



# NEPAL VISION

A publication of Nepalese Association of Houston (NAH), A Non-Profit Organization  
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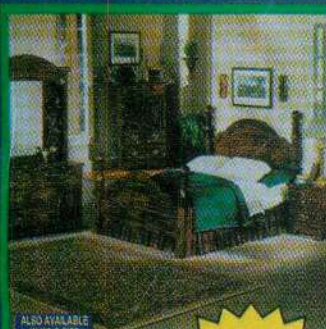


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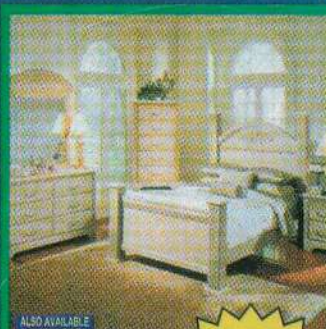
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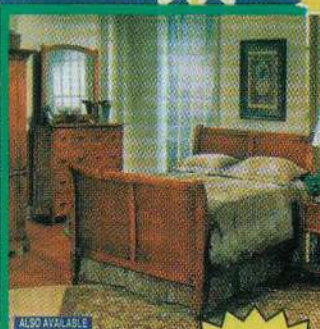
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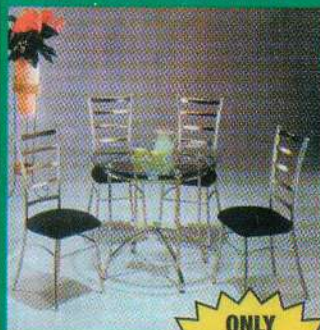
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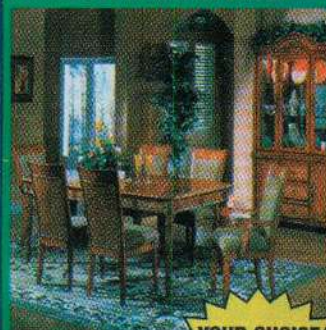
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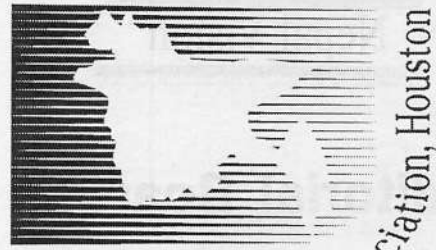
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*Wishing  
Nepalese  
Association of  
Houston  
Happy New Year  
2061*

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The views and opinions, unless otherwise noted, contained herein are those of the authors and do not represent the official statements or views neither of the Nepal Vision or Nepalese Association of Houston.

## Editor's desk

**W**ith yet another publication of Houston Nepalese Community, we have tried to further the annual tradition started long ago by a thriving Nepali community in this metropolis. Like all the communities around the world, Nepali community here also strives for an unity among ourselves, and in addition to the other programs, a publication like Nepal Vision serves very well as a thread that connects us together.

Last year was not a great year for Nepal. Political instability continued, and economic sector saw very few promises. Government changed, not because of any solid reason, but only due to the caprice of the king. People were disenfranchised, and the right to rule themselves was taken away from them, albeit in the vague cover of the very constitution that people made long ago to empower themselves. In such a backdrop, we tried to find representative voices from Nepal to include in our publication.

We are particularly happy to announce that writers like Bikram Subba, leading poet of current generation, Khagendra Sangraula, paladin of progressive Nepali writers, and Dr Ram Sharan Mahat, a former finance minister benefit of whose far reaching reform of private sector we still reap, agreed to write for us. Equally worthy of mention are the writers like CK Lal, a columnist of the Nepali Times, and Narayan Wagle, an editor in chief of Kantipur, the largest selling daily of Nepal. Shyam Shrestha has worked closely with the left movement of Nepal, and is an editor of Mulyankan. We couldn't have found more authoritative writer to write about the Maoist issue.

We hope that the new year will be better for all Nepali in Houston, and everywhere. We specially hope that the peace will return to Nepal. Law of rule will prevail again in Nepal.

Enjoy the magazine, and please write to us how you find it.



## Nepal Vision Family

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America and rest of the World*



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# President's Corner



Dear Friends,

Happy New Year 2061 B.S.! We wish you, your family, and your near and dear ones a new year filled with joy, peace, hope, happiness, and harmony.

The year 2060 will go down in the annals of Nepalese Association of Houston (NAH) as a banner year for accomplishments that make us all proud.

We started the New Year 2060 celebration with a bang on April 19, 2003 (coordinator: Arun Shrestha) and kept the momentum alive and moving throughout the year. The celebration continued on to Vijaya Dashami on October 5, 2003 (coordinator: Shristi Shrestha).

NAH organized four talk programs: 1) "Border Issues of Nepal" on Sept. 14, 2003 by Mr. Buddhi Narayan Shrestha, 2) "Immigration Issues" on Nov. 2, 2003 by the Houston Attorney Mrs. Uma Mantravadi, and 3) "Shree Bhagvad Gita" on Dec. 21, 2003 by Maharaj Shree Tahal Kishor Shastri of Shree Krishna Pranami Mandir in Houston, and "Heart Disease and Prevention" by Dr. Rabindra Timila on March 21, 2004.

The NAH cultural program "Nepali Saanjh" on July 12, 2003 (coordinator: Sagun Vijayananda) presented by Madan Krishna Shrestha, Hari Bansha Acharya, Kunti Moktan, Ram Krishna Dhakal and Naveen Bhattarai was fun-filled and very entertaining, to say the least.

NAH welcomed Pushkar Shah – the Global Peace Rider from Nepal – on July 26, 2003 and held a fundraiser for him.

NAH honored Akhil Dhungana (April 19, 2003) and Sagun Vijayananda (Oct. 5, 2003) for their valuable contributions and services to the Houston Nepali Community.

NAH held an informal meeting with its counterparts of the Nepali Society of Texas in Dallas on Oct. 30, 2003 seeking ways and means to enhance the mutual cooperation between the two associations. Along the same lines, NAH held its monthly meeting at Shree Krishna Pranami Mandir on Dec. 21, 2003.

NAH acquired a karaoke machine on Dec. 20, 2003 for use in the picnic and cultural programs.

NAH held a picnic at the George Bush Park on Jan. 31, 2004 to usher in the New Year 2004.

NAH also participated and gave cultural performances in the "International Mother Language Day" on March 21, 2004 organized by Bangladesh Association of Houston that was well received and appreciated. NAH celebrated Maha Shivaratri festival at Shri Krishna Pranami Mandir in Houston on the same day.

The NAH website "www.houstonnepalese.org" (webmaster: Ashish Shrestha) has a fresh and impressive new look, and is appreciated. Please visit the NAH website frequently for useful information on NAH events and other news.

NAH is making efforts to unlock the potentials of talented local Nepali artistes by giving them opportunities to participate in the social-cultural programs organized by NAH and other organizations. NAH is also contributing to the leadership development of the young generation Nepalis by assigning them responsibilities in coordinating and volunteering its events.

At this very moment, you are leafing through the pages of the sixth issue of Nepal Vision - the proud publication of NAH - representing the culmination of timeless efforts of the editorial committee, marketing committee, and generous support of the establishments providing advertisements. We could not have achieved it without your cooperation. Please be kind to give them a thundering round of applause for their generosity.

NAH is very thankful to the Houston Provider Management Services (CEO: Dinker G. Amatyia) for providing the office space and the meeting hall.

NAH invites you to the monthly meeting held every last Sunday of the month. If you have suggestions, ideas, comments, or complaints, please do not hesitate to identify yourself and contact one of the executive committee members and/or bring it forth in the NAH monthly meeting.

NAH is YOUR association. NAH owes each and every one of you for its very existence and the tremendous growth and success it has experienced in the past. Therefore, NAH takes this opportunity to extend grateful appreciations to its members, participants, performers, well wishers, sponsors, advertisement donors, coordinators, volunteers, and most important of all - YOU.

Let us keep this momentum rolling. Let us come together, make contributions, and help NAH grow and prosper in the coming years.

Once again, we wish you a very happy, healthy, and prosperous New Year 2061!

Best regards,

Rajendra Shrestha  
President

Nepalese Association of Houston (NAH)  
www.houstonnepalese.org

Maoist offensives in mid western Nepal, the rebel stronghold. The rebels have not only suffered heavy casualties, for the first time there are indications that the government intelligence has penetrated the Maoist ranks. The army is being trained on counter-insurgency tactics by military experts from the United States, which wants the government to go for an all-out war against the Maoists; Britain still favors negotiations.

An Armed Police Force post in Kusum, near Nepalgunj, which was attacked by the Maoists after Dashain, was bracing up for a major offensive for almost a week and actually had access to the blueprint of the rebel plan of action, according to government officials. At least 53 Maoists were killed in the nighttime raid, where the security forces and the rebels exchanged fire for 10 long hours. The police casualty was much lighter—only three dead.

"It is time the Maoists realized that the gap between the state's military power and its own is widening by the day," The Kathmandu Post wrote in its editorial following the police success. "While the Maoists rely on occasional loots, forced conscription, and child soldiers to beef up their army, the Royal Nepal Army can bank on an increasingly battle-hardened army, which has received solid cash infusion in the last few years, not least the supplies of advanced military hardware from the United States and India."

Still, the civil society and media have warned the government not to get too carried away by military successes. They have pointed out how in the past a heady security force suffered huge reverses. There are also fears that the Maoists will go for an all-out urban guerrilla warfare and target high-cost infrastructures, if pushed to the wall. And already, there are ominous evidences toward that end. Bhote Koshi, one of Nepal's biggest hydropower stations, was briefly shut down in mid-October amid security concerns, and Prime Minister Thapa has asked security forces to keep special vigil over power plants, telecommunication towers and buildings, drinking water reservoirs, and major bridges. The government has also been trying to repeal Maoist attempts to control the East-West Highway, the backbone of national economy, administration, and politics.

While the Maoists started out in 1996 targeting village elites and political party workers at the grassroots, they have gradually shifted their target to high-profile killings. In recent weeks, they have gunned down an army colonel, while former Prime Minister Deuba had a close shave. Another minister currently remains in the Maoist custody and yet another is recovering from multiple bullet injuries. Bomb explosions, mostly of a low-intensity variety and targeting government offices, have

now become common phenomena in urban centers, including Kathmandu.

"The successful government offensive will weaken the rebels no doubt," says Sushil Sharma, the BBC World Service correspondent for Nepal, "and will allow it to negotiate from the position of strength. But at the end of the day, peace negotiations are the only way out." (end)

(Upadhyay was in the United States for three years. First, at New York University as a Fulbright scholar and later, at the United Nations as a reporter for Inter Press Service news agency. He returned home in July, 2003.)

# MUSIC



-Ayasha

Music is one of the greatest things in the world. I don't think we will be able to have fun without music.

It can express how we feel about things and people. There are many different types of music like pop, rock, hip hop, R&B, folk, country, and jazz. Everyone has his/her favorite songs. He/she likes those songs because they have good beat or great lyrics. Everyone also has his/her favorite artists.

There are all types of music from all over the world. Most people respect the music from their own countries. They perform traditional dances, or sing their favorite songs at parties. People change their taste in music very often because new songs get released. In my country, Nepal, people like the new songs, but the old ones are not forgotten.

There wouldn't be musical performances, singers, and dancers if there weren't music. We wouldn't have a good time. We wouldn't have the famous Britney Spears or any other artists without music. We wouldn't be able to roll down the windows in our cars and sing on the top of our lungs. So I think we should be very thankful we have music in this world.

# WE are in for a long haul

- Akhilesh Upadhyay

A friend of mine, a writer, based in the United States, recently sent me a very interesting query. He had been asked by a major U.S. newspaper to write on the current political turmoil in Nepal and that he had solicited my opinion for two reasons. First, I had just returned home after three years in the United States, and second, I am a journalist.

Interestingly enough, only a month ago, another friend based in the United States had made similar remarks while he asked for my contribution over phone from Houston. Biswo Nath Poudel, a Ph.D student at Rice University, wanted a piece on "contemporary Nepal," which would tell the readers how "you feel in Nepal after three years in the United States." While an eight years of insurgency and more than 8,000 deaths are too complex to explain in a short article, I will lay out the current situation in Nepal as I see it.

First of all, though, let me warn this. Hit hard by a violent Maoist insurgency, Nepal is in for a long haul. King Gyanendra, who dismissed an elected government last October to assume executive powers, has failed to either restore peace or hold elections; his twin pledges to the people while usurping rein from an "incompetent" Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba. A year on, the gulf between political parties and the King has deepened to such an extent that some party leaders are now themselves questioning the relevance of Monarchy in Nepal's politics, much like what the Maoists have been doing for the last eight years.

Since the cease-fire, always fragile, collapsed in late August, at least a hundred people have died, most of them Maoist guerrillas trying to over-run heavily fortified police posts in nighttime raids. A nine-day truce called to mark 2060 Dashain ended on October 9.

In January, the Chand government, appointed by King Gyanendra, pulled off what looked like a lasting cease-fire. But the Maoists withdrew from the peace process in August, convinced that the royalist government, backed by an army fiercely loyal to the Royal Palace, would never discuss their core demand: relevance of 250-year old Monarchy in modern-day Nepal. The rebels

have scaled down their early demand for a "people's republic," but have shown little signs of giving up their call for constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. Most political parties assert that multiparty democracy and constitutional monarchy, bedrock of the current constitution, are non-negotiable, though the relationship between the parties and the King is getting increasingly strained.

The King continues to rebuff the parties' call for an all-party government with all executive powers restored to them. "No, thank you," says the King. The underlying argument: only a strong government led by the King will be able to crush the Maoist rebellion. The King seems to have found ready allies in Washington and New Delhi.

Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa, also appointed by the King like his predecessor Lokendra Bahadur Chand, told a joint meeting of the heads of security agencies after Dashain that the government was in no mood to be concessional towards the Maoists, who he says have taken the state for a ride during the seven-month ceasefire. This marks a major shift in the government policy. "There will no more be a dual policy towards Maoists," says Thapa, in reference to his carrot-and-stick approach towards Maoists. "The government is politically clear about how it should treat the Maoists."

But that's easier said than done. Maoists already control a sizeable portion of the national territory. Every single day there are fresh news of NGOs and INGOs withdrawing from various districts due to poor security situation and the power vacuum at the grassroots is palpable. Though the security forces and government administrators remain steadfastly anchored in most of Nepal's 75 district headquarters, their reach is next to nonexistent beyond the urban centers in many of these districts, where the Maoists openly raise tax and run their own "people's government."

In recent weeks, government officials have gone on a major public relations offensive insisting that the operation against the Maoists is finally tipping decisively in their favour. The security forces have foiled major



The proposed voucher system has many advantages. The immediate benefit is that it finances the SLC graduates coming out the public school system to go to colleges of their choice. It gives incentives to public schools and colleges to improve.

The public schools would be improved by having to compete to matriculate students with the vouchers that can be spent anywhere. The financial incentive rewarded based on the number of successful graduates and other reward mechanism will also motivate these schools to improve.

Further, the publicly funded higher education system would not be overwhelmed from having to admit thousands of financially disadvantaged graduates into their system every year. The public university system is also likely to be free from political turmoil. Smaller class sizes and an opportunity to raise tuition fees on those who can afford will only make these public universities more competitive. These and other features of the proposed mechanism are highlighted below:

- The five-plus-ten percent tax revenue from two sources raises Rs 2.413 billion annually.
- Rs 1.356 billion of student voucher monies will be spent as follows: The SLC first division students (4,000, 17% of the total number in that class) coming out of the public schools will get 5 years of education vouchers to go to colleges of their choice (Rs 2,500 per month on average), assuming that their preferred science discipline would cost more. The remaining 12,000 SLC students will get vouchers (Rs 1,500 per month on average) for an average of 3.5 years of schooling, which may include, for many students, a technical and vocational education with reduced number of schooling.
- The ten percent of the trust fund (Rs 241.3 million) is set aside to reward the well performing public schools (Rs 15,000 per SLC passing student) to be used for their quality enhancement.
- The remaining 1.057 billion rupees can be used to improve the quality of public schools in various ways: 25% (Rs 264.3 million) for competitive grants, for example, for computers and equipments; 75% (Rs 792.8 million) for vouchers to cover additional SLC students who matriculate after the second round of attempt, or to provide vouchers for the vocational and technical education for those who fail the SLC exam.
- To encourage publicly funded higher education, the college voucher for the public education sector may be about 25% more than for the private vouchers.
- To break the monopoly of the capital city Kathmandu, the voucher and the competitive grant component of the trust fund, totaling Rs 2171.7

million, should be distributed across the five development regions on the basis of population to encourage the development of educational sector in those regions.

In the second phase, the proposal also recommends using certain percent of the future earnings from the regional hydropower to go into education and health welfare of that region. A better-endowed trust fund can, among other things, further promote the trade and technical school training programs to enhance the manpower export industry. It can also provide low interest rate loans for students to cover expensive discipline such as, medicine and engineering.

The mechanism of the system, assumptions, taxing sources, and the rationalities are developed in detail in a longer article, which can be obtained from the author upon your request.

At least two years of public education of 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades would have to be imposed as a requirement to qualify for such funds to avoid any abuse. With the voucher system in place, if the public schools can attract the middle class families back, the competing private counterparts will have to start lowering their tuition to stop the attrition, especially for 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades. Better quality at public schools, and lower tuition at the private sector are the desirable outcomes in the long-run.

After setting aside 10% for the merit reward and Rs 1356 million for student vouchers for higher and vocational education, a sizable amount of the trust fund can competitively spent to improve the quality of other grades. This will complement the effort already being made by the Ministry, the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank.

In fear of going out of business, professors at public universities and colleges would have to begin devoting more time in institution building to attract the voucher carrying students and less time subsidizing the private sector's activities with their consulting and off-campus teaching.

The proposed trust fund system raises all boats, like a higher tide.

*(The author would like to thank the following individuals for their helpful comments: Prof. Phillip Graves, U. of Colorado; Prof. Allen Parkman, U. of New Mexico; Prof. Emeritus Micha Gisser, U. of New Mexico; Dr. Devendra R. Panday, Former Finance Minister, Nepal; Mr. Madhukar S. Rana, Chief Economic Advisor to Ministry of Finance, Nepal; Mr. Mani Nepal, Lecturer, Tribhuvan University, Nepal; and Dr. Rip B. Khadka, DANIDA Project, Nepal. Remaining shortcomings are mine.)*

# **A Five-Plus-Ten Tax Formula Based Trust Fund and Vouchers to Improve Public Education in Nepal**

August 7, 2003

*Alok K. Bohara, Ph.D. Professor  
Department of Economics  
University of New Mexico; (Bohara@unm.edu)*

**O**ut of 55,000 graduating School Leaving Certificate (SLC) students, an overall 29% (16,000 students) success rate for the public schools and 17% share in the first division class (4,000 students) are not good signs. Furthermore, the only option for many of these 16,000 financially disadvantaged students is to go to publicly funded, over crowded, politically unstable, and low quality colleges and universities. The rest pay Rs 2000-6000 per month to go to private colleges and universities. Some even have the luxury of going abroad to India, Australia, UK, and America.

Within the last ten years alone, loans and grants totaling more than US \$ 100 million from the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank have gone into various institutional capacity building projects, which includes special care to meet the needs of children for disadvantaged group. Primary education has been free for sometime too. Yet, the middle and lower middle class families are leaving the public school system in droves in favor of expensive private schools.

Poor quality, frequent lockups, violence, political influence, and agitations on the streets have created a cancerous environment in our education sector. In a country with an average per capita income of Rs 15,000 per annum, a literacy rate of 50%, and 30%-40% of the population under the poverty line, such polarization has proven deadly. My proposal complements the existing effort but advocates an innovative mechanism to reverse the deteriorating trend in our public education. The benefits are immediate with long run implications.

Historically, education has been the best equalizer in many societies. Even the world capital of free market, America, provides free education up to the high school level for all of its citizens: rich, poor, whites, and non-whites. The challenge for Nepal is to give its poor popu-

lation an opportunity to have a fair access to quality education. The overly restrictive regulations on the private sector are not the answer.

The recent demand by the agitating student organizations asking private schools to set aside as scholarships 25% of the total school capacity seats for "poor" students or forcing them to reduce tuition may be well intended, but it will have negative consequences. Such a price control will generate anomalies such as, capital flight to India and deterioration in in-school services. It will also discourage innovations in the production of education. The point is that a healthy private sector can be constructive in helping the public sector, and my proposal strikes that balance.

