died of brain tumor, he smelt rotten dead mouse when he returned from parties and that he was lucky to be able to discard the malignant lump in the throat twice at the outset. He was now happy that the surgeons of England had rid him of the tumor by recourse to surgical operation. On the other hand, Mr B. P. Koirala was getting treated by X-ray bombardment for the same disease in Bombay. Finally, General Kiran told me that General Sardul Singh had taken over as the Indian Military Mission Chief from General Yadu Nath Singh. How could our nation survive if we did not produce brave generals to lead her soldiers ?

As the discussions of the Budget were accompanied by violent scenes, the Prime Minister dropped the proposed land revenue surcharge and introduced provisions for taxation of the rent-free lands and for income tax on January 26, which coincided with the celebration of the Indian Republic Day with invitations in Hindi. The Indians aired the views that the People's Republic of China had recognised Nepal as India's sphere of influence to the chagrin of Nepalese guests, who told the Indian hosts that the pace of development in Tibet under Communist inspiration was much faster than the Chinese proverb to the effect that "the journey of even a thousand miles must begin with a single step."

The "Sword of State" occupied the throne of Nepal on the Spring Festival (Vasanta-panchami) in the absence of king Tribhuvana when the mountain-people arrived to tell us about the havoc of floods, pig-eating congress party members and the Indian check-post officers. There were cases when the Brahmins were still holding down other castes in cases of adultery with their daughters, although king Tribhuvana had verbally abolished caste-laws and released from prison all those who were imprisoned for infringement of sex and caste taboos. The downtrodden low caste people took up the challenge with "There could be delay in the house of God but there could be no pall of night to benight mankind."

I was happy to find Mr Matrika Prasad and General Mrigendra Shumshere exchanging verbal bouts on January 30th in the Hall of the Advisory Assembly, where the Rana General told us that the Government would be defeated on the Budget cut motion. Foreign Minister Dr. D. R. Regmi had on that day moved for grants for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Seven cut motions were tabled even by the Minister of the Government who had conspired to overthrow the Prime Minister. Five of the cut motions were withdrawn;

but two introduced by Mr R. P. Kharel of the Praja Parishad were passed by a vote of 43 to 39 in the pandemonium of the "Ayes" and "Noes" where the members of the Prime Minister's National Democratic Party voted with the opposition. The Congress Party picketed for the defeat of the Government while the Gorkha Parishad found strange bed partners with the Praja Parishad and the Jana Congress to call for the resignation of the Government. The Prime Minister stormed out of the Assembly Hall accompanied by his cavalcade to the clappings of his victorious opponents while the Military Band still struck up the anthem of the Rana Tin-Sirkar (Three Glories). But the Government was in a state of chaos and the Prime Minister submitted the resignation of the Coalition Cabinet to the Regency Council that very evening. The Speaker dissolved the Assembly. As the Regency Council was not empowered to accept the resignation of the Prime Minister it rejected a petition to dissolve the Assembly and referred the matter to king Tribhuvana in Nice, South of France.

On January 31st the Treasury Bench was absent. Nevertheless, the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared in the Assembly that the Soviet Union was going to consider the question of Nepal as something apart from the case of other countries and support Nepal's case as an independent Nation for the membership of the United Nations.

The U.S.A. and the Commonwealth countries concerned with the Middle-East Defense had now been basing their military planning on the assumption on the immediate resistance by Turkey and Pakistan to any communist attack on the area. A military bulwark against the Soviet Union founded on an inverted triangle having Turkey and Pakistan as its base and Egypt as its apex had led Russia to spend more on defense. Inspired by the fear that the military nation of Nepal may be thrown into the fold of the Anglo-American powers, the Soviet Union under the influence of the People's Republic of China had now sponsored Nepal's case in the United Nations Organisations. I was happy that the invisible but important Gorkha fighters by their prowess had focussed international attention on Nepal while the politicians squabbled for pelf and power. I was happy that the force of international situation was willy-nilly leading the destiny of Nepal to a policy of non-alignment between two power-blocs more than the democratic country of India. Then, too, the composite religion and culture of Nepal had fitted her for that role from the days of the Kirāta kings. Research to discover the links in the lost horizon of a Samyak Society appeared to me more important than party politics in the developing situation.

Adjournment of the Advisory Assembly

On Tuesday February first the Royal Council announced the adjournment of the Advisory Assembly, which forced the deferment of the payment of Government bills. By their inability to combine and make their impact on the nation, the coalition cabinet had slipped the opportunity of holding the purse-strings of the nation. For, the Regency Council could not sanction the budget technically until the Advisory Assembly had been prorogued rather than adjourned. As for myself I was much more interested in the marriage of my niece Nani Baba to the son of Mr Deva Bir Pandey on February 2 than in the degrading party politics. At the dinner we discussed Mr Nehru's meetings with Peking's Charge d' Affaires Mr Huan Hsing, which had started widespread comment in diplomatic circle in view of the fact that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers had reached a very large degree of unanimity in their approach to the question of Formosa, and they had agreed on the vital importance of the Commonwealth of Nations and the U.S.A. standing together. But Mr J. L. Nehru did not agree on legal side to the proposal of Mr Anthony Eden to the effect that Japan in its peace treaty in 1951 had renounced all claims and titles to Formosa, though the treaty did not mention to whom the island belonged. However, the Government of China refused to send their Delegation to the United Nations to discuss Formosa. I wondered how Mr J. L. Nehru justified his stand to the Charge-de-affaires of the People's Republic of China in London. But Mr Molotov paid tribute to Mr Nehru for his banning of the atomic weapons, though he claimed that the Soviet Union was far ahead of the United States in the development of the Hydrogen bomb. It was now known to us that Khrushchev's visit to Peking on October 1954 was to obtain Chairman Mao Tse-tung's consent to obtain a vast strategic potential by building China's armament industries. But the far-sighted Chinese leader appeared to have consented to work on the basis of new military-industrial scheme, which gave a blow for a rapid expansion of Soviet consumer industries. Then, too, they had differences over the question of Taiwan, which put an end to the dream of the Soviets for their command from the China Sea to the Elbe. On the other hand, the Chinese leaders laid emphasis on the redistribution of land, setting up agricultural cooperatives on their road to collectivisation and establishing partnerships with remaining private enterprises preliminary to complete nationalisation. This was the time when the Geneva Accords ended French power in Indo-China and recognised the independence of Vitenam, Laos and Cambodia. Under the influence of Secretary of State Mr John

Foster Dulles, the Eisenhower administration took note of the Geneva Accords, but began intervention in support of Ngo Dinh Diem. In this new scheme of international politics Great Britain emerged as a tremendous factor with her Commonwealth of Nations. The tough tone of China's reply to the United Nations at this period showed that the liason between Peking and Moscow was less close than had been generally thought so far.

The Dawn of the Age of Space

I was thrilled to hear on February 6th that the Douglas Sky-rocket had reached a height of 15 miles at the speed of 1300 miles per hour and that the pilots did not suffer ill-effects. This was a Red Letter Day for mankind as it heralded the dawn of space-travel by rocket-ships with the study of the biological problem of keeping men alive in space. This first movement in space catalysed my study of poet Bhāravi, who showed his awesome grasp of creation as the fairies and music-makers of Indra's heaven, which lay beyond the solar system, travelled through the solar system on to the Milky Way in their Space-ship before they descended down to the earth's atmosphere of Indrakila with the aid of "white umbrellas" (parachutes). What was the imagination of a poet had become a reality with this initial exploration phase in space. The scientists held out hopes to us that the greatest discoveries of the future will lie in investigations in meteorology, oceanography, geology and earth's new resources. These scientific explorations were calculated to bring men and nations together.

Man's ability to manipulate matter, energy and time may lead us to the exploration of the origin of the planets, stellar and interstellar phenomena in the Universe. This, the scientists said, will afford facility for students of all disciplines, from the nuclear physics major to the medical student, to the poet or novelist.

Horizontal Dimension of Modern Science in Space and Dimension in Depth of the Third Eye of Inner Illumination

Precisely because the Sanskrit poet Bhāravi had taken the fairies of Indra's heaven through the horizontal dimension of space to the Earth's atmosphere in Indrakila in order to study the dimension in depth of Śivadṛṣṭi (The Third Eye of Inner Illumination) I gathered increasing conviction to trace the links in the chain of the Nirvāṇa, Śaka, Kuṣāna and Māna Deva Eras to find a solution to the puzzles in the behaviour pattern of the invisible but important poor men of our country vis-a-vis the priestly hierarchy whose members had become patricides and cannibals. I was in a position to define

the contradictions in the nature of the arrogant and heartless priestly hierarchy and the multi-ethnic invisible but important poor people as a backslide and pause against the background of Samyak-sense of participating in the permanent revolutionary fermentation from the Prince of Peace to king Tribhuvana. I had now studied the spiritual implication of the battle between the King of the Kirātas to the wars of the Gorkhas to find how they transcended the fear of individual death by living on indefinitely in the continuing revolution man of against the brute in human nature regardless of caste, creed or colour of skin. The slogan of Poḍey, in my view, contained the key, which was going to unlock the doors of our lost horizon of Samyak Society.

