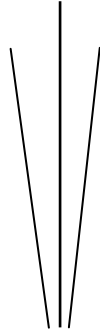


द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरण र शान्तिस्थापनार्थ छलफल सामाग्रीको संगालो



आर्थिक सहयोग



युरोपियन युनियन

प्रकाशक

कानूनअन्वेषण तथा स्रोतविकास केन्द्र (सेलर्ड)

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मुद्रक

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प्रकाशकीय

शान्तिका दूत गौतम बुद्ध जन्मेको नेपाल अहिले विश्वसमुदायमाभ्र आन्तरिक हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वग्रस्त मुलुक भनेर चिनिन थालेको छ। हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वले नेपालको जनजीवनलाई लथालिङ्ग हालतमा पुऱ्याएको छ। मुलुक अन्धो र अनिश्चिततामा गुऱ्रँदो छ। समाधान के हो ? सबैसँग यही प्रश्न छ।

हिंसामा प्रत्यक्ष संलग्नहरू आ-आफ्नै तरिकाले घटनावली र परिवेशको विवेचना गरेर आफू ठीक अवस्थामा रहेको दाबी गरिरहेका छन्। उनीहरू आफ्नै तरिकाले युद्धका रणनीति र प्रतिपक्षको समाप्तिको समना देखनमा तल्लीन छन्। उनीहरूका लागि हिंसा समस्याभन्दा पनि शक्तिको दुरुपयोग गर्ने बहना र साधन भएको छ।

नेपाली नागरिक समाजले हिंसाको अन्त्य र शान्तिको स्थापना हुनुको विकल्प छैन भन्ने मान्यता राखेको छ। तर द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरणको रणनीति के लिने र कसरी हिंसाका पक्षहरूलाई अहिंसात्मक बनाउने भन्ने विषयमा यसले स्पष्ट सोच र कार्यक्रमको खाका प्रस्ताव गर्न सकेको छैन। तथापि नागरिक समाजको द्वन्द्वको हिंसात्मक स्वरूपलाई अहिंसात्मक स्वरूपमा बदल्ने कुरालाई अगाडि बढाउन गरिआएका प्रयासले योचाहिँ समस्याप्रति बढी संवेदनशील रहेको देखाउँछ। द्वन्द्वमा सहभागी नरहेका तर यसबाट

प्रभावित रहेका तेस्रो पक्षमा रहेका मानिसहरू चिन्तित छन्। तर कसरी यो सम्भव बनाउने भन्नेबारेमा स्पष्ट सोच र साभा एजेन्डा बन्न सकेको छैन।

कानुनअन्वेषण तथा स्रोतविकास केन्द्र कानुनी क्षेत्रमा सुधारमूलक काममा सक्रिय संस्था हो र हालको द्वन्द्व यसको पनि सरोकार र समाधान प्राथमिकताको विषय हो। यसैले हामीले काठमाडौँ स्कुल अफ लको सहयोगमा केही जाफिकारहरूसँग यो द्वन्द्वका विविध आयामलाई सम्बोधन गर्ने सवालहरूका बारेमा सार्वजनिक बहस चल्नुपर्ने विषयमा अवधारणापत्र लेख्न आग्रह गरेका थियौँ।

जानिफकारहरूबाट ल्याइएका त्यस्ता सवालहरूलाई हामीले प्रकाशमा ल्याई छलफलका लागि प्रस्तुत गरेका छौँ। प्रस्तुत अवधारणापत्रमध्ये केही अवधारणापत्रहरूको पूर्ण पाठ अंग्रेजी संस्करणमा पछिल्ला पृष्ठहरूमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। हामीलाई आशा छ - यस प्रकाशनमा प्रस्तुत प्रस्तोताहरूका निजी दृष्टिकोणहरूले छलफल र विचारविमर्शका माध्यमबाट सामूहिक सोच विकासका लागि केही भए पनि भरथेग गर्नेछन्। नागरिक समाजमा यी विचारहरूउपर राम्ररी छलफल होस् र व्यावहारिक र समस्याको समाधानमुखी सार्वजनिक सोचको विकास होस्। कम्तीमा द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरणको एजेन्डाको कुरा चलोस्, अहिलेको हाम्रो चाहना यति नै हो।

यो सामग्रीलाई यस रूपमा ल्याउनमा क्रियाशील सबै साथीहरूलाई धन्यवादका पात्र हुनुहुन्छ। खरो टिप्पणी र उपयोगी सुझावका लागि यो केन्द्र पाठकसँग अनुरोध गर्दछ।