The proposed voucher system uses five percent tax from the total revenue generated by the private schools and colleges (i.e., all higher institutions). There are 1.5 million students in eighty-five hundreds private schools, and 70,000 students go to about 250 private colleges. Using a conservative amount of Rs 1,500 as a monthly charge, the five percent tax revenue will yield about Rs 1.413 billion for the trust fund. The second portion of the trust fund relies on a ten percent levy—about Rs 1 billion—from the sin taxes on alcohol, tobacco, and casinos.

Jointly, the five-plus-ten tax system can raise Rs 2.413 billion worth for the trust fund. Both sectors, being on the target list of the Maoists, should not mind contributing five and ten percent of their revenues respectively to this noble cause. In return, the government and the agitating students organizations should not be imposing too much unfair regulatory controls on them.



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# Daring to dream

## International universities and world class hospitals in Nepal

- Arnico Panday

**I**magine twenty years from now, a Nepal with world-class international universities and hospitals that cover our domestic needs, and serve as major sources of income, attracting students and patients from abroad. Imagine walking around university towns with gleaming new buildings on sustainably designed campuses towered over by spectacular mountain peaks. Imagine these towns buzzing with students from Nepal and abroad, studying together, learning from each other, having fun, and keeping local economies buzzing. Imagine the vistas, recreational activities, and quality of life offered by university towns in Nepal attracting the world's best professors and students to come teach and study here. Imagine the research at these colleges spinning off new companies and research institutes that set up nearby, invent new products, and create more jobs. Imagine world-class hospitals where patients can watch Machhapuchhare, Guarishankar, or Saipal from their hospital beds. Imagine not only decent healthcare for every Nepali, but tens of thousands of patients a year flying in to get treatment at hospitals in Nepal. Imagine our tourism being further boosted by visitors to the students, professionals, and patients. Imagine the trio of education, research and healthcare becoming major drivers of Nepal's economy. A far fetched dream? Not if we work hard!

Nepal is fortunate to meet many of the preconditions for becoming a world centre for higher education, research, and health care. A little more hard work will allow us to meet the remaining ones to be able to attract massive investment in these sectors.

To date, Nepal's landscape, pleasant climate, out-door recreational opportunities, and friendly reputation has mostly been marketed to attract tourists. In recent years, though we have learned all too painfully that tourism is a very fragile source of income. Why not market our resources to a more stable group who stay longer than the average tourist, and who are less likely to flee at the first sign of trouble? After September 11, 2001, most Saudi tourists disappeared from the United States; Saudi students and professionals did not.

The economies of many towns in the United States are driven by the spending by out-of-state students. Nepal has a landscape and climate that would be able to attract tens of thousands of paying students from neighbouring countries, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and overseas. Thousands of people would prefer studying in Nepal rather than going to Texas or New South Wales, if only we could offer similar standard academic institutions. Meanwhile, every year tens of thousands of Nepali students spend through their noses to go abroad for higher education. Many would rather stay close to home, if only there were sufficient opportunity for a quality education in Nepal. There is no doubt that high quality international universities in Nepal would be able to attract a large and diverse number of paying students.

International universities in Nepal would benefit more than just our economy. They would help establish a large pool of professionals that can attract investment in diverse sectors, and produce the next generations of leaders for Nepal's businesses, government, and service sector. Scholarship programs could allow a far larger number of Nepali students access to high quality education within Nepal. Providing improved teacher training, they would help lift standards of elementary and middle school education.

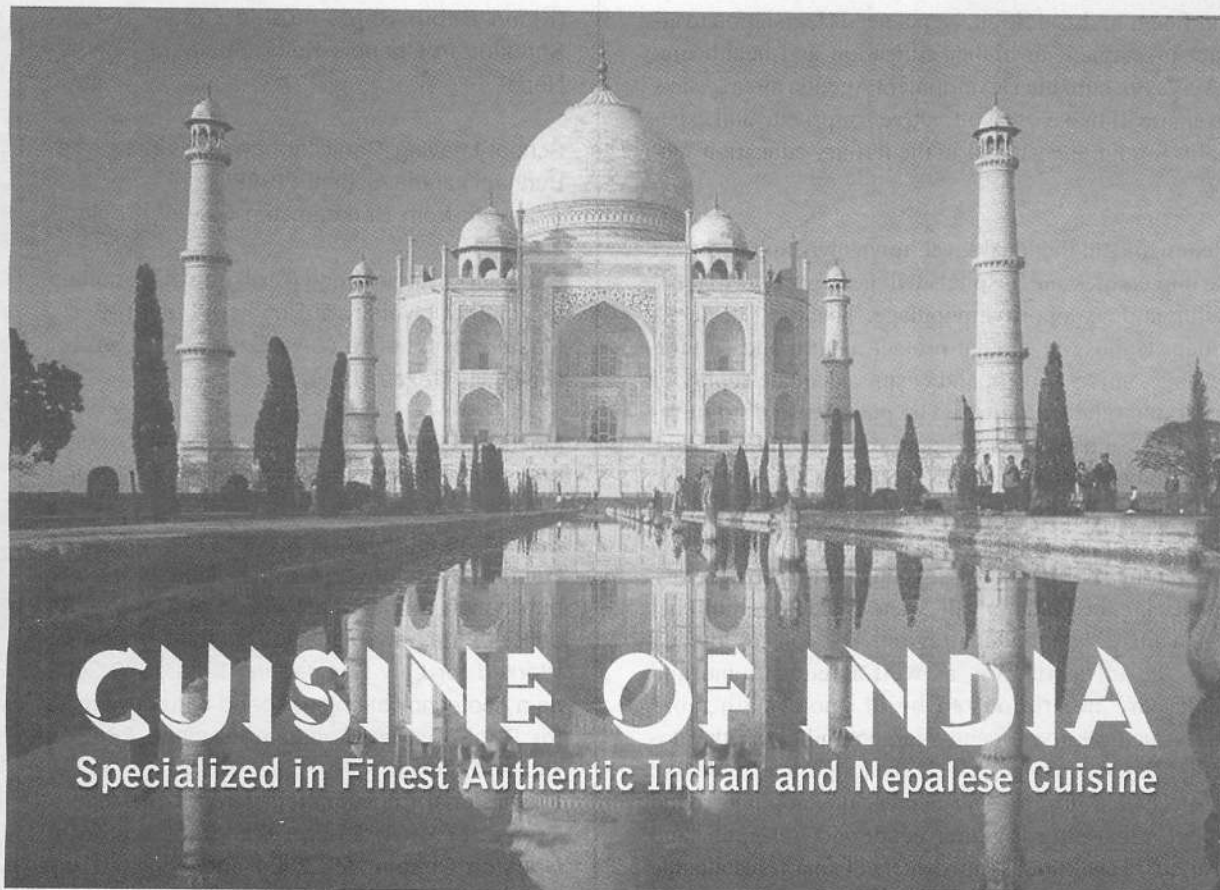
Where do we start to build up world-class universities? The key is to have world-class faculty and facilities. These faculty, both Nepali and foreign, must be attracted to Nepal from top universities around the world where they are now working, as well as cultivated by encouraging the current and generations of Nepali students to pursue graduate studies. Until the institutions' reputations can attract people, we need to market Nepal's other resources. We need to provide access to the best of what makes Nepal special and attractive. We need to build the most beautiful campuses in the world overlooking our snowy mountains and green valleys.

Nepal can also provide large numbers of research opportunities. With tropical forests, deserts, and glaciers within a short distance, large numbers of distinct ethnic



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What do we need to start? At a national level, essential requirements are peace, security, stability, democracy, and freedom. In addition, Nepal needs legislation to attract investment in higher education and healthcare. HMG's Sustainable Development Agenda already says "Nepal will make itself attractive for private and especially foreign investment in the tertiary education sector".

Meanwhile, at the local level, towns wishing to attract the universities and hospitals will need good local leadership and a supportive populace. They will need excellent land use plans that protect natural and cultural heritage, guide growth, and ensure adequate supply of water and other resources. The places also need infrastructures and services to begin with, including roads, telecommunication facilities, access to an airport with reasonable driving distance, as well as hotels, and schools to cater to the people working up building up the facilities and institutions. Today I think the best candidates are the Pokhara valley and Banepa – Dhulikhel – Panauti – Namobuddha region. The places already have the infrastructure, as well as educational and healthcare institutions to build upon. With more infrastructural investment, a large number of other locations can become feasible. In the long run I would like to see half a dozen other centers developing around Nepal, clustering together academic, research, and healthcare institutions into centers of smart, sustainable centers of growth.

Doing all this requires investment and participation from abroad. Non-resident Nepalese can play a major bridging role in this, helping to publicize and establish networks, as raising funds, and investing themselves. I would like to ask the Non resident Nepalese abroad to dare to dream, to plan, and to invest in Nepal's future.

Arnico Panday is currently pursuing doctoral degree at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge, MA, USA.

## Who's Who



### **Mr. Pradhumna Babu Shrestha**

Born youngest child to parents Sri Chudananarayan (Kisun Babu) Shrestha and Dirgha Kumari Shrestha in Choubis Kothi Family of Gorkha, Nepal.

School Leaving Certificate and O' Levels from Budhanilkantha School (1988)

A' Levels from Berkhamsted School, England (1991)

Bachelor of Engineering (Civil) from IIT-Roorkee (Formerly University of Roorkee) (1996)

Masters of Science (Civil Engg) - Texas A&M University, Texas (1999)

Moved to Houston, Texas in July 1999; founding member of Nepalese Association of Houston (NAH).

Served as Assistant Secretary and presently General Secretary of NAH. Helped initiate the publication of the Nepal Vision and served as editor of the newsmagazine for three years.

Worked for Law Engineering from 1999-2002 as a geotechnical engineer and currently works for Raba-Kistner Consultants since 2002 in Houston, Texas.

Professional Engineer registered in Texas.

Treasurer of American Concrete Institute-Houston Chapter for 2004 and editor of the newsletter for the organization.

Actively involved in extracurricular activities since young hood – Boys Scout at Budhanilkantha School, Berkhamsted School hockey team member; hockey and basketball university-team member at University of Roorkee.

Enjoys traveling (extensively traveled England, India, Pakistan, United States and Nepal), charitable works, meeting people, nature conservation, sports, hiking and trekking.

Believes in service through leadership.

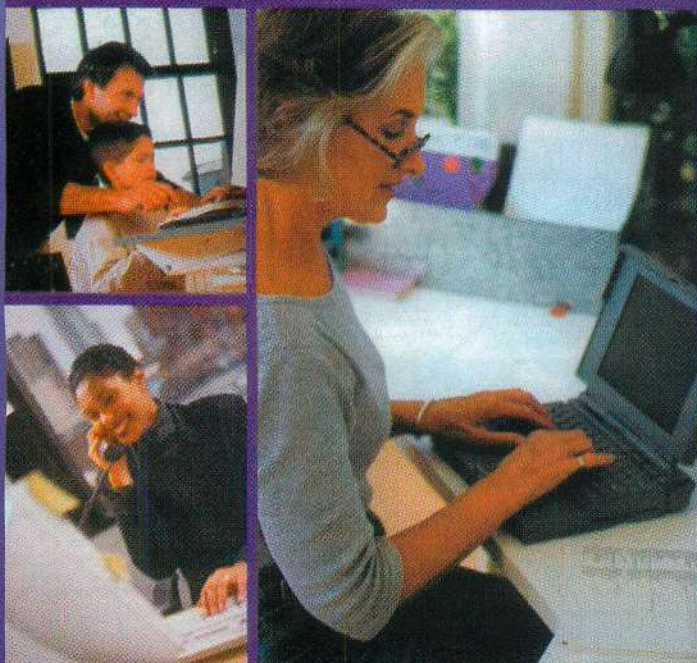
Happily married with Sangina Shrestha and lives in Houston, Texas.





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# Glimpses of NAH







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## Poetry

Udas cha yo maan timi tadha bhai  
diyeko le  
birano cha yo maan timi maan ko  
nazik nabhayeko le  
socheko thiye timi aaunchau mero  
nazik yo mero mayale  
tara bujhna sakenau mero yo mayalai  
timi nishturi le

- Anonymous

## Simplicity

Eyes, deep as ocean,  
Filled with much salt water,  
Don't occur just because

Head, sharp as needle,  
Structured with rational thoughts,  
Happen by the world's cause

Heart, soft as pudding,  
Jumbled with dreams and "feelings"  
Has its own gauze

Death, tangible as life,  
Resulting in our separation,  
Frees us from all our flaws

Life, beautiful as dawn,  
Full of "heaven on earth's," Dear,  
Is all that we've got

~S.

I felt like I had accomplished my goal  
When I had you in my life  
For me,  
You were the world  
You were my need,  
You were my love,  
You were my madness,  
You meant the whole thing to me  
Without you  
My worlds are my eyes crammed with  
warm tears  
My world, my need, my love and my  
madness  
Now is my loneliness

- Anonymous

## A Beauty Song of Nepal

Magic fingers with inner visions are there  
Where the Nepalese arts are;  
Truth and beauty are there -  
Where human hearts are.

Life and love are there  
Where feelings with flowers are;  
Delights to discover are there -  
Where Nepal and the Nepalese are.

Heavens on the earth are there  
Where human beings are;  
Dreams to touch are there -  
Where the Himalayas are.

- Dhurba K. Deep

unavailability of bed in intensive care unit. The hospital owns only one "blood gas machine," that analyzes amount of oxygen and carbon dioxide in the blood, which we need to use on a minute-by-minute basis in patients undergoing cardiac surgery. The heater-cooler machine that cools or heats the patients, according to the need, is of at least one or two generation old and breaks down frequently. Think about a simple situation of having to cross the border to get surgeries done in India. In an average it costs around NR 500,000 per case. Add on top of that the subsistence expenses for a group of five to six people that travel and stay with the patient for a month. Now, by simply multiplying this cost with the number of operations we have performed gives the amount NR 125,000,000, that we helped to keep within the borders of Nepal. Without hesitation, I recommend that investments need to be made to further strengthen these services in Nepal. And a point not to be forgotten, the open-heart surgery program started without a single *paisa* (dime) of investment from the government and is yet to get any financial help.

Besides Teaching Hospital, Bir Hospital and Shahid Gangalal National Heart Centre have also started to

perform heart surgeries. Norvic hospital provides private services for cardiac surgeries. Among those hospitals, the "Teaching Hospital" has got a different kind of responsibility. In addition to providing services to the needy, we also have to teach the future doctors and specialists about the heart surgery to make them better prepared for the health challenges of the 21st century. And as the leader of medical institution in the country, our next responsibility is to carry out research studies relating to heart disease, pertaining to Nepali situation. Unfortunately, the present budget allocation barely allows us to provide basic services to the patients. So far, the "willingness" of the people involved is keeping the torch of "cardiac surgery" in Nepal glowing.

As we are only 6 years old, we need parenting and nourishing to grow. Because of the turmoil in political situation in the country, we do not expect politicians or higher authorities to be committed for our development. So any further help from neighbors, relatives and alike, will be a great encouragement in our endeavor to provide cardiac services to the poor people in Nepal.

# Basketball



- Nadeem

He shoots and he scores! I love hearing that phrase. I think basketball is one of the best sports in the world. You can have fun playing it, or even watching it.

I personally have more fun watching it. Everyone has his/her favorite team and player. My favorite team is the Houston Rockets, and I'm sure most of you agree. If you don't, that's ok. I guess the Lakers aren't that bad either. I know the Rockets have been disappointing for the last couple of years, but I think this is their year.

Basketball brings people together in many ways. Anybody can play it. And if you watch the NBA, you know that players from all around the world participate. Yao Ming from the Houston Rockets is a perfect example. He didn't even know how to speak English when he started playing. That shows that basketball has its own language. I hope this perfect sport becomes more popular in other countries. I don't think I'm ever going to stop watching basketball, and I hope the world won't either.

# Cardiac Surgery in Nepal

**- Dr Rabindra B. Timala**

*Assistant Professor, Surgery,*

*Tribhuvan University Teaching Hospital,*

*Fellow in cardiovascular surgery, Texas Heart Institute.*

**I**n a country where poverty reigns, nobody ever thinks that heart disease even exists. Diarrhea, dysentery, pneumonia, malnutrition are some of the leading diseases that kill our children. With the advent of better life and better sanitation, infectious diseases are being better-controlled. But, lurking in the darkness are the non-communicable diseases like cancer, heart disease, and metabolic disorders like diabetes, which are on the verge of rise.

In general, there are two types of heart diseases: 1) congenital, and 2) acquired. A child is born with congenital heart disease like holes in the wall of the heart, anomalies of large vessels that take blood to and from the heart. With major problem, a child with congenital heart disease may not possibly live beyond hours, days, or weeks after birth. With less severe affection, a child may survive for years or decades before getting into trouble. Most of these problems are amenable to surgery and most of the children can have normal or near-normal life with appropriate surgical treatment.

The acquired heart disease happens usually in adult state, in later part of life, with blockage of vessels that supply the heart, which cause heart attack, usually known as "rich man's disease." The other kind is "rheumatic heart disease" which afflicts people living in crowd in poor socio-economic background. Patients, usually young adults, get their valves damaged, which need replacement or repair. And of course, tuberculosis is one of the most common cause of heart disease, that leads to constriction of the sac that covers the heart.

Though possibly not a cause of death, heart disease tends to cause suffering in the community. Most of the heart disease can be relieved by surgery. Unfortunately, the treatment method is not only costly for some, but also unaffordable for the most. In addition, rheumatic disease, which affects poor and young adults, demands costliest treatment by virtue of having to replace valves (a single valve costs around Nepalese Rupees (NR) 80,000).

Now, we have basically two types of heart surgeries. One is closed heart surgery, in which the heart is operated in it's moving state. The cost of closed surgeries is comparable to most other forms of surgeries. The other one is open heart surgery, in which the constantly moving heart is brought to standstill and operated. Most of the surgeries on heart are done by the open-heart method. It uses special machine called "heart-lung machine," which acts as a substitute for the heart and lung, when the heart is being operated. Complex and simple surgeries can be carried out safely by adopting this method. However, it is the costliest form of treatment available to the human body. An average cardiac surgery at US costs US \$30,000, whereas that in Nepal costs US \$1,000. The price difference is due to the difference in labor charge in the two countries. With the per capita income of US \$200 per year, and most of the persons suffering from heart disease lying much below the average income, it becomes very difficult to deliver services to the common people.

Tribhuvan University Teaching Hospital (TUTH) initiated open-heart surgery in Nepal in 1997. To date, we have operated more than 250 open-heart surgeries. The average cost for open-heart surgery that hospital charges range from NR 12,000 to 18,000. The actual material cost that the hospital incurs for each cardiac surgery has been calculated to be around NR 25,000 to 35,000, and that excludes labor charges. Still the patient has to spend additional NR 40,000 to 200,000 to buy disposable materials +/- valves, depending upon the type of surgeries. Approximately one fifth of the patients do not come back once they're told about the cost for their treatment. Hospital has waived fees on approximately 25% of the patients. About one-third of the patients get their surgeries done with the generous help from neighbors or relatives.

The hospital facts are: the only heart-lung machine, which was donated, is of quite old model, which if breaks down will halt the open-heart surgeries. The once-a-week schedule frequently gets disturbed due to



## *Hidden Under Carpet*

**I**n a political system where accountability is absent, corruption is hidden under the carpet, as it used to be during the Panchayat regime. If the experience of the last eighteen months since the dissolution of the House of Representatives is any indication, funds from state treasury continues to be spent in the name of development with no visible outcome. In the first eight months of the last fiscal year, a total of 15 kms of roads were constructed at the cost of 4 billions rupees, a total of 2000 ha. of land irrigated with the investment of Rs 3 billions. Not a single hospital bed or a school has been added. Under the previous democratic governments, an average of 700 kms of road and 40,000 ha. of irrigated land were added annually. Despite claims of a government of "clean figures" that is free to work without any political and partisan pressures, unsavory deals, under-the-table payment, and blatantly partisan biases, mismanagement are rampant. Such instances were liable to be blown out of proportion, when there were functioning elected bodies to watch and question, and a free press to report. But they are all hidden now from the public view. The media has been told to "cooperate" with the government.

It was interesting to see the leadership and composition of the governments formed after October 4, 2002. Barring a few exceptions of technocrats and post-1990 politicians, the government has been largely dominated by former Panchas with dubious records and rejection by the electorate, and those very figures who played the principal role in defaming the parliamentary politics particularly during the coalition governments of 1995-97 period.