From the modern psychiatric point of view, the psychic powers of the FIVE MS associated with the day-to-day worship of Kāraṇapūjā in individual Āgama seemed to be calculated to see God through our own eyes. With the transition to the easy path of Bhairavi-cakra in the wake of the astro-psychic scheme of Dharma-cakra and Kāla-cakra, we were taught how to achieve victory over Death by declaring war upon Death itself by conquering the fear of Death within ourselves. In the centre of this struggle against the fear of Death smiled the sublime figure of Ghorā-ghorā (Time and Beyond all time) as well as the enigmatic and inscrutable icons of Mahānkāla (Death of deaths) with all the war-like symbols of the ancient world, which made these unknown soldiers of God so fearless in the face of death. It is in this particular area of our history and culture as a bridge between Tibet and China on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other, rather than in the deviations of the Brahmannic and the Buddhistic priestly orders, who encouraged brutish tyrants to serve their interests, that the original and essential interest of the Samyak-dharma in lieu of Sanatana-dharma, lay for the interest of the world.

There were cases after the death of king Prithvi Narayana Shah when our leaders committed horrible crimes. The Gorkha leaders under Brahmannic hegemony appeared to me paranoiac people. The sort of cold, vindictive and self-justifying reasoning that motivated the Generals and the Rana Prime Ministers was that of psychopaths. In utter ignorance of the horizon of Samyak-society, we attended the Samyak ceremony under the belief that the concept was introduced by Rana Jang Bahadur after his visit to the Jagannath temple of Puri in Orissa. He was the man who enforced the Brahmannic purificatory ritual known as Patia in his discriminatory code alike for the merchants returning from Tibet and also for the Gorkhas returning from active military services abroad.

Unlike the legal codes of king Rama Shah, which told the Nepalese peoples how to achieve order, justice, peace and national unity in a multi-ethnic Samyak Society and which won universal respect in Nepal for fairness and equity, Jung's codes indicated the general orientation of the tyranny of Brahmannic caste-ideology contrary to the current of our history. The reason for this lack of clarity and definition of the codes of Jung Bahadur was that the most difficult question of Samyak-dharma in the context of our Samyak Society could not be answered historically and realistically in the murderous environment of self-justifying psychopaths. On top of all the ban imposed by the Ranas on scientific researches in the Brahmannic epics of *Rāmāyana*, *Muhābhārata* and the myths of king Sagara was their attempt to confine the Nepalese peoples to the vague, intuitive and other worldly idealism of Brahmannic Dharma-śāstras.

But the peoples of Nepal put up with the divisive legal codes of Jung Bahadur because of their faith in the return of the lost horizon of Samyak-dharma. As a historian it was my duty to make a comparative study of the distant and the immediate past with a powerful imagination and make my narrative authentic and picturesque. The baffling blend in the characters of our leaders and events after the overthrow of the Ranas made it necessary for me to make a thorough study of Mr Perceval Landon's description of the Rana regime against the background of the *Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture* so that I may have sufficient self-command to abstain from casting my facts in the mould of the hypothesis of foreign or local writers.

My Assessment of Mr P. Landon's Description of the Rana Regime

My father had died before I could learn anything about the motivations and machinations of the Rana regime. I have already given my reactions to the strange case of Yangtse Lama from Tibet during Maharaja Chandra's regime and also how Crown Prince Mahendra and Mr M. P. Koirala gave their verdict on the case resulting from the same origin. It was only in 1929, when I had taken my Master's degree in English at Calcutta and returned home that I could get hold of Mr P. Landon's recently published book on Nepal, which gave me an idea about the working of Chandra Shumshere's self-preoccupations and obsessions. But that was the year he died and we were told that the dying man had implored king Tribhuvana to pardon his schizophrenic crimes perpetrated during his life time. Evidently, Chandra was suffering from serious mental disturbances at his death-bed, and it was

important for me to understand why he committed the crimes, and the circumstances in which they were committed. I felt it my duty to explain this event by recourse to Rana history and how we were treated during and after the Rana regime without passing judgment on men and events.

A Breif Review of Rana History as I Experienced it Personally

After his accession to power Jung Bahadur had assumed to himself the caste of "Rana" from the status-giving Brahmins and had made an arrangement by which the eldest agnate should succeed to him after his death. Whatever the underlying motive of Jung Bahadur, the system of succession by primogeniture of the new Rana-clan did not work because the wolves tended to thrive to the dwindling of the sheep in his scheme, which was contrary to the laws of nature. It appears from all accounts that Jung Bahadur was a disillusioned man towards the end of his career and retired to the forests of the Tarai for hunting where colour-blindness and cholera put an end to his tempestuous career. History repeated itself when Jung Bahadur's ambitious brothers Rana Udip Singh and Dhir Shumshere manipulated Crown Prince Trailokya Bickram Shah and the Royal family to gain their mean end by the same cold, vindictive and brutal action that motivated Jung's action when he got rid of the rivals. More because the brothers and nephews of Jung Bahadur used Brahmannic religion to their advantage by getting the powerful widows of the late Prime Minister cremated on the same funeral pyre--a barbarous practice which was abandoned by the Licchavi king Māna deva I way back in the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Mr Landon proceeds with his biased narrative that Jung Bahadur had ten complacent sons "who had begun to assume that the descent of Prime Ministership would in practice become a matter of succession in the same way as that of Royal dignity." Then, too, a younger generation of Thapas had come of age, and "these cadets were sullenly awaiting to revenge the death of Mathbar Singh Thapa at the hands of Jung Bahadur and with them were ranged the relatives of those who had lost their lives in the massacre of Kot." Dhir Shumshere, the youngest brother, had serious differences with General Jagat Jung the eldest son of Jung Bahadur on the question of the succession to the title of his father. But unlike Jung Bahadur, his youngest brother had the foresight to give his children some education. But Dhir died in 1884 A.D. by the sticking of pheasant's bone in his throat while he was eating his meal leaving behind his poor, crafty and comparatively half-educated 17 sons to fend for themselves against the ruling Prime Minister Rana

Udip who favoured the sons of Jung Bahadur on the basis of his famous covenant as follows: "I have salvaged the Nepalese ship of state, which had been sunk by the Panres, the Thapas and the Sahis by putting their trust in outsiders to the exclusion of their own near relatives. I have established a constitution unknown in the Annals of Gods or Emperors by setting up a Covenant, and you should not think of acting in contravention of the order of succession. Even if your superiors and master takes to tying up goats to elephants' posts or vice-versa, or paying no heed to merit, do not oppose him, but rather forsake the country and retire to a sacred place. Let your mind dwell upon no other course of action and do not act thoughtlessly."

This sort of a Covenant went against the organic solidarity of Nepal, which had been expressed by socio-religious diversity from time immemorial. The only answer to the strange Covenant of Jung Bahadur was the logic of the bullet. The new Prime Minister Rana Udip Singh who had no issue, favoured the sons of Jung Bahadur, in which his wives, concubines and the fair ladies of the Court played their part from behind the screen. It would be incredible except in the history of the Ranas that the poor and ambitious sons of Dhir Shumshere staged a treacherous palace revolution on the night of the 2nd of December 1885 and decided the issue by a few bullets while Rana Udip was repeating the name of Rama before going to bed. Some of the clever sons of Jung Bahadur saved themselves by taking refuge in the British Residency while Jagat Jung and his son Juddha Pratap Jung fell to the bullets of the trolley of troops sent to arrest them. Immediately after the event "Bir Shumshere and his brothers, taking with them the infant king (Prithvi Vir Bickram Shah Dev) and the Queen Mother, hurried to Tundikhel. There, in the face of the army which had been hastily mustered, Bir Shumshere proclaimed himself Prime Minister of Nepal."

It would be idle to recapitulate the writings of Mr P. Landon to justify the grim actions of the Seventeen sons of Dhir on that fatal night, or of the reasons for the expulsion of General Khadga Shumshere--the chief actor on the the night of foul murder by a queer combination of fate and metaphysical aid, or for that matter, of the capture and banishment of the trustful, progressive but pleasure loving Maharaja Dev Shumshere who became a sitting dove to the intrigues of crafty Chandra Shumshere. Personally, I had the good luck of talking with the bearded man in his mellowing years, who seemed to have funny notions about caste-fissions, 'Hookka' (hubble-bubble) and 'Nali' (smoking pipe) status with all the ridiculous food-taboos and kitchen-status. Then, too, he had created gold-plate, silver-plate, glass-

plate, clay-plate, plantain-leaf-plate and sal-plate statuses for the pure and impure men of different castes. Maharaja Chandra Shumshere claimed to be an orthodox Hindu totally committed to the Brahmannic dharma (laws) of a caste society to the total rejection of the norms of Samyak-dharma. I have already stated how its concept of Dharma had affected Yangtse Lama and his followers. As a consequence our prisons were filled with peoples who infringed inter-caste sex-rules, kitchen-status and caste-taboos till king Tribhuvana effected their release after the revolution.

There were several occasions in Chandra Shumshere's 'Salam' when the angry Gorkhas returning from foreign services abroad challenged the Prime Minister to explain his visit to England without caste-pollution and why should the soldiers be subjected to these humiliations without historical justification, rime and reason. But as a despot with absolute power, he replied to the legitimate question of the Gorkhas by the order of solitary confinements and Brahmannic indoctrination till the period of their leave. Opposed to change and progress from any source likely to disturb the allegiance of the peoples to the Rana hierarchy and its fabricated role of succession, Chandra and his clique tried to survive by blind and absolute faith in the legends of Sagara handed down from the period of the Licchavi King Vasanta deva.

