

The press and the nation's democracy rise and fall together

# The Telegraph

Weekly

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## Osama Killed: Lessons for Nepal from Abbottabad

**Kathmandu:** Ten years after the worst ever terrorist attack carried out in New York that killed close to three thousand innocent US civilians, terrorist leader Osama Bin Laden-the mastermind of the ghastly attack was killed by a special force of the US Army in Abbottabad of Pakistan, May 1, 2011.

Some sixty Kilometers from Pakistani Capital of Islamabad,

Osama-Chief of the terrorist organization Al Qaida, was suspected to have been living in a fortified multi-million dollar mansion since five years period.

"Today, at my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan," a beaming US

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## POLITICS: More than meets the eye

**Kathmandu:** From bad to worse.

No significant political changes for the better have come to the fore in order to ward off the lurking calamity, as is being acknowledged by the general population.

The political leadership though fighting forwarding their own political preferences associated with arrogance yet have been pumping messages across the country that "things were not that bad" as is being dispersed by what they call "reactionaries and regressive elements".

However, the reactionaries and the regressive elements have not yet been recognized. Nevertheless, even if these elements do exist as believed by the failed ruling elites, then what is for sure is that this

### Indepth-Analysis

set will unquestionably try its best to take advantage of the disorganized situation which is round the corner much the same way the current leadership have had enjoyed during the alarming days beginning 2006, albeit with the clandestine support from the alien forces. Nothing to hide.

Politics after all goes both negative and positive ways.

Twenty four days remain at hand for the present day Constituent Assembly body to count its last breath. Bids are afoot to compellingly make the defunct and redundant CA body to inhale Oxygen to provide it with a new lease of life and in

the process pocket free money as monthly salaries by some interested groups including the three major party caucus-the tentative uncrowned Kings of new Nepal.

Oxygen cylinders have already been imported, we have been told.

But the mood of the public is different as became evident May 2, 2011, when one high flying Maoists CA member, Mr. Jhakku Prasad Subedi, was slapped by a tea shop owner in Kathmandu. A scene was thus created. Dangerous signals.

Understandably, the one who slapped the eminent CA member

-Change your Palungtar revolt line and embrace the thought of peace and constitution as pushed by Dr. Bhattarai.

-Keep the hardliner, Mohan Baidya, at a comfortable distance as he may damage the prospects of peace and constitution draft for a variety of political reasons.

-Help support the Indian regime in having the India drafted Extradition Treaty to be signed by Nepal government.

-Extend substantial support in making suitable arrangements for the Indian Air Marshals for their permanent stationing at the Nepalese International Airport.

-Don't provide high ranking post to the Maoists militias while undergoing through the integration process.

-Lessen the intensity of anti-India tirade being made by you in the recent days and months.

-The Indian regime is ready to extend any support that you and your party may need in the days ahead if you comply with these Indian concerns.

in essence represented the general aggravation of the people across the length and breadth of the country.

The slapping extravaganza appears to continue in the days ahead and may take ugly turn eventually.

At another plane, the parties continue to fight with each other

over some petty issues which are of no concern to the laymen.

Intra party rivalry is also in progress. The UML and the Maoists are the worst hit, to put it modestly.

The Nepal-Oli duo, the proven enemy of Nepal Prime Minister, Jhal Nath Khanal, of the UML

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## CA Member engaged in Electricity pilfering acts, fined

**Kathmandu:** Selling diplomatic passports, engagement in ransom acts, going to the brothels, gambling,



throwing furniture are some of the activities that Nepal's honorable Constituent Assembly members have been involved since the CA body was formed, May 28, 2008.

The CA body's deforming process is still in progress.

As if it were not enough, one CA member has added one more interesting dimension to their unlawful activities.

To be precise, Mrs. Indramati Yadav who represents the Unified Maoists Party has been awarded a fine of Rupees 3000 by the National Electricity Authority for stealing electricity from the National grid.

Ms. Yadav was first arrested by the authorities in Krishnanagar of Kapilvastu for directly hooking in the power grid.

"When she said that she was a CA member, we asked her how being a parliamentarian she could involve in such an illegal acts...the verbal duel continued, we then arrested her", says engineer Tabarkul Khan of the NEA.

"We took her to Krishnanagar unit where she accepted her guilt and paid the amount", he adds.

## Bhattarai as New PM: Proposition Energized

**Kathmandu:** "Only the government formed under Babu Ram Bhattarai's leadership will be able to draft Constitution and complete the Peace process".

Surprise...Surprise! This is what a Nepali Congress Committee member believes.

Then what is common between the two leaders, Babu Ram and Pradip Giri?

Both Giri and Bhattarai are recognized as highly qualified intellectuals with differing ideologies but being heavily influenced by Indian politics.

Pradip Giri made the remark while addressing a program in Kathmandu, Saturday April 30, 2011.

Giri-who claims himself a Gandhian, also expressed

happiness that Bhattarai's line of thinking (Constitution and Peace) is being gradually established in Nepali politics.

"I wish Nepali Congress also joins government led by Bhattarai and supports Constitutional and Peace processes", Giri spoke his inner mind.

"The Nepali Congress should readily accept Maoists' leadership because they are the largest party in the constituent assembly", added the NC ideologue.

The present deadlock is because of the fight between Nepali Congress and the Maoists but if we succeeded to come to terms with each other then peace and constitution was just a matter of time, said the NC veteran.

## After Jhal Nath, Jhakku Slapped: Who is next?

**Kathmandu:** A tea stall owner in Kathmandu took the honor to 'double slap' a Unified Maoists Party Constituent Assembly.

This is the second occasion wherein honorable member of the Constituent Assembly has been publicly humiliated.

First it was Chairman Jhal Nath Khanal of United Marxist Leninists who was slapped by his own party cadre, Devi Prasad Regmi, in lithari of Sunsari District. The slap tuned into boon for Chairman Khanal as he was later

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## Baburam blames Nepali Congress for 2017 King Mahendra coup d'état

**Kathmandu:** Who was primarily responsible for late King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah in sacking the elected government led by Nepali Congress in 2017 B.S.?

Was it Mahendra's insatiable political ambitions or the leadership failure on the part of Nepali Congress that forced the then King to take over the charge of the nation?

Vice Chairman of Unified Maoists party Babu Ram Bhattarai opines that it was the reckless behavior of Nepali Congress that encouraged King Mahendra to stage a coup d'état.

To tame the highhanded attitude of Nepali Congress leadership, King Mahendra and the Panchayat regime that ruled the country for the next thirty years were instrumental in nurturing communists in Nepal, observers believe.

Addressing a program in Ratnanagar of Chitwan District, April 30, 2011 Bhattarai viewed that similar situation could arise when the long fought changes could go to the dogs due to the myopic behavior of the political parties.

"If we fail to draft the constitution, a situation similar to 2017 B.S. could emerge once again", he opined.

But, Bhattarai preferred not to disclose which force on earth was plotting a takeover a la 2017 B.S.

"Similar to visionless politics of political parties then that led to the 2017 event, we may have to face similar fate after May 28", he said and added, "All parties should develop common thinking to avert the lurking political crisis".

"We can extend the CA tenure by maximum six more months and within that extended tenure we must draft the Constitution as preferred by the people", he said.

## 'Monarchy and Maoist must for Stable Democracy'

**Kathmandu:** Chairman of Rastriya Prajatantra Party-Nepal Mr. Kamal Thapa hinted two things quite clearly at a press meet in Butwal of Rupandehi district, April 25, 2011.

Surprises come from him at regular intervals.

First, the Nepali Congress and United Marxist Leninists- the self proclaimed stakeholders of democracy in Nepal, have failed to foster the democratic order and that institutionalization of the democratic order was possible only if two undemocratic forces, Monarchy and Maoist join hands. What an idea Kamal jee?

Second, what general people take as India's unnecessary nose poking in the internal matters of Nepal could not be taken as an

interference as such, instead it was the consequence of an open invitation extended by failed political parties of Nepal to meddle in the exclusive Nepali issues.

Whether Kamal is talking sense or nonsense? Keep on guessing.

First thing first.

"The relevance of so-called Loktantra ceases to exist. Democracy has fallen into the trap of extreme Left. The democracy that includes Monarchy and Maoist will only become a sustainable affair. Talks are underway in this aspect."

Who is talking with whom, Thapa preferred to keep it secret.

Confusing the already confused laymen.



"The unfolding political events have worried King Gyaendra very much. In the changed

political context, a democracy that provides space to Monarchy

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## NC leaders question reliability of Maoists changed stance

**Kathmandu:** "The Unified Maoists' Party is totally dishonest towards Peace and Constitution".

The Nepali Congress leaders addressing a mass meet in Birtamod of Jhapa district repeatedly referred to the statement made above, April 30, 2011.

Bewildered Nepali Congress leaders while expressed happiness that finally the Unified Maoists party adopted peace and constitution line, they also expressed suspicions over hasty switch of position by the ex-rebel party.

One NC leader even took the credit for Maoists change of line. These Congressi leaders!

Of course it was Ram Chandra Poudel. Poor Poudel!

"It will not take more than a week to complete peace and constitutional processes if the Maoists exhibit total and unconditional honesty", said President Sushil Koirala who expressed his structured line.

Sushil was also of the view that if NC is allowed to lead the government, in less than a week the country will get the constitution. What is the harm in making tall claims?

"Take it for granted we will not complete the Constitution drafting task even in a decade if Maoists do not change their mindset", said Koirala.