## *Betraying Empiricism*

**W**hile talking about negative syndrome among the Nepalese living abroad, perhaps Nanda Shrestha's book "In the Name of Development" has no parallel. In this book, Nanda, a non-resident Nepal academic living in USA, offers an interesting, but extremely negative perspective on Nepal's contemporary development. The author does not find anything positive happening in Nepal. One can understand the author's pain and anguish at the way our traditional values and spiritual strength are being destroyed in the name of development - a phenomenon that resulted from the pursuit of the contemporary development model. The author may also be right above various contradictions, dislocations and the pains, which surfaced in the process of this development journey.

Writing about the post-1990 politics, the author thinks that the 1990 revolution turned out to be "factional feud within the same class" and the leaders of the movement were only "fighting for the spoils of office", and they were not "true revolutionaries", but "merely a different faction of the same class left out of power, and hence denied an opportunity to dip their long arms into the spoils of power". It is interesting that the author considers the 1990 People's Movement "a revolution", and feels betrayed by the leadership afterwards. He forgets that the movement had defined political objectives: multi-party democracy, constitutional monarchy, human rights and people's sovereignty. It did not have a radical socio-economic agenda for transforming class equations. It only changed a political system in favour of a system which offered the people the right to choose their leaders and representatives based on the socio-economic programs they presented before the electorate - the rights long denied and for which great sacrifices were made both by its leaders and thousands of political workers and common citizens. The leaders who took over subsequently were not free from human weaknesses, and were not able to meet the people's expectations - not a very unusual phenomenon in a developing society. The development journey that followed was not radical enough to transform the existing production relations and the social equations. What happened was the adoption of the contemporary development paradigm with inherent strong and weak points.

One may excuse the author for his observations as either being the result of his disillusionment with the Nepalese leadership, or, as an obvious case of his ideological prejudice. Even his ideological framework seems to be vague and contradictory. The author is full of rhetorical fire of a revolutionary who believes in Mao's method, yet he offers a Gandhian solution of simplicity, and self-reliance. He is free to give his own interpretation of the scheme of things and offer solutions, however self-contradictory.

But the author does not stop there. He blatantly misrepresents facts and resorts to outright lie to defame every one who worked under the post-1990 political system. As an example, the author refers to my personal foreign exchange account in a New York bank, over which the opposition party in parliament raised hue and cry in 1996, obstructed parliamentary proceedings demanding my resignation. I resigned to pave the way for an impartial investigation over the matter. In my resignation speech in the House of Representatives, I said that my entire NY accounts represented savings from my earlier UN job, and vowed that I would renounce from public life if any body could prove otherwise. Subsequent investigation by the concerned agencies showed

# NEPAL Under Democracy: Need For A balanced Perspective

- Ram S. Mahat, Ph.D

*It is the responsibility of every right-minded person, particularly the intelligentsia, to work for consolidating the positive aspects of our democracy while minimizing the negatives.*

*Some weeks ago, I wrote an article in The Kathmandu Post lamenting the proclivity of the Nepalese intelligentsia towards negativism - a tendency of self-accusation and denigration.*

While glorifying the merits of others, I also narrated an instance of a Thai airbus accident that took place in Nepal about a decade ago, and reminded how the Nepalese media themselves were the first to attribute this disaster to the fault of the TIA air traffic control system, without verifying the facts. The subsequent investigation with the participation of ICAO experts concluded that the error on the part of Thai pilots was responsible for this great tragedy. The Thai newspapers refused to accept this reality, basing their argument on what the Kathmandu newspapers had reported earlier. This real life story is illustrative of the opposing mindset and cultures of the two societies - one which suffers from a crisis of confidence and takes pleasure at self-denigration, while the other is self-assured and confident, and whose self respect and national pride would not easily allow to admit mistakes even in the face of verified facts. When Nepalese friends from Houston, after seeing the TKP article, asked me to write for their annual publication Nepal Vision, I thought it only appropriate to further elaborate and extend on the same theme.

## Corruption Stories

The negative syndrome that the Nepalese intelligentsia suffers from is not confined to the Kathmandu Valley alone, or for that matter, within national borders. I am appalled by the degree with which this phenomenon has afflicted a section of the Nepalese diaspora abroad. I have seen non-resident Nepalese journalists speaking at CNN interviews as to how under democracy some bare foot politicians have become millionaires within a few years of democracy. This is not to

deny the phenomenon of corruption in the last decade and growth of unscrupulous elements at various levels. But there also exists a vast majority of political leaders and activists, civil servants and others who have been providing dedicated service to the nation and are committed to probity in public life. As compared to a few dozen or hundreds who might have misused their position for personal benefits, there also exist thousands who have sacrificed physically and materially after democracy, and are worse off now.

Democracy does not offer immediate solutions to all social evils. It takes time to mature. The system lends itself to self-correction; it explores ways and means to deal with problems as and when they occur, then offers solution. It was under democracy that draconian law to curb corruption and laws to regulate political parties, and control political malpractice were enacted by parliament. Anti-corruption watch-dog bodies have been empowered with sweeping power, unparalleled in South Asia and other democracies. The CIAA can now file case of corruption against anybody whose wealth is found incompatible with known sources of income, and the burden of proof lies on the accused and not on the prosecuting agency. In this process, the person under investigation can be put under police custody for up to six months. We have observed in the recent past CIAA's actions under this Act. The Act empowers the CIAA to investigate and prosecute even the relatives and friends of the accused suspected of hiding the ill-gotten money.

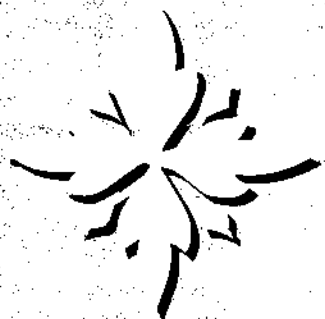
Biased news reports and exaggerated stories in the media to appease the public's appetite for sensation and negative stories are not uncommon. There are many cases where the investigating and prosecuting agency has arrested people, kept them under police custody for investigation on charges of corruption with news spread about fabulous wealth accumulated, only to be exonerated later on because no evidence was found against such people. One can imagine the damage inflicted on the morale and social status of these thoroughly-humiliated people with no fault of theirs. Over-enthusiasm and even political and personal bias of investigating officers cannot be ruled out in such cases.

by such agencies like the World Bank and UNDP. Local bodies are empowered with more authority and resources with visible results. One can see in towns and the country side excellent work done with local initiatives. Despite the country's difficult terrain and challenging geography, total network of motorable road increased from 7000 km in 1990 to 16,000 km in 2002, not counting these constructed by local bodies. Most remote areas are now linked with road and telecommunication networks. Hydro-power development which was always limited to one project at a time during the panchayat era got a significant boost with several projects - small, medium and big - started simultaneously with private, public, local and foreign investment. Resultantly, the power supply has now jumped from about 200 mw to 600 mw. In the last two years, we have seen serious destruction

of infra-structure and other facilities by the Maoists. Thus, the development process has received a setback.

The above are only some illustrative cases; it is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate in detail the achievements under Nepal's democracy. My objective is to stress the imperative for a balanced perspective about our political and development journey, at a time when a concerted campaign is being launched by both rightist reactionaries and radical leftists in order to discredit the multi-party democracy to serve their own respective interests. It is the responsibility of every right-minded person, particularly the intelligentsia, to work for consolidating the positive aspects of our democracy while minimizing the negatives.

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that I had done nothing illegal and I was reinstated as Finance Minister. Nanda Shrestha, in the last page of his book writes, "Dr. Mahat has denied the charges. Although he resigned from his post after inquisitions about his account, he was later reinstated to the position. Despite his public denial and explanation about the account, it is curious that the deposit was made during his tenure as Nepal's Finance Minister." Even now I stand by my earlier statement in the parliament. I challenge Nanda to substantiate his baseless allegation with facts. It is strange that even professional academics trained and exposed to western education tend to rely on hearsay and propaganda trash to prove their point, against the spirit of empiricism and objectivity, which the Western education teaches.

### *Not an Unmixed Case*

Nepal's experiment with democracy is a mixture of failure and success. It certainly has demonstrated certain weak points - excessive preoccupation with power politics, inter-party rivalry and intra-party feuds leading to instability in government, resort to extra-constitutional methods to attain political objective, corrupt practices, poor governance, etc. Despite all these weaknesses, the nation also made many positive gains. Democratic exercises such as periodic election increased political awareness, constitutional bodies started zealously asserting their authorities against executive encroachments, civil society, private sector, and trade unions emerged as prominent sectors in national affairs, and strengthening democratic pluralism, voices of traditional discrimination, and socio-economic and political exclusion of Dalits and Janajatis became more vociferous. Also, the transformation seen in conventional and electronic media, banking and financial services, and civil aviation - in quality and quantity - is almost beyond recognition.

### *Facts and Figures*

These gains may appear elitist. Even macro economic indicators of the first decade of democracy - a respectable 5 percent growth rate (quite comparable to the South Asian norm), 7 percent growth in non-agricultural sector, or, impressive 18 percent growth in the export sector in dollar terms - may seem too dry and abstract. The often-repeated question is : what difference has democracy made in the life of a common man? The negativists forget that in the late 1980s Nepal was considered an environmental hotspot, a country of 'fragile mountains' - with denuded forests due to unbridled human encroachments, land slides, massive soil ero-

sion and floods. Her status as an environmentally sustainable entity was being questioned. Now nobody considers environment as a high priority agenda. Hills and mountains instead of being denuded is full of growing young trees and shortage of fuel-wood is no longer a problem - thanks to the aggressively-pursued scientific plan to hand-over forest management responsibility to local communities, and the development of alternative energy sources. Our intelligentsia is not aware of the fact that Nepal has the third largest number of bio-gas plants in the world, next only to China and India.

The health and educational status of an average Nepali has made impressive gains. The longevity of an average Nepali has increased by at least ten years - from 52 years in 1990 to 62 years in 2003, while the adult literacy has gone up from 26 percent to 49 percent. This certainly would not have been possible without significant improvement in health and educational facilities, food and nutrition, and income level. This would not have occurred under a situation of expanding and deepening poverty, as some people allege. In fact, the ratio of below-poverty line population which was estimated to be 49 percent has now come down to 39 percent according to National Planning Commission. The UNDP Human Development Report, widely accepted as the most authoritative report on the status of human development between nations shows that Nepal has surpassed at least ten countries in its march towards better human conditions in the first decade of democracy. This is because the successive governments under democracy raised allocation to the social sector from about 25 percent under panchayat regime to more than 35 percent in 2002. In addition, private and non-government sectors were encouraged to participate in the social sector development, which also contributed to this positive growth.

Our intelligentsia may give a dismissive shrug to the growth from a single medical college in 1990 to about 10 at present as being largely private sector-financed where only rich can afford. True, not only the rich who would otherwise opt to go to other countries, but hundreds of students from neighboring countries including Sri Lanka and Maldives come to Nepal for medical education every year. The little known truth is - about 20 percent of the seats in these private medical colleges are compulsorily offered on scholarship to meritorious Nepalese students. As a result of this, about 250 students selected on competitive basis have access to medical education at nominal cost, up from about 40 students in 1990, in addition to those who can afford full self-financing.

Nepal is often cited as a country with successful decentralization programme in international reports published

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# VERMILLION

- Sitara Chettri

She stood in front of her full length mirror and scrutinized her face. She was poised with a vermillion tika on the tip of her ring finger. Then she paused and waited for the wave of feelings to rush over her. It usually did at this time, for it brought back memories.

"Himali!! Hiiiiiiiiiaaaaaaaaaaaaaaali, Hiiiiima.....! Her mother called. "Do not wear the white dress, white kurtha, white anything! I can't understand your obsession with white and blue! We are going to the temple, wear something red!"

Then, Himali was 17 yrs old, a rebellious teenager. She could not understand why color mattered. "Mamoo, I will wear a white kurtha and a red tika with red churi, hunna ra?" "Lau ba jey sukai gara timi. Bhanya maney po. Khali tarka bitarka garera dimag khaisakyo yesley-and, please don't bring in your western-book-philosophy-into our discussions. Himali, I don't care what they say. Just get dressed!" Himali put on her anklets as her finishing touch and traipsed down the stairs.

"Mamoo, you named me Himali. I love the color of the Himalayas; the sky, and the clouds adrift above the peaks. Mamoo, what do you expect? Anyways, you are wrong; I also love silver; not gold, mind you. When I get married, I'll get married in white and silver. You know mamoo, those silver Banarashi saris with no red and no gold?!" Her mom just glared at her and said in exasperation, "Bho! bho! Nakara! You are only 17 and, already talking about marriage!" "Ke ta mamoo, hajur ko saathi haro le kura katlan bhanney daar hajur lai?"

Five years later, married to the love of her life, she still wore a lot of white. He never minded, "White is not the color of widowhood. Not for me!" But, aama ra sasu ko maan rakhna, she wore red glass bangles, a pothe and sindoor ko tika on her forehead. He had seen her wearing one of those short white summer dresses when he had fallen in love with her. The dark color of her hair set off the brown of her skin and her stark white dress! He had playfully serenaded her with his guitar and a Santana-song; except, modifying it with ... "Your eyes are the color of the Bagmati....you look my way and the waves wash over me..." Himali had no choice but to fall in love with him.

"Maaaaaaaamoo, mero kapal na katisyos! Maaaaaaaamoo



pleeeeeeeeeease! I will wear white! Maaaaaaaamoo, leave my sindoor on! Just break my choora. Mamoo, leave me alone!" Himali's mamoo had no strength to fight her wayward, but slowly- wasting daughter. Heart broken, bewildered and incoherent with pain, Himali had refused to let anyone near her vermillion sindoor and her hair. "Mamoo, he never minded the way I dressed, when he was alive. Why would he mind, now that he is dead? He won't care if I don't wash away my sindoor; he won't laugh if I cut my hair!" In aggrieved defeat, her mamoo had told the people at the funeral to let her be. "Chodi dewoo, Himali has been traumatized enough. Allow her, her moment of grief. It does not matter if the saashtras don't allow it. I, as her mother will!"

Now, two years later, poised in front of her mirror, she waited for the waves of emotions to wash over her; engulf her and inundate her with her memories. They did not come! She waited, bracing herself. Then, surprised, she opened her kohled eyes and stared at her reflection. The hurt in her eyes were gone. The wounded look of a startled deer was fading; slowly replaced by something deeper; of having loved with abandon; of having lived with a passion; of having experienced the depths of pain; of the experiences of deep shadows and the play of blinding light!

The pain was gone! She looked at the vermillion on her ring finger poised at her forehead; hesitated, and without a second thought wiped it on her handkerchief. Then she took up her black kohl pencil and placed a black dot where her sindoor used to be. Equipped with that awareness, she stepped out in her blue kurtha; her hair swinging at her waist, the silver anklets melodious on her light-hearted feet !



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# Understanding the Maobadi psy-war

- C.K. Lal

*When Comrade Prachanda and his cohorts began their armed campaign eight years ago, democrats of the country did not take them seriously. The insurgency was dismissed as a hoax being played by a bunch of frustrated politicians who had failed to prove themselves in the electoral arena. Eight years on, it is now clear that the armed insurgency was meticulously planned. While physical aspects of the so-called people's war continue to be based on trial-and-error, the Maobadi psy-war seems to have been war-gamed and fine-tuned to near perfection. Its success can be gauged from the fact that even though they have brought nothing but misery to the country, resentment against the armed group of insurgents is surprisingly limited.*

*Nothing could be as eloquent a testimony to the triumph of Maobadi propaganda as the thundering silence of the Nepali middle-class—a group that has most to lose in this pointless civil conflict. While a number of externally funded quick fix studies have appeared, serious attempts to understand the Maobadi phenomenon are yet to be made. There is very little explanation of why a communist insurgency engulfed a Bahunistic society where an ethnic war would have been theoretically more plausible. Unlike the Maoists who seem to have a firm grip on all intellectual debates, those opposed to their ideology are still operating in a conceptual vacuum.*

*In addition to empirical data, an academic analysis requires certain intellectual rigour that I do not possess. What I try to do instead in this article is build up a case, based on anecdotal arguments, that Maobadis have been spectacularly successful in manufacturing a conflict discourse; a concept that I have borrowed from Richard Jackson of the University of Canterbury. They seem to have borrowed some of these methods of "manufacturing consent" from the manual of civil war that the Central Intelligence Agency of United States of America had prepared for its guerrilla front organisation in Nicaragua—the Freedom Commandos. These techniques were first employed in the brutal war against the Sandinista regime. Maobadis have refined those techniques to suit the ground realities of Nepal. However, before we get into speculations, an overview of the conventional wisdom about the reasons that helped in the eruption of insurgency is in order.*

## The "Root Cause" dogma

Most explanations about the Maobadi insurgency centre on structural defects of Nepali society. It is argued that the people of Magarat and Kirat harbour a historical grudge against the ruling class of Kathmandu that has bled them for centuries. There is some merit in this line of reasoning—Magars and Gurungs fought all the wars of Gorkha conquest, but its main beneficiaries were always the Khas courtiers. It was Magars, Gurungs, and Kirats who fought for the British Empire in World War I and World War II, but again the ruling Rana-clique cornered all the benefits that accrued to Nepal. The problem with this explanation is that it does not address the question of timing. Why the insurgency to right the historical wrongs had to begin when democratic process was still in its

infancy? Then again, the largely Bahun leadership of Maobadi insurgency refutes all ethnic uprising logic. Second structural deficiency that is often pointed out relates to the disparities rampant in Nepali society. Indeed, inequalities between caste, class, and gender in Nepal are revolting. But then, it is not the really wronged that revolted in the first flush of the insurgency. Despite the preponderance of dalits and ethnics in the death toll, their representation in the Maobadi politburo is only nominal; and the sole Madhesi in it is only an alternate member. The abhorrent practice of untouchability is most rampant in the far western region of the country, but it was the last to fall to Maoist insurgency. Gender discrimination is most intense among the Muslims of tarai, but this community is as yet free from the incidence of brutal killings.

The third structural reason—and this is the one that is most discussed by those who make a living by hawking the poverty of common Nepalis to the donors abroad—relates to the incidence of poverty, disease, ignorance, unemployment, and hopelessness in different parts of

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the country. It is very difficult to find fault with such an omnibus logic. However, once again, it fails to convince when put to the test of location and timing—places where the insurgency spread first are not the poorest or the most backward districts of Nepal. Relative to the surrounding regions, Rolpa, Rukum and Sindhuli are better off districts. In addition to that, when the insurgency began, there was hope in the air of all district headquarters—for the first time in Nepali history, there was a substantial flow of resources from the centre to the villages. Insurgency choked off the supply of half-a-million rupees every year to every village development committee of the country.

Conflict analysts also point out to the relative deprivation-rich getting richer and poor getting poorer, leading to revolt—that may have instigated frustrated youths to take up arms. If youths from hills had not migrated in hordes to find work in India, this explanation could have been the most convincing one. But as things stands even in western Nepal, probably more young men and women cross the border than take up the guns to fight injury, insult, and injustice.

Political scientists have their own favourite logic—revolution of unfulfilled expectations. Since there is no base line study of the kind of miracle people had expected from the political change of 1990, it is very difficult to ascertain how many of them remained unfulfilled within five years of the exercise of people's sovereignty.

Ex-administrators with a Panchayat past are very fond of putting all the blames on the shoulders of post-Janandolan political leadership. In their belief, it was the lack of good governance and corruption that gave rise to Maobadis. Nothing could be any less convincing—not a single 'corrupt' figure was targeted by Maobadis. Invariably, insurgents have concentrated on eliminating people of impeccable character in the countryside who enjoyed the respect of the local population and had no reason to run away to the district headquarter or to the capital city.

That there is some element of truth in all of the above standard explanations of 'grievances theory' goes without saying. My point is that they are not enough by themselves to have caused an insurgency of such an intensity and magnitude. There must have been a few instigating factors that lit the fire which ultimately engulfed the entire country within a period of just eight years. Locus of this process are as likely to be inside the country as outside—there have been enough speculations about both in the Nepali press—but there is very little doubt that the arms that conduct such campaigns are those of the conflict entrepreneurs living

within the Nepali territory. It is just that they are so diffused in the society that it is impossible to locate them with any accuracy.

However, the conflict discourse is not like the law of gravitation—it is a construction, hence it can be deconstructed too. It is for this reason that more serious attempts than mine are necessary to explore the discourse of the Maobadi war in Nepal. It may not help control the present fire, but it will certainly be helpful in preventing outbreaks of similar nature in the future.