As a means of his survival and his family rule Chandra dealt heaviest punishment on progressive Nepalese who wrote such books as *The Cultivation of Indian corn*, staged periodical coups of the officers and men associated with the Royal Palace for their liberal views and flogged and imprisoned men for the slightest infringement of the sex-laws. The hierarchy of the Ranas looked with great longing on the declarations of war in Europe, not only because it offered them opportunities for adding to their decorations, but also because such wars led to boom in business which vastly added to their investments, But the low-caste daughters of Fve had created problems for the Rana family. And Chandra attempted the problem of suvarṇa-gotra (gold-race origin) to disappear by hiring Mr P. Landon to write the chronology of the A. B. C. Caste Ranas which ultimately led to their downfall.

Chandra's Shumshere's Concept of Caste-system and his Role of Succession of the A.B. and C. Class Ranas

After the cold-blood murder of Rana Udip Singh, Jagat Jung and Juddha Pratap Jung and the banishment of the entire family of Jung Bahadur, the pretty daughter of a Kow (blacksmith) of Kathmandu had

played her part in the catharsis by begetting Rudra, Tej and Pratap Shumsheres whom Prime Minister Bir Shumshere put in the role of succession of the Ranas by the consent of the 17 Brothers. These sons of Bir occupied very high positions in the Rana role of succession during the declining days of Maharaja Chandra Shumshere. It would be interesting to point in this connection that, though the Brahmins and Chhettries of Nepal did not object to the hypergamous intercaste marriages, yet Chandra Shumshere employed Mr Landon to justify the succession of the most coveted title of Prime-ministership to his own sons in contravention of the "Suvarṇa-gotra" principles and Samyak ideals. The pedigree chart of the Ranas (P. Landon's Vol. I Chapter XIII) showing their genealogical table has been marked with asterisk accompanied by notes to recognise three recognised classes of wives, notwithstanding the fact that miscegenation has been a permanent and accepted feature of the Nepalese caste-system from the period of the Kirāta kings and historical Buddhas.

Unacquainted with the current of Nepalese history, where the Yakṣis and Kinnaris of the Himalayas wrote down their caste with the toes of feet on the sands of the rivers, Mr Landon points out that "this custom did not escape criticism in India, but it has remained as a characteristic—and it may be added a complication-of the succession to Maharajaship to this day. The first are those equal caste with their husbands. Below them are wives taken from a caste which had every right of association with the caste of the husband other than that of eating rice together. The third class consists of wives drawn from women with whom no eating in common is possible. In the interests of all concerned, and certainly that of the country, the present Maharaja has only permitted those to be added to the role of succession who are children by wives drawn by caste of the first class. But he has been unable to make this decree retrospective: he has not amended the list of succession which he received from his predecessor. It will, therefore, be seen that in the line of near succession to the Prime-Ministership are three candidates for the highest office in the state we do not fulfill the qualification laid down by Chandra for future observance. These are the sons of Maharaja Bir Shumshere who were born from mothers who were not of the same caste as his own. In view of the new and stricter conception of the title of powers of the Maharaja, it is obvious that difficulties are not unlikely to arise when these candidates have a claim on one of the senior officers of the state."

The Struggle of the A. B. C. Class Ranas for Power

By this time I was fairly acquainted with the principles and practices of

the Samyak Society as it developed from the time of the Kirāta kings and the historical Buddhas down to the exposition of the heroic Samyak ideals in the Sanskritic Classic of the *Kirātārjunīye*. I had also observed how Licchavi king Jaya deva's chronology of Sagara vis-a-vis the authentic chronology of Nepal had led to the downfall of the Licchavis. Then Aramuḍḍi and the Khasa kings of Western Nepal and Tibet had restored the tradition of Nepal by reviving the ideals of Paśupati-Bhaṭṭāraka Era. After the invasion of Islam king Jayasthiti Malla under the influence of the south-Indian priests had recreated the caste order with the result that his son Jaya Yakṣa Malla surrendered the national shrine to the south-Indian priests.

It was a matter of interest to the anthropologists that, after the surrender of the national shrine of Paśupati, the traditional Eighteen Buddhistic Vihāras had been so suffused by the Brahmannic concepts of caste order, pollution and priestly precedence that the Buddhistic Vihāras became more strict in their inter-caste behaviour than the Brahmannic priests, so that Chandra Shum here could manipulate the case of the status-seeking Gubhajas, Pan-ras and Udases to his own advantage till Crown-prince Mahandra ended the dispute by his above-mentioned edict. There have been examples to prove from the life of Jung how he picked up his wives even from the untouchables of the Brahmannic and Buddhistic communities provided the priestly order of either faith helped him to get rid of his "Original Sin" and raised the status of pretty Gauris by recourse to expensive rituals, for the performance of which he paid King's ransom. But the Ghaṅṭākarna still received his worship and survived with his plaintive cry for the return to the lost horizon of Samyak Society.

Maharaja Chandra's concept of caste-fission, which was calculated to reinforce the political authority and stability of his own family at the expense of the B. and the C. Caste Ranas, had created a new situation of the divisive tendency of subcaste formation. This was directly opposed to the traditionally accepted practices of the upward caste mobility of the Khasa (Chhetry) Community. These unpalatable political and social realities had to be lived through without tearing the country to pieces. This was a crucial issue.

On the day Chandra died his brother Maharaja Bhim Shumshere upset Chandra's role of succession by appointing all his sons born from intercaste union to the applause of all the priests, Bhai Bhardars and common people to the deep sorrow of Chandra's mourning sons and staggered to the temple of Virūpākṣa with the corpse of their dead father on their shoulders. The

high priests vacated one of their seats in Indra's heaven for Chandra by performing the Kāṭṭokhāney ceremony on the 11th day.

I had expected much from Maharaja Bhim Shumshere, who took the revolutionary step of raising the status of the C. Class sons, most of whom were born from women belonging to the low-caste women. But I was most disappointed with his review and judgement on Gubhaju and Udas case, which baffled me by the intricate maze of Rana's mind. Maharaja Bhim passed away at Singha Durbar after a brief reign. With the rise of Maharaja Joodha to power, the most important points in the position of the Udases were that the Samyak Ceremony was not the same thing as "Jagannath Bhojan" of the Brahmins where every Hindu took part irrespective of caste. For a while the calamities of the Great Earthquake gave a glimpse of how the Samyak Society worked. But the A. Caste Ranas took advantage of the great calamity to banish the C. caste Ranas.

Who is Your Maternal Uncle ?

For a while Joodha, who was born from the daughter of a Thakuri woman, claimed precedence over the sons of Chandra born from B. caste women. But the sons of Chandra silenced him by asking Joodha to trace the origin of his maternal uncle. But the direct participation of king Tribhuvana in the revolutionary struggle of the people put an end to the day dreams of the Ranas when the martyrs of Nepal opened a new horizon before the Ranas. With the growing tempo of the revolution all those, who depended upon ritual purity on the dynamics of vague, intuitive and mystical interpretations of their caste literature--had to bow down to the wind of change from the north and the south.

Prorogue of the Advisory Assembly

After my tour of office in Tibet king Tribhuvana had patiently heard my reports of the shape of things to come for Nepal. It was precisely because of the family vendettas, priestly power to give caste-status and the continuing struggle for caste-status, social position, greed for wealth and glamour for political power that the Ranas had been able to hold the reins of government for a century by manipulating the King's 'Hukum' to their family advantage. However, king Tribhuvana had observed how the invincible Gorkhas under strict military discipline could become an egomaniac and a monster of cruelty when he was left to acquire political power and pelf under Brahmanic hegemony. In the immortal words of Hobbes "Honour, riches and autho-

rity are the natural predicaments of men” and our leaders were no exceptions to the rule in their search for personal emolument.

The Father of the Nation had heard my reports together with the Ranas as a titular king and he had deputed me on my first diplomatic Mission to face Mr Nehru and also to Europe for putting up the new image of Nepal, which I had done to the best of my ability. Then, too, he had asked me to take up as the first Nepalese Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China. Memories of our meetings returned when we heard that the heart disease of His Majesty was past cure. His Majesty had done his best to introduce democratic ideals to Nepal but things had fallen apart. The month of February, 1955 was a time of heart searching. At the request of the Prime Minister, Crown Prince Mahendra finally prorogued the Assembly on February 9 and ordered the dismissal of Messrs Tanka Prasad and Bhadrakali Misra from the Cabinet for their attempts to overthrow the Government. The speaker of the house, Mr Bal Chandra Sharma went about saying that he could form a government all by himself after killing the tiger while the Prime Minister lamented that he had been stung by black poisonous snakes. That very day Crown Prince Mahendra left for France to seek further instructions from king Tribhuvana. The British Ambassador Mr Summerhayes was happy that the Crown Prince had gone to meet his father to bring order out of the chaos in the Government .

The learned Pundits of Nepal seemed to be sorely oppressed by the few chapters I had written on the Education Planning Commission; and the report went back and forth while the common people of Nepal seemed to be disturbed by the appearance of the Indian Military engineers to build the Tribhuvana airport and our roads. On February 15th the citizens of Kathmandu took law into their hands by burning one Indian Military Mission jeep and beating the driver for the offence of running over and killing a boy in the open street of Kathmandu to the regret of our Foreign Minister.