"Time will only tell whether the change of stance from Revolt to

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# TUBORG

...Wherever you are.



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## Flow of conflicting ideas fortify democracy

Partisan media more so those who have been adhering to a particular set of political ideology may not agree to what we intend to write here. They all deserve the right to disagree with our views because this is in effect the beauty of democracy. We honor such conflicting views.

We have so far not felt the need to stick to a particular cluster of political bias as we presume and have exhibited both in words and deeds over the past decades and decades that devotee politics drags the person however but yet it leads somewhere the power is accumulated. We believe that those who practice such partisan affair must have done so in order to extract some political benefits and in the process must have managed affluence. Yet this remains to be substantiated. Nevertheless, what we have clearly observed being in this profession over several years that a partisan media has clearly benefited from such an affiliation both in terms of material wealth and the likes.

Perhaps it is these clandestine benefits, perhaps now a glaring fact which could be easily noticed, that some of our colleagues appear to have joined this profession with double intent: to serve a singular political ideology and in the process manage some practical benefits to meet their individual ends.

But having sympathy for a particular set of political idea is not a crime as such as is being taken in this part of the world. Even media men can stick to a single set of line as it is his or her fundamental democratic right which way to go. No harm. Nothing to worry about. We must respect and honor their affiliation as a liberal democrat. At least we at this paper salute those who have unconditionally been supporting political parties of their preference or choices for a variety of reasons—may be at times compulsions. Yes! Where we beg to differ is that such political loyalty must not be coupled with the transaction of monetary affairs.

It is these dubious deeds of such tilted media that the people get confused as to which one is saying correct and which one was spreading false and manufactured stories?

Such practices must be abandoned as these sorts of activities neither help support the national cause nor does it enhance the credibility of the media sector itself. Sponsored media at times drops the news as the dissemination of such reports may damage the political credentials of his or her party wherein he or she is associated with. The allegiance factor at times makes the people not to get what they want. This is dangerous indeed. People first should be the motto.

Having said that let's come to the point.

We at this paper attended a lively seminar organized by the Forum of Human Rights and Democracy, FOHRID, and enjoyed it in that we could learn and record the pulse beat of the intellectuals of the nation as to how they have been perceiving the national political events prevailing as of now.

Many speakers talked in negative but the partisan media, we are sorry to say, dropped the negative part of the "juicy" news perhaps concluding that it may damage their own party and the leaders who run the party and concurrently have been leading the nation.

An independent media should disseminate the things as it happened or happens. There must be honesty. Simply by dropping the news will not bring the deteriorating politics back on its original track. The fact is that the politics has already taken a slide of dangerous dimension.

Nothing remains hidden. Worst appears round the corner as becomes evident from the frightening utterances expressed by one of the senior economist of the country, Dr. Keshab Khadka, who while commenting on the papers presented at the seminar (Political Science Professor Ram Kumar Dahal and a promising journalist Sujit Mainali had presented their working papers) did not mince his words and bluntly said that if the parties fail to forge an effective and meaningful consensus much ahead of May 28, 2011, the now sidelined King Gyanendra will surely stage a grand comeback. Whether this will take a formal shape or not can't be guessed in advance but yet what could be said of such expressions coming as it did from a noted academicians of the country that this scholarly paraphernalia too is not at all happy with the prevailing chaotic politics. Definitely, Dr. Khadka did not wish to see King Gyanendra back in his throne but Dr. Khadka's expressions did say that people have begun suffocating over the negative trends and traits that have already inundated the country's politics. Dr. Khadka at best warned the present day leaders not to force the general population to look back. Sound warning that it was.

Listening to both of the papers by Professor Dahal and Mainali what could be concluded that both the intelligent brains lamented over the existing state of politics. The papers were a balanced one and informative as well. The papers truly represented the people's inner frustrations.

Frustrations lead to anguish, we have been told. Anguish may later turn to irritation and the irritation if continued for long then it may contain the seed of agitation which if not addressed on time may become a chaotic affair which ultimately take the form of a mass movement.

In sum, the Forum led by senior Nepali Congress activist, Nutan Thapaliya, did a marvelous job by organizing such a seminar which allowed several sharp brains even to express their negative views. Well done FOHRID. We wish such more informative and educative seminars for this Forum. Ideas must flow. This could be again taken as the largest beauty of democracy. That's all.

# Nepal: Foreign Policy and national security

Chandra Dev Bhatta, FES, Nepal

*Today, Nepal has 'no foreign policy' in a sense that it can address the challenges of new time. It has no capacity or any mechanism to protect citizens in the event of crisis or personal injuries who are working abroad and sending remittances which has become the life-blood of the national economy. In terms of policy document, all political parties have expressed to adopt non-aligned foreign policy except CPN (Maoist) who said that it would like to adopt genuine non-aligned foreign policy but it is yet to be known what the genuine non-aligned foreign policy is.*

## NATIONAL

The crisis in conducting foreign policy and maintaining national security are also posing serious threat to state-building process in Nepal. It is safe to say that both have not gained serious political attention. There is a huge gap between political forces and national security organs of the state. The security organs and their members have been undermined, discouraged and demoralized in many occasions by the successive governments(s). The establishment of 'youth wings' across the political parties and their tendency to flout rule of law for partisan interests is hitting the nerve of law and order. Similarly unavailability of clear national vision on foreign policy, other than the traditional values based on the principles of Panchasheel, non-alignment will not be able to address the changing global, regional and national political and economic challenges.

Foreign policy is not something isolated and separate from the domestic policy, it is rather reflection and complementary of the domestic policy. Foreign policy involves formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shapes the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests. The principal element of a country's foreign policy is their national interest based on factors such as geography, economy, political tradition, military, external situations and historical imperatives. The overarching aim of any foreign policy is to protect national interest, interest of the citizens living within and outside the state and maintain "geographical integrity and strategic interest" of the nation and develop new strategies in the comity of states to preserve national interests regardless of domestic disparities. States whether big or small, hence, have similar if not identical but limited menu of choices unless they are fascinated by ambitious agenda of imperialism" or any other "ism". Therefore, in order to have a vibrant foreign policy in place all political forces will need to have a general consensus on issues of national interest such as geography, economy, political traditions, military, external situations and historical imperatives.

Historically, both Ranas and Shahs conducted foreign policy of Nepal to fulfill their regime interests and always undermined national interests. Same formulae was applied by the post 1990s government which resulted in biggest foreign policy fissures with many issues remaining either unsettled or unattended at all. The classic examples are the Bhutanese refugee crisis, the Mahakali Treaty (sharing water of Mahakali River),

developing Detailed Project Report (DPR) of Pancheshwor, border disputes and encroachment of Nepali land in more than 60 places including Susta and Kalapani, Gorkha recruitment; Nepal's declining representation in the world affairs, changing aid scenario and many more. Political parties of then and now never had national consensus on key foreign policy issues. Majority of political parties through media and their political manifesto have been demanding to do away with 1950 treaty with India which has largely been considered as "unequal". But we have not done any homework. It is not clear whether we want to cancel it, replace it, amend it or review it whereas India has repeatedly expressed its desire to work as per Nepalese interest.

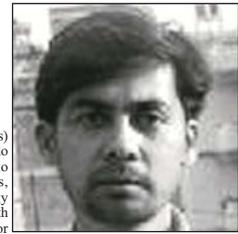
Domestic politics of this country has never been stable for nearly a century mainly due to rivalry among ruling elites and the rulers have been interplaying with foreign policy ever since. For example—during the Rana regime, they became close with British India and offered troops to the British Army. Panchayat rulers' defined foreign policy to protect the interest of the regime and during the democratic era starting from 1990 till today political parties of various colors have conducted foreign policy to suit their partisan interest. By and large, Nepal's external relations only came into limelight 'if and only if' that can be used to balance domestic political gain.

Today, Nepal has 'no foreign policy' in a sense that it can address the challenges of new time. It has no capacity or any mechanism to protect citizens in the event of crisis or personal injuries who are working abroad and sending remittances which has become the life-blood of the national economy. In terms of policy document, all political parties have expressed to adopt non-aligned foreign policy except CPN (Maoist) who said that it would like to adopt genuine non-aligned foreign policy but it is yet to be known what the genuine non-aligned foreign policy is. However, it is noteworthy to quote what Gopal Kiranti in the latest interview (some time back) has said, "by abandoning the renegade definition of Nepal as a yam between two rocks", the People's Republic of Nepal will establish a strong definition of nationality. This definition will be 'dynamic' between the two rocks in 21st century rather than a yam," grounded on "proletarian internationalism."

What we lack, at present, is 'consensus among political parties. For example - we complain about foreign

interference (real and fictitious) in our internal affairs but we do not have any mechanism to counter these interferences, neither have we had strategy that would guide us to deal with these emerging challenges nor there is coherence and common voice among political parties. In fact it is we not them who are inviting this interference. Similarly, Nepalese have been raising about border encroachment for the last so many years but leaders have not been able to develop any mechanism to counter this unabated encroachment nor have they seriously taken up issue at the political level. Foreign policy of Nepal is conducted on the basis of whims and vernacular media report that foreign powers have captured key political figures from all political parties to serve their interests.