## Carriers of Conflict virus:

Different strains of the virus of armed insurgency have been lying dormant in Nepali society since the Jhapa uprising of the seventies. They were let loose upon the democratic polity to hurt it grievously. Much before guns turned Nepal's mid-mountains into killing terraces, the capital city succumbed to the fatal charms of Armed Propaganda Teams patterned after similar anti-Sandinista groups in Nicaragua. Comrade Prachanda and his team seem to have studied the insurgency and counter-insurgency campaigns of Columbia, Peru, Nicaragua, and other South American countries quite thoroughly.

Predictably, it was the urban petty bourgeoisie—traditionally, the cradle of fascism—that unhesitatingly embraced Maobadi ideology. "The petty bourgeoisie is economically dependent and politically atomized. That is why it cannot conduct an independent policy. It needs a 'leader' who inspires it with confidence. This individual or collective leadership, i.e., a personage or party, can be given to it by one or the other of the fundamental classes—either the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat," observed Leon Trotsky. Maobadis turned the frustrations of petty bourgeoisie against the messy process of democracy that had thrust hordes of the great unwashed—the chappal-clad politicians, their image got worse when they opted for Japanese SUVs rather than luxury sedans of European or American make that the local elite value—upon their beautiful city. The bourgeoisie then became the willing carriers of the conflict virus. Ironically, it is the same "wobbly group"—Bukharin's term—that is now at the forefront of Rightist Regression after October 4, 2003.

It was the well-dressed teams of Bahun youths that roamed the countryside of Banke, Bardia, and Kailali to recruit the genuinely wronged Tharu boys and girls, and transformed them into cannon fodder of the civil

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war. Government officials of lower ranks nursing grudges against the establishment, school-teachers dreaming of an utopia without having to work for it, journalists with more ambition than ability, and petty businessmen without scruples became the vanguard of Maobadi propaganda war. They then identified target groups and assiduously cultivated them for years. After the Narayanhiti Massacre, the targets themselves became propagandists of the Maobadi war.

"In the motivation of the target groups by the Armed Propaganda Teams," says the CIA manual for guerrillas, "the cadre should apply themes of 'true' groups and 'false' groups." The true group will correspond to the target group and the false one to the existing regime.

In the economic field, Maobadis succeeded in convincing commission agents of the Panchayat regime that they had no future under the democratic set-up. It cannot be just a coincidence that almost the entire business class opposed the democratic regime, even though they had benefited most from the liberalisation policies of Nepali Congress and UML governments.

"For the elements ambitious for power and social positions, it will be emphasized that they will never be able to belong to the governmental social class, since they are hermetic in their circle of command," instructs the CIA manual. Instances of nepotism of the Koirala clan, and the coterie of Madhav Nepal, were blown out of all proportions to enlist the support of political has-beens like late Hrishikesh Shaha, and mavericks like Padma Ratna Tuladhar and Daman Nath Dhungana. In the beginning, these people functioned as virtual spokespersons of the Maobadi war. A clutch of bureaucrats pre-maturely retired by Nepali Congress government, and hence harbouring animosity against it, became the intellectual bulwark of insurgents in urban areas.

According to the CIA manual, "Once the needs and frustrations of the target groups have been determined, the hostility of the people to the 'false' groups will become more direct, against the current regime and its system of repression. The people will be made to see that once this system or structure has been eliminated, the cause of their frustrations would be eliminated and they would be able to fulfil their desires. It should be shown to the population that supporting the insurrection is really supporting their own desires." No wonder, Maobadis have been promising autonomy to ethnic groups, unitary nationalism to the intelligentsia, protectionism to industrialists, openness to businesspeople, patriotism to the masses, and CCOMPOSA to their regional comrades without any contradiction. None of these promises is meant to be

fulfilled—they are merely strategies employed to enlist the support of frustrated groups of all kinds.

Rightist elements inimical to democracy assisted the Maobadi propaganda war in right earnest. Once the Maobadi armed campaign began, the shrill voices of Dirgha Raj Prasai, Barbara Adams, Man Ranjan Josse, Yubraj Gautam, Saurav, Pushkar Bhusal and the likes in the Nepali media became even more venomous. This is what gave rise to the suspicion—were Maobadis merely hired guns of those plotting regression? In fact, this misgiving has not been removed yet.

Unfortunately, there has been no perceptible attempt to create an anti-war discourse. The war discourse created by Maobadis, with more than a little help from Rightists and revisionists of all kinds, is so strong that even the ones opposed to the destructive Maobadi war often begin with an apology, "Though the issues raised by insurgents are correct ..." This is an admission of guilt that cancels out all arguments that follow. If the insurgents had a point, they would not have to resort to guns to prove it.

The Maobadi war cannot give anything other than misery to common Nepalis. That has to be the point of departure to create an anti-war discourse. Looking at the confusion in the minds of Nepali intelligentsia, it appears that by the time such a consensus is created, a lot more damage would have been inflicted upon the society by Maobadi psy-warriors. And the only force that benefits from this confusion are the royalists—remnants of the ancient regime that thrived upon the suffering of the masses. No wonder, conspiracy theories are so popular in Nepal.





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# नेपालभित्र नेपालको खोजी

- सृजेन्द्र संजोला

सकियो ! सर्वनाश भयो !

**स**ड्कटै सड्कटका चक्रहरूको भुमरीमा परेको नेपालमा अचेल एकथरि नेपालीका मुखबाट चित्कार र सुस्केराको भाकामा यस्ता निराश र हताश भनाइहरू सुन्नु नेपाली जीवनको दिनचर्याकै एक अभिन्न भएको छ । तर काँधमा नाम्लो बोकेर भारी खोज्न हिँड्ने कुल्ली, हातमा घन बोकेर गिट्टी कुट्न कुट्ने ज्यामी, गोरुको पुच्छर निमोठ्दै मुखियाको खेत-बारी जोत्न जाने हली, मालिकका घरमा कैदी जीवन बिताउने बालश्रमिक, बम्बैका कोठीमा यौनदासी बन्न अशिभक्त हुने नारी, सडकछेउमा हात पसारने भिखारी, रोजगारीको अभावमा संसारैभरि निम्नकोटीको धन्दा खोज्ने यात्रामा लाम लाग्ने युवायुवतीहरू, अछूत भनी अपमान गरिने दलित, बोक्सीको आरोपमा दिसा खुवाइने नारी आदिका लागि नही सकिएको छ, न केही सर्वनाश भएको छ । तिनका लागि दासता, अभाव र अपमान अधि पनि थियो, अहिले पनि उस्तै छ । तिनका लागि अवसर, सुरक्षा, सम्मान र सुख अधि पनि थिएन, स्थिति अहिले पनि उस्तै छ । यो अत्यधिक नेपालीहरूको साझा कथा हो । जो सत्ताबल, धर्मबल, धनबल र विचारबलका एकाधिकारी स्वामी थिए र जसको जीवनमा अमनचैन थियो तिनको बल गुम्न लागेको छ र तिनको अमनचैन बेचैनीमा परिणत हुँदैछ । जसको केही थिएन, तिनको केही सकिने वा सर्वनाश हुने कुरै छैन । यो पनि अत्यधिक नेपालीको साझा कथा नै हो ।

आखिर नेपालमा भएको के हो ? मेरो विचारमा नेपालमा जे भएको छ त्यो जीवन-सहतमुनि दबाएर र लुकाएर राखिएको कुरा यथार्थ सतहमा उत्रिएको मात्र हो । हिजो अशान्ति र कोलाहल जीवन-सतहमुनि मौन थियो, आज त्यो मुखर भएर जीवन-सतह माथि उत्रिएको छ । तथ्य यही हो र यही मात्र हो । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले फौजीबलले जीकरण गरेको छसपस्ट भूगोललाई भानुभक्तको प्यणले बहुजातीय, बहुभाषिक र बहुसांस्कृतिक

नेपाललाई भावनात्मक एकताको सूत्रमा बाँध्ने भनी शासकहरूका स्तुतिकारहरूबाट घनघोर प्रचार गराइएको थियो । नेपाल चार वर्ण र छत्तीस जातको साझा फूलवारी हो भनी नेपालीहरूका कान टनाटन भरिएको थियो । र, नेपाल समानता, न्याय र सामाजिक सामन्जस्यतायुक्त स्वर्ग हो भन्ने भजनको धुवाँधार रटना नगरिएको पनि होइन । तर पञ्चायतले सङ्घीयताको बलले बन्द गरेका नागरिकहरूका मुखहरू जब बहुदलीय व्यवस्थाले खोलिदियो, नेपाली समाजको अर्कै, एकदम उल्टो, तस्वीर बाहिर आयो । तथ्यहरू भन्छन् – निर्दलीय नेपाल निरङ्कुश राजाको एकछत्र मौजाजस्तै थियो जहाँका प्रजाहरू राजाका हरुवाचरुवा सरह थिए । विष्णुका अवतार भनिने राजाको लहडी बोली नै कानुन थियो । राजाको हुकुमी वाणी अकाट्य महावाणी हुन्थ्यो र रैतीको वाणी भने ठ्याम्मै हरण गरिएको थियो ।

हिजोको निरङ्कुश शासनमा छत्तीस जातको फूलवारीको रचनाविधि, रूप र सार कस्तो थियो त्यसको स्मरण गर्नु बडो रोचक हुनेछ । कथा यस्तो छ । पञ्चायती शासन र प्रशासनका निजामति र जङ्गी पदमा नेपाली समाजका सबै प्रकृतिका नाकको बाना मिलाइन्थ्यो । लिम्बुवानको लिम्बु नाक, थारुवानको थारु नाक, मगरातको मगर नाक, गुरुङ जगतको तमु नाक, शेर्पागणको शेर्पा नाक, मधेशको मधेश नाक, दलित बस्तीको कामी नाक, महिला जगतको महिला नाक आदि । यी नाकहरू आ-आफ्नो जात, जाति, समुदाय वा क्षेत्रका जनताको राजीखुशीको सचेत रोजाइबाट हैन, शासकको कृपाबाट टपक्क टिपेर रोजिन्थे । यी नाकहरू जब शासकको गोलोमा मिसिन्थे, यिनले आ-आफ्ना जात, जाति, समुदाय वा क्षेत्रका सपना र आकांक्षालाई चटकै विसिदिन्थे । यिनीहरू शासकको स्वार्थको आज्ञाकारी गोटी बन्ने गरी शासककै जातमा ढलान हुन्थे । रूपका दृष्टिले शासनतन्त्रमा छत्तीस जातका फूलरूपी नाकहरूको उपस्थिति हुन्थ्यो, तर सारमा भने

भण्डै अढाइ सय वर्षको राजतन्त्रको शासनमा भ्याइएर आएको रोग हो । यो बाह्र वर्ष त उही सङ्क्रामक प्रकृतिको दीर्घ रोगले निरन्तरता पाएको मात्र हो । यहाँनै स्वाभाविक प्रश्न उठ्छ — प्रजातन्त्रमा भ्रष्टाचार र कुशासनको कथा किन टुटेन ? एउटा बिम्बमा यस कथाको उत्तर खोज्न सकिन्छ । पञ्चायती शासनको एउटा जर्जर थोत्रो घर थियो । जनआन्दोलनको धुवाँ लाग्दा पञ्चहरु भागे, र थोत्रो घर खाली भयो । प्रजातन्त्रको नायक त्यो फोहोर र विषाक्त घर बढारकुडार नगरी, लिपपोत नगरी, फिनेल नछर्किई त्यसमा लुसुक्क भित्रियो । त्यस आदिम घरका दूलादूलामा सर्प, बिच्छी र भुसिल्लिरा लुकीबसेका थिए । मैले यो संस्कारको कुरा गरेको हु । उही भ्रष्ट कर्मचारीतन्त्र, उही दमनकारी प्रहरी र सैनिक बल, सोर्सफोर्स र आफ्नो मान्छेको उही दीर्घ रोग, उही छलछाँम र ढिलासुस्ती — यी सर्प, बिच्छी र भुसिल्लिराहरुका अधिलिस्तर प्रजातन्त्रको नेता निरीह र किंकर्तव्यविमूढ भयो । उसले तीनका अगाडि घुडा टेक्यो, र उही कुशासन र भ्रष्टाचारको सनातन कथालाई निरन्तरता दिन तीसूग सम्झौता गर्‍यो । त्यसैले प्रजातन्त्रको नेता भ्रष्टाचार र कुशासनको स्रष्टा होइन, भोक्ता मात्र हो । यी रोगको ऐतिहासिक सृष्टिकर्ता त राजतन्त्र स्वयं हो । हो, प्रजातन्त्रको पात्र जनमुखी र देशभक्त हुन नसकेको कुरा सत्य हो । तर पात्रको अयोग्यतालाई अचानो बनाएर प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणालीमाथि नै असोज १८ को बन्चरो बजार्नु उचित हो त ? के यो पुजारी अशुद्ध भयो भनेर मन्दिर भत्काउनु, शिक्षक नालायक भयो भनेर विद्यालयमा बुल्डोर लगाउनु र मजदूर अकुशल भयो भनेर कारखानामा आगो भोस्नुजस्तै होइन र ?

बाह्र वर्षको प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासमा जतिसुकै कमजोरी किन नहोउन् यसमा दुईवटा राम्रा कुरा भएका छन् । निर्वाचन अभियानको माध्यमले व्यक्तिको पहिचान र अस्मिताको चेतना नेपालका कुनाकन्दरासम्म फिँजिएको छ, र खुला प्रकृतिको र विशाल आकारको प्रेसले नागरिक हकका कुरा चारै दिशामा कानकानमा पुर्‍याएको छ । आजको नेपाली नागरिक अरुसँग त के कुरा, राजासँग समेत पनि आँखा जुधाएर सम्वाद गर्न सिक्दैछ । छापामा र सडकमा यस कुराका प्रमाणहरु जति पनि भेटिन्छन् । सूचनाको यो फैलावट, चेतनाको यो बृद्धि, बोलीको यो विकास र स्वाभिमानको यो उत्थान प्रजातन्त्रमा मात्र हुनसक्छ । यो भएको छ । ताते बोलीमौ सही, राजतन्त्रले निरङ्कुश बन्न रहर गर्दा आजको नेपाली राजासँग गणतन्त्रबारे बहस गर्ने गम्भीर मुद्रामा पुगेको छ ।

यसबीच माओवादी विद्रोहको मुलुकव्यापी गर्जनले सुदूर र विकट बस्तीहरुमा बसोबास गर्ने व्यक्ति र समुदायका कहिल्यै नखुलेका मुखहरुलाई समेत खोलिदिएको छ, र दलित, महिला र जनजातिका आवाजहरुको आयतन गुणात्मक रुपले बढाइदिएको छ । माओवादी विद्रोहले लगाएको यो गुनलाई स्वीकार गर्न उसको अतिशय हिंसामोह, भिन्न मतप्रति उसको उग्र असहिष्णुता र उसको शक्तिको भयावह दम्भलाई स्वीकार गरिरहनु पर्दैन ।

नेपालमा कोलाहल छ, तर यो सबै कुरा सकिन र नासिन लागेको लक्षण होइन । बरु यो त नेपालका सबै जात-जाति, धर्म-संस्कृति, लिङ्ग र क्षेत्रहरुले निरङ्कुश, विभेदपूर्ण र अविकसित नेपालभित्र प्रजातान्त्रिक, न्यायपूर्ण र विकसित नेपालको खोजी गर्ने कष्टपूर्ण यात्राको थालनी हो । यस खोजीबाट आविष्कार गरिने नेपाल साँचो अर्थमा छत्तीस जातको फूलबारी हुनेछ । विशाल छाती र उदार हृदय, अजम्मरी आसा र अथक जांगर हुने दूरदर्शीहरुजति त्यस फूलबारीमा पुग्नेछन् । जसको छैन, तिनीहरु इतिहासको चक्रमा वीचैमा छाडिने छन् । ती त्यहाँ छाडिँदा तिनको सम्झनामा शोक मनाउने फुसद कसैलाई पनि हुनेछैन ।

## गजल

यस्तरी के आयौ, सुखि गनी गन्न भ्याइन  
यस्तरी के गथौ, बिदा पनि मन्न भ्याइन

बगैँचा बन्नु भन्ने थ्यो, फूल बन्नु भन्ने थ्यो  
ए मेरो माली, ए पाउना, केहि बन्न भ्याइन

माथको सामलमा केहि गुनासोको भुस होला  
आफै केलाऊ बाटोमा, मैले निफन्न भ्याइन

समथले लिलाम गर्दा, तिम्रो मरममे मेरो-  
जिन्दगी बन्दकी थियो, त्यो निस्सन्न भ्याइन

अब यो हावामा केद छ फगत लासको दुर्गन्ध  
हरेक दिन विष्टवास मर्छ, चिहान सन्न भ्याइन

किन सामेल हुन्नस दीपु, मौन धारणा गर्ने मीडमा?  
भन्दिउ भन्दिउ लागेको हो, मन्न धन्न भ्याइन

—डा. दीपक बडका  
रकभिल, मेरील्याण्ड



त्यहाँ केही सीमित जातका उच्च वर्गका चतुर र धूर्त नाकहरुकै मनोमानी चल्यो। यी काटिएका नाकहरु आफ्नो निजी स्वार्थको दुनो सोभ्याउन दरबारका मुखिया र खरिदारलाई धनुष्टङ्गार नमस्कार गर्न खूब सिपालु हुन्थे। यही हो तथाकथित छत्तीस जातको पञ्चायती फूलबारी! यसलाई अनेक जात-जाति, धर्म र संस्कृति भएका समस्त नेपालीका भावनाको एकीकरणको दह्रो सबुतका रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिन्थ्यो। सतहमुनि दबाइएको यथार्थ जब विस्फोटको भाषामा बाहिर प्रकट भयो, शासकको धूर्त्याईको पोल राम्रैसँग खुल्यो – वास्तवमा यो मिथ्या एकीकरण थियो। र, यो कथित एकीकरण अज्ञानता, भ्रम, भय र दमनका सूत्रहरुले बाँधिएको थियो।

“आफ्नो देशको हावा-पानी-माटो सुहाउँदो” पञ्चायती दर्शन साँचो अर्थमा वर्गभेद, जातिभेद, धर्मभेद, लिङ्ग भेद, संस्कृतिभेद र क्षेत्रभेदमा आधारित आदिम अमानवीय दर्शन थियो। जनताको गरीबी विदेशमा भिख माग्ने त्यसको लाभदायक ट्वाक थियो, जनताको स्वतन्त्र बन्ने आकांक्षाको दमन त्यसको प्रिय दिनचर्या थियो, शासकको स्तुति त्यसको मूल मन्त्र थियो र भिन्न मतको हत्या त्यसको सनातन धर्म थियो। अतिचार भई जब पाप धुरीबाट करायो, जनआन्दोलनको सानो भौँक्का धेगन नसकी “हावा-पानी-माटो सुहाउँदो” दमनतन्त्रको उचित र सामयिक मृत्यु भयो।

आजको नेपाल हिंसा, हत्या, विनाश र बिछोडको कोलाहलमा डुबेको छ। यो सत्य हो। तर मेरो विचारमा यो कोलाहल रगत र आसु पुस्दै नेपालभित्र नेपालको खोजी गर्ने कठिन र कष्टकर प्रक्रिया हो। केही प्रमुख घटनाबाट प्रकट भएको यथार्थको ऐनामा यो खोजीको रेखाचित्र देख्न सकिन्छ। जेठ १९ मा राजा वीरेन्द्रको वंश विनाश हुनुअघि कतिपय नेपालीहरु राजतन्त्रलाई सबै नेपालीको संरक्षक र एकताको प्रतीकका रूपमा हेर्न रुचाउँथे। तर दरबारभित्रकै हातबाट जब राजाको वंश विनाश भयो, राजतन्त्रप्रतिको यो धारणाले सदाका लागि पल्टा खायो। जुन संस्थाले त्यत्रो सुरक्षाको बीचमा आफ्नै परिवारको संरक्षण गर्न सकेन र जुन संस्थाभित्रको पारिवारिक कलहले राजपरिवार नै मासिदियो त्यो संस्था कसरी अरुको संरक्षक र एकाताको सूत्र हुनसक्छ? यसरी राजतन्त्र सम्बन्धी मिथ्या धारणा र अन्धविश्वासको अन्त भयो। र, यस घटनाले सर्वसाधारण नेपालीलाई तिम्रो आफ्नो संरक्षक आफैँ हो, र भदेभावमा टिकेको एकीकरणलाई समानताको जगमा उभिने एकीकरणमा पनि तिम्रो नै हो भन्ने सन्देश दियो। जेठ १९ को त्याकाण्ड ज्यादै दुःखद् भए पनि त्यसले नेपालीलाई