The Crown Prince returned from France on the 16th of February. The Prime Minister wanted the Crown Prince to make a press statement, which His Royal Highness refused to do immediately to the amazement of the various parties concerned. However, we were happy that he had kept the schedule despite the attractions of France, which showed his earnestness. There were speculations that the next arrangement may be direct rule through advisers if the Nepali Congress, Praja Parishad and other political parties failed to evolve an effective formula for a stable and effective administration.

On Friday February 18th, 1955 synchronising with the fourth anniversary of the declaration of democracy we heard through Radio Nepal king Tribhuvana's proclamation, in which His Majesty delegated full Royal authority to Crown Prince Mahendra so that his son may fully exercise such authority for the execution of necessary work in order to achieve the welfare of the state and its people. As the first act in the new drama the Crown Prince dissolved the Regency Council which had limped for four months by recommending Cabinet enquiries into thefts of the Church properties, inflation in currency, reorganisation of the police force, proper utilisation of forest resources and effective measures for improving the law and order situation. The Crown Prince then took over the anti-corruption Department, the Civil intelligence bureau, the office of the records of appointments and promotions from the Prime Minister and the Public Service Commission. He further pledged to remove, within fifteen days, any misunderstanding over the independence of the Supreme Court. In his assessment of the past four years, he indicated a skeptical attitude towards democratic experiments in Nepal and showed no historical grasp of the principles and practices of our Great Samyak Society beyond his rather hasty and hotch-potch solution of the Gubhaju, Banra and Udas case under the inspiration of his private secretary Mr Lok Darshan. The Crown Prince also did not mention anything about the present Cabinet's tenure in his new scheme of things.

The most disturbing thing for everybody was the growing illness of king Tribhuvana, so that we wept and prayed through the uneasy nights for the restoration of His Majesty's health. Everybody looked sorrowful and haggard. Seeing how the United States of America had emerged as a superpower after the above-said Declaration of independence, the history of Nepal as we have outlined it made a dreadful reading. Then, too, the Sino-Soviets had emerged with Marxist ideology to challenge the democratic societies of the Western World and India was progressing along democratic lines. News from Tibet said that the Chinese Authorities had nationalised large private buildings and private properties and that wealthy Tibetans and high officials had bowed out by building for themselves unpretentious villas and cottages in New Lhasa--a growing township outside the city. Despite these strong measures Chinese silver dollars and other valuables continued to disappear completely from the Lhasa markets and found their way to Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and India. Against the background of the spectre of dictatorship I was sad to find the followers of king Tribhuvana morose to the

corresponding authoritarian attitude of the retainers of the Crown Prince along traditional Rana line. I wondered whether the wave of familial Durbar politics was going to replace the party politics introduced by king Tribhuvana. King Tribhuvana had given our country an interim constitution in which the ideals of a constitutional monarch and a form of Government had been imbedded along British lines. The King had given the country its first independent judiciary, the Election Commission and a Public Service Commission to organise a modern national administrative system in lieu of Rana bureaucracy of caste, religion, sex and family connections along Samyak lines. The army of Nepal was reorganised by opening the ranks to recruits from any ethnic group in the country though a C.Class Rana still held the job of the Commander-in-chief. The redistribution of land, abolition of the liege-free Birta so far held by the Brahmins and the nobles under the dictum of Dvaipāyana and the nationalisation of the forests had been accepted as a Government policy aimed at the eradication of the feudal order. These were remarkable changes. In king Tribhuvana's eventful reign His Majesty had received the honour as a God king and censure of the Ranas as a revolutionary and had ousted them from power in 1951. Then His Majesty had made efforts by his noble example to eliminate the brute in the nature of the Nepalese peoples, which plagued Nepal by its Oedipean complexities for more than a century, Yet, the political parties left a sad political legacy which now prejudiced the interests of a democratic system by their highly personalised type of party politics on non-substantive emotional issues and by their lack of the understanding of the correct tradition of their country. As a result there was a sense of frustration, cynicism and disenchantment among the people to favour dictatorship.

Despite the temporary set-back we were able to secure a unanimous green signal to our report on the Education Planning Commission on February 27th. We were greatly indebted to Mr Paul W. Rose and Dr. S. B. Wood for helping us produce this monumental report for the education of the coming generation of Nepal.

Conclusions of the Education Planning Commission Report

We recognised in the report that Nepal was a small country with problems as gigantic as the Himalayas and the depth of her valleys. I had made it plain to the Americans that it was impossible for us to sing and dance to the tune of Mr Karl Sandberg saying that the past was only a heap of ashes with the oceans of unborn tomorrows calling for the steady unfolding

of the American Declaration of Independence. Although there was a big gap between our Samyak tradition and our living experience under Brahmannic hegemony, yet our multi-ethnic peoples had the sense of participation and realisation of their individual self only when they follow the light of our lost horizon on the other side of the tunnel. Nepal was a country of infinite variety, where there was a place for everybody as, perhaps, nowhere else in the world. Unlike the threadbare life of western countries, Nepalese life bubbled with a baffling blend of the sacred and the profane with the invincible heroic and deathless spirit for the composite faith in which every individual lived and breathed under the shadows of the hoary mountain ranges and their light and colour. Then, too, we found in Nepal the seemingly discordant thoughts, moods and feelings among the ancient tribes with their own sense of participation in their own tradition of 'Tikā' and 'Jajamāni' (leader and client relationship), in whom we did not find the harshness of character that stemmed from the unyielding certainty of science and technology, or from the fanaticism of those who tried to proselytise those who did not believe in their religion or ideology.

In the present context of confrontation of the industrially developed and underdeveloped countries in a bipolar world, we faced a tremendous challenge in the field of scientific development. Our political bondage at home under the Ranas for more than a century was responsible for the poor quality of the preparation of our peoples to face the complex technological problems of the modern world. As a result of the educational and health data that we had gathered from our countryside surveys, we knew that the clerk-producing type of education and the patronising nature of Kipling's prescriptions for our health hazards and self-government seemed totally inadequate to meet the new challenge from the north and the south, as they were totally unrelated to the lives, needs and aspirations of our peoples who had known unity in diversity and had found a common way of looking at life and death within the infrastructure of the astropsychic scheme of Death which recognised no frontier between man and man despite the difference in the colour of his skin or caste or creed. With the full realisation of the shortcomings of our political system, we were determined to substantially transform the scope of our educational systems and to bring primary education to the door of every home, whether it perched over the precipices of the Himalayan highlands or the isolated pockets deep down the riverine valleys.

During the two world wars great leaders of the world had discovered that the Nepalese peoples had been the greatest asset to the world, though each

generation after the Licchavi period had to fight its own battles of internecine strifes, the evils of priest-crafts and the tyranny of the unbridled dictators, who isolated and insulated our multi-ethnic peoples and deliberately kept them in degrading poverty for their own selfish interest. With the independence of India and liberation of China the civilised world saw the need to change the nature of our government to try if Nepal could show a new way out to survive all by its itself between the surging tides of Communism from the north and democracy from the south on the strength of our spiritual values.

This was the great challenge and king Tribhuvana had sent me to Europe to see if the affluent nations with so much to waste could be made to contribute to our all-round development in return for the secrets of the spiritual values by sharing the experiences of our long history for the enrichment of life and for the attainment of the ultimate best in the direction of human affairs in a bipolar world. Although this sounded a little out of fashion with our democratically, communistically or socialistically inclined politicians, yet I had reason to feel that there was a dangerous tendency to neglect things of the spirit in our overemphasis of the material welfare.

King Tribhuvana's sufferings and sacrifices and declaration of political and economic independence for our multi-ethnic peoples made on the 18th of February, 1951 had relieved us from the nightmare that we, at least, were spared from forming an administration of a divided and confused country. But unlike the American Declaration of Independence which had given a new self-confidence to the American peoples to build democracy on scientific lines, the cardinal fact about the administration of Nepal was that its most difficult problems were insoluble by reverting back to the principles and practices of the lost horizon of Samyak Society to which she was dedicated from the time of Śākyamuni Buddha who turned the Eight-fold Wheel of Law as his symbol. We had done our best in the Educational Report to drive this sober truth home to our peoples by overcoming the stereotyped notion that the "isms" of the bipolar world could help us to achieve every victory. Sandwiched between two most populous and powerful countries of Asia, the Himalayan peoples had no alternative to build our selective and contributory Guṭhis (cooperative organisations) on modern scientific lines in which everybody existed for everybody for the advancement of our multi-ethnic peoples on cooperative rather than competitive basis. We had to avoid the pitfalls into which our schizophrenic and egomaniacal rulers fell under purely Brahmannic hegemony after the death of king Prithvi

Narayan Shah. Presently, king Tribhuvana's noble life and declarations reflected the hopes and aspirations of our multi-ethnic peoples to the reform of our social and political environment and to the reconstruction of our society on Samyak lines based on Samyak-dharma on Saddharma (correct and true doctrine) in lieu of the "Sanātana-dharma" (customary practices of caste) propagated by the Vedic Brahmins. I had made efforts to show in the historical portion of our report on education that Nepal was not a vacuum and that it was a part of that complex of Asiatic cultures which had created a unity of all the ancient world as the cradle of Asiatic religion and culture. With the new light of education we had the feeling of dispelling the dark night of disorder and disunity and of seeing the country moving under the torch held aloft by king Tribhuvana. We had a long way to go but we had seen the glimmer of light on the far side of the tunnel with this first factual report on "Education in Nepal" at the last but one day on February, 1955.