युवराज संग्रौला
संयोजक

परिचय

नेपाल हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वको चपेटामा छ। द्वन्द्वका कारण मुलुकको स्थिति दिनानुदिन खस्केको खस्क्यै छ। हालको हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वको समाधान कसरी निकाल्ने भन्ने प्रश्न सबैभन्दा गहकिलो भएको छ। राष्ट्रिय जीवन यसबाट पूरै प्रभावित बनेको छ। राष्ट्रिय राजनीति दिशाहीन र शिथिल गतिमा अनपेक्षित आयामतिर धकेलिँदो छ। यस्तो अवस्थामा जारी द्वन्द्वको रूपान्तरण तथा दिगो शान्तिस्थापनाका लागि साभा सर्त र सोचको खाँचो सर्वत्र महसुस भएको छ।

कानूनअन्वेषण तथा स्रोतविकास केन्द्र (सेलर्ड) ले द्वन्द्वको रूपान्तरण र शान्तिको स्थापनाका लागि नेपालका राष्ट्रिय समस्या र राजनीतिका निकासका आयामहरूबारे जानिफकारहरूका अवधारणापत्रमाथि छलफल गराएर साभा सोच, अवधारणा र एजेन्डासम्बन्धी जनमत र सार्वजनिक विचारहरूलाई प्रवाहमा ल्याउने सोचले काम थालनी गरेको छ।

हालको नेपालको द्वन्द्वका मूल र सहायक कारणहरू केके हुन् ? द्वन्द्वको स्वरूपलाई हिंसात्मकबाट अहिंसात्मक रूपमा अवतरण गराउनका लागि साभा मिलनका बुँदा केके हुन् सक्छन् ? हालको समस्या समाधानका लागि केकस्ता रणनीतिहरू अवलम्बन गर्न आवश्यक हुन्छ ? नागरिक समाजले केकस्तो किसिमले भूमिका खेल्नुपर्छ भन्ने कुरा आजका जल्दाबल्दा विषय हुन्।

नेपालको वर्तमान राजनीतिक अवस्थालाई अग्रसरता दिन कुनकुन नीतिगत अङ्गहरूबाट कार्य आरम्भ गर्नुपर्दछ र माओवादी हिंसा आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक समस्याहरूको उपज हो वा हिंसा माओवादीहरूको उपज हो

भन्नेमा पनि प्रस्ट अवधारणा बन्नु जरुरी छ। विभिन्न जातजातिका समस्या राज्य संरचनाका त्रुटिहरूका उपज हुन् वा राज्यको वर्तमान संरचना नै जातजातिबीचको त्रुटिपूर्ण सम्बन्धको उपज हो भन्नेबारेमा पनि स्पष्ट हुन आवश्यक छ।

अहिंसात्मक स्वरूपको द्वन्द्व सामाजिक रूपान्तरणको सहयोगी हुन सक्ने भएकाले यसको उपयोगबाट अपेक्षित प्रतिफलसाथ मुलुकलाई प्रगतितर्फ लान सकिन्छ। यसर्थ मुलुकमा जारी रहेको हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वलाई अहिंसात्मक स्वरूपमा बदल्न अत्यावश्यक छ। हिंसाको स्वरूपको रूपान्तरण र समाधानको उपायतर्फको सहज अवतरणको वातावरण बनाउने दिशामा काठमाडौँ स्कूल अफ लको सहयोगमा विभिन्न जानिफकारहरूबाट अवधारणापत्र तयार भएकाले हामीले तिनलाई यो प्रकाशनका माध्यमबाट सार्वजनिक छलफलका लागि प्रस्तुत गरेका छौँ।

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द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरण र शान्तिस्थापनाका लागि साभवा एजेन्डा, सोच र प्रयासको खाँचो

विदेशी शक्तिहरूको स्वार्थभिन्न नेपालको द्रुन्दरूपान्तरण प्रक्रिया

● युवराज संग्रौला

राष्ट्रहरूबीचको कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धले आपसमा केही अनिवार्य दायित्वहरू सिर्जना गर्छ। यस अर्थमा यसलाई सार्वभौमिकताको सङ्कुचन मान्न सकिन्छ। कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धले परिभाषित गर्ने व्यवहार एवं आचरणको उल्लङ्घनलाई अनुचित एवं अवाञ्छित मानिन्छ। सार्वभौमिकताको परम्परागत मान्यतामा आएका परिवर्तनले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कुटनीति वा सम्बन्धलाई कुनै पनि राष्ट्रले नकार्न सक्ने अवस्था छैन। कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धलाई आपसी नियन्त्रणको रूपमा परिभाषा गर्न सकिने अवस्था अहिले छैन। अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कुटनीतिबाट कुनै पनि राष्ट्र अलग हुन सक्ने अवस्था पनि छैन।