सिकाएको पाठ भने ज्यादै मूल्यवान भइदियो। भ्रम र भय, अन्धविश्वास र अपमानका पर्दाहरु उठे र नेपालीहरुले दमित सत्यको अनुहार देख्न पाए। नेपाली जनताले इतिहासको त्रासद पाठशालामा सिकेको यो एउटा अर्थपूर्ण पाठ हो।

जेठ १९ को गर्भबाट जन्मिएको नयाँ राजतन्त्रले असोज १८ को ढोका खोलिदियो। यो जानीनजानी प्रजातन्त्रको उज्यालोतिर लम्किन बामे सरिरहेको नेपाली समाजलाई उही पञ्चायतको अँध्यारो सुरुङ्गतिर फर्काउने कालो ढोका हो। असोज १८ को शाही कदमले लोकतन्त्रका यावत् संरचना र निकायहरुमाथि एकएक गरी बन्चरो बजायो। र, अहिले शासनतन्त्रमा मैले माथि चर्चा गरेका अनेक बान्कीका नक्कली नाकहरुको एकीकरण गरी सबै जातको उही पञ्चायती फूलबारी बनाउने अभियान जारी छ। यो प्राकृतिक फूलको हैन, कागजको फूलबारी हो जसमा न सुवास छ, न शोभा, न सौन्दर्य। कृपा, दासता र दमनमा केको सुवास, केको शोभा र केको सौन्दर्य? वास्तवमा निरङ्कुश राजा बन्ने दुर्दान्त सपना बोकेको असोज १८ को राजाको कदमले लोकप्रिय हुँदै गएको संवैधानिक राजतन्त्रको नाक काटिदिएको छ। र, अहिले काटिएको त्यो कुरूप नाक हेरेर नेपालीहरु भित्रभित्रै हाँसिरहेका छन्। राजा वीरेन्द्रको संवैधानिक कालमा राजा वा राजपरिवारबारे बोल्दा मानिसहरु तीन पटक विचार गर्थे, शब्द तौलिन्थे र बडो सावधानीसाथ बोल्थे। अहिले राजा र राजपरिवारलाई लक्ष्य गरेर हजारौंको संख्यामा युवायुवतीहरु खुला सडकमा विरोधका नारा लगाइरहेका छन्। यसको अर्थ के हो भने प्रजातन्त्रले नेपालीहरुलाई प्रजातन्त्रको महत्वप्रति सजग बन्ने अवसर दिएको छ, र शासनकारी र दमनकारी राजालाई स्वीकार गर्न नेपालीहरु अब तयार छैनन्। जब खुला सडकमा सङ्गठित जमात राजा विरुद्ध नारा लगाउन ओर्लिन बाध्य हुन्छ, त्यसले राजाको शान, मान र आयु कदापि बढाउँदैन। कसैलाई मन परोस् वा मन नपरोस्, अकाट्य अथार्थ यही नै हो। यस यथार्थले सङ्केत गर्ने सम्भावना के हो भने जनताका मुख थुनेर र भयको सहाराले भ्रमको आवादी गरेर राजा स्वेच्छारी शासक बन्ने दिन अब गए। एक्काइसौं शताब्दीमा मध्ययुगको चिहान खोतलेर निरङ्कुश राजाको आविष्कार गर्न समयले अनुमति दिँदैन।

असोज १८ मा प्रजातन्त्रमाथि बजारिएको बन्चरोको औचित्य सिद्ध गर्न दरबारका तावेदारहरु गत बाइव वर्षको कुशासन र भ्रष्टाचारको कथा अत्यन्तै उत्साहका साथ सुनाउँदै हिँडेका छन्। नेपाली शासनतन्त्रमा भ्रष्टाचार र कुशासनको कथा शुरु भएको बाइव वर्षअघि होइन। यो

**Tech Mate, Inc.**



# Providing Medical Technologies to Improve Patient Care

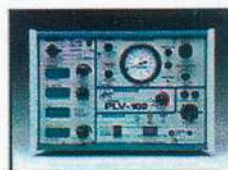
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- Equipment Rental, Sales, and Service
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- Portable Ventilators
- Infusion and Feeding Pumps
- Pulse Oximeters
- CPAP/ BIPAP Units
- Oxygen Concentrators
- General Biomedical equipment



## QUALITY ASSURANCE

Our Biomedical equipment maintenance programs are designed to meet or exceed Manufacturer, State, NFPA, FDA, OSHA, HCFA and JCAHO requirements.

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- All Equipment available for sale or rental.
- Factory Authorized Pulmonetic Systems Service centre. (Including Warranty Service)
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  - Respironics PLV 100, PLV 102 Ventilators
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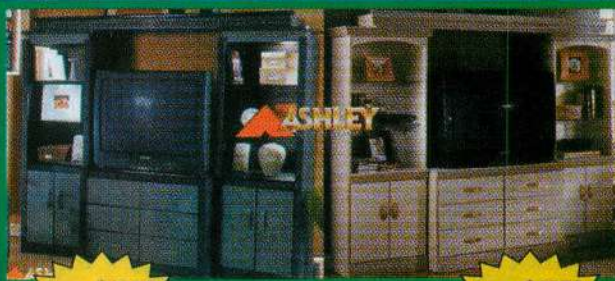
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र अहिले ओझाजस्ता दर्शक पाइरहेका छौं जसले भने- 'म तपाईंहरू डुलेको ठाउँ घुम्न चाहन्छु ।'

'हाम्रो एउटा सपना छ,' गैर आवासीय सम्मेलनको एउटा सत्रमा कार्यपत्र प्रस्तुत गर्दै तिनै किरणले भने- 'नेपथ्यलाई वेम्ब्ली रंगशालामा कार्यक्रम प्रस्तुत गराउने ।'

संसारका कुनै पनि गायक/गायिकाको सपना हुन्छ एकपटक लण्डनको विश्वप्रसिद्ध वेम्ब्ली रंगशालामा संगीत प्रस्तुत गर्ने । नेपाली संगीत, त्यो पनि विदेशी श्रोता/दर्शकमाझ ?

नेपालका शहरहरूमा धेरैपल्ट विभिन्न गायक/गायिका लिएर सांगीतिक कार्यक्रम गराउँदै हिंडेका किरणले गत वर्षमात्र माओवादीको प्रबल प्रभाव क्षेत्र दाङमा ६० हजार दर्शक जम्मा गरेर एउटा खुला सांगीतिक कार्यक्रम आयोजना गरेका थिए जसको शीर्षक थियो- सुन्दर शान्त नेपाल । त्यसले देशका छ वटा त्यस्ता शहरहरूको यात्रा गरेको थियो ।

'इभेन्ट नेपाल'का यी प्रबन्ध निर्देशकले सम्मेलनका सहभागीहरूमाझ प्रश्न पनि गरे- 'नेपाली संगीत कहाँ कमजोर छ ? नेपाली गायक/गायिकाले के अमेरिका, बेलायत वा जापानमा गीत गाउन सक्दैनन् ? नेपाली दर्शक/श्रोतामात्र होइन विदेशीलाई पनि के नेपाली गीतले सम्बोधन गर्न सक्दैन ? स्पेनी वा अफ्रिकी वा मेक्सिकन गीत अरु भाषाका स्रोताले मन पराउन सक्छन् भने नेपाली गीत किन सक्दैनन् ?'

त्यसका लागि अहिले नेपाली कलाकारले गरिरहेजस्तो विदेशमा रहेका नेपालीमाझ सानोतिनो कार्यक्रम होइन, असल प्रबन्ध गरी गुणस्तरीय संगीत कार्यक्रम गर्नुपर्नेछ र साँच्चै त्यसको समय आएको छ । त्यो समय आयो भन्नु एउटा चुनौतिबोध हो । र त्यस्तो बोध गर्ने व्यक्तिहरू समाजका स्वप्नजीवि हुन् । 'तपाईंहरूको सपनाले मलाई आफ्नो मातृभूमिप्रति हौसला जगाएको छ,' लगानीको क्षेत्र खोज्ने निहुँमा धेरै वर्षपछि घर फर्केका एकजना सम्पन्न गैर आवासीय नेपालीले भने- 'नेपालमा पनि ठूला

सपना देख्ने तन्नेरी छन् भन्ने थाहा पाउँदा मेरो हौसला दोब्बर भएको छ ।'

किरणले यस्तो महत्वाकांक्षी प्रस्ताव त्यो पनि यस्तो बेला गरिरहेका छन् जतिबेला मुलुक भण्डै साढे दुई सय वर्ष लामो आफ्नो इतिहासमा सबैभन्दा कठोर चुनौतिको घेराबन्दीमा परेको छ । आठ वर्षदेखि देशमा चलिरहेको द्वन्द्वले नागरिकहरूमा पारेको प्रभावमाझ पनि देशमा यस्ता प्रबुद्ध व्यक्तिहरू प्रशस्त छन्, हरेक क्षेत्रमा, जो नेपाललाई जीवन र जागरण दिन चाहन्छन् ।

यस्तै नेपालीलाई हौसला दिन काठमाडौंमा भेला भएका थिए २५ वटा देशबाट दुई सय भन्दा बढी प्रवासी नेपाली । देश अभूतपूर्व रूपमा संकटमा फसेको बेला लगानीको वातावरण बनाइदेऊ भन्न ओइरिएका गैर आवासीय नेपालीले राजनीति, कानुनी व्यवस्था, प्रशासनतन्त्र, बजार, पर्यटनदेखि संस्कृतिसम्मका क्षेत्रमा भइरहेका गतिविधिको जानकारी लिए ।

आम नेपालीको मनमा उब्जेको थियो, राजनीतिक द्वन्द्वले यस्तो हिंसात्मक रूप लिइरहेको बेला लगानीको अवसर खोज्नु कति मुख्र्तापूर्ण ? तर के श्रीलंकामा दुई दशक लामो गृहयुद्धले आर्थिक गतिविधि रोक्को ? पर्यटन-शून्य अवस्था निम्त्यायो ?

'हामीकहाँ द्वन्द्व चलिरहेको छ, द्वन्द्व सिर्जना हुने कारणहरूमध्ये अवसरको अभाव पनि हो,' अधिल्लोपटक सरकार-माओवादी वार्ताका एक मुख्य सदस्य नारायणसिंह पुनले सम्मेलनमा भने- 'अवसरहरू सिर्जना गर्न लगानी बढाउन जरुरि छ । द्वन्द्व समाधान गर्न पनि लगानी गर्नुपर्छ ।'

'शान्ति भएपछि गरौंला भन्ने हो भने द्वन्द्व कहिले समाधान हुन्छ ?' उनले प्रश्न गरे ।

हामी अहिले हरेक दिन पत्रिका, टेलिभिजन र रेडियोमा भिडन्त, बेपत्ता र हत्याका अनगिन्ती समाचार दिइरहेका छौं । म काम गर्ने कान्तिपुर राष्ट्रिय दैनिकले सुरुतिर एकैजना प्रहरी वा माओवादीको हत्या पनि बडो कौतूहलवशः छापे गरेको थियो । त्यतिबेला मध्यपश्चिमका दुर्गम पहाडी भेगका घटनाले आम नेपालीलाई खासै चस्का पारेजस्तो देखिँदैनथ्यो । त्यतिबेला केही बुजुक र सत्ताधारीहरू त्यस्ता सानातिना घटनालाई राष्ट्रिय समाचार बनाउनु गलत हो भन्ने टिप्पणि गर्थे । जब द्वन्द्वले खरधारीको भित्कोको रूप लिँदै राजधानी र

# भेडाको ऊनजस्तो एउटा गीतको खोजीमा

- नारायण बाग्ले

**का**ठमाडौँ स्थित सोल्टी होटल इन काउन प्लाजाको पारिलो बगैँचामा चियापानको भिड छिचोल्दै एक तन्नेरी टाढैबाट हात हल्लाउँदै आए । 'हे गाइ,' उनले अनुहार उज्यालो पाउँ मलाई सोधे- 'भेडाको ऊनजस्तो....भन्ने डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म खेल्ने तपाईं नै होइन ?'

सुरेश ओझा आठ वर्षको उमेरमा अमेरिका गएका थिए । २५ वर्षपछि सूचना प्रविधिको पेशेवर भएर केही महिनाका लागि पहिलो पटक उनी आफ्नो मातृभूमि फर्केका थिए । अक्टोबर ११ मा सुरु भएको चार दिने 'पहिलो गैर आवासीय नेपाली सम्मेलनको टी-ब्रेकमा उनले भने- 'म आफ्नो संस्कृति बुझ्न पनि नेपाल आएको हुँ । तपाईंको फिल्म हेरेपछि मलाई दुईथरी कुत्कुती लाग्यो- नेपाली संगीत सुन्ने र पहाडतिर पदयात्रा गर्ने ।'

स्वभावतः उनी नेपाली भन्दा अंग्रेजी बुझ्ने र बोल्ने सजिलो मान्छन् । तर बाल्यकालका नेपाली दिनहरूले उनमा पारेको प्रभाव भन-भन जिउँदोजाग्दो भइरहेको उनको बोलीचालीबाट अनुभूति हुन्थ्यो । 'तपाईंहरूको फिल्म खिचिएकै क्षेत्रमा म ट्रेकिङ गर्ने विचार गर्दैछु,' उनले नेपाली र अंग्रेजी मिसाउँदै भने- 'तपाईंहरूले गरिरहेको कामको म प्रशंसा गर्न चाहिरहेको थिएँ ।'

'भेडाको ऊनजस्तो...एउटा गीतको खोजीमा' उत्साही युवक मित्र किरणकृष्ण श्रेष्ठले बनाएको एक घन्टा लामो डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म हो जसमा म एक प्रमुख पात्रका रूपमा चित्रित थिएँ । करिब बाह्र वर्षदेखि छापा पत्रकारिता गर्दै आएको यस लेखकलाई एउटा फिल्ममा देखेर एक गैर आवासीय नेपालीले गरेको प्रशंसाले अचम्भित तुल्यायो, विशेषगरी उनले प्रशंसा गर्न चाहेको 'हामीले गरिरहेको काम'को सन्दर्भले ।

हो यो डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्मले नेपालमा एउटा इतिहास बनाउन खोजिरहेको छ । यसका निर्माता 'इभेन्ट नेपाल'का किरणले

यसलाई काठमाडौँ लगायत देशका दश वटा शहरमा सार्वजनिक प्रदर्शन गर्ने तयारी गरिरहेका छन् । टिकट काटेर डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म हेर्ने दर्शक बनाउनुपर्छ भन्ने धारणा राखेर उनले राजधानीको जयनेपाल हलमा 'जति दिन चल्छ चलाउने' सूर कसिरहेका छन् । तिहारपछि यसको प्रदर्शन सुरु हुनेछ, राजधानीको त्यही हलबाट जहाँ दशैँअगाडि यसको प्रथम प्रदर्शन भएको थियो जसमा ओझाजस्ता पाँच सय दर्शकले ताली पिटएका थिए ।

दक्षिण एशियाली डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म महोत्सवको आखिरी चलचित्रका रूपमा समापन समारोहसँगै त्यसलाई प्रस्तुत गरिएको थियो र नेपालमा पहिलोपटक एउटा डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म सिनेमाघरमा चलाइएको थियो ।

तर ओझाले प्रशंसा गर्न चाहिरहेको विषय थियो एउटा गीतको खोजीका लागि गरिएको प्रयत्न । यो फिल्मले नेपालमा पर्याप्त चर्चा पाउनुको एउटा कारण थियो यसले बनाउन खोजेको गोरेटो- संगीतको खोजी । विशेषगरी लोकसंगीत । नेपालका अनगिन्ती भीरपाखा, हिमाल पारि र वारि अनि मधेशका गाउँघरमा 'रेडियो संगीत'को चर्को प्रभावमा पनि बाँचिरहेका भाका र भावना संकलन गर्ने जुगुप्त्सा ।

मैले आठ वर्षअघि लाइटाइड क्षेत्र भ्रमणका क्रममा सुनेको स्थानीय भाकामा आधारित एउटा गीत काठमाडौँमा साथीभाइमाझ गुन्गुनाउने गरेको थिएँ । लोकभाकाको मौलिक स्वाद कायम राखी गीतलाई आधुनिकिकरण गर्न माहिर हुँदै आएका 'नेपथ्य'का अमृत गुरुङलाई त्यो गीत गाउन दिने इच्छा जाग्यो । एक दिन उनले भने- 'लय मीठो छ, म गाउँछु, तिम्रो गीत कहिले लेखिदिन्छौ ?'

मैले एउटा शर्त राखें- स्थानीय गायक/गायिका भेट्ने । भेडाको ऊनजस्तो...गीत गाउने लाइटाइडका चौरी गोठालाहरू भेटेर यसको मर्म बुझ्ने प्रस्ताव गरेपछि उनले एक दिन मौका निकाले । आगामी एल्बमको

# SOUTH EAST

Pain & Injury Relief Center, LLC

*Happy New Year*

*Anjali Jain, M.D., Medical Director*

A Multi-disciplinary treatment team specializing in the care of injured individuals with rehabilitation and pain and management.

## Our interdisciplinary tem will:

- Provide the highest quality rehabilitative and preventive service
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- Assure that all the individuals reach their highest functional level, thus enhancing the over -all quality of life.



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शहरहरूलाई छोयो, मध्यमवर्गीय नागरिकको जीवन खल्वलिन थालेपछि अहिले निराशा र उदासिनता हाम्रो समाजका रोग हुन पुगेका छन् ।

‘राम्रो काम गर्ने ठाउँ छ, तपाईंहरू निश्चिन्त भएर आए हुन्छ,’ पर्यटनविद् कर्ण शाक्यले सम्मेलनको एक अर्को सत्रलाई सम्बोधन गर्दै देशको संकट पार लगाउन सकिने विश्वास व्यक्त गर्दै भने- ‘मैले नेपाल भ्रमण वर्ष, १९९८ को आयोजक समितिको संयोजक भएर पाँच वर्ष काम गर्दा छ जना प्रधानमन्त्री फेरिए र (पर्यटन) मन्त्री नौ जना आए । तर मलाई काम गर्न कहिल्यै समस्या भएन ।’

काम गर्न चाहनेहरूलाई खास समस्या छैन भन्ने सकारात्मक सोचाइधारी शाक्य यस्ता एउटै नेपाली होइनन् । सम्मेलनका सहभागीहरू केही यस्ता सपना र सकारात्मक धारणा भएका स्थायी नेपालवासीसूग प्रभावित देखिन्थे । गैर आवासीय नेपालीहरूको पहिलो सम्मेलन यस्तो बेला भएको थियो जतिबेला जो पनि नेपालमा लगानी गर्ने वातावरणमाथि प्रशस्त खोट देखाउनसक्छ । किनभने अहिले नेपाल संकटमा छ । तर सहभागी प्रवासी नेपालीहरूले चार दिन लामो सम्मेलनका क्रममा आफू सक्दो सहयोग गर्ने वचन दिएर केही राहत फैल्याए ।

‘म जनकपुरमा जन्में, वयलगाडामा चढ्थे, अहिले अमेरिकामा मोटर चढ्छु,’ सम्मेलनलाई सम्बोधन गर्दै संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाबाट ‘भिसा’ लिएर आएको मीना गिरीले भनिन्- ‘तर म नेपाली हुँ ।’

गिरीको अनुभवमा विदेशमा भ्रमण गर्दा आफ्नो संस्कृतिको सम्झना हुन्छ । रीतिरिवाजहरू विदेशमा बस्ने नेपाली भुल्न चाहँदैनन् । त्यो तिनीहरूको पहिचान हो । ‘यो सम्मेलनमा आएपछि थाहा भयो हामी नेपाली विश्वभरि छरिएका रहेछौं,’ उनले भावपूर्ण स्वरमा भनिन्- ‘हामी चारैतिर छरिएर नेपाललाई चारैतिर छरिरहेका रहेछौं ।’ ‘संस्कृतिले हामीलाई बाँधेको हुन्छ,’ सोल्टी समूहका अध्यक्ष प्रभाकरशमशेर राणाले देश र विदेश जहाँ बसे पनि नेपाली भिन्न छैनन् भन्ने दृष्टान्त दिने क्रममा भने । उनको तर्क अढाइ दशकपछि नेपाल फर्केका तन्नेरी ओझाको हार्दिक भावनामा झल्किन्थ्यो । ‘म आफ्नो संस्कृति बुझ्न नेपाल आएको हुँ,’ उनले भनेका थिए- ‘त्यसैका लागि म तपाईंहरूले डकुमेन्ट्री फिल्म खिचेको पहाड घुम्न जान्छु । ताकि म भोलि अमेरिका फर्किँदा नेपालको संस्कृति केही बुझेर जान सकुंला ।’

## दर्शन र देश



विक्रम सुब्बा, काठमाडौं

बन्दुक धेरै भुकेकोले कागहरू  
अचेल गाउँ-घरतिर आउँछ छोडेकाछन्  
यसपाली त कागको तस्वीरै राखेर  
काग-पूजा गर्ने तरिका छोरीलाई सिकाउनु पर्ला

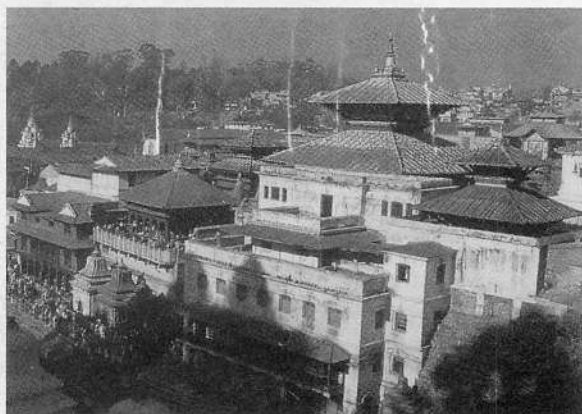
वर्षौं भइसक्यो वस्तुभाउहरू गोठमा  
असुरक्षाको नून-पानी खाएर दुब्लाएकाछन्  
कोरली-बाच्छीहरू बम-गोलाले सोत्तर भएकाछन्  
यसपाली त गाईको नक्सामै पूजा गर्नु पर्ला

दर्शन आइसक्यो केही गन्या छैन, ज्यान जोगाउँछे फुसद  
छैन...