Chapter XVIII

THE FATAL MONTH OF MARCH (February 28–March 23, 1955)

When the Prime Minister tendered resignation of the Coalition Cabinet on January 30, 1955 in the hope of reconstituting the cabinet of the Brahmanic leaders constituting different parties I was gratified and relieved that the members would come out with some practical programmes and policy to show the people that the party system could work along democratic lines. But oblong Mr Bal Chandra Sharma--the General Secretary of the Prime Minister's National Democratic Party-- announced that two third of the members of the Party's general council had now rejected Mr M. P. Koirala's leadership and that the party was going to merge with the Praja Parishad. This Banarasi was now elected President of the new coalition of parties under the tri-colour flag of the All-Nepal Jana Congress. The new President had informed the Crown Prince that he was in a position to form a one party Cabinet. In retaliation Mr M. P. Koirala had set up a co-ordination committee and commenced merger of his moribund party with the Nepali Congress in the face of ruthless attack of Mr Tanka Prasad Acharya and Mr Bhadrakali Mishra to the following effect:

“The independence of the judiciary is lost, and anarchy, famine, corruption, bribery, unemployment and inflation had become the order of the day. The inflation of Nepalese currency had reached a dangerous state. The peasants were exploited, facilities for communication, irrigation, education and public health were non-existent and the lawful rights of students, labour, women and merchants had been ruthlessly suppressed. All the reactionary

elements, big landlords and capitalists had been receiving full encouragement from the Prime Minister.”

These were irresponsible words spoken by selfish politicians. All countries had to face problems. But our politicians had mastered the art of making our problems disappear with words which had no meaning. Most unfortunately, this appeared to be the requiem of the political parties after four years of democratic experiments introduced by King Tribhuvana. Fresh from compiling the Education Planning Commission report in the teeth of Brahmannic opposition I was relieved that we were going to get the government we deserved until our peoples were re-educated along correct lines to appreciate the boons of real democracy. The only way out was to pray for the complete recovery of our ailing King, who had worked with real zeal for ridding our Samyak Society of Oedipean complexities and for salvaging the invisible but important poor men suffering from “the curse of Sati”.

Announcement of Direct Rule

On March 2 I met Mr M. P. Koirala and General Kaiser Shumshere at the exit of Singha Durbar beckoning the Military Band not to strike up the anthem of the Prime Minister. We exchanged usual greetings without knowing the new mood of the Prime Minister and the ministers and walked up the steps to learn that they were handed the acceptance by the Crown Prince of the resignation of the Prime Minister while they were discussing the Defence Budget. On opening the letter the Prime Minister rose from his seat and walked out with the Defence Minister saying that he had ceased to function.

Then we heard the declaration of the Crown Prince as follows: “As the Prime Minister Matrika Prasad has tendered the resignation I have accepted his resignation according to the usual procedure of democracy with thanks for the works he has done so far. As it would take time for forming another reliable council of Ministers I find it inadvisable to leave the affairs of state to stagnate. I have, therefore, taken upon my shoulders to assume complete responsibility of the Kingdom in accordance with the full powers delegated by His Majesty my most revered father.”

The Statesman editorial under the heading of “Decision in Nepal” dated February 4th wrote on the change as follows: “By accepting the resignation of the Koirala Ministry and announcing a period of direct rule Nepal’s Crown Prince has acted, both in and outside his country, as had hoped he would.

He has promised to form a new Cabinet but is obviously in no hurry to do so—opinion not only in Kathmandu but also outside has to be consulted first. Meanwhile to prevent “slackness in the execution of work” he has decided to exert the considerable powers delegated to him by his father. Thus smug Bazar prognostications of who would be in the next Cabinet have been falsified and political intrigue and calculation have been given set-back.

“The Crown Prince has appealed to his people for support; he both needs and deserves it. The Crown Prince enjoys unclouded reputation in Nepal. He is not handicapped by political entanglements as his father was; he is liked for the simple life he leads in contrast to other political figures in the Nepalese Capital. For detecting the political virtues of his son and giving him an opportunity to use them, the King deserves credit.

“But the Crown Prince’s situation is difficult. Powerful factions have been alighted. The administrative machinery in the countryside is weak; quantities of arms are still hidden; disorder is widespread in the districts and the economic difficulties of the Government grow apace. It would be well if the Prince could dispense with the political parties that have hitherto been the bane of Nepal. Yet not all are worthless; some certainly deserve consideration and if these could be made firmly to understand that Cabinet office henceforth is to be associated with hard self-less work and not with the hitherto considerable perquisites of power and influence, the Prince may yet succeed in gathering about him a care-taker Ministry capable of putting Nepal in the road to democracy.

“A primary task is the election of a Constituent Assembly. That, however, will take time. Meanwhile there is need for some control of Royal prerogatives, for nowhere, perhaps, does absolute power corrupt so quickly as in Nepal. The Crown Prince might do well to consider resuscitation of the Advisory Assembly. This has been Nepal’s closest approach to a Parliament. It has not been a satisfactory substitute, but it helped to bring about the present denouement and in so doing may have served the country well.”

Situation in the World Outside

While the Nepalese leaders of political parties expressed their frustration by taking part wildly in the mad festival of Hori, Mr Dulles warned the People’s Republic of China saying that “any new aggression would be puni-

shed possibly with new weapons. The pivotal role of India in the Anglo-US difference over Peking which were showing signs of widening, figured prominently in the world reviews. The debate in the House of Commons brought out the divergence in the approaches of London and Washington in countries beyond the Suez. These could be seen in proper perspective only when it was realised that, to both the Conservative Government and the Socialist opposition, alliance with the U.S.A. was the basis of British Foreign policy. But of all these differences within this framework those over India were the sharpest. Because of London's views that Mr Nehru was the strongest bulwark against Communism, the British would like to see greater emphasis of American policy of economic aid to India. Parenthetically the American Government would like to see the whole cold war put into the economic field. "We would be quite content," said an article in the *New York Times*, "to have final victory go to those countries and that system which can do most to make the common man's lot happier than it is specially in the border countries." I was most happy that we had compiled the Education Planning Commission report for Nepal to make the Himalayan region a zone of peace between China and India with our Samyak ideals.

On the other side of the picture I read a report from Peking at the conclusion of the Dalai Lama's visit to the People's Republic of China that Tibet was to get self-rule within China. The 18 year old Dalai Lama was going to head a Committee to prepare Tibet for regional autonomy within the People's Republic of China. The Dalai Lama's deputy on the Committee was going to be the Panchen Lama of Shigatse, who was 17 years old. In Peking they had discussed with the Chinese leaders the question of the regional autonomy for Tibet. The Committee to prepare the way for autonomy would have 51 members. Of these 15 will be from Tibetan local organisations, 11 from the major monasteries and other religious bodies and 5 would be Chinese Government officials in Tibet. All the military and administrative commissions for Tibet set up after the entry of the Chinese forces would be abolished. The last leg of the Chamdo-Lhasa road had been completed and that 1400 trucks had now been working incessantly between the two points of contact. The Chinese State Council had decided to build a hydro-electric power plant in the Holy City where I had to strike a match to observe if the electric bulb was burning during my tour of office. A smaller power-plant was going to be set up in Shigatse. The Chinese Government had been providing large scale economic and technical aid for developing Tibet along modern line.

The God-king of Tibet was told by the members of the Buddhist Association of New China that Śākyamuni's Wheel of Law (Dharma-cakra) rotated for ever since Buddhism was first introduced into China one thousand and nine hundred years ago, that all Buddhist temples were protected and many well-known centres of worship had been renovated with money provided by the People's Government. His Holiness must, therefore, give active support to China's Socialist construction and to protect world peace; for, this was a practical means of repaying the kindness of the state and of all living beings. In order to propagate Buddha's holy teachings with a view to safeguard world-peace the Lamas of the various monasteries of Tibet must strengthen their friendship and co-operation with the Buddhists of other countries. It appeared to me that the Buddhistic religion, art and culture like the modern development of science belonged to the whole world. But I wondered whether the Incarnation of Buddha could help to break the barrier of nationality under the impact of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Passing Away of H. M. King Tribhuvana

On the morning of the 14th of March while I was pondering over the news from Lhasa, there was bolt from the blue for me to hear the sad news that His Majesty king Tribhuvana had passed away at the hospital of Zurich at 8 P. M. (Nepal time) yesterday. Overtaken by grief I rushed to the gate of the Royal Palace to learn that nobody except officers detailed to do specific duties were allowed to enter the palace. Then the Commander-in-chief and Colonel Padma Bahadur K. C. appeared at the scene with an official report to confirm the sad news, which was prepared by the latter. Then we saw off Prince Basundhara, General Neer and Colonel Padma Bahadur K. C. who took off for Zurich to bring back the corpse of the dead king for a state funeral in Nepal. The offices closed at 1 P. M. for the crowning of King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev at Hanuman Dhoka Durbar in the heart of Kathmandu. The crowning ceremony took place at 4.21 P. M. amid a shower of rain in the presence of ex-ministers, officers and men. All of us presented coins to the new ruler according to the custom of the country. The Europeans present at the ceremony looked morose while the Indian General was laughing. The King was dead. Long live the King !