नयाँ अवधारणाअनुसार द्विपक्षीय सम्बन्धलाई 'पारस्परिक लाभ र सहमति' मा आधारित वैदेशिक सम्बन्ध भन्ने नाम दिन सकिन्छ। यसले राष्ट्रहरूबीचको समन्याय (Equity) को अवस्थालाई जनाउँछ। तर राष्ट्रको भौगोलिक वा रणनीतिक अवस्थामा समानता हुँदैन। प्रत्येक राष्ट्रको परराष्ट्र सम्बन्ध उसको भौगोलिक एवं रणनीतिक अवस्थामा आधारित हुन्छ। यस अर्थमा कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धको आयाम र दायरा एकै किसिमको हुँदैन। बरु, वस्तुगत अवस्थाले राष्ट्रहरूबीचको सम्बन्धको प्रकृतिको निर्धारण गर्दछ।

नेपालको कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धका विशेषता

भौगोलिक एवं रणनीतिक अवस्थितिले राष्ट्रको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धलाई निर्धारित गर्दछ। जटिल वा संवेदनशील रणनीतिक अवस्थामा कुटनीतिले नै त्यस राष्ट्रको अस्तित्व निर्धारण गर्दछ। नेपाल पनि त्यस्ता खास किसिमका राष्ट्रहरूमध्ये पर्दछ।

नेपालको मध्यकाल र त्यसपूर्वको अवस्था कुटनीतिक दृष्टिले महत्वपूर्ण थिएन। यद्यपि नेपालका विभिन्न भागमा दक्षिणबाट पटक-पटक आक्रमण भएका थिए। तर सङ्गठित राष्ट्रिय राज्यको रूपमा स्थापित हुन नसकेकाले हुनुपर्छ, नेपालले आफ्नो सुरक्षार्थ कुनै खास व्यवस्था गर्न सकेन। त्यस कालखण्डमा एकातर्फ नेपालको व्यापार विकसित अवस्थामा थिएन भने अर्कातर्फ विखण्डित नेपालको रणनीतिक महत्व पनि स्थापित थिएन। अतः नेपालको कुटनीतिक इतिहास अत्यन्त छोटो छ।

राष्ट्रको कुटनीतिक समस्या र चुनौतीमा खारिएका कुटनीतिज्ञहरूको विकास पनि हुन सकेको छैन। यस अर्थमा कुटनीतिक निर्णयहरू राजा वा नेताहरूका लहड वा अपरिपक्व नीतिमा आधारित हुँदै आएका छन्। कुटनीतिक दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट नभएको एवं यसको सञ्चालनमा विज्ञताको विकास गर्न नसकेकैले नेपालको कुटनीति नेपाली मौलिकता र आवश्यकताबाट नियमित हुन सकेको छैन।

करिब दुई सय ५० वर्षयता कुटनीतिक दृष्टिकोणबाट नेपालमा महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन भएका छन्। तर यसको लामो कालखण्ड बेलायतबाट प्रत्यक्ष प्रभावित छ र त्यसताका विकास भएको विदेशीहरूप्रतिको आत्मसमर्पणबाट नेपाल अद्यापि ग्रस्त छ। भौगोलिक एवं रणनीतिक अवस्थाले गर्दा नेपाल अहिले आएर अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कुटनीतिको आकर्षक केन्द्र भए पनि शक्तिराष्ट्रहरूप्रतिको आत्मसमर्पणवादी मनोविज्ञानबाट मुक्त हुन सकेको छैन।

निम्न अवस्थाले यसलाई अभिव्यक्त गर्दछन् :

१. नेपाल एकीकृत राज्यका रूपमा स्थापित र संवेदनशील भौगोलिक अवस्थितिमा छ। यसको अरु देशसँगको सम्बन्धले उत्तर र दक्षिणका छिमेकीहरूलाई सहजै प्रभावित पार्दछ। एकातिरको सम्बन्धले अर्कातिर पनि प्रभाव पार्दछ। नेपालको मानसपटलमा यो डर स्थायी रूपमा भरिएको छ। दुई शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूको बीचमा रहेकोले 'रणनीतिक' सम्बन्ध विकास गर्दै उनीहरूबीचका अन्तरविरोधबाट आफूलाई

बचाउनुको सट्टा नेपालले निरपेक्ष दृढस्थताको नीति अवलम्बन गर्दै आएको छ। यसले नेपालको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धलाई सार्थक र सिर्जनशील बन्नबाट रोकेको छ।