The challenge is how are we going to deal with immediate neighbors particularly with India and China when the bilateral relations between these two countries are rapidly changing for the better and friendly nation particularly with the US, the UK and the European Union, Japan and other distant nations in the context of changing domestic as well as international scenario in the days to come. Moreover, when the West, particularly the US and the UK, is coordinating their Nepal policy through India, under these circumstances, it has become difficult for Nepal to conduct balanced foreign relations. There is a broader consensus in Nepal on the question of equi-proximity relation between India and China. In fact with this policy one can serve the interest of Nepal by maintaining balance in the relation of the two neighbors and taking benefit from the economic



development of them. But in reality this policy has never been implemented particularly because of the reluctance from the part of our Southern neighbor (Gajurel 2008). Both China and India are likely to dominate world affairs in the days to come both in strategic and economic front and success and failure of Nepalese foreign policy depends whether its leaders can take advantage of this 'boom' of the half-of the world or not.

Nepal neither has the strength to play one country against another (Pandey 2008:5) nor does it have any perceived threat from outside. Faced with this reality, Nepal does not have much choice and ambition left other than developing its capacity as an economically viable state that can protect its citizen both outside and inside and create an environment where citizens can prosper with dignity. Moreover, Nepalese should not be worried in advancing relations with China merely because it is a communist state and retreat its relations with India just because some of the political parties blame it as an 'expansionist' power. What it has to do is to manage internal security and put its house in the order, prioritize foreign policy agenda and reap benefits from regional and global economic participation.

Excerpts from authors' book on "Challenges of State Building in Nepal", a FES publications. Thanks FES and the author.

## Baidya prefers PLA be deployed along Nepal-India border

**Kathmandu:** "I am not against integration of Peoples' Liberation Army (in the state security organs) but, after integration the command of the integrated unit should remain with the PLA", vice chairman Mohan Baidya Kiran of Unified Maoists Party believes.

Baidya's views are against Nepal Army's informal proposal to create a separate unit through proportional merger of various state led security forces including the PLA—the command of which should remain with the Nepal Army.

The Nepal Army proposal was welcomed by majority of the Unified Maoists' Party leaders.

Baidya also rebukes allegations made against him and propaganda fed to the people that he was against peace and constitution.

He knows that the misinformation is being propagated by leaders from Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal camp and vice Chairman Babu Ram Bhattarai panel from his own party.

So Baidya knows the maneuvering being made against him.

"It would be a mistaken affair if I blame the outsiders for the current misinformation made

against me", opines Baidya. Reports have it that Baidya is highly displeased with the leaders belonging to the Dahal panel. For, Baidya thinks that it is this panel which has betrayed him time and again.

"I have always advocated in favor of making the existing National Security Policy compatible with the present changed country's political scenario and that should be done ahead of the integration process", Baidya says and adds, "This is why I am being portrayed as being against Peace and Constitution to which I am not."

"No matter how the PLA integration takes place—a separate state unit or mixed with other state organs, what I primarily want is to deploy the PLA for guarding our frontiers...I will not accept any other propositions."

"They need to be deployed as border security forces along the southern border with India", opines Baidya.

Baidya according to Dev Gurung-senior Maoist leader, views that peace and constitutional processes should be solved in a package.

"There is no such thing as completing one after another", Baidya is quoted as saying by Gurung. (Courtesy: Rajdhani Daily)

सूचनाको हक ऐनको उद्देश्य सरकारको काम खुला र पारदर्शी बनाउनु, सरकारी तथा सार्वजनिक निकायहरूलाई नागरिकप्रति जवाफदेही बनाउनु, सार्वजनिक निकायमा रहेका सार्वजनिक महत्वका सूचनामा आमनागरिकको पहुँच सजिलोसँग पुऱ्याउनु नागरिकको सुसूचित हुने हक लागू र संरक्षण गर्नु तथा राज्य र नागरिकको हितमा प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पार्ने सूचनाको संरक्षण गर्नु हो।



नेपाल सरकार  
 सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय  
 सूचना विभाग

"JESZCZE POLSKA NIE ZGINEŁA!"

# May 3rd Polish Charter, Greetings from Nepal

the following year with Tadeusz

## SECOND IMPRESSION

N.P. UPADHYAYA

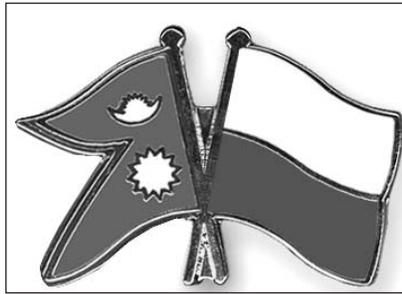
The first partition of Poland in 1772, which resulted in about 30 percent of the country being taken up by Russia, Austria and Prussia, created the shock necessary to realize the need to carry out far reaching changes which duly followed during the period of the Four year Sejm (1788-92). The favorable international situation was thus utilized to bring about the expansion of the national army, the consolidation of national economy and most importantly, the reform of the existing political system.

On May 3, 1791, a constitution was passed which was the second written constitution in the world and the first in Europe containing the most enlightened ideas of the age, Poland's aims and the results of her past experiences. At that time the Empress Catherine of Russia joined later by Prussia declared war on Poland. In 1793, both the countries participated in the Second partition of Poland which led to an armed uprising in

Kosciuszko as the national leader. The uprising was however, defeated and the Third Partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria followed in 1795 when the Polish state ceased to exist.

Says the Polish President Bronisław Komorowski while talking to the Warsaw Voice that "For its time, the May 3rd Constitution was a very modern political project. It was the first constitution in Europe and the second, after the U.S., in the history of the modern world. It gave rise to modern Polish constitutionalism. This tradition was continued by Poland when it was reborn after World War I. Its first constitution, from 1921, guaranteed women the right to vote, for example, which was not common in Europe. France and Italy, for instance, enfranchised women in 1945 and Switzerland in 1971.

The Polish President further highlights the advantages of the May 3rd constitution. Let's see how he explains.



The May 3rd Constitution is and most likely will continue to be a source of inspiration for the Polish people for a long time. It is also a source of our faith in our own powers and capacity, faith in Poland and its ability to accomplish great positive changes. Furthermore, these are not just changes of domestic importance but in a sense also a legacy for the entire free world.

The President goes on to say, "The modern structure of the May 3rd Constitution contradicted the duplicitous claim of the partitioning powers that Poland had collapsed as a result of anarchy and its own ineptness. It was exactly the opposite. Poland's treacherous neighbors crossed the country off the map of Europe because they were afraid of its internal rebirth, of which the Constitution was key evidence. Remembering the Constitution, which over time acquired the status of a revered national icon, gave Poles hope for another rebirth. In the darkening gloom of bondage it was like a star leading the nation toward freedom.

That was why in 1918, when free Poland was reborn; no one was in any doubt that the day of the adoption of the May 3rd Constitution should be a national

holiday, the Polish President adds. On behalf of the Nepal Poland Friendship Association, we extend our sincere congratulations to the people and the government of Poland on this national day celebrations.

A nation which experienced such traumatic events in the process of "nation-building" task must be congratulated.

The Poles lost their land but yet regained their lost identity through the hard work they all accomplished in a collective manner. It is not for nothing that "JESZCZE POLSKA NIE ZGINEŁA!"

Having said all these, I would like to add this much. It was time now that some substantial efforts be made to enhance Nepal-Poland Friendship which is already in a deep rooted state among the people level. What needs to be done is to expand the ties at the government to government level by arranging exchange of high level visits. The easy going diplomat on both the sides must make it a point now to work in this direction. Sooner the better.

Long live Nepal-Poland Friendship.

(Compiled by N. P. Upadhyaya for NPFA, Kathmandu).

# En Bref

## Oli more competent than PM Khanal: Bhandari

Kathmandu: "By all the prevailing standards the incumbent government under the leadership of Chairman Jhal Nath Khanal is the weakest one in comparison with the erstwhile government led by senior leader Madhav Kumar Nepal".

Logical conclusion. Vice Chairman Mrs. Bidya Devi Bhandari of United Marxist Leninist who was the minister for defense in the Madhav Nepal government said this while addressing a press-meet in Kathmandu, April 27, 2011.

"The Primary objective of the incumbent government was to replace the last one", she said and added, "Prime Minister Khanal does not want to provide the government a national shape."

Blunt allegation. Natural as camps differ. "The current government is not an all party or a consensus government...we need to look for various possibilities...K.P ji could be one of the alternative (to Khanal)".

So she prefers Oli. "He (Oli) is a highly competent politician, he could be elevated as a parliamentary member through direct election or the cabinet could make the appointment", Bhandari opined.

Interestingly, Mrs. Bhandari doesn't talk about the constitution draft. Albeit she is talking for such a possible replacement. The parasites of Nepali politics.

## Positive turn in Nepal Politics if Maoists quit weapons: Krishna Sitaula

Kathmandu: Newly appointed General Secretary of the Nepali Congress Krishna Prasad Sitaula said that the major parties had agreed to complete Peace and Constitutional Process within six months period, yet three years down the road there seems to be no end to the process. Sitaula made this remark while talking to media men in Jhapa District, April 27, 2011.

There is no relevance in continuing the extension of the CA tenure unless firm basis for settling the Maoists Army is finalized, Sitaula said. I believe that if the Maoists in practice quit weapons and PLA, Nepali politics will immediately take a positive turn, he opined.

I am hopeful mainly because Chairman Prachanda (Maoist) has recently pledged his support in favor of Peace and Constitution in the party.

Sitaula preferred to remain silent when asked to predict situation without Constitution and Constituent Assembly from May 28. Sitaula was the one who brought Maoists from New Delhi.