While the Minute gun was being fired I recalled the momentous years of the Era of king Tribhuvana during the period of 48 years His Majesty reigned and ruled Nepal. He was the first King to complete his forty-eighth year of his reign after his ancestor Surendra Bikram Shah Dev during the

most turbulent period of our history. I have already described all that I saw about the noble King while His Majesty lived. After the birth of three elder sisters the King was born in 1906 and crowned on the 20th of February 1913 amid great pomp and splendour, which, however, made no change of any kind in the full authority with which Maharaja Chandra ruled Nepal during his reign. His Majesty was a handsome figure-head gracing Samyak and other religious and official functions pertaining to the State till the Great Earthquake of 1933 which brought His Majesty much more to the public focus than ever before. The King suffered most during the struggle between the Ranas and the peoples for His Majesty's active participation in the revolutionary struggle against the Ranas till he conceived the noble plan to overthrow the usurpers without tearing the country. Five years had now elapsed between the achievement of his first objective and his death in the hospital of Zurich on March 13, 1955.

Already during the regime of the Ranas I had the opportunity to give my report of the shape of things to come in Tibet before the King and the Prime Minister vis-a-vis the development in India, which both tried to exploit in their way during the last days of the struggle. These transitional years were remarkable period, though the politicians considered them insignificant in the context of their own ideas to serve their personal interest. It was not a revolution in the sense of Mr Mao Tse-tung's revolution in China and the democratic transfer of power in India. In all my reports I had made it plain to our King and Rana Prime Minister that we had to co-exist between the two Giants of Asia on the basis of our traditional Samyak ideals if Nepal had to survive as heretofore. With the object of uniting the nation His Majesty forgot and forgave the sins of the Ranas and brought about the Rana-Congress Coalition Government, which gave the country an interim Constitution.

In its eagerness to get rid of effete Rana minority, the Nepali Congress attempted to form a Government all by itself. But the cult of personality, which had been the bane of Nepal during the darkest period of her history, defeated king Tribhuvana's attempt to rid the leaders of New Nepal of the original sin of Oedipus Complex so that the individuals concerned shunned the virtues of "altar, sword and pen" to become pawns in the chessboard for power at the cost of Samyak principles and programmes. In order to rid the leaders of the brute in their nature, the King constituted a Councillors' regime and took an increasingly active part in decision and policy making by choosing scholars like, for example myself, to put the image of New Nepal in

Europe by encouraging the writing of the Education Planning Commission report to educate people and enlighten public opinion. Seeing how party politics were sidetracked from the goals of democracy, the King selected Ministers on strictly personal basis by investing more powers to Mr M. P. Koirala than King Surendra had given to Jung Bahadur. This led once more to Brahmannic hegemony in political field, who now lined up with us to present their coins to the new King. On balance, the Brahmannic political leaders had demonstrated their inability to assist in the establishment of constitutional democracy.

On the 17th of March 1955 a large crowd was waiting at the Gauchar airport to receive the corpse of king Tribhuvana since the dawn of day. We were told that the aeroplane bearing the last remains of the late king was delayed for four hours at Abadon for refuelling. There was great excitement and emotional breakdown of many spectators when the first plane touched down bearing the dowager queens. The peoples of Nepal showered "Lava and Avir" (rice and vermillion) all over the airport according to Nepal's hoary tradition when the plane bearing the corpse of King Tribhuvana alighted at 12-45 P. M. The peoples of Nepal justified the saying that "Royalty and Religion" were the breath and nostrils of our people when the corpse was carried from the airport to the Āryanāla to be cremated before the temple of the half-figure of Virūpākṣa followed by Ambassadors and heads of Mission from foreign countries. While the cremation was delayed for hours the Indian Military Mission chief Sarada Nanda Singh suggested the idea of putting on black bands on our arms for the mourning to the chagrin of the Nepalese who retorted, "Should we also bury the dead in lieu of our tradition?" On the other hand the British followed Nepalese practices in the British Gurkha regiments and other foreigners took snaps of every of our funeral ceremony till the funeral pyre of sandalwood was lit up at 4 P.M. to the firing of three volleys by the King's battalion and the sounding of the last post by the Pipers.

All the peoples of Nepal shaved their heads and scrupulously followed the funeral ceremonies according to traditional practice on the death of the King. But if the Brahmannic politicians were humbled, the priests of the palace had their windfall. There was a big gathering at Tundikhel to mourn the death of His Majesty on Tuesday March 22nd against the background of the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, for which our delegates were being selected by the new King. This was a conference where eminent Asiatic and African leaders were going to make a showdown against the western domina-

tion of the Asian and the African peoples. What was of interest was the fact that the People's Republic of China had opposed the participation of the Soviet Union at the Bandung Conference of twenty-nine Afro-Asian nations, where China was seeking broader anti-imperialist role against United States and her Allies on the eve of the signing of the Warsaw Pact between the Soviet Union and her East-European satellites. Our Delegates had to see how China and India looked on the international scene, which was of vital interest for Nepal. In such a situation I wondered how our late sovereign may have chosen the members of the Delegation if he had been living with us. But judging by the nomination of the Delegates our young and new King seemed to have other ideas. We had henceforth to accommodate ourselves to the religious and political outlook of a new Sovereign, who held the sacrament of *Hukum* to give direction and drive to the affairs of Nepal on and from the death of King Tribhuvana and the Bandung conference in the national and international context.

The Faustian Dream of the Brahmannic Hierarchy on the Twenty-third of March, 1955

Contrary to the secular ideas of the military leader of the Indian Military Mission and Indian advisers, the multi-ethnic peoples of Nepal showed their determination to stand as one nation by paring their nails, shaving their heads, discarding meat and good things of life and observing mourning for the period of thirteen days in strict accordance with the confessional-fides of "Anādinidhāna" (the mental state of being beyond time), the purport of which was lost in the limbo of conflicting traditions. There was a large crowd of men, women, children and foreigners, when I reached Kālamochan-gāt (time-effacing sacred place) at 10 A.M. on March 23, 1955. So far we had the traditional custom of importing a 'Bhaṭṭa' from India for the purposes of the cannibalistic practices of "Kāṭṭo-khāne-ceremony" and send him back to India with the burden of Nepal's sins in exchange for money. There was a departure this year in selecting a "Bhaṭṭa" from the locality of Naradevi at Kathmandu for the King's ransom. After the ceremony, the citizens of Kathmandu mounted this 'Bhaṭṭa' on the 'howdah' of a well-caparisoned elephant in the regalia of the late King and pelted him with stones and woods for his compact with the Devil to win the rewards of earth by surrendering his seat in Indra's heaven. I met this Nepali version of Faustus who was greedily counting the so far undisclosed amount of gift, which actually amounted to sixty thousand rupees in cash and valuables. This 'Bhaṭṭa' was now looking out for a customer to buy his elephant without any compunc-

tion for the loss of his caste-status while the Poḍey of the 'Pīṭha' of Naradevi cheered lustily and jeered at this Brahmannic Lucifer for his compact with Yamarāja (the Brahmannic god of death). This abnormal scene had a cathartic effect on my life in as much as I had already traced the origin of the Faustus legend to the Jews vis-a-vis the long journey of our spiritual development from the record of 'Salilanidhana' (corporal remains) obtaining in the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase epitaph to the timeless state of 'Anādinidhana' contained in our confessio-fides. Seeing how such great thinkers of Europe and America as, for examples, Goethe and Robert Browning had been inspired by the Faustus legend, I wondered how they may have regarded this actual scene of a spiritual drama with actors in flesh and blood. Immediately I returned from the scene to see the out-of-the-world image of Indronāma-divākara" (the sun of power under the name of Indra) set up by Guhamitra in about 491 A.D. in order to investigate the dimension in depth of Śivadṛṣṭi (the Third Eye of Śiva). Of all nations in the world Nepal deserved credit for producing in flesh and blood the earth earthy but sinless Prince of Poverty and the sinful Faustus who had made a compact with the Devil to cheat mankind by imposing the sense of sin on their credulity.

So far western societies had been far more afraid of death than the peoples of eastern societies. And the progress of medicine in the west and hence the prolongation of life-expectancy with all its valuable effects had been spurred by the fear of death. But the western attitudes seemed to be changing fast as they came into contact increasingly with our peoples, and I had known several cases of the materially advanced western people with very vital personalities, whose quality of work towards the end of their fleeting existence had been remarkable. Realising that they had not long to live, they produced outstanding works, sometimes with a kind of happy determination because they knew them to be their last. They showed their families that these last months were a very rich period—emotionally, creatively and even sexually. But here we had produced an entire nation of invisible but important poor men, who were prepared to stare death in the face despite a handful of ruling caste under Brahmannic hegemony.