२. चीन र भारत क्षेत्रीय शक्तिका रूपमा उदाएका मात्रै छैनन्; अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धका हरेक पक्षमा गम्भीर र जटिल पद्धतिस्पर्धा गरिरहेका छन्। परमाणु शक्तिको रूपमा स्थापित उनीहरूबीचको सम्बन्ध र प्रतिस्पर्धाले नेपाललाई प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा प्रभाव पार्दछ। उनीहरूका राजनीतिक र सांस्कृतिक संरचना र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय चाहना पनि फरक छन्। नेपाललाई उनीहरू दुवैले एक अर्काविरुद्ध प्रयोग हुन सक्ने रणनीतिक स्थानको रूपमा हेरेका छन्। परिणामस्वरूप उनीहरू नेपालप्रति खुलाभन्दा गोप्य कुटनीतिद्वारा निर्देशित हुने गर्दछन्। तर, यसप्रति नेपालको सुभुबुभ अत्यन्त कमजोर छ।
३. भारत र चीन शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रको रूपमा उदाउनुले पश्चिमा राष्ट्रहरूको यस क्षेत्रको स्वार्थलाई अझ गहिरो बनाएको छ। यी दुई राष्ट्रहरूप्रति निगरानी राख्न पश्चिमा राष्ट्रहरू उत्सुक मात्रै होइन; व्यग्र छन्। नेपालको अवस्था त्यस उद्देश्यका लागि अत्यन्त सहायक र सहज भएकोले नेपाल अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कुटनीतिको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण केन्द्रबिन्दु हो। यो पक्षलाई नेपालका राजनीतिज्ञहरूले बुझ्न सकेका छैनन्।

राष्ट्रका द्विपक्षीय सम्बन्धमा बलिया राष्ट्रका स्वार्थ सधैं प्रबल हुन्छन् र साना तथा कमजोर राष्ट्र तिनका खुफियातन्त्रका अखाडा बन्न पुग्दछन्। नेपाल यसै एउटा नमुना हो। नेपालसँग सम्बन्ध राख्नेहरूको चासो पनि नेपालप्रति नभएर छिमेकीहरूप्रति लक्षित छ।

यस सन्दर्भलाई पुष्टि गर्न विगत ५० वर्षमा देखिएका निम्न चरित्रहरू पर्याप्त छन्-

१. अमेरिका, बेलायत, फ्रान्स, जर्मनी, जापान जस्ता शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरू नेपालसँगको द्विपक्षीय सम्बन्धमा बढी सक्रिय छन्। यी राष्ट्रले नेपाललाई निरन्तर अनुदान दिएका पनि छन्। तर नेपालको आर्थिक विकासका लागि यी राष्ट्रको औद्योगिक लगानी परिलक्षित छैन। उनीहरूको उपस्थिति मूलतः चीन र भारतको शक्ति र खुफियातन्त्रको निगरानीप्रति निर्देशित छ।
२. शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूको नेपालसँगको व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध कमजोर छ। व्यापारिक एवं औद्योगिक विकासमा नेपालले यी राष्ट्रबाट सार्थक सहयोग

पाएको छैन। नेपालको गरिबी, अज्ञानता, पछ्यौटेपन आदि अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय खुफियातन्त्रका लागि आवश्यक र इच्छित तत्व भएका छन्।

३. यी राष्ट्रको नेपालप्रतिको कुटनीतिक आकर्षण नेपालको 'रणनीतिक' महत्व कायम रहेसम्म मात्र सबल र अर्थपूर्ण रहन्छ। सन् १९९० पूर्वको सोभियत संघसँग भारतको मित्रताजस्तै चीनको साम्यवादी शासनका कारणले अमेरिका, बेलायत, फ्रान्स, जर्मनीजस्ता देशको नेपालप्रति कुटनीतिक आकर्षण कायम भएको हो। अतः भारत र चीनमा आउने परिवर्तनले नेपालसँगको सम्बन्धलाई निर्णायक प्रभाव पार्दछन्।
४. चीन र भारतको नेपालप्रतिको सम्बन्ध मूलतः 'नकारात्मक' आकर्षणमा आधारित छ। भारत र चीन दुवै व्यापारिक, वैज्ञानिक वा सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिले नेपालसँगको सम्बन्धलाई महत्व दिंदैनन्। बरु एकको बेवास्ता अर्कोका निम्ति हितकर हुन सक्ने बाध्यता दुवैलाई छ। यसरी चीन र भारत नेपालप्रति संवेदनशील छन् र उनीहरूको सक्रिय कुटनीति पनि यसै यथार्थमा आधारित छ। त्यस अर्थमा उनीहरूको नेपालप्रतिको चासो पनि छद्म प्रतिस्पर्धा र स्वार्थबाट प्रेरित छ।