हेडमाष्टरको कुर्सि छेउमा अपहरणका छाँया ड्यूटीमा  
बस्छन्

वेरोजगार मृत्यु, मर्निडवाकमा सवेरै भेटिन्छ  
चूलाहरूमा त्रासका आगोले खानेकुराहरू पाक्दैछन्  
देशवासीहरू हो ! होसियार !!

अचेल मुलुकको लम्पसार मानचित्रको शीरमा  
नयाँ नयाँ शिर्षकहरू दाउ खोज्दै घुमिरहेछन्  
दर्शन त गएपनि वर्षदिन पछि फेरि आउला  
तर एक चोटि कतै गएपछि फर्केर आउँछैन देश ।



“पशुपतिनाथले हामी सबैलाई कल्याण गरुन”

युद्धविराम भंग गर्नु ठीक ठानेन । यो विन्दुमा वार्ता भंग नगरेपछि माओवादी नेतृत्वले कमसेकम पाँच पार्टीको भाद्र १८ गतेको आन्दोलन सम्पन्न हुन दिनु पर्थ्यो ।

उत्ता सत्तापक्षले आफ्नो अवधारणा पत्रमा राजनैतिक एजेण्डामा परिमार्जन सम्भव छ भनेर भनिसकेपछि तुरुन्तै चौथो चरणको वार्तामा आएर एकपटक त्यो परिमार्जन भनेको के हो ? ठोस रुपमा स्पष्ट पार्नदिनु पनि जरुरी थियो । साथै आफ्नो संविधानसभाको अडानको औचित्य के हो ? संविधानसभाको स्वरूप के हो ? त्यसको गठन-विधि के हो ? कुन कुन गठन-विधि र संविधानसभाको रुप माओवादीको निम्ति मान्य हुनसक्छ ?- त्यो पनि वार्ताको टेबुलमा र जनसमक्ष स्पष्ट पारिदिनु जरुरी थियो । यदि यी जम्मै कुरा राखिसकेर पनि सत्तापक्ष त्यसमा लचिलो नदेखिएमा वा उसको परिमार्जनको प्रस्तावमा आफ्नो चित्त नबुझेमा पहिलेजस्तै १०-१५ दिनको निश्चित अवधि तोकेर भाद्र १८ गतेपछिको कुनै दिनको अल्टिमेटम दिएको भए यसबाट आफ्नो प्रस्तावको पक्षमा प्रशस्त देशव्यापी जनदवाव सिर्जना गर्ने अवसर माओवादीलाई प्राप्त हुन्थ्यो । त्यसपछि सिर्जना हुने परिस्थितिसमेतको मूल्यांकन गर्दै चित्तबुझ्दो निकास नभेट्नाको कारणले वार्ता र युद्धविराम भंग गर्नुपर्ने नै भए अर्को उपयुक्त विन्दु निर्धारण गर्न सक्थ्यो । यसो गर्न उसले केवल दश-पन्ध्र दिनमात्र पर्खे पुरथ्यो ।

कुनै पनि जनमुखी शक्तिले देश र जनताको भविष्य र जीवनमा व्यापक र दूरगामी असर पर्ने निर्णय गर्नु अगाडि लचिलो भएर निर्णायक र अन्तिम घडीमा आमजनतालाई आफ्नो हितअनुकूलको विकल्पमा जनदवाव सिर्जना गर्न अवसर र समय उपलब्ध गराउनुपर्छ । त्यो नै जननीति हो । तर खोइ त निर्णायक घडीमा माओवादी नेतृत्वबाट यो जननीतिको अवलम्बन भएको ? वार्ता र युद्धविराम भंग भएपछि देशमा अहिले जुन प्रकारको गृहयुद्ध थालिदैछ, त्यो पहिलेको भन्दा निकै भीषण र विनाशकारी हुने निश्चित छ । यो गृहयुद्धको क्रममा खालि नेपालको राजनीति र अर्थनीतिको पूर्ण सैनिकीकरणमात्र हुनेछैन, नेपालमा विदेशी चलखेल पनि उदाउँने सम्भावना पनि छ । यो सम्भावनासाग जुध्न कुनै पनि जनपक्षीय शक्तिसाग साथमा हुनुपर्ने सबैभन्दा बलियो हतियार भनेको व्यापक जनसमर्थन र दरिलो जनमत नै हो । तर माओवादी नेतृत्वले अहिले जुन ढंगले र जुन समयमा एकोहोरो हठका साथ युद्धविराम र वार्ता भंग गर्ने घोषणा भएको छ, त्यसले व्यापक जनसमर्थन र दरिलो जनमत जुटाउने देखिदैन । यसमा त्यसैले माओवादीको तर्फबाट भूल भएको देखिन्छ ।

### सत्तापक्षको मुख्य दोष

तर अहिले जुन ढंगले शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविराम टुटेको छ, त्यसको लागि मुख्य दोषी भने सत्तापक्ष नै देखिन्छ । दुई

वर्षअगाडि जुन सवालमा वार्ताको हलो अड्किएको थियो, यसपटक पनि ठीक त्यही सवालमा वार्ताको हलो अड्किनाले शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविराम भंग भएको छ । त्यो सवाल हो- संविधानसभाको सवाल । अर्थात् अर्को भाषामा भन्नुपर्दा संविधानसभाको सवाल भनेको सारमा नेपाली जनतालाई पूर्ण रूपले प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न हुनदिने कि नदिने भन्ने सवाल हो । संविधान सभा भनेको अबको राज्यव्यवस्था कस्तो हुने ? त्यो राज्यव्यवस्थामा कसको अधिकार के कति हुने ? - यी सवालमा प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न भनिएका जनतालाई नै फैसला गर्न दिनेगरी जनता आफैले चुनेका प्रतिनिधिले आफ्नो निम्ति आफैले संविधान बनाउने सवाल हो । यो सवालमा सत्तापक्ष यसपटक पनि परार सालजस्तै प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न जनताले आफ्नो संविधान आफै बनाउने सिद्धान्तको विरुद्धमा खडा भयो । जबकि उसले पेश गरेको अवधारणा-पत्रमा भने 'जनतामा निहित सार्वभौमसत्ता'लाई नेपालको भावी राज्य व्यवस्थाको 'अपरिहार्य आधार' भनेर स्वीकार गरिएको छ । यो आपसमा बाझिने अन्तरविरोधी कुरा थियो । ऊ संविधानसभाको विषयमा केवल बहस गर्नमात्र सहमत भयो, संविधानसभाको निकास दिन सहमत भएन । अहिले आमजनताले उठाइरहेको आधारभूत सवाल के हो भने दुई वर्षअगाडिकै वार्ताको अनुभवबाट र माओवादीहरूको ताजा वक्तव्यहरूबाट वार्ताको हलो यसपटक पनि संविधानसभाकै सवालमा अड्किने पक्कापक्की हुँदाहुँदै त्यो हलो फुकाउने प्रस्ताव लिएर सत्तापक्षको वार्ता टोली किन प्रस्तुत भएन ? किन सत्तापक्ष त्यही प्रस्ताव लिएर वार्ताको टेबुलमा गयो, जसबाट वार्ता टुट्नसक्छ भनेर पहिले नै सुनिश्चित थियो ?

यसपटक सत्तापक्षबाट लिखित रुपमा आफ्नो अवधारणापत्र प्रस्तुत हुनु राम्रो कुरा थियो । अवधारणापत्रले यथास्थितिमा अब देश चल्नसक्दैन भनेर स्वीकार्नु पनि राम्रो कुरो थियो । तर सरकारी अवधारणापत्रको मुख्य दोष के थियो भने त्यसले न त माओवादी विद्रोहीहरूका मूलभूत मुद्दाहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्छ, न आन्दोलनकारी राजनीतिक दलहरूका मूलभूत मुद्दाहरूलाई ।

माओवादीको मूलभूत माग संविधानसभा थियो । अवधारणापत्रले गोलमेच सम्मेलन र अन्तरिम सरकारको माओवादी मागलाई स्वीकार्यो, तर त्यहीँसित अभिन्न तवरले जोडिएको आधारभूत माग- संविधानसभाको निर्वाचनलाई भने अस्वीकार गर्‍यो । अनि यसपाली पनि वार्ता टुट्नुको मुख्य कारण यही बन्यो, किनकि यो हातखुट्टा र जिउलाई स्वीकार, टाउकोलाई अस्वीकार गरेसरह भयो । अनि टाउको मागलाई नै अस्वीकार गरेपछि खालि हात खुट्टा र जिउमात्र भएको मुर्कटो माग स्वीकार्नुको के मतलब हुन्छ र ?

नयाँ संविधानमा जनमत संग्रहको प्रावधान राखिनुपर्ने र त्यसमार्फत् संविधानको कुनै पनि धारालाई परिवर्तन गर्न

# किन दुइयो वार्ता ? के छ केरि जोड्ने उपाय ?

- श्याम श्रेष्ठ

**आ**खिर ७ महिना लामो राज्य-माओवादी वार्ता प्रक्रिया दाङ्गको हापुरेमा सम्पन्न तेस्रो चरणको वार्तापछि, चौथो शुरु नहुदै भदौको दोस्रो साता टुटेको छ । जनअपेक्षाविपरीत पहिलेजस्तै अहिले पनि वार्ता र युद्धविराम टुटेको घोषणा माओवादी पक्षबाटै भएको छ । 'हाम्रो पार्टी पुरानो सत्तापक्षले मुखमा रामराम बगलीमा छुराको शैलीमा वर्तमान युद्धविराम र वार्ताबाट अग्रगामी निकासको संभावनालाई अन्त्य गरेकोले तत्कालका लागि ऊसागको युद्धविराम, आचारसंहिता र वार्ताप्रक्रियाको औचित्य समाप्त भएको तथ्य स्पष्ट गर्न चाहन्छ', माओवादी अध्यक्ष प्रचण्डले यो सारको वक्तव्य इन्टरनेटमार्फत् भाद्र १० गते जारी गरेपछि, माघ १५ गते युद्धविरामको घोषणाद्वारा थालिएको वार्ता र शान्तिप्रक्रिया हठात् टुट्न पुगेको हो । यो टुटाइबाट सर्वसाधारण जनताहरु औधी निराश भएका छन् । देशभरि चिन्ता र खिन्नता छाएको छ ।

## माओवादीका भूलहरु

हतारोमा शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविराम भंग भएको घोषणा माओवादीले गरेर यसपालि पनि भूल गरे । देशव्यापी रुपमा संविधानसभाको पक्षमा जनमत बनिरहेको स्थिति थियो । हिजोसम्म कल्पना नै नगरिएका उद्योगपति, बुद्धिजीवी र नागरिक समाजका सदस्यहरु धमाधम संविधानसभाको पक्षमा खडा भइरहेका थिए । संविधानसभा देशभित्र सरकारी र गैरसरकारी सबै संचारमाध्यममा प्रमुख बहसको विषय बनिरहेको स्थिति थियो । संभावित गृहयुद्ध र संविधानसभामध्ये कुन रोज्ने भन्ने सवालमा एउटा रोज्नु पर्दा शान्तिप्रेमी र प्रगतिप्रेमी धेरै मान्छेहरु संभवतः संविधानसभाको पक्षमा नै खडा हुन्थे । उता भाद्र १८ गते पाँच आन्दोलनकारी राजनीतिक दलहरुले प्रतिगमनविरुद्ध 'निर्णायक' आन्दोलनको तयारी गरिरहेका थिए । यो आन्दोलन सारमा सक्रिय राजसंस्थाविरोधी आन्दोलन नै थियो । तसर्थ यो आन्दोलन सफल हुनु पनि माओवादीकै हितको कुरो थियो । राज्यले त्यसमाथि भीषण दमन गरीहालेपनि त्यो दमनले स्वभावतः राजनीतिक दलहरुलाई माओवादीकै नजिक ल्याउँथ्यो । इच्छा नभए पनि परिस्थितिले दुईबीचको एकतालाई अपरिहार्य बनाउँथ्यो । तर माओवादी नेतृत्वले देशमा तीव्र गतिले

आफ्नो एजेण्डाको पक्ष र अनुकूलतामा बदलिरहेको जनमत तथा समय र परिवेशलाई ध्यानमा राखेको देखिएन । खालि एकोहोरो रुपमा फौजी फाइदा-वेफाइदालाई मात्र ध्यानमा राखेर उसले भाद्र १० गते शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविरामको औचित्य समाप्त भएको घोषणा गर्‍यो । नागरिक समाज र सहजकर्ताहरुले उसलाई वार्ता भंग भएतापनि युद्धविराम तत्काल भंग नगर्न वेलैमा सुझाव नदिएका होइनन् । तर कसैको कुरा पनि माओवादी नेतृत्वले सुनेको देखिएन ।

यो घटनाले के देखाएको छ भने माओवादी नेतृत्वमा अझै पनि सैन्यवादी चिन्तन हावी छ । देशमा जनमतको यथार्थ स्थिति के छ ? बहुसंख्यक जनताहरुको चाहना र भुकाव कतातिर गइरहेको छ ? तत्कालीन समय र परिवेशमा के गर्दा व्यापक जनमत र जनसमर्थन आफ्नो पक्षमा आउँछ, मुख्य प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्ति एकिलन्छ र परास्त हुन्छ अनि देश, जनता र क्रान्तिको ज्यादा हित हुन्छ ? यी सवालहरुमा निर्णायक घडीमा माओवादी नेतृत्वले खास प्राथमिकता र ध्यान दिइरहेको देखिन्न । मुख्य रुपमा सैनिक दृष्टिकोणले के गर्दा पार्टीलाई ज्यादा फाइदाजनक हुन्छ ? के गर्दा फौजी हिसाबले पार्टीलाई ज्यादा लाभ हुन्छ ? - केवल यही कोणबाट विचार गरेर माओवादी नेतृत्वले शान्तिवार्ता प्रक्रियालाई निरन्तरता दिनेकि नदिने भन्ने कुराको फैसला गरिरहेको देखिएको छ । जनमत र जनसमर्थनको पक्षलाई वेवास्ता गर्ने, बदलादो समय र परिवेशलाई वेवास्ता गर्ने, खालि सैन्य हिसाबले हुने फाइदा वेफाइदामा मात्र ज्यादा प्राथमिकता र ध्यान दिने यही सोच सैन्यवादी चिन्तन हो । यसपालिको शान्तिवार्ता प्रक्रिया भंग गर्नुको पछाडि पनि माओवादी नेतृत्वमा विद्यमान यही सैन्यवादी चिन्तनले ज्यादा काम गरेको छ ।

यदि वार्ता भंग गर्नु नै थियो भने यसका लागि उपयुक्त समय सुरक्षा निकायले रामेछाप दोरम्बामा बैठकमा बसिरहेका माओवादीहरुलाई ठूलो संख्यामा विभत्स ढंगले हत्या गरेको बिन्दु थियो । त्यो सवालमा माओवादीबाट वार्ता भंग भएको भए देशका बहुसंख्यक शान्तिकामी जनताले सहज तरिकाले बुझ्थे कि माओवादीहरु शान्तिवार्तामा आइरहेका बेला राज्यको तर्फबाट एकतर्फी रुपमा युद्धविराम भंग भएको र उसमाथि अति नै ज्यादाती भएको हुनाले नै शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविराम टुटेको हो । तर माओवादीले यो उपयुक्त बिन्दुमा वार्ता र



निर्णायक तयारी गर्दैछु भन्ने डर । सुरक्षा निकायको सुभावमा त्यसको लागि थोरै समय अपर्याप्त भएकाले त्यो समय चोर्न मात्र सरकार वार्ताको समय लम्ब्याउदैछु भन्ने सूचनामा आधारित माओवादी पक्षको विश्लेषण र त्यसबाट सिर्जित डर ।

यो डर आधारहीन पनि थिएन । यसबीच सेनालाई ५२ हजारबाट ७५ हजार पुर्‍याउनु, सैनिक अपरेशनका लागि कमाण्डो तालिम प्राप्त स्पेशल फोर्स निर्माण गर्नु, बेल्जियमबाट मिनिमि र अमेरिकाबाट एम-१६ जस्ता अत्याधुनिक हतियार ठूलो संख्यामा थप्नु, आधा दर्जनभन्दा कमबाट हेलिकोप्टरको संख्या १४ वटा पुर्‍याउनु, शायी अमेरिकी सैन्य सल्लाहकारलाई नेपाल भित्र्याउनु र अमेरिकसित 'आतंकवादविरोधी' संझौता गर्नु जस्ता कार्यहरु यसबीच सत्तापक्षले गरेको जगजाहेर छ । युद्धविरामकै अवधिमा पनि सत्तापक्षको सेना परिचालन र आक्रमण उदांगो रुपमा जारी रह्यो, जसबाट माओवादी अनाक्रमणको स्थितिमा चूप लागेर बसेको अवधिमा पनि दर्जनौं माओवादी मारिए । यसैबाट सिर्जित डरका कारणले वार्ता लम्ब्याउनु आत्मघातक हुने धारणा र सकेसम्म छिटो वार्ता सिध्याउने हतारो माओवादी वार्ता टोलीमा पैदा भइरहेको देखिन्छ । सत्तापक्षको भूल केमा भयो भने उसले टेबुल वार्ताअधि माओवादीमा विद्यमान यो डरलाई बेलैमा सम्बोधन गर्ने र आपसमा विश्वासको स्थिति निर्माण गर्ने कार्य गरेन । टेबुल वार्ता सफल हुनको लागि आपसी विश्वासको निर्माण सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण आधारभूमि हुनेहुन्छ । यही आधारभूमि तेस्रो चरणको वार्ताको क्रममा विद्यमान थिएन । माओवादीविरुद्ध परिलक्षित सेना परिचालन, आक्रमण-हत्या पूर्णतया रोकेर, सेना र हतियार वृद्धि रोकेर, आफूले उनीहरुमाथि पहिलो आक्रमण कदापि नगर्ने प्रत्याभूति दिएर र युद्धविराम आचारसंहिता र वार्ताका निर्णयहरु अक्षरशः कार्यान्वयन गरेर यो डरलाई सम्बोधन गर्नसकिन्थ्यो । आफूले माओवादीको डर संबोधन गरेपछि माओवादीबाट आफ्नो डर संबोधन गर्ने माग गर्न सकिन्थ्यो । तर सरकारले यी कार्यहरु गर्न सकेन । अन्तिम घडीमा केही निर्णय कार्यान्वयन गरिए, त्यो पनि ठूलो जनदवाव र माओवादीले अल्टीमेटम दिएपछि मात्र ।