From different experiences of my own life I have perceived the predominance of the 'brute' in my nature when I was desperately in love with Eve of high station I coveted, and when I suffered a serious set-back and was disappointed like, for examples, Śiva and Satī before the reduction of Kāma (God of Love or Eros) by recourse to the vital methods of the Five Ms. When I had been very ill and convalescing I had realised that what I considered

unimportant while I was in good health, appeared quite differently when I was hovering between life and death. I was now 47 years of age with some unique experiences from Lhasa to London, and I was growing to cherish each ray of sunshine in the spiritual life of my nation from the record of the Piprahavā-Buddhist-vase epitaph to the reduction of the God of Love by the Third Eye of Śiva to usher in the heroic Samyak Society.

Presently I had seen our bureaucrats die spiritually, politically and physiologically under the hammers of the Communists from China and the democrats fashioned in New Delhi of a country where the King of Kirāta had tamed the hero of the Brahmannic epic of *Mahābhārata* from Indra-prastha (Old Delhi) to his indomitable will and purpose by the ridding of the brute in his vindictive nature. Since the vital period of the classic of the *Kirāṭārjunīye*, the Śaivites, the Vedic Brahmins and the Buddhists had put up their own theories about the perplexing question of life and death, and the net result on the death of our beloved king Tribhuvana was that the Bhaṭṭas had made a compact with the Devil for winning the good things of life on this side of the grave whereas the Pāsupatāchārya had emerged as the Prince of Poverty with his mysterious “Āgama” to lead the invisible but important poor men of Nepal in the new battle of existence. So, I vowed on this day to show the dimension in depth of Śivadṛṣṭi (Third Eye of Śiva) vis-a-vis the horizontal dimension of science so that there might be a meeting of the “kindred spirit of Heaven and Home” in our ancient land, which had held her own against the rise and fall of empires on either side of our frontier. In such a scheme I was one in going with Mr John Locke that “truth, whether in or out of fashion, was the measure of knowledge, and the business of the understanding.” The Indian aircrafts were making a pandemonium of noise to disturb the peace of our Valley on the last but one day of the King’s funeral rites. A lot of new things were happening in the Himalayas, and I was interested to hear that the Government of India had made a grant of rupees two crores and twenty-five lakhs to the kingdom of Sikkim in order to link up by road the haunted site of Chumbithang with the capital of Gangtok for the purpose of transporting goods and for establishing trade connections with Tibet region of China. The almost conciliatory tone of New Delhi’s recent approaches to the People’s Republic of China through the kingdom of Sikkim contrasted with increasingly abraisive references to Nepal in the Indian press and tutorial advices of the leaders of India to our new King. This shift in emphasis by the Government of India in the Himalayan political currents suggested both a desire for a rapprochement with People’s Republic

of China, and an anxiety in isolate Nepal from her trade in Tibet. India did not, perhaps know that the Himalayan states had Salamanders.

Crowds of beggars, indigents, mendicants and castaways of life had assembled at the gate of the Royal Palace when we went there for the last funeral rites of king Tribhuvana on Friday the 25th of March, 1955. They were clamouring for their caste-status when they were being lined up for a Lucullan feast. These poor people did not seem to be prepared to lose the chains of caste-precedence and unite to overthrow the bureaucrats, who created the Brahmannic order of caste. I was sad to feel that these indigents did not appreciate the significance of the abolition of caste-system by the late King on the basis of our Samyak tradition.

Inside the Royal Palace there were separate pavilions for the Royal family, ex-ministers, distinguished guests, officers and men. Well-caparisoned horses, motor-cars, jeweleries, furniture and other household effects were artistically arranged for gifts to the Purohitas and the Pundits, who were telling us that they were going to receive condign punishments if they did not perform the "Karma-kāṇḍa" (purificatory rites) in accordance with the rules prescribed in the legend of *Garuḍa-purāṇa*. There, too, were the images of the Great Mother Goddess and Lord Kriṣṇa, whom the late King worshipped.

Looking on the profusion of gifts to the Brahmannic Purohitas and the Pundits I recalled how I had discussed the question of democratising the peoples of Nepal on Samyak lines in vain. The late King's life-long fight to liberate our people from the Original Sin had led back to the prison of Brahmanism on his death. The prisons of Nepal did not now contain men implicated in caste and sex crimes but the conflict in the minds of the Bhaṭṭa and the Poḍey remained all the same. Then, too, I had gone about the world lecturing on the glorious heritage of the invisible but the unknown soldiers of God and of the Princes of Poverty we had produced in flesh and blood. But we had ended at random between the gifts to the 'Bhaṭṭa' in the "Kāṭṭo-khāney ceremony" to rid us of the Oedipus complex in our nature and the healthy jeer of the Poḍey at the lowest rung in the ladder of our society for the Bhaṭṭa's compact with Yamarāja to lose his seat in Indra's Paradise. I had now learnt from the study of authentic history from Śākyamuni to Bhāraṇi that success of our nation was to be measured not so much by the position Nepal had reached during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. as by the obstacles which the ancient tribes of the Kirātas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras,

Śākyas, Kolis, Licchavis, Kauśiks, Ābhīras and their ilk had overcome while trying to succeed in their long struggle to survive with their respective ideals to our own day.

The great mystery, however, was not the horizontal dimension of science to investigate the secrets of our planets and the stars; it was that from our prison of 'Kāṭṭo-khāney' we had to delve into the dimension in depth of the concept of 'Śiva-dṛṣṭi' (The Third Eye of Śiva) which, according to Bhāravi, was the real 'Samyakdṛṣṭi, and which enabled the multi-ethnic tribes to survive in their own scheme of "Āgama" (esoteric worship) by seeing God through their own eyes. If the Sherpas, Gorkhas, artisans, architects and the invisible but important poor men had already projected their powerful images of themselves to deny their own nothingness in their own field of human activity, the Pāśupatāchāryas and the Brahmannic Āchāryas had survived with all their ancient inscriptions and literature to resolve their conflicts in their sinless and sinful mind. The facts of life in the behaviour pattern of the Poḍey and the Bhaṭṭa appeared to me stranger than the wildest fiction of the west, which illuminate from different angles the problems of the contact and the interpenetration of the Brahmannic and Buddhistic ideologies against the background of the half-figure of Virūpākṣa (Nepalese version of Cepidus) standing with his genital level with his navel before his mother Hū-ṣa in our crematorium of Āryanāla.

From an in-depth study of the behaviour pattern of the multi-ethnic tribes of Nepal I had observed an overt dichotomy of the Brahmannic and Tāntric social attitudes in the process of the stratification of a caste society introduced by king Haridatta Verman, Anuparama-gupta Gomin and Vasanta deva in contravention of the Samyak Society of the Kirātas described by the immortal poet Bhāravi in his *Kirātārjunīye*, which did not originally form part of the Brahmannic caste-system. And their confrontation had produced in our generation the Bhaṭṭa, who had sold his soul to the Devil in return for earthly gains, and the sinless Poḍey in the healthy pursuit of the most useful profession at the lowest rung of the ladder of caste-system to jeer at him. What was of immense interest to me was that the Pāśupatāchāryas (Poḍeys) were still worshipped in their Piṭhas as living examples of sinless men whereas the Bhaṭṭa had made his compact with the Devil for earthly gains to the wondering gaze of the diplomats, foreign guests and the wildly jeering crowds of Kathmandu.

Obituary to king Tribhuvana

Born in 1906 forty-eight years had elapsed between the birth and death of king Tribhuvana on the 13th of March, 1955. Crowned on the twentieth of February, 1913, "the occasion" according to Mr P. Landon "was celebrated by the giving of dinners to about fifty thousand poor, military displays, public decorations, and a general amnesty to prisoners convicted of lesser offences. His accession made no change of any kind in the full authority with which Chandra Shumshere continued to direct the whole policy of Nepal, foreign and domestic alike." Personally, I have a very faint recollection of the coronation because I was too young. I remember His Majesty gracing religious, official and marriage ceremonies till I heard that the orthodox Maharaja begged the pardon of king Tribhuvana for his various sins of omissions and commissions during his long administration of 29 years in November 1929 A.D. But after the 'Katto-khāney ceremony' of Chandra done on a smaller scale than on the death of our Kings, I had observed king Tribhuvana taking interest in the lives of the untouchables at the lowest rung of the ladder of our Society while the A. B. and C. caste Ranas encouraged further caste-dichotomy to secure their administration. The accomplishments of various ancient Trade-Corporations that helped to rehabilitate Nepal after the Great Earthquake were more significant than the accomplishments of the Rana Government. During the two world wars Maharajas Chandra, Bhim and Joodha had made the alliance with the British the basic theme in their foreign policies. But the political consequences of World War 2 were so cataclysmic that king Tribhuvana found it in the interest of the Nepalese nation to encourage revolutionaries in order to escape their impact. The far-sighted British sided with the King so that permission was given for twenty Nepali battalions to cross the seas in contravention of the Brahmannic social code which prohibited the Nepalese from going overseas. Before long, hundreds of thousands of Nepalese were participating in military campaigns in Europe and Africa and the return of these widely travelled servicemen presented to the Rana Government an economic and political threat. Cognizant of the incompatibility of the Rana regime with the political order emerging in India king Tribhuvana very calmly advised the Ranas to consider the case of the revolutionaries when His Majesty was interrogated by the Tribunal on his alleged involvement in the Praja Parishad Movement on January 23, 1941. Unable to cope with the situation Joodha relinquished the Prime Ministership to Maharaja Padma Shumshere who deputed me as His Majesty's representative to Tibet which coincided with most

momentous developments in China and India.