यी तथ्यले नेपालका अन्य देशहरूसँगको सम्बन्ध तिनका 'निहित स्वार्थ' द्वारा बढी प्रभावित छन् भन्ने आकलन गर्न आह्वान गर्दछन्। यही यथार्थलाई विश्लेषण गर्दा नेपालको वर्तमान विकासका चुनौती, सार्वभौमिकताको संरक्षण र वर्तमान द्वन्द्वको निकासमा वैदेशिक सहयोग भरपर्दो, आशालागदो र यथार्थपरक देखिंदैन। यी चुनौती र समस्याहरूको निकासका लागि नेपालको कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धमा आमूल परिवर्तन गर्नुपर्ने बाध्यता छ। वास्तवमा कुटनीतिक स्पष्टता, चलाखी र दृढतामा नै नेपालको भविष्य निर्धारित हुनेछ। अतः नेपाली समाजको परिवर्तन, विकास र समुन्नति पनि मूलतः कुटनीतिक सामर्थ्य वा सक्षमतामै आधारित रहनेछ।

कुटनीतिक सरोकारका विषय

१. नेपालले चीन र भारतप्रतिको कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धमा आधारभूत परिवर्तन गर्नुपर्छ। 'नेपाल दुई ढुङ्गाबीचको तरुल हो' भन्ने विगतदेखिको राजनीतिक रूपमा कमजोर र हीन मनोग्रन्थी तत्कालै बदल्नुपर्छ। नेपालले यी छिमेकीसँगको सम्बन्धलाई व्यापारिक रूपमा आपसी निर्भरताको वातावरण निर्माण गर्न सकेमा मात्र नेपालको सम्मान स्थापित हुनेछ। साथै नेपालका आन्तरिक मामिलालाई प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा असर पार्ने खुफियातन्त्रबाट पनि देशलाई जोगाउनु आवश्यक छ।

२. पश्चिमा मुलुकको नेपालसँगको कुटनीतिक सम्बन्ध मूलतः भारत र चीनप्रति लक्षित छ। यसमा राजनीतिक चरित्रको कुटनीति निहित छ। यी राष्ट्रहरू भारत र चीनविरुद्ध नेपालको भूमिबाट गुप्त कुटनीति सञ्चालन गर्दछन्, र तिनीहरूविरुद्ध चीन र भारत पनि प्रतिकारयुक्त गुप्त कुटनीति सञ्चालन गर्दछन्। यो अवस्थाले नेपाल गुप्तचरीको अखाडा मात्र भएको छैन; यहाँका राजनीतिक नेता र नोकरशाहहरू विदेशी गुप्तचरका सेवक बन्ने प्रत्यक्ष खतरासमेत बढेको छ।

यो 'कठोर कुटनीतिक अवस्था' हो। यसले एकातर्फ राष्ट्रिय हितमा ठाडो प्रहार गर्दछ भने अर्कोतर्फ नेपालको जनसङ्ख्या र बौद्धिकतालाई पनि विभाजित गर्दछ। देशको बौद्धिक जमात राष्ट्रको होइन, विदेशीको सेवामा संलग्न रहन्छ। वर्तमान नेपाल हरेक अर्थमा विभाजित छ। प्रधानमन्त्री नेपाली जनताभन्दा कुनै 'विदेशी'को भनेर बढी चिनिएको अवस्था छ। कर्मचारीहरू नागरिकका सेवकभन्दा 'कुनै देश'को पक्षधर छन् भनेर चिनिन्छ।

यो कठोर अवस्थाले द्वन्द्वलाई व्यापक रूपमा चर्काइरहेको मात्रै होइन, जटिल र विकृत पनि बनाएको छ।

यस वास्तविकतालाई नियाल्दा कुटनीतिक दृष्टिकोणबाट वर्तमान द्वन्द्वको समाधानका निम्न चुनौती छन्-