## Oli goes low, humiliates Maoists with appalling lexis

Kathmandu: A day after Prime Minister Jhal Nath Khanal opined that failing to draft constitution before May 28 will not invite any sort of catastrophe (Akash Khasne-Falling of Sky) in the country, his arch rival from his own party K.P. Sharma Oli warned him that he will have to submit resignation if constitution is not drafted on the stipulate timeframe.

"If the government fails to fulfill the objectives, let it be known that we will ask Khanal's resignation", Oli threatened addressing a program in Biratnagar, April 27, 2011.

Oli at regular intervals threatens Khanal. Old habits die hard. "We will not accept anything less than a full fledged constitution", Oli said and criticized the prime minister stating, "A person who cannot even fence (Tati Badhe) his own house, what he can achieve by focusing on the target, can he stop falling of the sky."

"Yes I supported his prime ministerial candidacy, but my objectives have not been fulfilled", he lamented.

Oli while in Biratnagar also visited a Hospital wherein one of his party cadres is receiving treatment for fatal injuries after being heavily thrashed by Unified Maoists party cadres.

He commented, "The Maoists have not changed a bit. We know how to treat the stray dogs. First, we need to scare them, if that does not work, beat them with a lathi and turn them harmless by injecting the anti-rabies vaccine."

"We know we cannot bite a dog because it has bitten us", he concluded. Oli can go to any low becomes evident from what he has said of Khanal referring to dogs.

Analysts feel ashamed.

# The Emerging New Horizons for Nepal NGOs

Professor Bishwa Keshar Maskay, Nepal

It seems that there are indicators to cultivate optimism about the future although there were reasons for being skeptical in the past. Important roles for NGOs are being envisaged in a number of government documents such as the Eighth Plan, the Village Development Committee Act, the Municipality Committee Act and the District Development Committee Act. But until the NGOs possess institutional capabilities to undertake grassroots development activities, the efforts to involve them in such significant activities will certainly not yield the desired returns. The Eighth Plan has intended to lay the foundations for participatory development in the country and to entrust NGOs along with others (self-help groups, users' groups, local government) with the task of generating, developing and sustaining the development process in the villages in the context of the devolution of power to the people, the premise being that the government, in the long run, will act only as a facilitator in the social work sector. The Decentralization Act 2048 (1992) if it had been earnestly implemented, may have provided a better future for the sector.

A few outstanding social work programmes/projects which have recently emerged fulfill the criteria of: (1) community participation (2) legal registration (3) auditing and (4) empowerment of local organizations as the composite aim of NGOs. Though few in number,

these projects have become exemplary. One of such projects goes by the name of Janta ko Khane Pani ra Safai Karyakram, advocated by JAKPAS (The People's Water and Sanitation Program). The programme is a strategy to test and refine both the institutional and software components" of a broader project called the Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWSS) Fund Project jointly supported by the UNDP and the World Bank and executed by the latter. The major objectives of RWSS Fund Project are as follows:

## VIEWS

- a) Delivering sustainable health and hygiene services to the rural population through improvements in water supply and sanitation;
- b) Improving income for women as water supply is brought closer to dwellings in a cost-effective and sustainable manner;
- c) Improving the capability of sector institutions, both governmental and non-governmental (NGOs and the private sector) to undertake and sustain these efforts through institutional strengthening and management capacity-building programs. Particular attention will be given to engaging local decision-making especially by women participants in all phases of the project cycle.

What is appealing in the

JACKPAS programme is the strategy of generating and strengthening grassroots organizations called the Support Organizations (SOs) and 'giving the stick' to the SOs, especially formed by women, to handle the RWSS Fund Project throughout the project cycle. These SOs are but the POs whose role in development has been adequately highlighted in Chapter II. Women empowerment is the additional attraction of the RWSS Fund Project.

Equally innovative are the programmes launched by the UNDP in collaboration with the SWC in the Mid-western and Far-western Regions of the country for strengthening the local POs/NGOs through implementation of micro programmes at their own initiatives.

Empowering the local people and their organizations has remained to be the principal mission of this programme. Something more sanguine was some time back pronounced by the government. It was the national call made by the government to transform the scenario of rural underdevelopment with the action-oriented programme called the "Build Our Village Ourselves" (BOVO). The government has (had then) pledged to allocate a lump sum of Rupees three hundred thousand to each and every Village Development Committee (VDC) per annum, leaving everything at the discretion of the VDC. An Operation Manual for implementation of the BOVO-scheme had also come out.

There were mixed reactions to this new programme launched by the government. On the bright side, people have developed vision of the starting of a real process of



people-centered development at the grassroots level. On the other side, there is skepticism that this in BOVO scheme is but a populist slogan of the government.

It must be acknowledged that the BOVO scheme will open up new opportunities for the NGO sector to grow and develop on an unprecedented scale. Although the annual budgetary allocation to VDCs is small against their voluminous needs, this amount of money can act as the 'seed' money to start doing something in the villages if adjoining villages combine them to launch integrated projects. The monetary facility appears negligible in comparison to the advantage to be gained on an institutionalized footing with the power given to the villagers to plan and manage their development in their own ways.

However, many things have not gone the way they should. For example, the Decentralization Act has not been implemented in full scale, there are still some bureaucratic higgling-haggle on decentralization. The Operational Manual of the BOVO scheme itself has not been fully discussed to establish a national consensus on the modus operandi.

During the early period of Panchayat, a similar programme by the name of "Go-to-the-Village-National-Campaign" (GTVNC) was launched. The campaign was a call to the people to contribute their best to the process of social, political and economic transformation of the nation starting from the village level. The campaign was a mechanism to mobilize the efforts and activities of the elected members of the Panchayat tiers (village level, district level and national level), representatives of class organizations, administrators, teachers and other civic organizations in development tasks. These individuals had to work in a village for 7 days (later reduced to 5 days). The GTVNC was conceived as a strategy to check the outflow of elites and youth from the villages to the cities leaving them in "a state of apathy, slumber, inertia, helplessness and fatalism," and reverse this trend in favor of the villages. The increasing trend of urban concentration and rural alienation was felt to eventually lead to a "growth of the urban islands surrounded by a sea of poverty and backwardness."

This programme, though conceptually sound, turned out in this implementation phase to be a political fiasco, not a development strategy. As a matter of fact, the programme was not seriously implemented in the first place and, secondly, it was made a political instrument for elections. It is too early to predict the fate of the old BOVO campaign in terms of involvement of NGOs and, through them, in instituting the process of empowerment of the people at the grassroots level. However, one should take note of the fact that the LUBOVO campaign has its roots in the government and that there are limits to the success of government-initiated programmes. History alone will bear testimony to its success or failure. The incoming scenario of governance and development is decidedly not going to come from the government but from the people, as Mahbub-ul-Haq also affirms: Effecting change will not depend exclusively on governments. It will come primarily from the actions of the people at the grassroots who often are far ahead of their governments. Excerpts from the author's book on Non Governmental Organizations in Development. Thanks the author.

# Everest

# Democratic Stability: Political Accountability and Trends

A seminar finally turned merciless. Attending participants, including paper presenters, commentators and intellectuals from the floor not only deplored present day Nepali leaders but some even claimed that Nepal will never get a constitution if the "dead leaders" continue to overwhelm Nepali politics. Ugly, dirty and power lust

and Trends" made public all the political wrong doings committed by the Nepali politicians right after the advent of the current order and summarized his paper by stating that the political parties which collectively brought about this change must forego consensus or else they were sure to face the music sooner than later. He however pinned high

for the time being but that in no way guaranteed continued existence of peace in the country for all time to come. "Even if the constitution gets drafted, peace will continue to remain in a disturbed state as the society remains always in a dynamic state and thus various sorts of conflicts for a variety of political reasons may recur in the

drink, don't have electricity power nor do we feel secure and in places like Mugu district, the local residents are forced to swallow the flies while they have their regular lunch or for that matter the dinner, Dr. Khadka lamented but with a strong warning that it was. Perhaps Dr. Khadka was referring to the health conditions that now prevail in the district. Moreover, Dr. Khadka said that the Nepalese today have lost their unique identity that we have had abundant in the past and questioned the leaders as to why we missed our identity in this republican setup? "We thus need urgently a third popular movement in order to regain those which we lost over the recent years", Dr. Khadka in a sentimental voice appealed.

As if this were not enough, a senior advocate, Kamal Pokhrel, demanded that the new constitution must ensure an accountable system wherein peace and justice will go hand in hand. "We don't need the so-called peace but what we need today is a justiciable government which secures the life of its people and allows them all to live a dignified life", added Pokhrel. One senior commentator seated at the podium, Mr. Karki, even saw politics as a dirty game being played by idiots. Perhaps he was referring to the politics and the political leaders of his own country. The final blast came from the floor. He was Dhan Prasad Pundit who bluntly told the intellectual gathering that India was behind the dismantling of the Institution of the Nepali monarchy through the effective use of the 12 point agreement. "Some of our own nationals 'for sale' definitely assisted the Indian design which ultimately sidelined the monarchy", said an enraged Pundit. The seminar session was presided over by, FOHRID Chairman, Mr. Nutan Thapaliya who is himself a loyal Nepali Congress stalwart. The program was definitely a grand success. FOHRID deserves appreciation in having provided a platform to ventilate the feelings of the intellectuals.



## DOSSIER REISSUE

were some of the negative adjectives added to exemplify Nepali leaders. Honor but with a negative note indeed.

Some floor participants, during the question and answer session, went berserk and the listening scholars, mostly from the Nepali Congress perhaps, neither could reject those filthy words made against their own set of leaders nor dared to come to the rescue of the leaders who apparently have brought the nation to the current sorry state. Hands were tied.