On my return from my tour of office in Tibet I had the honour to report the result of my studies to His Majesty king Tribhuvana and Maharaja Mohun Shumshere during the worst phases of the struggle between the King and the Ranas, till king Tribhuvana took the decision in the morning of November 6 to save Nepal from civil war during the Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai days. As a "stunted yam between two cold stones" King Tribhuvana knew that the composite religion of Nepal had its lion's share in the civilisation of China, Tibet and India from the days of the King of the Kiratas. Seeing that this had been the case in our history from the time of the historical Buddhas His Majesty tried his very best to encourage democracy on Samyak lines. The post-revolutionary years were remarkable in many respects though the leaders could not prove by their behaviour the brightest flashes of democratic thoughts. Nevertheless the accomplishments of the various governments that held office during this period in Nepal were not as insignificant and transitory as some arm-chair politicians would have us believe.

Whereas the democratic experimentation underwent several vicissitudes, king Tribhuvana's reign was characterised by phenomenal expansion of education in the wake of the Education Planning Commission report. The people also exhibited an enormous desire for education for themselves and for their children. Girls defied existing social traditions and restrictions to enroll themselves in schools. I have already stated how the late King encouraged creative impulses of the people in the fields of history, art, literature, language, scientific expeditions and our Samyak traditions so that the Nepalese people began to rediscover their national identity after centuries of nondescript existence.

King Tribhuvana knew that Nepal was a monarchical state, whose origins and traditions were to be found in the Chronology of Nepal and whose continuity was not broken from the reign of the Kirāta kings. Seeing how the multi-ethnic peoples acknowledged His Majesty as the symbol of their free Guṭhis (Associations) king Tribhuvana gave Nepal an interim Constitution in which the ideals of a constitutional monarch and cabinet form of Government was embedded, and it laid the basis for a new political process in Nepal. This put an end to Rana autocracy and there was a large measure of devolution in the administration from family politics to party politics. As 'Nyāya' (justice) formed the corner stone of Nepal's Samyak Society in her inscriptions, king Tribhuvana gave the country an independent judiciary. The King cons-

stituted a Public Service Commission to organise a modern, national administrative system open to all qualified candidates irrespective of caste, sex, creed and colour of skin. The privileged Rana generals were removed from the Command-posts in the army by opening the ranks to recruits from any ethnic group from the three geographical regions of the country. In order to kill the curse of feudalism from the country the abolition of Birta held under the pernicious dictum of Dvaipāyana was accepted as a government policy and the forests were nationalised. But before His Majesty passed away, the noble King was disappointed by the highly unstable type of party politics based upon the cult of personality. This defeated our drive to restore our Samyak Society which produced men with a will without ego at the lowest rung of the ladder of the Brahmannic caste order. Until this was recognised our history was going to be repetition of the sad and sorrowful history of Faustian dreams despite the tall talks of democracy or Communism. But the conflicts in the minds of the Brahmannic Āchāryas and the Pāsupatāchāryas remained unresolved on the passing of king Tribhuvana. The Faustian philosophy of the Brahmins and Buddhistic Perfections of wisdom at its summit with all their presumptuous effort to explain the mysteries of the world by means of superhuman insight or extraordinary cunning could not give a reasonable account of the human values represented by the 'Kāṭṭo-khāney Bhaṭṭa' and the Poḍey towards the most serious business of our day-to-day life.

We had a long way to go. The Princes and politicians had flourished and faded; "a breath could make them as a breath had made." It dawned on me that Nepal had chosen right partners in the invisible but important poor men. Fortunes in our long history had changed in the past and would change in the future. The greatest resources of Nepal were her matchless peoples, who had matched the mountains by their back through all the vicissitudes of history. King Tribhuvana had discovered the structural defects in our Samyak Society under the hegemony of Brahmannic priests and His Majesty made supreme efforts to correct them by his examples under a new setting. Only time would tell whether His Majesty's great efforts would eventually bring about appropriate reforms relating to the role of the Bhaṭṭa and the Poḍey, so that the real values of Samyak Society may be restored to Nepal after an in-depth study of inter-ethnic and class relations. "Men are we and must grieve even the shade of that which once was great has passed away."

The End

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Glossary

āgama	=esoteric worship		
ajājaya	=victory to my hoary tradition		
anādinidhāna	=the mental state of being beyond time		
aṣṭamaṅgala	=eight auspicious signs	bourkā	=veils
āṭhapahariyās	=personal guards	bustā	=Nepali way of filing
āyō	=came	busties	=settlements
āyō gōrkhali	=there comes the Gorkha to the battlefield	chhāng	=local brew
		chapāti	=Punjabi bread
		chari song	=ancient Buddhist song
		chaubisi-rāj	=twenty-four principalities
bāisi-rāj	=twenty-two principalities		
baksis	=free gifts	dāl	=pulses
banauṭās	=cross-breeds between Nepalese fathers and Tibetan mothers	dharma	=norm of law, traditional laws
		dhôtis	=Hindu loin-cloth
bhairavichakra		dibias	=primitive earthen lighting pot
pravartan	=transition to the astro-psyhic system of Bhairav	dôkéys	=basket-bearers
bhāt	=cooked rice	èkkā	=one-ponied carriage
bhôtô	=shirt	gāi-jātrā	=the festival of cows
bijuligārat	=rifle regiment with adequate ammunitions	gaṭhemaṅgal	=the festival of Ghaṇṭākarna
		gausthikas	=cooperative organisations
birtā	=land grants made	ghaṇṭākarna	=the bells-in-the ears

	professors of practical science	khāki	=uniform
goṭi-gauṣṭika	=cooperative organisations	khacharās	=cross-breeds
guṭhis	= " "	koligrām	=village of ancient koliyan people
howdah	=well-arranged seat on the elephant's back	kôt	=armoury
hooka	=hubble-bubble	lālmôhur	=red seal of the state invested by the king
hukum	=sovereign power	lingum	=phallus
idā and pingalā	=Śiva and Pārvati	longôṭi	=loin-cloth, trunk
imāna	=self-respect, pride and honour	mahābhārat	=greater India
indragriha	=home of the Aryan god, Indra	mahānkāla	=death of deaths
jajamāna	=client	mahendramalli	=a coin introduced by King Mahendra Malla
janapada	=peoples' republics	maṇḍala	=diagram
jāṇḍ	=local beer	man-tze	=barbarian
japa	=prayer by counting beads	mlechha	=man beyond the pale of Hindu Civilisation
jaya	=victory	muktisenā	=liberation army
jhe',jhe',jhe,'	=sounds made for driving off unholy ghosts	nali	=smoking pipe
joolphey kusunḍo	=a long-haired man from the wild tribe of Nepal	nyāya	=justice
kāney-kāney		Om maṇi	
picchhā	=blindman's buff	padméhum	=I am in the union of the jewel and the lotus
kāmadāha	=reduction of eros	pān	=betel-leaves
karaṇapūjā	=worship of reason and nature	panchāyat	=village organisation
karma	=the action that determines our destiny	pāthi	=linear measure weighing about 50 pounds
karmakāṇḍa	=purificatory rites	phiringis	=Nepalese version of Frank-popularly used to denote Europeans
kāṭṭo khāney	=cannibalistic practice		

pipās	=auxiliary force composed of porters and camp- followers		Rana Prime minister
		sipāhis	=soldiers
		sukumvāsis	=landless laborers
		suvarṇagôtra	=gold race origin
poḍeys	=priests of āgama	swatantratā	
pretas	=unholy ghosts	divas	=independence day
pūjā	=worship		
punḍits	=scholars (Brahmins)	tañ	=thou
purdāh	=veil	tānā-mānā	=leather straps and epaulets
purôhit	=preceptor		
		timi	=you
rāga	=classical song	ṭopee	=cap
rakshi	=wine		
rakshyādal	=protective force	ukhadā	=lands let out to tenants on low money rents
saddharma	=true doctrine		
sanātanadharmā	=traditional laws, customary practices of caste	varnāṣrama	
		dharma	=law of caste
salām	=open audience	vasant	=spring
salilanidhāna	=corporal remains	vinayas	=rules and disciplines of Buddhistic teachings
samyak	=correct		
samyakdṛṣṭi	=correct approach	virūpākṣa	
sherwāni	=long coat	kāmajaṭilatā	=oedipus complex
shikār	=game of hunting	vyūha	=fortress
śivadṛṣṭi	=the third eye of Śiva		
śri tin sarkār	=govt. of three holies usually denoting the	yajnas	=rituals

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Mani Dixit*

This is an account of a lifetime of shikar in the good old days starting with April 1946. Though the setting is mainly in Nepal, there are however one or two episodes which take place in India. There are accounts of panther, wild boar, sambar and of course tigers. A large part of the book deals with tigers, including it's life and habits in the jungle, It should therefore be of interest on only to hunters of yester-year, but also to budding naturalists.

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In-preparation

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J. Raj

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It is left to the reader to judge where the blame lies, externally or within the individual himself.

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Kaisher Bahadur K. C. has popularised the Nepalese history both in the East and the West as few other Nepalese have done before. He is famous as an author, lecturer and research scholar of inscriptions and scriptures in Nepal.

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