१. सरकार-विद्रोही वार्ता नेपाली जनताको होइन, विदेशीको चाहनामा निर्भर छ। तसर्थ राष्ट्रिय हितप्रति राजनीतिक सहमति र इमान्दारी नभएसम्म वार्ताको सफलता कल्पनातीत छ।
२. आफूलाई फाइदा भइरहेसम्म विदेशी शक्तिहरू नेपालमा हिंसा र द्वन्द्व कायम राख्न सक्रिय रहन्छन्। त्यसैले नेपालको द्वन्द्वबाट कुन विदेशी शक्तिलाई के फाइदा भइरहेको छ भन्ने बारेमा सटीक विश्लेषण हुनु आवश्यक छ।
३. नेपालसँग कुटनीतिक सम्बन्ध रहेका धेरैजसो शक्तिराष्ट्रहरू हतियार व्यापारमा संलग्न छन् र उनीहरू नेपालमा शान्ति चाहँदैनन्। तसर्थ चालु द्वन्द्वबाट हतियार व्यापारीहरूलाई भइरहेको फाइदाको पनि स्पष्ट आकलन गर्नु आवश्यक छ।
४. पश्चिमा राष्ट्रहरू हातहतियार र सैन्य सहयोगको माध्यमबाट नेपाली सरकारलाई आफ्नो पक्षमा राख्न चाहन्छन्; जुन भारत र चीनलाई स्वीकार्य हुँदैन। त्यस्तै नेपाललाई आफ्नो सुरक्षा छाताभित्र राख्ने भारत र चीनको इच्छा पनि अन्य राष्ट्रले स्वीकार्दैनन्। तर भारत र चीनमध्ये कुनै एक राष्ट्रसँग अन्य राष्ट्रको त्यस्तो सम्बन्ध विकास हुन सक्दछ,

जसअन्तर्गत नेपाल त्यस छिमेकी राष्ट्रको पूर्ण नियन्त्रणमा रहोस्। वर्तमान द्वन्द्वले यस समीकरणलाई कुन दिशातर्फ लैजान्छ भन्ने वस्तुगत विश्लेषण पनि गर्नुपर्छ।

५. शान्ति बहालीपछिको पुनःनिर्माणमा पश्चिमा राष्ट्रको ठोस सहयोग आवश्यक हुन्छ र त्यसो गर्न उनीहरूमा नैतिक दबाव पर्छ। तर उनीहरू त्यसो गर्न तयार छैनन्। अतः उनीहरू द्वन्द्वलाई निरन्तरता दिन चाहन्छन्। यसबाट पनि सरकारी एवं विद्रोही पक्षमा वैदेशिक घुसपैठको सहज अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ।

नेपालमा भइरहेको व्यापक मानवअधिकारको उल्लङ्घनप्रति शक्तिराष्ट्रहरू संवेदनशील छैनन्। यसबाट नेपालको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्ध मानवअधिकारको आधारशिलामा खडा भएको मान्न सकिँदैन। नेपालले यो समस्या वा चुनौतीबाट मुक्ति पाउन, तटस्थता वा 'शान्तिक्षेत्र' को अवधारणा अघि बढाउनुपर्दछ र कुटनीतिक सम्बन्धमा रहेको राजनीतिक तत्वको अन्त्य गर्नुपर्दछ।

यसलाई कार्यरूप दिन निम्न कुराहरूप्रति ध्यान दिनु आवश्यक छ -

- क. नेपालको सिमानालाई नियमित गर्नेतर्फ नीतिगत निर्णय लिन जनमत तयार गर्नुपर्छ। भारत प्रवेश गर्ने सहरी नाकालाई खुला राखी अन्य खुला सिमानामा बार लगाउनुपर्छ। सिमानामा हुने कालोबजारी र अवैध व्यापार रोक्न विशेष सीमा सुरक्षा बल गठन गर्नुपर्छ।
- ख. नेपालको सेनालाई सीमित सङ्ख्यामा 'विकास दस्ता'मा परिणत गरी सेनाको सदुपयोग गर्नुपर्छ।
- ग. नेपालको मौलिक परराष्ट्रनीति किटान गरी परराष्ट्रमन्त्रालयलाई अरु मुलुकको हितप्रभावित अवस्थाबाट मुक्त पार्ने गरी पुनःसंरचना गर्नुपर्छ।
- घ. विदेशी, वैदेशिक सहयोग निकाय र कुटनीतिक निकायहरूलाई अन्य मन्त्रालय र विभागमा सोभै पहुँच नदिई परराष्ट्रमन्त्रालयमार्फत एकद्वार प्रणालीबाट अनुगमन र नियमन गर्नुपर्छ।

उपर्युक्त कुटनीतिक सोचप्रति सचेत रही 'विद्रोही'हरूसँग वार्ताको थालनी गर्न सकिएन भने द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरण सम्भव छैन। द्वन्द्वरूपान्तरण प्रक्रियामा विदेशी शक्तिहरूलाई तटस्थ राख्ने पक्षप्रति हरेक बौद्धिक व्यक्ति सचेत रहनु आवश्यक छ।