However, the Seminar organizer, the Human Rights and Democratic Forum, FOHRID, must be admired to have collected the courage to gulp the bitter pill thrown to the Nepali leadership. Must have been the compulsion factor. Professor Dr. Ram Kumar Dahal presenting his working paper on "Democratic Stability in Nepal: Political Accountability

hopes on the Nepali youths and urged them to take over the charge of the national politics as the almost "dead leaders" currently at the center stage of the country's politics had become already defunct and redundant and thus to expect anything substantial from them would be a self-defeating exercise. Dr. Dahal demanded that a criterion must be set to allow only those to enter into politics who were qualified and have had some educational backgrounds. Professor Dahal hinted in his paper in a roundabout manner that the Nepali leadership appeared more accountable to the dictates of the foreigners and demanded that such trends and traits in politics should be rejected to establish the Nepali sovereignty.

Journalist Sujit Mainali in his paper said that prevalence of peace and draft of the constitution for the time being may dawn the desired peace and a constitution

country", said Manali. "All that we have to do is to remain alert in lessening the intensity of the emerging conflicts in the days ahead", summarized Sujit Mainali. The worst is yet to come. Forwarding his comments for both the papers, a highly qualified guru at the Central Economics Department of the Tribhuvan University, Dr. Keshav Khadka almost exploded while speaking his inner mind. He spoke correct. Look what this distinguished senior economist Khadka says. "If the parties fail to forge a political consensus prior to the constitution deadline, May 28, 2011, then let's take it for granted that no force on earth will be able to block the grand comeback of King Gyanendra in the political scene". If, per chance, King Gyanendra, now a sidelined personality, is not allowed to stage a comeback then we will have the replica of Hamid Karzai regime in place who will be told to rule the nation, added the veteran Nepali economist. Let's not make tall claims as we don't have potable water to

## DATELINE KATHMANDU

Niraj Aryal

### US's INDIA-CHINA Game and Nepal

**Kathmandu:** China has significantly increased its activities in Nepal and in other South Asian countries, according to a fresh US Congressional report, which is "to encircle India in its own backyard".

*Also, there are some US influenced Indian academics and politicians who care little about the impact of India-China clash in the region and have been portraying China as India's Number one enemy and absurdly claiming China could attack India before year 2012.*

The report is the latest in series of such research work-the objective of such works is to further distance India and China-the emerging world super powers.

The timing of the report being made public is such that it has come less than a month after India's Prime Minister Dr.



Man Mohan Singh had a successful China trip.

Keeping aside their political differences and longstanding boundary dispute, India and China have recently pledged for a \$100 Billion trade target by the year 2015. Currently the trade volume between the two economic giants stands at \$60 Billion.

The idea is to impregnate fear in the minds of New Delhi rulers by vilifying China, say analysts in Nepal and add, US has a lot to gain from the continued standoff between the two countries.

Considering that US relation with Pakistan- the traditional ally in South Asia is at the lowest ebb at the moment, but since Pakistan share good relation with China in the changed geo-political context, the US rulers primarily want Military giants of South Asia including China to remain engaged in a bitter relation with each other- that will enable US to boost up its arms trade in the South Asian region.

Since China is using its indigenous technology to manufacture arms and ammunitions, and India on the other hand, relies heavily on third country for weapons and that it has also increased its Defense Budget in the recent past, this is the appropriate moment for the US to sell arms and artileries to India.

To recall, India has raised its defense spending for 2011 to \$36.3 billion, up by 11.6% year over a year. It is also planning to spend \$80 billion on defense in the next five years for acquiring new equipments.

First, the report says China has several key interests in Nepal. China has an interest in keeping Nepal from becoming a location from which Tibetan activists can promote the cause of Tibet.

Second, the 17 page report dated April 7, 2011 also outlines that China has in recent years made significant inroads in developing ties with South Asian states. Some view this as predominantly economically driven while others, particularly in strategic circles in New Delhi, increasingly view Chinese activity with geopolitical concern."

Also, there are some US influenced Indian academics and politicians who care little about the impact of India-China clash in the region and have been portraying China as India's Number one enemy and absurdly claiming China could attack India before year 2012.

To recall, Bharat Varma who claims himself as a defense analyst and is considered close to the US lobby in India claimed in his write-up that China will launch an attack on India before 2012.

Quite recently, Senior Indian leader Mulayam Singh Yadav while making a speech at India's Lower House, February 22, 2011 had said that Nepal's friendliest neighbors, China and Pakistan were planning to invade Nepal. He had also reminded the Indian prime minister that China was India enemy No 1.

To recall, long time back, the erratic Indian defense minister George Fernandez too had described China as India's number one enemy.

The real agenda of the US and its allies in India is to facilitate US arms trade in the region, also opine analysts. The US Congressional report should also be viewed in the same light.

# Can Nepal grab Indian Land?

Having occupied close to 100,000 hectares of Nepali lands adjoining 26 districts from East to Far west, state sponsored media in India have begun manufacturing stories that it was instead Nepal (not India)-a proven subservient servant like neighbor, that was occupying India's lands. Himalayan lie.

On the contrary, the Communists in Nepal and general public take India as an expansionist neighbor.

Observers here in Nepal claim that the day will soon come when the sponsored and somewhat disillusioned media in India will begin claiming that Sri Lanka and Maldives too have grabbed their lands, the countries in South Asia with which India does not share land linkages.

The Indian media knows better on how to manufacture fake stories. With Indian media everything is possible. Nothing new.

The bizarre story carried out by the online edition of CNN-IBN claims that the issue of land grab by Nepal is of the 'International dimension'. CNN credibility this.

Nepal observers invite the CNN team to come to Nepal and get the detailed facts. However, matured observers in Nepal claim that the impartiality of the story carried by the local

Indian version of CNN could be questioned because no reference is made to the land grabbed by India along its 1800 Kilometers of open border with Nepal.

"The video footage provides the impression that it has been well crafted in one of the Bollywood studios", a commentator wrote in one of the popular blog sites. This is how Indian media is perceived by majority of Nepalis.

"Thousands of villagers in seven border districts of Bihar have lost their land and homes to encroachers from Nepal - triggering a significant rise in violence and conflict along the state's border with the Himalayan Kingdom. The land grab, it appears, has its genesis in a warped century old border treaty. The Indian authorities' inability to ensure pillars demarcating the border stay intact, making it worse", claims the CNN-IBN write-up, April 28, 2011. By the way Nepal no longer remains a Kingdom. This speaks of the knowledge of the one who framed this story.

On the other hand, India has so far occupied 60 thousand hectares plus Nepali lands in 58 different places in 26 districts adjoining the Indian border.

In Lumpyadhara-Kalapani and Susta, India has occupied 37



thousand and 14 thousands hectares of Nepali lands respectively.

To add, some 557 Jungey pillars from the districts of Jhapa, Ilam, Morang, Sunsari and Saptari are suspected to have been uprooted by the India's SHEMA Shashastra Bal (SSB)- border security force. The Indian expansion continues but the International news channel ignores this fact in the fake story. Clear exhibition of the intent.

The missing pillars were erected upon signing of the Sugauli Treaty, 1816 with the former colonial masters of today's Republic of India-the East-India Company. Available statistics with the

government (Department of Survey) record claims that in the eastern region alone, there should have been existence of some One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty-five pillars. Out of this total, some 557 pillars are missing as of now. In Jhapa district alone, some 475 pillars are missing. The Morang district has 84 pillars but one is missing right now. Sunsari district had initially 253 pillars of which 245 pillars are only available.

The CNN-IBN story is incomplete thus a biased one. It is quite surprising that a country reeling under severe political crisis, with its corrupt Indo-dependent leaders a la Lendrup

Dorjes, corrupt bureaucracy, docile security forces and totally frustrated citizens could grab lands of a neighbor-where root of Nepal's all problems lies, claim observers. Unbelievable. It was some 240 years back Nepal used to be ruled by expansionist (certain interested quarters prefer to take the unifier of Nepal in this manner) King Prithivi Naryan Shah, now that we have leaders who are willing

to sell their motherland for the sake of elusive peace and constitution, such stories could simply be ridiculed, commented another blogger. "Alas, the story isn't true", wrote a blogger in popular Blog Site, Mysansar.com.

Such unfair stories carried out by international media will only contribute to further deteriorate Nepal India ties. CNN-IBN has pushed a biased write up, sum up Nepal analysts,

# Inside the UML there exist sizeable chunk of secret agents and infiltrators

Laxmibhakta Upadhya  
Advisory Council, UML, Nepal

**TGQ1: It has already been sixty years of the formation of communist party in Nepal. Down the memory lane, how you Mr. Upadhya assess as to how the movement of the communists has advanced since then?**

**Mr. Upadhya:** Yes! It has been sixty years of the communist movement in Nepal. As of the first pamphlet issued by the party which was primarily to auger the constituent assembly and then strategically it was the creation of a people's revolution. The pamphlet published by the first convention sponsored by the communist party around 1951-52 targeted the abolition of the Rana oligarchy, call for a convention of all of the class organizations and the formation of an all party government. It was then meant that the united government thus formed will confiscate the entire properties of the Ranas and make it a national one, conduct the election of a constituent assembly with the participation of those who had crossed 18 years limit.