फलस्वरुप राज्यपक्ष-माओवादी वार्तामा प्रमुख समस्याको रुपमा उनीहरुबीच विद्यमान चर्को विश्वासको संकट देखियो । वार्तामा कुरा मिल्नका लागि सर्वप्रथम विश्वासको संकट निवारण गर्ने कार्य गरिनुपर्थ्यो । ती कार्यहरु सरकारी वार्ता टोलीबाट भएनन्, न त माओवादी वार्ता टोलीबाट भयो । अझ वार्ता चलिरहादा भएको दोरम्बा हत्या-काण्डले विश्वासको संकटलाई चरमचुलीमा पुर्‍यायो । सरकारको समस्या के देखापरेको भने- सुरक्षा निकाय उसको कन्ट्रोलमा देखिएन । राजनीति बन्दूकको सामु ज्यादै निरीह

देखापरेको । वार्ता विफल हुनुको दोस्रो प्रमुख कारण यही थियो ।

## पार्टीहरुको भूल

सत्तापक्षसित माओवादीको वार्ता भंग भएतापनि आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरुसाग माओवादीको न्यूनतम समझदारी र सहकार्य संभव भएको भए- माओवादीहरु जंगल तर्फर्कने प्रबल संभावना हुन्थ्यो । तर प्रमुख राजनीतिक दलहरु माओवादीसाग मिलेर संयुक्त आन्दोलन गर्ने मामिलामा अत्यन्त संकीर्ण र आत्मकेन्द्रित भइदिए । लोकतन्त्रका थुप्रै आधारभूत अन्तर्वस्तुमा उनीहरुबीच समान धारणा हुँदाहुँदै पनि उनीहरु यो प्राप्त गर्ने प्रक्रियाको मामिलामा माओवादीलाई पनि स्वीकार्य हुने अग्रगामी निकास दिन पटककै तयार देखिएनन् । संविधान संशोधन माओवादीलाई पटककै स्वीकार्य हुनसक्दैन भन्ने कुरा लामो समयदेखि स्पष्ट हुँदाहुँदै पनि उनीहरु संविधान संशोधनभन्दा अगाडि बढ्न सहमत भएनन् । आन्दोलनरत प्रमुख दुई राजनीतिक दलहरु नेपाली कांग्रेस र नेकपा (एमाले) नया संविधान निर्माण गर्न तयार नहुने र संविधान संशोधनको बाटो जान माओवादीहरु

तयार नहुने माओवादीहरु यो संविधान र संसद्को दायराभित्र छिर्ने नखोज्ने, आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरु यो संविधान र संसद्मा नटेकी अगाडि बढ्ने नसक्ने- यी दुईथरीको यिनै अन्तरविरोधी अडानहरुले गर्दा दुईबीच साझा न्यूनतम समझदारी र सहकार्य संभव हुनसकेन । यो विभेदबाट अधिकतम फाइदा सत्तापक्षले उठायो । फलस्वरुप, वार्ता र सडक आन्दोलन दुवै सफल हुन सकेनन् ।

शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलनबाटै सम्पूर्ण सामाजिक परिवर्तन संभव छ भनेर धारणा राख्ने पाँच राजनीतिक दलहरुले माओवादी स्वयं पनि हिंसात्मक आन्दोलनको बाटो तत्कालकाल लागि स्थगित गरेर शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलनमा आउँछु भनेर तत्परता देखाउँदा संयुक्त आन्दोलनमा उनीहरुलाई भित्र्याउन अस्वीकार गर्नु उनीहरुको ठूलो भूल थियो । यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा 'पहिले हतियार बुझाऊ अनि आन्दोलनमा भित्र्याउँला' भन्ने उनीहरुमध्ये प्रमुख ठूला पार्टीहरुको प्रत्युत्तर त अत्यन्त गैरजिम्मेवार थियो । तेस्रो चरणको वार्ताको पूर्वसन्ध्यामा कांग्रेस सभापति गिरिजाप्रसाद कोइरालाले माओवादीसित नया संविधान निर्माणको सवालमा सत्तापक्षले सहमति जनाएमा 'आफूले गणतन्त्रको बाटो समात्ने' धम्कीसमेत सार्वजनिक गरेको यहाँनेर स्मरणीय छ । तेस्रो चरणको वार्ता संकटग्रस्त भइरहेको समयमा माओवादीले जनमोर्चा, नेपालमार्फत् आन्दोलनरत पाँचवटा राजनीतिक दलहरुसाग सहकार्य संभव छ कि भन्नका लागि समेत संयुक्त भेटघाटको माग गरेको, तर ती दलहरुले त्यस्तो भेटघाटलाई समेत अस्वीकार गरेको घटना पनि यहाँनेर उल्लेखनीय छ ।

सकिने व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्ने अर्को मुख्य माग पनि माओवादीको थियो । नेपाली जनता जनमत संग्रहको यो व्यवस्थाबाट पूर्ण प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न हुन्छन् भन्ने उसको धारणा थियो । उसले सेनालाई निर्वाचित जनप्रतिनिधिसभा र सरकारको मातहत राख्नुपर्ने मागलाई पनि ठूलो महत्वका साथ उठाएको थियो । परन्तु सरकारी अवधारणापत्रमा माओवादीका यी तीनवटै आधारभूत मागहरूलाई स्वीकार गरिएको थिएन । अवधारणापत्रले शब्द संवैधानिक राजतन्त्रको रोजेतापनि सारमा सक्रिय राजतन्त्र र प्रतिगमनलाई नै ढाकछोप गर्ने र चिरकालपर्यन्त निरन्तरता दिने प्रयत्न गरेको थियो । यसले जनताको प्रभुसत्तालाई सीमित र खण्डित गर्ने कोसिस गरेको थियो, किनकि यसमा सार्वभौम जनताले चाहेको कुनै पनि विषयमा जनमत संग्रह गर्न सकिने व्यवस्था होइन, 'निर्धारित विषयमा बाहेक' अरु विषयमा मात्र जनमत संग्रह गर्न सकिने नया व्यवस्थाको प्रस्ताव अधि सारिएको थियो ।

यो अवधारणापत्रमा माओवादीका लागि अत्यन्त अस्वीकार्य र आपत्तिजनक हुने अर्को माग राजनीतिक सहमति हुनुअघि नै सरकारलाई हतियार सुम्पनु पर्ने माग थियो । माओवादीको निम्ति यो भनेको अर्को भाषामा राजनीतिक आत्मसमर्पण गर भनेसरह भयो । यो मागले उनीहरूलाई ज्यादै आक्रोशित पारेको देखियो । अवधारणापत्र पेश हुनासाथ यसलाई अमेरिका, बेलायत र भारतले अविलम्ब अन्धसमर्थन गर्नुले कतै यो उनीहरूकै निर्देशनमा तयार गरिएको कार्यपत्र त होइन भन्ने आशंका पनि स्वभावतः माओवादी पक्षमा पैदा गःयो ।

यता सडक आन्दोलनमा उत्रिरहेका राजनैतिक दलहरूको मुख्य मागलाई पनि यो अवधारणापत्रले सम्बोधन गरेको देखिएन । उनीहरूको मुख्य माग राजालाई वास्तविक अर्थमा संवैधानिक बनाउने, सेनालाई निर्वाचित सरकारको मातहत ल्याउने र जनमत संग्रहको व्यवस्थामार्फत् जनतालाई पूर्ण प्रभुसत्तासम्पन्न पार्ने थियो । तर अवधारणापत्रमा यी मागलाई अस्वीकार गरिएको छ । यसप्रकार तेस्रो चरणको वार्तामा राज्यपक्ष र माओवादी पक्षबीच कुनै राजनीतिक सहमति हुन नसक्नु र वार्ता भंग हुनुका पछाडि सरकारी अवधारणापत्रले राखेको यथास्थितिवादी सोच नै एउटा मुख्य कारणको रूपमा देखिन्छ । माओवादीले वार्ताको दौरानमा अधि सारेका मुख्य मागहरूमध्ये सबैभन्दा आधारभूत अर्थात् टाउको, मुटु र कलेजो मागलाई चाहिँ स्वीकार नगरी खालि हात, खुट्टा र बाहिरी शरीरजस्ता सहायक महत्वका मागलाई मात्र स्वीकार्ने खालको सरकारी अवधारणापत्र आउनु नै वार्ता टुट्नुको मुख्य कारण थियो ।

अवधारणापत्रले अधिकतम रूपमा संवैधानिक सुधार वा संविधानको पुनर्लेखनको प्रस्ताव अधि सारेको छ । संविधानको पुनर्लेखन पनि नया संविधानको लेखन नभएर

संविधानका खासखास भागको पुनर्लेखन भन्ने सत्तापक्षको आशय देखिन्छ । यो भनेको सारमा संविधान संशोधनजस्तै हो, जसमा माओवादी पक्ष सहमत हुने कुनै संभावना देखिन्न । अवधारणा पत्रले गोलमेच सम्मेलन, अन्तरिम सरकार र त्यसपछि ताजा प्रतिनिधिसभाको चुनावको प्रस्ताव अधिसारेको छ । त्यही प्रतिनिधिसभाले नयाँ संविधान निर्माण गर्नेछ भन्ने प्रस्तावमात्र सरकारी अवधारणापत्रले अधिसारेको भए पनि संभवतः वार्ता र युद्धविराम यति छिटो टुट्ने थिएन । यो माओवादीको निम्ति विचारणीय सवाल हुनजान्थ्यो, किनकि यसबाट कमसेकम सार्वभौम जनताबाट चुनिएका जनप्रतिनिधिले नयाँ संविधान निर्माण गर्ने सिद्धान्तलाई त राज्यपक्षले स्वीकारेको सन्देश जाने थियो ।

त्यसमाथि थप, वार्ता चलिरहेको समयमा भाद्र १ गते सुरक्षा निकायले रामेछापको दोरम्बामा बैठक बसिरहेका १७ जना निःहत्या माओवादीहरू र २ जना सर्वसाधारण जनतालाई नृशंस ढंगले हत्या गर्नुबाट माओवादी पक्ष अत्यन्त सशक्त भयो । यो घटनाले या त सुरक्षा निकाय सरकारको नियन्त्रणमा छैन, या सरकार वार्तामा दोहोरो व्यवहार गर्दैछ भन्ने संकेत गःयो । पहिले नै राज्यपक्षप्रति माओवादीको विश्वासको संकट चर्को रूपमा विद्यमान थियो । यो घटनाले त्यो संकटलाई चरम उत्कर्षमा पुःयायो । वार्ता भंग गर्ने विन्दुमा माओवादी पुगुका पछाडि वार्ताकै अवधिमा ठूलो संख्यामा निःहत्या माओवादी रामेछापमा मारिएको घटनाले एउटा महत्वपूर्ण तात्कालिक कारकतत्वको रूपमा भूमिका खेलेको देखिन्छ । वार्ता भंग गर्ने सम्बन्धी माओवादी अध्यक्षको भाद्र १० को वक्तव्यमा यसबारे कितान साथ उल्लेख गरिएको छ । त्यसमा भनिएको छ- 'जतिबेला तेस्रो चरणको वार्तामा ... बहस भइरहेको थियो, ठीक त्यति नै बेला रामेछापको दोरम्बामा एरिया कमिटीको बैठक गरिरहेका हाम्रा पार्टीका १७ जना निःहत्या कार्यकर्ता र २ जना सामान्य जनतालाई शाही सेनाले आफ्नो कब्जामा लिएर हात पछाडि बाधेर लाइन लगाई कत्लेआम गःयो । यसरी वस्तुतः तेस्रो चरणको वार्तामा प्रस्तुत पुरानो सत्तापक्षको 'अवधारणापत्र'ले राजनीतिक र, दोरम्बामा शाही सेनाले गरेको १९ जनाको नरसंहारले फौजी रूपमा वार्ता भंग भएको घोषणा गरे ।'

वार्ता एउटा जटिल प्रक्रिया हो । हतारोमा, एकाध बैठकबाट वारपार गर्ने ढंगले वार्ता सम्पन्न हुनसक्दैन । तर यसपटक माओवादी पक्ष तेस्रो चरणको वार्तामा निककै हतारोमा देखिन्थ्यो । ४-६ दिनसम्म लगातार बसेर भएपनि यसैपटक वार्ता टुंग्याइछोड्ने उनीहरूको आशय माओवादी वार्ता टोलीले सार्वजनिक रूपमा नै प्रकट गरिरहेको थियो ।

उसमा यो हतारोपन पैदा हुनुको मुख्य कारण थियो- राज्यपक्ष वार्ताको पर्दाभित्र माओवादीलाई देशी-विदेशी शक्तिहरूसँग मिलेर सैनिक उपायबाट दमन गरीछोड्ने

श्रृंखला अविलम्ब रोकिनु पर्दछ, अन्यथा दुवैतिर प्रतिशोधात्मक रुपमा उच्च पदाधिकारीको हत्या प्रक्रिया प्रारम्भ हुन सक्छ । यसले निकै छिटो विदेशी हस्तक्षेप निम्त्याउन पनि संभव छ । श्रीलंकामा जस्तै आत्महत्याकारी बम विष्फोटको नृशंस श्रृंखलातिर पनि यसले डोर्‍याउन संभव छ । अवको युद्धको प्रकृति हेर्दा माओवादीहरु आफ्नो वर्तमान राजनैतिक वार्गनिङ्ग क्षमतामा उल्लेखनीय अभिवृद्धिको उद्देश्य राखेर व्यक्ति हत्या, ग्रामीण छापामार संघर्ष र शहरी छापामार संघर्षको संयोजन र तालमेलतिर ज्यादा उन्मुख देखिन्छन् । उनीहरु आमविद्रोहको तैयारीअन्तर्गत यतिबेला रणनीतिक प्रत्याक्रमको रणनीति अवलम्बन गरिरहेछन् । यो रणनीतिअन्तर्गतको पहिलो चरणको विकेन्द्रित आक्रमणको योजना भएरै 'सफलतापूर्वक' सिद्धिएको बताइएको छ । अब विकेन्द्रित कार्यवाहीहरुलाई फेरि पनि जारी राख्दै ठूला केन्द्रित कार्यवाहीहरु गर्ने माओवादी योजना भएको बुझिएको छ । यसले अभूतपूर्व नरसंहार र व्यक्तिहत्याको श्रृंखला शुरु गर्ने संभावना छ । पहिलो चरणको भण्डै दुई महिनाको विकेन्द्रित कार्यवाहीबाट पहाडी क्षेत्रमात्र होइन, सम्पूर्ण मधेश अर्थात् तराई क्षेत्र आफ्नो प्रभाव वा प्रभुत्वमा आइसकेको माओवादी नेतृत्वको दावी छ ।

सत्तापक्षचाहिँ उन्नत हतियार र संशोधनको आधारमा माओवादीको सैन्य शक्तिमा र नेतृत्वदायी पंक्तिमा उल्लेखनीय क्षति पुर्‍याउने उद्देश्यबाट प्रेरित भएर एसेसिनेशन, स्विप अपरेसन र मनोवैज्ञानिक अपरेसन र माओवादी प्रभावित क्षेत्रमा सुधार गतिविधि संचालन गर्ने सुरतालमा देखिन्छ । सत्ता पक्षको सैन्य आक्रमणको मुख्य उद्देश्य सके विद्रोहीलाई सिध्याउनु, नसके माओवादीको वार्गनिङ्ग क्षमतामा उल्लेखनीय क्षति पुर्‍याउनु देखिन्छ । यसबीच सरकारी सेनाले ठूलो संख्यामा माओवादी सैन्य शक्तिलाई सिध्याएको र माओवादीहरु रक्षात्मक स्थितिमा पुगेको दावी सरकारले गरेको छ । कुसुम र भालुवाङ्गमा यस्तो क्षति भएको पनि देखिएको छ । तर अन्यत्रका उसका दावीहरु निराधार देखिन्छन् । कुनै पनि स्वतन्त्र स्रोतहरुबाट तिनीहरुको पुष्टि हुनसकेको छैन । माओवादीका नाममा मारिएका ज्यादाजसो मानिसहरु युद्धमा सामेल नै नभएका निःहत्या निर्दोष नागरिकहरु देखिएका छन् ।

विगत दुई महिनामा भएका सशस्त्र कार्यवाहीहरुमा माओवादीका तर्फबाट पनि काफी धेरै ज्यादतीहरु भएको पाइएको छ । ज्यादै अमानवीय र विभत्स ढंगले व्यक्ति-हत्या सम्पन्न गर्नु, जबरजस्ती चन्दा उठाउनु, भने जति चन्दा नदिएकै भएमा वा आफूलाई राजनीतिक समर्थन नगरेकै भएमा मानिसहरुलाई गाउँ निकाला गर्नु वा अपहरण गर्नु ग्रामीण क्षेत्रका पछिछेति जनताले हजारौं वर्षपछि बल्ल बल्ल हासिल गरेका विकास-निर्माणका पूर्वाधारहरु विवेकहीन ढंगले ध्वंश गर्नु उनीहरुका मुख्य ज्यादतीहरु हुन् । हालै असोजको

अन्त्यतिर बसेको पोलिटव्यूरो बैठकले, व्यापक जनविरोध र जनदवावपछि, आफ्ना यी ज्यादतीहरुलाई ज्यादतीहका रुपमा स्वीकारेको छ । र, अब यस्ता काम-कारवाही नगर्ने कबोल गरेको छ । तर अझै ज्यादतीहरु रोकिएका भने छैनन्, थोरै कममात्र भएका छन् ।

राज्यको तर्फबाट भएका ज्यादतीहरु माओवादीका भन्दा पनि निर्मम र व्यापक देखा परेका छन् । माओवादीका नाममा जथाभावी ढंगले निःहत्या नागरिकहरुको हत्या गर्नु, विनाकारण र विनावारेन्ट निर्दोष नागरिकहरुको गिरफ्तारी गर्नु र बेपत्ता पार्नु, अदालती कार्यवाहीबिना नै हिरासतमै चरम अमानवीय यातनाद्वारा बन्दीहरुको गैर-न्यायधिक हत्या गर्नु, गाउँका गाउँ बस्तीहरु आगो लगाएर भष्म पार्नु, महिलाहरुलाई बलात्कार गर्नु, पत्रकारहरुलाई गिरफ्तार गरेर बेपत्ता पार्नु अहिले राज्यको तर्फबाट भइरहेको आमज्यादतीहरु हुन् । ठूलो जनविरोध र जनदवावका बावजूद राज्यले यी ज्यादतीहरुलाई सकारेको वा कम गरेको छैन ।

अवको गृहयुद्धमा विदेशी हस्तक्षेप- विशेषतः अमेरिकी-बेलायती हस्तक्षेप टड्कारो भएको छ । भारतको सहमतिबिना उनीहरु यहाँ भित्रिन संभव देखिन्न । त्यसैले, उनीहरु भारतको शासक वर्गलाई मनाउन र भारत समेतको सहयोगमा भारतीय वर्चस्वमा खलल नपर्ने गरी नेपाल भित्रने तैयारी गर्दैछन् । वर्तमान प्र.म. सूर्यबहादुर थापाको सरकार आफैँ अमेरिकी र बेलायतको भारतसित सहमति र समझदारी बढाउने प्रयत्नको ठोस उपज ठानिन्छ । एक विश्वस्त सूत्रले बताएअनुसार भारतीय शासक वर्ग अहिलेकै विन्दुमा नेपालमा स्थलसेना भित्र्याउन तयार छैन । किनकि यसो गर्नुको तात्पर्य नेपालमा भारतविरोधी मुक्तियुद्ध प्रारम्भ हुनसक्छ भनेर उसलाई राम्ररी थाहा छ । ऊ हात हतियार, काउन्टर इन्सर्जेन्सी तालिम, युद्ध सामग्री र एयरवेस दिएर युद्धमा आफ्नो वर्चस्व कायम गर्न सहमत भएको छ र यो कार्य उसले थालि पनि सकेको छ । पछिल्लो आधिकारिक भारतीय दस्तावेजका अनुसार भारतको मिजोरमस्थित काउन्टर इन्सर्जेन्सी एण्ड जंगल वारफेयर स्कूलमा र नेपालमा गरेर अहिलेसम्म १००० जना सबै तहका नेपाली सैनिकहरुलाई प्रतिविद्रोह कमाण्डौ तालिम दिइसकिएको छ । अमेरिकी, बेलायती र भारतीयहरुको बीच सहकार्य बढ्दैछ र यो सहकार्य सागसगैँ भारतीय शासकवर्गको माओवादीप्रतिको रवैया पहिलेभन्दा निकै कडा हुन थालेको छ । हालै भारतको चेन्नईमा माओवादी नेता सि.पी. गजुरेलको गिरफ्तारी त्यो कडाइको पछिल्लो ताजा प्रमाण हो ।