(यस लेखको अंग्रेजी रूपान्तरण पृष्ठ १०५ मा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ)

मध्यस्थकर्ताको भूमिकामा पत्रकारिता

● विनोद ढुङ्गेल

पत्रकारको रुचि र सिर्जनात्मक सीपको प्रयोग गरेर विचार, तर्क र सूचनाहरू खोतल्ने, केलाउने र पस्कने काम पत्रकारले गर्छ। विचार, तर्क र सूचनाहरू उसले आफैँ सिर्जना भने गर्दैन बरु यो सबै उसले समाजबाटै पाउँछ। प्राप्त सूचनाहरूलाई प्रशोधन गरेर समाजलाई नै फर्काउने क्रममा उसले आवश्यक र अनावश्यक सामग्रीको निधो गर्छ। यसमा देश, समाज र मानवको विकास र उत्थानका लागि आवश्यक सूचना र जानकारीहरू कलात्मक र रुचिपूर्ण तवरले पस्कनु पत्रकारिताको सामान्य धर्म हो।

सञ्चारमाध्यमले हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वको व्यवस्थापन र न्यायपूर्ण दिगो शान्तिका पक्षमा अनवरत क्रियाशील हुनैपर्छ। यसनिमित्त विद्यमान सबैखाले अन्याय, अत्याचार र ज्यादतीलाई जस्ताको तस्तै सार्वजनिक गर्नु आवश्यक छ। द्वन्द्वका कारक पनि तिनै अन्यायपूर्ण आर्थिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक आदि संरचना र तिनले पैदा गरेका अन्तरविरोधहरू भएकाले तिनलाई उजागर गर्दा नै द्वन्द्वलाई शान्तिमा रूपान्तरण गर्न थप अनुकूलता सिर्जना हुन सक्छ। यसबाट मात्रै मानवीय जीवनयापनका लागि उपयुक्त वातावरण निर्माण गर्न पनि सम्भव हुन जान्छ। तर, विद्यमान सबै खाले द्वन्द्वहरूलाई बन्दुकको बलमा तह लगाउने र द्वन्द्वको आधारभूत तहसम्म

पुग्नै नदिने उपायले तत्कालका लागि द्वन्द्वको प्रकटीकरणमा केही शिथिलता देखिए पनि अन्ततः त्यो स्थायी समाधान हुन सक्दैन।

द्वन्द्वलाई सतहमा ल्याउँदै शान्तिमा रूपान्तरण गर्ने र द्वन्द्व व्यवस्थापन गर्ने कार्य गफ नभएर चुनौतीपूर्ण विषय हो। नागरिकअधिकार बहाली, द्वन्द्वको व्यवस्थापन र शान्तिको स्थापनाका नाममा अहिले आमरूपमा जोखिमरहित उपायहरूलाई समाचारका स्रोतको रूपमा प्रयोग गरिएको यथार्थ सार्वजनिक भइरहेको छ। शान्तिको कुरा मात्र गर्ने तर त्यसनिमित्त ठोस प्रयास नगर्ने, अर्को शब्दमा- 'कुरा' गर्नुलाई नै 'काम' ठान्ने प्रवृत्तिले यस क्षेत्रको बजारमा प्रभावकारी हिस्सा ओगटेको छ र त्यसको प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव अनेक ढङ्गले नेपाली पत्रकारितामा पनि स्पष्ट देखापरेको छ।

हाल नेपाली सञ्चारमाध्यममा छाउने गरेका द्वन्द्व र शान्तिसम्बन्धी समाचारहरूमा प्रायः सजिला उपायहरू अपनाइएको पाइन्छ। सञ्चार अभियानहरू र तिनको प्रचारमूलक महत्व अवश्य छ तर तिनको कार्यमूलक प्रभाव पाइँदैन। तिनको प्रभाव नागरिकको हितरक्षाभन्दा उद्धरण गरिएका वा गरिन सक्ने तहसम्म बलशाली रहन्छ भने अरूका लागि बौद्धिक गफभन्दा बढी केही हुँदैन।

यसरी शान्तिनिर्माणको पक्षमा द्वन्द्वलाई उपयोग गर्न पत्रकार स्वयं र सम्बद्ध सञ्चारमाध्यमको तत्परता र क्रियाशीलता मूल रूपले जिम्मेवार देखिन्छ। वस्तुनिष्ठ तथा जनताप्रति जिम्मेवार पत्रकारिताको अभियान थाल्न सकिएमा सूचना सङ्कलनमा व्यवधान पुऱ्याउन खोज्ने शक्तिका लागि चुनौती खडा हुन्छ। सञ्चारले त्यस्तो हस्तक्षेपकारी भूमिका निर्वाह गर्न सकेमा शान्तिको पक्षमा रहेका कुनै पनि शक्तिले सूचना सम्प्रेषणमा अवरोध गर्न सक्दैनन्।