To some extent the issues raised then have been accomplished at this point of time. The election to the CA body has already taken place. Republican order too has come into existence. But yet the people as such have to enjoy their fundamental rights. The real People's Republic worth the name has not come as of now. The entire communist movement appears to have remained in a state of sheer confusion. We have scores of communist parties but unfortunately they stand divided

and fractured. All have been going their preferred way. The one is mudslinging at the other. Now it is time that all the revolutionary communists must unite and kick the rightists out from the party paraphernalia. If done so then the people may accomplish the people's revolution. The communists worth the name must not abandon their promised chartered ideology. The communists must not become rightists in the name of flexibility. This is how the present state of affair is. If the parties have the attack to the party come from within. The attack is from a few men from the same party. Pushpa Lal was stronger thus he was attacked by his own party men. His party was completely devastated. Nirmal lama's party around 1980s received the similar fate. Later the Marxists-Leninists party became stronger. The ML and the Marxists joined hands together and created today's United Marxist Leninist party-the UML. That time the entire country became fan of the UML. The Maoists waged the people's war when the UML began exhibiting rightists tilt. The Maoists waged a war of its own kind in Nepal from the Nepalese soil bearing the name of the communist. That was a great job then. The war was a great event which was also a war of sacrifice. Tens of thousands people lost their precious lives. A party which made a Himalayan sacrifice, it is being feared, appears heading towards UMLisation of the entire party itself. Inside the Maoists party, various groups and

**TGQ2: Should this then mean that the communists wasted so much time for nothing during the past decades? What say you?**

**Mr. Upadhya:** No! It is not like that. Look how a group of some five men only could form such a big communist party. Majority of the people still possess confidence in the communists. They believe the communists. Fortunately, the constituent assembly body is overwhelmed by the presence of the communists. But they have no unity among themselves. They wish to dismantle each other. Revisionists have entered inside the communist parties under several pretexts. They are confusing and befouling the people with the communist trademark. The situation can also be observed like this. But yet the revolutionaries remain in good numerical strength. They are energetic still. All that we need is

a strong leadership which could unite and bring the revolutionaries under one single umbrella. If this could be done then the communists will survive for long. In my opinion, the communist parties are in trouble at the moment with the prevalence of rightist opportunism. I think the main problem is what I have stated.

**TGQ3: This does mean then that the rightist tendencies were the main threats being faced by the Nepal Communist parties? Is it so?**

**Mr. Upadhya:** Look the party which stands stronger, is the one to be attacked surely and the attack to the party come from within. The attack is from a few men from the same party. Pushpa Lal was stronger thus he was attacked by his own party men. His party was completely devastated. Nirmal lama's party around 1980s received the similar fate. Later the Marxists-Leninists party became stronger. The ML and the Marxists joined hands together and created today's United Marxist Leninist party-the UML. That time the entire country became fan of the UML. The Maoists waged the people's war when the UML began exhibiting rightists tilt. The Maoists waged a war of its own kind in Nepal from the Nepalese soil bearing the name of the communist. That was a great job then. The war was a great event which was also a war of sacrifice. Tens of thousands people lost their precious lives. A party which made a Himalayan sacrifice, it is being feared, appears heading towards UMLisation of the entire party itself. Inside the Maoists party, various groups and

sub-groups appear to have already been existing. Naturally, in a communist party there is the debate on Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. If only Marxism is under debate in a particular party then that party can't be a communist party. If the party only talks of Dialectical materialism then that party can't be a communist one worth the name. The communists must work in favor of the people and against feudalism and capitalism.

But the current problem observed in the communist parties is that of opportunism and of rightist attitudes. It is these which pose grave threats to the communist parties of Nepal.

**TGQ4: It is being widely believed that the parliamentary system is best of all the prevailing systems in the world and that effective revolution could be accomplished right inside from the parliament. How to take such ideas?**

**Mr. Upadhya:** Vladimir Lenin concluded himself during 1905 and while observing around the year 1996 in our own country, ourselves, the parliamentary system with capitalist parties can't develop the nation. It has already been proven. A capitalist parliament is nothing more than a talking platform for the bourgeoisie. This is what Lenin had said. His words are equally true and applicable even at this time. If you spend some one million rupees, you can easily win the elections which will allow you to go on a spree for earning money later. Such trends never go in

favor of the people. We have scores of communists in Nepal but eventually they all have abandoned communist ideologies. We greeted the Jhapa movement. But those who led this movement began talking high of the parliament around 1986. Communist parties never do such things. If the contest is for parliament then why not the communist unite? Had they all united under one umbrella, majority could have been achieved right in the election held after



## Questions

1990 change. Had they united, they could have bagged a thumping majority at time of the CA body elections. But why they did not unite? These were all political propaganda to lure the people. I take it that way.

**TGQ5: Why is it that the communist parties lack secrecy? Why the things get leaked?**

**Mr. Upadhya:** I clearly see that the rightists have grossly penetrated into the communist parties. Several agencies and various agents rule the roost inside

the communist parties. A sizeable network stands inside the communist parties of the penetrators. These agents will never allow the parties to proceed ahead under any circumstances. The moles have been doing the things inside the parties as desired and preferred. The party led by Comrade Pushpa Lal had the presence of sleuths. Inside the UML, I believe there is a comfortable size of the agents and moles. This could be observed now also inside the Maoists. We have several communist parties but why they don't unite? Why it is split in several camps? Philosophy and the flags are the same. The declared enemy is also the same. If you read the manifesto of various communist parties, you will find the common enemy. Enemy remains the same. *The Mahima Weekly dated April 28, 2011.*

# India's ambitious defense policy

Sajjad Shaukat

While exposing India's ambitious defence policy, Washington-based Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) has disclosed in its report of April 2011 that India has planned "to spend an estimated \$80 billion on military modernization programs by 2015 so as to further augment its military build-up against China and disrupt security-balance in South Asia."

The report elaborated, "India is expected to maintain this position in the coming years...at the same time, the Indian Ministry of Defence has laid out an ambitious agenda to substantially increase the country's capacity to produce military hardware by the end of the decade."

The CSIS report further mentioned, "Consequently, India's defence budget has roughly quadrupled (in real terms) since 2001—reaching \$36.3 billion in the 2011–2012 budget—and enabled the implementation of long-term acquisition plans. Of the total defence budget, approximately 40 percent (some \$14.5 billion) is allocated to the defence capital outlay budget, which funds arms procurements, construction and maintenance of installations, additional infrastructure, and other military equipment modernizations."

It is notable that in February 2010, Indian military procurement units descended on the DefExpo 2010 trade fair in New Delhi. Inaugurating the Indian Defence Exhibition, Defence Minister A.K. Antony had said that India's defence expenditure which is 2.5 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) is going to increase. He pointed out, "our defence industry is open up to 100 percent for Indian private sector, while foreign direct investment is allowed up to 26 percent." Antony further indicated, "Our government is committed to rapid modernisation of armed forces." Over the next 12 years, India is set to spend a whopping US\$200 billion on defence acquisitions to replace its outdated inventory. In this respect, on February 15, 2010, a report of the Indian strategic defense magazine (India Strategic's DefExpo) had revealed that 70 per

cent of the inventory of the Indian armed forces is 20-plus years old, and needs to be replaced with the modern technology. It explained that nearly half of this funding (\$100b) will go to the Indian Air Force (IAF), which would need to replace more than half of its combat jet fleet as well as the entire transport aircraft and helicopter fleet. The army needs new guns, tanks, rocket launchers, multi-terrain vehicles, while the navy needs ships, aircraft carriers and new range of nuclear submarines.

In an overanxious quest for military advantage along its border with China, New Delhi is intensifying its military cooperation with the United States and Russia—stepping up its military penetration of small border-states adjoining China and India. In the past decade, India had bought arms worth US\$50 billion from the United States, Russia, Britain, Germany, Israel and France, making it the biggest arms importer in the developing world.

Particularly, the US has emerged as a potential military supplier to India since the two countries signed a deal of civil energy technology in 2008, which lifted sanctions on New Delhi in order to import nuclear technology. India is likely to become a major customer for the US military-industrial complex over the next few years.

In recent years, India has bought reconnaissance aircraft from US aerospace major Boeing worth 2.1 billion-dollars, medium range missiles for 1.4 billion dollars from Israeli Aerospace Industries, and signed an upgrade service contract with the Russian Aircraft Corporation to upgrade its MIG 29 squadrons for 965 million dollars. Several deals are planned for the near future including one of the largest arms contracts of recent times—a 11-billion-dollar project to acquire 126 multi-role combat aircraft. It is mentionable that after 9/11, both India and Israel which had openly jumped on Bush's anti-terrorism enterprise are acting upon a secret diplomacy, targeting Pakistan, China, Iran and Syria. In this context, Indo-Israeli secret diplomacy could be assessed from the interview of Israel's ambassador

to India, Mark Sofer published in the Indian weekly Outlook on February 18, 2008. Regarding India's defence arrangements with Tel Aviv, Sofer had surprisingly disclosed, "We do have a defence relationship with India, which is no secret" and "with all due respect, the secret part will remain a secret." As regards joint exercises, Sofer replied, "Certain issues need to remain under wraps for whatever reason."

While, India's 'The Tribune' had written on September 10, 2003, "India and Israel took giant leaps forward in bolstering the existing strategic ties," and Tel Aviv has "agreed to share its expertise with India in various fields such as anti-fraud operations, surveillance satellites, intelligence sharing and space exploration." With the support of Israel, New Delhi has been acquiring an element of strategic depth by setting up logistical bases in the Indian Ocean for its navy.

Defence experts opine that taking the concept of a two front war with Pakistan and China a step further, India has launched an ambitious military buildup plan, along the disputed Line of Actual Control (LAC) with China in the state of Arunachal Pradesh.