तर उनीहरुबीच अन्तरविरोध पनि देखिन्छ । भारतीय शासकहरु कुनै पनि हालतमा नेपालमा अमेरिकी र बेलायती प्रभुत्व एकलौटी हुन दिने पक्षमा देखिन्छन् । आफ्नो प्रभुत्व र वर्चस्वमा निरन्तरता भारतीय शासक वर्गको प्रमुख शर्त देखिन्छ । पिपुल्स वार ग्रुप र एम.सी.सी.सित मिलेर



पाँचवटा आन्दोलनकारी राजनीतिक दलहरुसागको सहकार्य ती दलहरुको संकीर्ण र आत्मकेन्द्रित दृष्टिकोणका कारण संभव नभएको परिस्थितिमा एघार वाम मिलेर आन्दोलन उठाउने र संविधानसभा पक्षधरहरुको छुट्टै आन्दोलन गर्ने तत्परता पनि माओवादी पक्षले देखाएको हो। त्यो संभव भएको भए माओवादीलाई जंगल फर्कन रोक्ने कुरा त्यो पनि हुन सक्थ्यो। त्यसको निम्ति संयुक्त वाममोर्चा र नेकपा एकताकेन्द्र-मसालले पहल पनि गरेका हुन्। तर अन्तिम घडीमा नेकपा (एमाले)को अस्वीकृतिको कारण एघार वामको संयुक्त आन्दोलन र सहकार्य संभव भएन भने क. मोहनविक्रम सिंहको माओवादीप्रतिको अति पूर्वाग्रहपूर्ण र असैद्धान्तिक दृष्टिकोणका कारण संविधानसभा पक्षधरको सहकार्य पनि अगाडि बढेन।

यसरी माओवादीहरु आन्दोलनकारी दलहरुमध्ये प्रमुख दलहरुबाट यत्रतत्र बहिष्कृत हुनु र एकिलनुले गर्दा पनि ज्यादा निराशिएका हुन् र पुनः जंगलतिर फर्कन उत्प्रेरित भएका हुन्। दलहरु र माओवादी दुवैलाई स्वीकार्य हुने अग्रगामी निकाससहित शान्तिपूर्ण संयुक्त आन्दोलनको ढोका प्रमुख दलहरुबाट माओवादीको निम्ति बन्द नगरिएको भए माओवादीहरु संभवतः यतिखेर सडकमा शान्तिपूर्ण जनआन्दोलनमा जुटिरहेका हुन्थे, जंगलउन्मुख हिंसात्मक गुरिल्ला युद्धमा होइन। वार्ता टुटेतापनि युद्धविराम नटुट्ने स्थिति माओवादीहरु शान्तिपूर्ण जनआन्दोलनमा सामेल हुदा ज्यादा संभव हुन्थ्यो।

प्रमुख राजनीतिक दलहरुले माओवादीहरुलाई बहिष्कृत गर्नुको पछाडि उनीहरुको एउटा डर मुख्य कारणका रुपमा देखिन्छ। त्यो हो- माओवादीहरु खुल्ला राजनीतिमा प्रवेश गरे भने आफ्नो राजनीतिक जमीन भास्सिएला कि भन्ने डर। साथै, यी राजनीतिक दलहरु कुर्सीस्वार्थमा केन्द्रित भएर अमेरिका, बेलायत र भारतजस्ता विदेशी शक्तिहरुको 'माओवादीसित निकटता नबढाउने' दबावबाट समेत निकै प्रभावित देखिए। प्रतिगमनविरोधी आन्दोलन र शान्तिवार्ताको प्रारम्भमा माओवादीसितको सहकार्यको सवालमा सकारात्मक रबैया अपनाउँदै आएको नेपाली कांग्रेस पछिल्लो समयमा त माओवादीसित जानीबुझीकनै उल्लेखनीय दूरी कायम गर्नतिर लाग्यो।

माओवादीको तर्फबाट उनीहरुप्रतिको सम्बन्धमा बारम्बार भएका व्यवहारगत भूलहरुले गर्दा पनि प्रमुख राजनीतिक दलहरु माओवादीसित विश्वासको वातावरणसहित निकट हुनसकेनन्। त्यो भूल हो- युद्धविरामको क्रममा पनि माओवादीले दलहरुलाई शत्रुतापूर्ण ढंगले आक्रमण र अपहरण गर्न नरोक्नु माओवादीको प्रभुत्वको र प्रभावको क्षेत्रमा अन्य राजनीतिक दलहरुलाई राजनीतिक र सांगठनिक चलखेल एवं गतिविधि गर्न नदिनु। अन्य

पार्टीहरुप्रति माओवादीको बलप्रयोग र शत्रुतापूर्ण व्यवहारले गर्दा माओवादीको प्रभुत्व भनेको अन्य पार्टीको अस्तित्वको निषेधको अर्थमा पार्टीहरुले ग्रहण गरे। आपसी आचारसंहिता र अनुगमन-संयन्त्र बनाएर माओवादीहरुले यी व्यवहारगत भूलहरु सुधार्न सक्थे। माओवादी अध्यक्ष प्रचण्डबाट यस दिशामा केही आचारसंहिता र नीतिको सार्वजनिक घोषणा पनि भयो, तर त्यो व्यवहारमा लागू भएन। यसरी आन्दोलनरत पार्टीहरु माओवादीको नियतप्रति सशक्तित्व हुनु र उनीहरुबीच विश्वासको संकट कायमै रहनुको एउटा प्रमुख कारण माओवादीहरुले पार्टीहरुको सम्बन्धमा देखाएका व्यवहारगत शत्रुतापूर्ण रबैया पनि देखिन्छ। पार्टीहरुसित सहकार्य गर्ने नै हो भने माओवादीले यो रबैयामा आमूल हेरफेर ल्याउनु जरुरी हुन्छ।

### अबको युद्धको स्वरूप

माथि उल्लिखित विभिन्न कारणहरुको गठजोडको फलस्वरूप नेपालमा अहिले पुनः गृहयुद्धको प्रारम्भ भएको छ। अबको गृहयुद्ध पहिलेको भन्दा धेरै भीषण र रक्तपातपूर्ण मात्र हुने देखिदैन, यसले नेपालको प्रभुसत्ता र लोकतन्त्रमै पूर्ण ग्रहण लगाउने संभावना पनि टड्कारो छ। गृहयुद्ध शुरु भएको दुई महिना पनि नबित्दै यसले एक हजारभन्दा ज्यादा नेपालीहरुको ज्यान लिइसकेको छ। यसले नेपालको राजनीति र अर्थनीतिलाई पूर्ण सैनिकीकरण गरिरहेको छ। युद्धविराम भंग भएको एक महिना पनि नबित्दै भदौको अन्तिम सातादेखि जिल्ला-जिल्लामा नागरिक प्रशासनको अन्त भएर दैनिक शान्ति सुरक्षा र प्रशासनको हालीमुहाली सिङ्गिओको हातबाट सैनिक पदाधिकारीको हातमा स्थानान्तरित भएको छ। केन्द्रमा न निर्वाचित संसद छ, न त जनउत्तरदायी चुनिएको सरकार नै, भूइ तहमा न जनप्रतिनिधिमूलक स्थानीय निकायहरु बाँकी छन्, न नागरिक प्रशासन नै। नेपालमा यतिबेला कानूनको शासन निभिट्यान्न पारिएको छ। देश हुकूम, अध्यादेश र बन्दूकले चलिरेको छ। शाही जंगी-अड्डासामु सिंहदरबारको मन्त्रिपरिषद् ज्यादै निरीह देखा परिरहेछ। सैनिक अधिनायकवाद नेपालमा लागु नै भइसकेको छ, केवल औपचारिक घोषणा गर्नमात्र बाँकी छ। राज्यका बहुमूल्य प्रमुख साधन-स्रोतहरु अब धमाधम विकास-निर्माणबाट फिर्केर युद्ध मेशिनरी निर्माणतर्फ प्रवाहित हुन थालिरहेछन्। गृहयुद्धले नेपालमा पैदा गरेको ताजा परिदृश्य यही हो।

युद्धविराम टुट्नेवित्तिकै काठमाण्डौमा केही उच्च सैनिक पदाधिकारीको माओवादीबाट भएको हत्या वा हत्या प्रयासले नेपालको द्वन्द्वलाई फेरि गतः माघको दोस्रो हप्तातिरै जोड्न लगेको छ, जहाँ सशस्त्र प्रहरी महानिरीक्षक कृष्णमोहन श्रेष्ठको निर्मम हत्या भएको थियो। व्यक्ति हत्याको यो

सहकार्य र सह-आन्दोलनको नीतिको घोषणा हुनुपर्दछ । संक्षिप्तमा, अबको युद्धविराम अथवा अनाक्रमणको घोषणा सर्वप्रथम आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दल र माओवादीबीच हुनुपर्दछ । उनीहरूबीच सर्वप्रथम आचारसंहिता र त्यसको अनुगमन-सयन्त्र निर्माण हुनुपर्दछ । दुईथरिबीच यसरी वार्ता, सहमति र विश्वासको वातावरण बनेपछि राज्यसित वार्ता गर्ने प्रक्रिया अपनाइनुपर्छ । यो उपायद्वारा आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरू र माओवादीबीच अहिले विद्यमान चर्को विश्वासको संकट र द्वन्द्वको स्थिति समाप्त हुन सक्छ । फलस्वरूप पार्टीहरू पनि भविष्यका शान्तिवार्ता प्रक्रियामा अपरिहार्य सहभागीका रूपमा सामेल हुनसक्छन् र वार्ता प्रक्रिया ज्यादा सामेलीपूर्ण हुन जाने हुन्छ । त्रिकोणात्मक द्वन्द्वका सट्टामा दुई कोणात्मक द्वन्द्व ज्यादा सरल र फलदायी पनि हुन्छ ।

आन्दोलनकारी दलहरू र माओवादी लोकतन्त्रका आधारभूत सवालमा साझा समझदारी बनाएर संघर्षरत हुनका लागि प्रशस्त वस्तुगत आधारहरू पनि छन् । २०४६ सालको जन आन्दोलनका मुख्य उपलब्धी सम्बन्धमा दुवैको लगभग समान धारणा छ । अबको संविधानमा जनतालाई पूर्ण संप्रभु बनाउने उद्देश्यका निम्ति अब बन्ने संविधानमा जनमत संग्रहको प्रावधान हुनुपर्छ, सेना निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधिसभा र सरकारको मातहत हुनुपर्छ, क्षेत्रीय स्वायत्त शासन हुनुपर्छ, राज्य धर्म निरपेक्ष हुनुपर्छ । व्यवहारमा पूर्ण

भाषिक, लैंगिक र जातको समानता हुनुपर्छ भन्ने विषयमा दुई पक्षबीच समान धारणा भेटिन्छ । नेपालको वर्तमान लोकतन्त्रलाई पूर्ण बनाउन लोकतन्त्रको अन्तर्वस्तु वारेमा यी सहमतिले ठूलो महत्व राख्छन् । पार्टीहरू अरु सवै सवालमा लोकसम्मतिको सर्वोच्चताको पूर्ण लोकतन्त्र र जनताको पूर्ण प्रभुसत्ताको कुरा गरिरहेछन्, तर लोकसम्मतिबाटै नयाँ संविधान बनाउने र जनताले आफ्नो पूर्ण प्रभुसत्तालाई व्यवहारमा अभ्यास गर्ने सर्वोत्तम विधि संविधान सभामा किन आपत्ति गरिरहेछन् ? दुईथरिबीच सहमतिको हलो यही सवालमा अड्किएको छ ।

दुईथरिबीच सहमतिको निम्ति छेक्ने अन्य मुख्य सवाल राजसंस्थाप्रतिको दृष्टिकोण र माओवादीसित विद्यमान सेना र हातहतियार हुनसक्छ । राजाले त्याग गरेमा हामी उसलाई सम्मानित स्थान दिन तयार छौं भन्ने माओवादी उक्तिको माओवादी नेतृत्वबाट स्पष्ट व्याख्या भएमा यसको गाँठो फुक्न सक्छ । जहासम्म हतियार र सेनाको सवाल छ, त्यसको टुंगो माओवादी र राज्य दुवैले जितेको, कसैले नहारेको अनुभूति हुनेगरी गरिनुपर्छ । अरु सवै मुद्दामा सहमति हुन सकेमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय अनुभवका आधारमा यस्तो उपाय निकाल्न संभव छ ।

(श्याम श्रेष्ठ 'मूल्याङ्कन मासिक'का प्रधान संपादक हुनुहुन्छ)

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माओवादीले आन्ध्र प्रदेशदेखि विहार-भारखण्ड-उत्तरप्रदेशसम्म ठूलो गडबडी मच्चाउन सक्छ, र त्यो भारतीय शासक वर्गको निमित्त गम्भीरतम सुरक्षा समस्या हुनसक्छ भन्ने विश्लेषणका आधारमा ऊ माओवादीलाई शक्तिशाली हुन नदिने वा सिध्याउने मामलामा मात्र अमेरिकी र बेलायतीहरूसित सहकार्य गर्न तत्पर देखिन्छ ।

यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा अबको गृहयुद्धको तीनवटा संभावित परिदृश्य देखिन्छ :

एक, नेपालमा पूर्ण सैनिकीकरण, विदेशीहरूको सहयोगमा पहिले माओवादीमाथि भीषण दमन र त्यसपछि पार्टीहरूमाथि दमन र परिणाममा देशमा कठपुतली निरंकुश शासन ।

दुई, विदेशीहरूको मध्यस्थता र दबावमा नेपालका वर्तमान शासक वर्ग र आन्दोलनरत पार्टीहरूबीच सत्ता बाँड्नुभन्दा सहमति, माओवादीमाथि दुवैको गठजोडमा भीषण दमन र कमजोर माओवादीसित वार्ता गरेर विद्रोहीलाई तह लाउने कार्य र थोरै लोकतान्त्रिक सुधारहरू ।

तीन, राज्यको दमनको फलस्वरूप र पूर्ण सैनिकीकरणको फलस्वरूप माओवादी र आन्दोलनरत पार्टीहरूबीच लोकतन्त्रको आधारभूत सवालमा न्यूनतम सहमति, दुवैबीच सहकार्य र सह-आन्दोलन, दुवैको संयुक्त तागतको बलमा सैनिकीकरण र विदेशी हस्तक्षेपलाई परास्त गर्ने, नेपाली जनतालाई पूर्णतः प्रभुसत्ता सम्पन्न पार्ने र लोकतन्त्रलाई पूर्ण पार्ने प्रयत्न ।

दोस्रो परिदृश्यमा नेपाललाई लैजाने अमेरिकी, बेलायती र भारतीय राजदूतहरूका प्रयत्नको विफलतापछि, नेपाल अहिले पहिलो परिदृश्य भएर गुञ्जादैछ ।

### फेरि वार्ता संभव छ ?

नेपाल यतिखेर गृहयुद्धमा प्रवेश गरिसकेको छ । तथापि, आन्दोलनरत पार्टीहरूले पहिलेको आत्मकेन्द्रित चिन्तन र संकीर्णता हटाएर आफू र माओवादी दुवैलाई स्वीकार्य हुने अग्रगामी निकास दिने गरी प्रयत्न गरेमा माओवादीहरू पुनः युद्ध रोकेर वार्तामा फर्कन संभव छ । यो दुई कारणले संभव छ, एक, माओवादीको द्वन्द्व र मागको प्रकृति सांप्रदायिक, धार्मिक, कट्टरतावादी वा पृथकतावादी नभएर विल्कुलै राजनीतिक र लोकतान्त्रिक चरित्रको भएकोले यो संभव छ । दुई, श्रीलंका वा विश्वका अन्य भागमा जस्तो यहाँ अभै द्वन्द्वरत पक्षहरूबीच अत्यन्त चर्को एक अर्काको मुखै नहेर्ने हदको शत्रुता विकसित भइसकेको छैन, त्यसकारणले पनि यो संभव छ ।

तर माओवादीहरूको अहिलेसम्मका सम्पूर्ण अडानहरू, साहित्यहरू र भनाइहरूलाई नियालेर हेर्दा उनीहरू सहमतिका निमित्त संविधान सभाभन्दा मुनिको निकासमा आउने संभावना

भने अभै देखिन्छ । उनीहरू संविधानसभा वा सो सरहको विकल्पमा भने आउन सक्छन् । त्यो भनेको- सार्वभौम जनताले चुनेका प्रतिनिधिहरूले नयाँ संविधान बनाउने सार बोकेको कुनै उपयुक्त लोकतान्त्रिक विकल्प हो । संसद पुनर्स्थापना गरेर त्यही संसदले माओवादीसहितको अन्तरिम सरकार र अन्तरिम विधान बनाएर संविधान सभाको निर्वाचनमा जाने बाटो तय गरेमा पनि माओवादीले त्यसमा आपत्ति नजनाउन सक्छ, यदि यो प्रक्रियावारे सार्वजनिक प्रतिवद्धता पहिले नै जनाइन्छ भने । यो एउटा यस्तो प्रक्रिया हुनसक्छ, जसमा आन्दोलनकारी दलहरू र माओवादीहरू दुवैका आ-आफ्नो अडानको सम्मिलन हुनसक्छ । जस्तो कि, पार्टीहरू नयाँ संविधान र निर्वाचित जनप्रतिनिधिहरूद्वारा नयाँ संविधानको सिद्धान्तमा सहमत भइदिने, माओवादीहरू एकपटक यही संविधान वा संसदमा टेकेर त्यसबाट बाहिर निकलेर अग्रगामी दिशामा जान सहमत भइदिने । कथकदाचित, अदालती वा अन्य कुनै कारणले संसद पुनर्स्थापना संभव नभएमा नयाँ संविधान निर्माणको लागि संविधान सभाको काम गर्ने गरी प्रतिनिधि सभाको चुनाव संपन्न गर्ने विकल्प पनि संविधान सभा वा सो सरहकै विकल्प हुनसक्छ, जसमा माओवादीहरू ज्यादा असहमत नहुन सक्छन् ।

वढी संभव छ, यीमध्ये कुनै पनि अग्रगामी निकासमा सत्तापक्ष वा आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरू सहमत हुने हो भने माओवादीहरूले हिंसात्मक संघर्ष रोक्न सक्छन् र वार्तामा पुनः आउन सक्छन् ।

सत्ता पक्ष र माओवादीका बीच विश्वासको संकट चरम उत्कर्षमा पुगिरहेको वर्तमान परिस्थितिमा देशलाई भीषण गृहयुद्धबाट, विदेशी हस्तक्षेप र सैनिकीकरणबाट बचाउने हो भने तुलनात्मक रूपमा आपसमा कम विश्वासको संकट भएका आन्दोलनकारी राजनीतिक दलहरूले नै पुनः शान्तिवार्ता र युद्धविरामको निम्ति पहल गर्नु ज्यादा उपयुक्त हुनसक्छ । दिगो शान्ति र फलदायी वार्ताको लागि वार्ताको प्रक्रिया र प्रकृति भने वदलनुपर्छ : पहिले आन्दोलनकारी दलहरू र माओवादीबीच आधारभूत सवालमा न्यूनतम सहमतिका लागि वार्ता हुनुपर्छ, त्यसपछि मात्र सत्तापक्षसँग । तर यसका निम्ति सर्वप्रथम माओवादी पक्षबाट अब उपरान्त आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरूप्रति कुनै पनि किसिमको आक्रमण नगरिने र उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो प्रभाव वा प्रभुत्वको क्षेत्रमा बिनाअवरोध राजनीतिक गतिविधि गर्न दिइने सार्वजनिक प्रतिवद्धता जाहेर गर्नुपर्दछ र यसलाई सख्तापूर्वक व्यवहारमा लागू गर्नु पर्दछ । जसले यसको उल्लंघन गर्दछन्, त्यसमाथि अविलम्ब दण्ड हुनुपर्छ । यसको अनुगमन गर्नका निम्ति दुवैतर्फका प्रतिनिधि सम्मिलित एउटा साभा अनुगमन संयन्त्र बनाइनुपर्दछ । ठीक त्यस्तै, आन्दोलनरत राजनीतिक दलहरूले पनि माओवादीविरुद्ध सुराकी गर्नेलाई दण्डित गर्ने नीतिको सार्वजनिक घोषणा हुनुपर्दछ । र, माओवादीसित



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