Nevertheless, currently, more than half of India's budget is allocated for military, paramilitary, various security forces and debt servicing. That leaves less than half for everything else including infrastructure development projects, education, healthcare, poverty alleviation, and various human services. New Delhi's latest arms buildup will leave even less for what India needs most to lift hundreds of millions of its citizens from abject poverty, hunger illiteracy and disease.

Even Indian civil society organisations, while complaining of excessive defence spending indicated that the government spends 2.35 per cent of GDP on defence, but only 1.72 per cent on the social sector. The defence budget has been increasing rapidly every year. Indian defence analyst Ravinder Pal Singh, while calling New Delhi's unending defence spending at the cost of poverty-alleviation—with

security requirements competing with socio-economic concerns for money calls it "guns-versus-butter question."

Meanwhile, a report of United Nations pointed out that India ranks 134th of 182 countries on the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index. It estimated that 50 per cent of the world's undernourished population lives in India. Nearly 31 per cent of the billion-plus Indians earn less than a dollar a day. Secretary General of the Control Arms Foundation of India, Binlalakshmi Nephram remarks, "When people are dying of poverty and bad sanitation, what protection will arms provide them?"

On the one hand, international community has been making strenuous efforts for world peace in wake of global financial crisis and war against terrorism, on the other, India has initiated deadly nuclear arms in South Asia where people are already facing multiple problems of grave nature. Majority of

South Asian people are living below the poverty level, lacking basic facilities like fresh food and clean water. While yielding to acute poverty, every day, some persons commit suicide.

Setting aside regional problems and resolution of Indo-Pak issues—especially thorny dispute of Kashmir, Indian rulers state that they don't have any aggressive designs. But it becomes a big joke of the 21st century, reminding a maxim, "armed to the teeth, but no enemy", if we take cognisance of India's unending defence expenditure. Nonetheless, India's ambitious defence policy is aimed at destroying regional peace and stability, and gives a wake up call to other Asian powers, while reflecting the true face of New Delhi.

# India Is Now the Largest Importer of Arms In The World

A Stockholm-based think-tank finds that India overtakes China as the world's biggest weapons buyer. American think-tanks have been demonizing Pakistan for being India-centric and refusing US demands to move soldiers away from the Indian border. The US has been telling us India means us no harm. Here is a European study that shows India's armament drive has reached feverish levels. Pakistan is right to take precautions against an eastern neighbor with a checkered

A report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) says that India accounted for 9% of all global weapons imports between 2006 and 2010. The study also shows that India has overtaken China to become the world's largest importer of arms. As it was not enough, the report predicts that India will continue to be to the leading arms importer in the coming future, the report adds.

India's present defense budget is a whopping \$32.5 billion and it is looking to spend more than \$50 billion over the next five years to modernize its armed forces, including a \$10 billion deal to buy 126 new fighter jets. Last October, India announced that it would buy 250 to 300 advanced fifth-generation stealth fighter jets from Russia over the next 10 years. The deal, which could be worth up to \$30 billion, is believed to be the largest in Indian records. Now it has decided to buy even more hardware by short-listing two European fighters and ruled out two US rivals for a key \$11 billion military contract. (BBC News, 28 April 2011)

It is said by western experts that India's increased spending on arms comes amid rising concerns about China's growing power, and India's traditional rivalry with neighboring Pakistan, with which it has fought three wars.

Well, we all know that India with all its weapons is no match for China. The billion-dollar question is this: Where will all these expensive and latest jetfighters be used? Not in Himalaya Mountains or in dogfights over Tibet.

Naturally, all this hardware would be used against Pakistan to fulfill the old Hindustani dream of Nehru, who, during the partition of British India and the independence of Pakistan very arrogantly remarked, "Let them have their Pakistan. It will come crawling back to Mother India in six months."

**Mr. Quraishy is Secretary General - EMISCO - European Muslim Initiative for Social Cohesion, in Strasbourg/Copenhagen.**

## India Needs To Share Its Wealth With Its People



### history.

**BASHY QURAISHY**  
COPENHAGEN, Denmark—American think tanks, government officials and CIA have often accused Pakistan to be too India-fixated and have advised, even enjoined Pakistan to shift its forces from Indian border to the Afghan front to fight America's losing war on terrorism.

These anti-Pakistan lobbies often present India as a peace loving country, which has no designs and ill will towards Pakistan. These self-styled pundits as well as pro-Indian lobby in Pakistan should be ashamed of such a behavior and now think deep and hard about such a misguided discourse. Here is why.

# With so many issues at hand, how the new Constitution could be promulgated?

Nilambar Acharya,

President, Constitutional Committee, Nepal

**Q1: Do you think that the new constitution will come out within the set time frame, May 28, 2011. Mr. Acharya?**

**Mr. Acharya:** I don't think the possibility of the constitution of being promulgated within May 28, 2011.

One has to think now instead as to how the political parties in "consensus" proceeded after the lapse of the approaching constitution deadline. The concentration must be focused on that. No possibility of constitution, as I see to it, on time.

**Q2: Why the possibility of the constitution being promulgated on time got delayed or postponed Mr. Acharya? What could have been the prime reason?**

**Mr. Acharya:** There has been no consensus among the parties as to which basic fundamentals are incorporated in the new constitution? Country's political issues or say problems have yet to be sorted out. Perceptions of the political parties differ on observing the current government. The government is yet to take a formal shape. Peace process has not moved even an inch and remains in a standstill position. Much hullabaloo was made in Shaktikhor cantonment recently but nothing of the sort was made for implementation of the agreed upon commitments made so far and in addition, the differences over political issues pertaining to

the new constitution, mainly of the System, remain intact. Differences remain over the issues of state restructuring process. With so many issues remaining yet to be sorted out, how the new constitution could be promulgated as asked by you?

**Q3: But the political parties beamingly claim that if the peace process gets finalized then it would not be that uneasy for drafting the constitution. What say you?**

**Mr. Acharya:** Yes! The constitution could be provided but only those which were drafted by the political parties on their own. I am talking of the constitution which has got to be promulgated by the Constituent Assembly. As regards the constitution being declared by the respective parties this can be easily done by organizing a press conference. This much we can do easily.

**Q4: So should we presume that the nation will not get a new constitution on May 28, 2011?**

**Mr. Acharya:** Yes! There is no likelihood that the current CA body will provide the constitution by May 28, 2011. I am tentatively sure.

**Q5: So what should be done in order to get a new constitution through the CA body? Your comments please!**

**Mr. Acharya:** In order to get a new Charter from the Constituent Assembly body, we should chart out certain key issues, for example,

on how to proceed after May 28, 2011, as regards the peace process, existing political stalemate, and also of the framework for the constitution draft. It should be this basic road-ahead draft which should illustrate as to which parties should do what and how to proceed later and finally all

## OPINION

concerned should assure and convince the people in a logical manner.

**Q6: This does mean then that the parties should apologize to the people stating that we failed in drafting the new constitution on time. Is this what you want to say Mr. Acharya?**

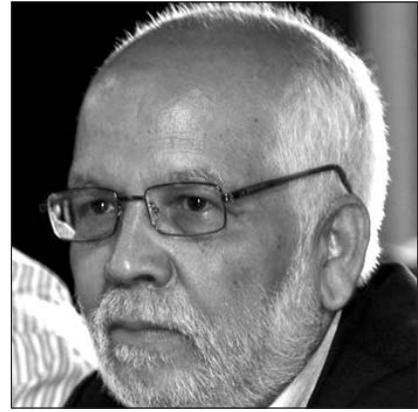
**Mr. Acharya:** Yes! The parties must make an apology. But yet the fact remains that we have to draft a new Charter and thus you can't say that we could not accomplish this task. You have to tell the general population as to these reasons was behind that we failed to draft the constitution. You will have to assure the people that henceforth we will write the constitution as desired by the national population. The answer must be a convincing one. But I am afraid that such courage could be found in the current leadership?

If you don't have such a nerve and energy then what at best is needed is a strong leadership. The nation steering job lay with the government. If the government is strong enough and dedicated then rest of the things automatically comes into order. So there should be a strong government and

concurrently the perception in observing the government too must be a correct one. The atmosphere must be like that.

**Q7: Can we say that the raison d'être of the incumbent Constituent Assembly has ended up then?**

**Mr. Acharya:** No! The usefulness and the necessity of the CA body have not in any way exhausted as yet. If the constitution is to be drafted by the CA body then the political parties must practice the politics of consensus and become clear on how to draft the Charter. Even if you prefer to go on a search of a suitable alternative yet consensus must prevail amongst the political parties. Thus let's not say that the necessity of the CA body has



**Acharya:** Can one give birth to a mini-child? Constitution is constitution which must be equipped with all the fundamental organs that it demands. There is no consensus on how should the state restructuring process be carried out and the governing system, how the Prime Minister heads the government; how a President can become Head of the Government? All these questions remain unanswered. How could then a constitution be made with so many questions remaining unanswered?

**Q11: Maoist chief has said that keeping differences aside, we can bring out a constitution with the support of the points wherein we have agreed. What you think of his claim?**

**Mr. Acharya:** You all know it better as to where the parties have agreed and where they have not.

**Q12: It has been already three years but yet the parties have failed in providing a new constitution for the nation. Doesn't it mean that parties have failed to accomplish their main tasks?**

**Mr. Acharya:** The parties have failed simply because they could not institutionalize the

change, failed to manage the change, and also to exhibit their abilities. It is because of these the parties have failed.

**Q13: So should we presume that a suitable alternative to this leadership be sought?**

**Mr. Acharya:** Had it been the time for such a need for seeking alternatives to the current leadership then the required and the desired alternative also would have been surfaced already. The compulsion is to pressurize the incumbent leadership to get the things done.

**Q14: So which hurdles came in the way of drafting of the constitution?**

**Mr. Acharya:** First of all, there could not be unity and consensus in between and among the parties. Secondly, the peace process was not allowed to proceed in the positive direction or say the process itself got stuck.

The agreements signed in the past were not implemented. Those were completely ignored. Thirdly, the parties centered their efforts in making of the governments. The fact is that we have had three governments during the period within which we have had to draft the constitution. That's all.

## Political...

party has now one more personality whose fresh entrance into this "destabilize Khanal camp" has added a new dimension to the ongoing campaign to harass Nepal PM Khanal.

Ishwor Pokhrel, once taken as the proven saviour of Khanal, has changed sides and is creating more and more troubles for PM Khanal forwarding this or that flimsy reasons.

The idea is to break this RED coalition ultimately. The fact is that Nepal PM Khanal so far has proved himself to be an bungling political person as he has now more enemies well within his own party-the UML than what should have been the otherwise.

PM Khanal at best, as is presumed by the Nepali academic circuit, depends much on Prachanda whose surreptitious maneuvering made the former the Prime Minister some months ago thus Khanal is obliged to act as per the forceful commands of the Maoists chairman.

Though the blank cabinet will take some shape sooner than later but yet the cabinet strings will remain in the hands of Chairman Prachanda. PM Khanal will have to swing Prachanda way.

But Prachanda's own party is also in a muddle. The snag cropped up when Chairman Prachanda all of a sudden switched his stance in favor of Dr. Bhattarai leaving his guru, Mohan Baidya to swim in the deep blue ocean.

**While Dr. Bhattarai prefers peace and constitution then Baidya favors a revolt to ensure the institutionalization of the Maoist party's avowals made prior to waging the people's war some fifteen years back.**

**Baidya remains rigid in the party's Palungar decision which had favored revolt and Prachanda had provided his positive nod. This means that Prachanda now enjoys woody-hoogly relations with Dr. Bhattarai-the one who had rejected the decision made by the party at Palungar.**

But why and how Prachanda changed? Who made him to take an unexpected volte face? Why Prachanda even disregarded his real counselor Baidya? Who penetrated in the man's eye? Who were the ones who created rift in between Prachanda and Baidya? Why

Prachanda prefers now to toe the Bhattarai line?

These are some of the relevant questions that demand credible answers.

Intelligent analysts have found some clues which indicate that the sudden change was a premeditated affair. It took months to change the hearts of the otherwise shaky Prachanda who, his own party cadres describe, has no firm political standing as such. He could be easily lured and seduced if those seductions benefited Prachanda substantially.

Analysts have been told that Prachanda was made to change his Palungar stance the moment he secretly landed in Singapore last time, if one were to recall.

Interestingly, this time Prachanda had gone to Singapore alone without having any technicians.

It is these high placed sources confidently opine that Prachanda while being in Singapore for a night met the Indian Intelligence RAW Chief who too had landed the same day in Singapore from Delhi.

Whether they met at the same hotel where Prachanda had stayed or at some other place is not of that much significance, however, what is important is that the two met and held heart-to-heart talks for some two hours.

The substance follows: First, Prachanda will enjoy friendly relations with India and will be in the good book of the Indian regime if he acted as per the Indian indications.

Prachanda perhaps eagerly waited to listen to those preconditions.

**Change your Palungar revolt line and embrace the thought of peace and constitution as pushed by Dr. Bhattarai.**

**Keep the hardliner, Mohan Baidya, at a comfortable distance as he may damage the prospects of peace and constitution draft for a variety of political reasons.**

**Help support the Indian regime in helping the India drafted Extradition Treaty to be signed by Nepal government.**

**Extend substantial support in making suitable arrangements for the Indian Air Marshals for their permanent stationing at the Nepalese International Airport.**

**Don't provide high ranking post to the Maoists militia while undergoing through the integration process.**

**Lessen the intensity of anti-**

India trade being made by you in the recent days and months.

**The Indian regime is ready to extend any support that you and your party may need in the days ahead if you comply with these Indian concerns.**

Could be a conjecture indeed but very surprisingly, Prachanda changed his line of thought and embraced Dr. Bhattarai's line of consideration leaving his old colleague to keep on guessing the absurd upon his return from Singapore.

Well, this does mean, if all this has happened, then the Indian regime doesn't want to keep Prachanda at a distance for some desirable and undesirable reasons.

The climax. Minister Mahara is reported to have already tabled a bill at the Nepal Parliament as regards the signing of the Extradition Treaty with India. Hair raising event.

Mr. Mahara for some months in the past, as seen by the Indian regime and more so by the media, was a Maoist leader excessively closer to the regime in Beijing.

Up side down politics? Politics is more than meets the eye, it has rightly been said.

## Monarchy...

and Maoist should be envisioned", Thapa spoke his inner mind finally.

Yet, Thapa said that the King believes that he should continue to abide by the decision of the people. I have the firm belief that if referendum is held, Monarchy will stage a grand comeback with flying colors... sooner or later people will take to the streets to revive the monarchy, Thapa predicted.

Perhaps he is cashing in the people's increasing frustration. Second, Thapa gave clean chit to the recent visit of Indian Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna to Nepal and said that the Indian FM while in Kathmandu did not interfere in the internal matters of Nepal.

A volte face indeed. "It does not tantamount to interference when Indian Foreign Minister lands in Nepal. The prime reason for interference is the political parties themselves. Our independence and sovereignty is under threat only due to the subservient attitude of our leaders." Thapa concluded.

**Nepali Congress & UML have no Ideology**

Thapa addressing a mass meeting organized by his party in Kathmandu,

April 29, 2011 also said that "Our ideological contradiction lay with the Unified Maoists' Party only; we have no disagreement with Nepali Congress and United Marxist Leninists because they have no ideologies as such".

Thapa pledged that his party through its protests will ensure that the country once again adopted constitutional monarchy, Hinduism as state religion and ensure that the country is not allowed to be divided on lines of ethnic federalism.

"I urge the three parties to withdraw the decision or endorse Republican order, Secularism and Federalism through a referendum", he demanded.

"If our demand is ignored we will resort to strong protest beginning May 19", Thapa threatened.

"The parties have betrayed our demand on agreement to ensure the monarchy, the King and parties regarding a republic, ethnic federalism and secularism".

"More than 100 Billion rupees have been spent for peace and constitution, but where is peace and constitution?" he questioned.

Thapa at another plane criticized ex-Prime Ministers Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal and senior UML leader Madhav Kumar Nepal for meeting the Indian Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna where he was residing while in Kathmandu.

"Have we ever seen or heard ex-prime ministers calling on a visiting junior minister", he asked and added, "There can be such occasions anywhere else where subservience is exhibited in this manner."

Thapa also reminded that it was Late Nepali Congress President Girija Prasad Koirala who had told Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal to retain 34 thousand Armed Militias because Koirala did not trust the Nepal Army.

Inner secrets being revealed

## Osama...

President Barack Hussain Obama said in his late-night statement on Sunday while formally announcing the killing of Osama bin Laden.

President Obama said "A small team of Americans carried out the operation with extraordinary courage and capability. No Americans were harmed. They took care to avoid civilian casualties. After a firefight, they killed Osama bin Laden and took custody of his body."

The military operation lasted for just 40 minutes.

In the aftermath of the incident fearing possible counter attacks from Al Qaida and similar influenced organizations security have been tightened at various soft targets across the globe.

Security experts in Nepal believe that it is high time for Nepali political leaders to take lessons from the US operation in Abbottabad.

"The US has taught the world that there can be nothing important than the national interest. Instead of exhibiting subservient behavior, Nepali leaders should immediately sit together and finalize the National Security Policy, increase numerical strength of Nepal Army, modernize the National Army, stop purchasing and relying on substandard weapons imported from India, for example the obsolete INSAS rifle, convince India to close the open border- which is beneficial to both the countries and persuade India to stop nurturing terrorist groups operating in Nepal from its soil", opine matured security experts of Nepal.

"Nepal should also address security concerns of both the neighbors, China and India and not allow our land to be used against any of the immediate neighbors", experts add.

"More than China, it is India that should help Nepal in becoming politically and economically stable if it wants its security concerns properly and systematically addressed", conclude experts.

However, experts believe the US operation in Pakistan must have sent spine chilling waves across India's smaller neighbors in South Asia. Prasad, the regional bully could attack anywhere in South Asia under the pretext of safeguarding its security interests", also says experts. The US has set a dangerous precedence now.

To stop the self declared regional police i.e. India, the smaller neighbors should devise a collective mechanism or else they all have to face the Indian music sooner than later.

According to Devkota- a former teacher, had to quite his ancestral home during the Maoists' rebellion.

"I did not slap him because I am affiliated to any other party. I am a son of mother Nepal. I am also ready to face bullets for my mother Nepal. They did not draft the constitution for three years. They only robbed the nation. I could not control my emotions. Thus I slapped him", Devkota explained.

This is the beginning. Who is next?

## NC leaders...

Peace was just a myth or a reality", suspected Koirala.

"Maoists are not trustworthy", he continued.

If the decision is not a tactical one then I believe that the country will soon get peace and constitution,

he continued.