हत्या, बलात्कार, यातना, अपहरण, बेपत्ता, स्वेच्छाचारी थुना, गैरन्यायिक दण्ड, आगजनी, लुटपाट, कुटपिट, गाउँनिकाला, आर्थिक, सामाजिक वा सांस्कृतिक अधिकारमाथिको हमला आदिलाई सञ्चारमाध्यमले आवश्यक मात्रामा अगाडि ल्याउन सकेका छैनन्। त्यसैले सञ्चारकर्मी र सञ्चारसंस्थाहरूले शान्तिस्थापनार्थ धेरै सामाजिक दायित्व पूरा गर्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ। शान्तिपत्रकारितालाई यही कारणले समाधानमुखी पत्रकारिता भनिने गरेको हो। शान्तिपत्रकारिताको मूल लक्ष्य नै पत्रकारहरूमा द्वन्द्वविश्लेषण गर्ने क्षमता बढाउने र द्वन्द्वसमाधान गर्ने विषयमा समाजलाई सक्रिय तुल्याउने कला सिकाउनु हो। ■

शान्तिस्थापना र संविधाननिर्माण

● कुमार इन्द्रनाम

राजनीतिक, सामाजिक जीवनको वैधानिक संरचना गरी तिनीहरूको सञ्चालन गर्न निर्मित कानून नै संविधान हो। शासकको शक्ति, शासितको अधिकार र ती दुवैबीच समन्वय संविधानले गर्छ। शासकको स्वच्छेचारिता नियन्त्रण, शासितको अधिकार सुरक्षा र सरकारको अङ्गहरूको रूपरेखा तयार गरी तिनको कार्यान्वयनको सिद्धान्त संविधानले नै तय गर्दछ। अतः शासितहरू शासन प्रशासनमा सहभागी हुने विधि र अधिकारको वैधानिकतासमेत संविधानमा हुने हुँदा विद्यमान माओवादी विद्रोहको व्यवस्थापन र शान्तिस्थापना गर्न विद्यमान संविधानतर्फ ध्यान पुऱ्याउन स्वभाविक हुन्छ।

माओवादी विद्रोह सुरु भएपश्चात् मुलुकले भोगेको हत्या, हिंसा, राष्ट्रिय पूर्वाधारको क्षति, विस्थापित जनशक्ति, उद्योग व्यवसायको अधोगतिसमेतको कारक नै “माओवादी जनयुद्ध” हो। “माओवादी जनयुद्ध” ले राष्ट्रलाई अधोषित गृहयुद्धमा धकेलेको छ र समानान्तर दुई शासन अस्तित्वमा छन् भन्ने कुरा उठ्न थालेका छन्।

जन-धनको यो विनासशृङ्खलाको अन्त्य हुनु हालको आवश्यकता हो। सरकारले ‘आतङ्ककारी’का नाममा र माओवादीले ‘वर्गशत्रु’ का नाममा शत्रुतापूर्वक व्यक्तिहत्या, अपहरण आदि ज्यादती गरिरहेका छन्। यसको अन्त्यका लागि हालसम्म भएका शान्तिवार्ताका प्रयासले शान्ति कायम हुन

सकेको छैन। माओवादीले आफ्नो न्यूनतम शर्त संविधानसभा¹लाई मानेको छ भने सरकारले न्यूनतम शर्त तोक्नै सकेको छैन। फलतः समस्या जहाँको तहाँ छ।

माओवादी समस्याका कारण:

१. गलत राजनीतिक संस्कार

राणाहरूको उदयपश्चात् विकसित चाकडी प्रथामा आधारित व्यवस्थालाई २००७ र ०४६ का राजनीतिक परिवर्तनले पनि खासै बदल्न सकेनन्। २०४६ को आन्दोलनमा केही समय “संयुक्त” भएका राजनीतिक दलहरू २००७-२०१७ सालसम्म जसरी नै २०४८ सालको आमनिर्वाचनदेखि २०५९ आश्विन १८ को शाही कदम हुँदासम्म पनि आपसी “दुस्मन” भए। “प्रतिबन्धित” अवस्थामा समेत मुख्य राजनीतिक दलहरू काङ्ग्रेस र कम्युनिस्टबीच “पानी बाराबार” को स्थिति रह्यो। दलहरू सुसंस्कृत नभएकाले कार्यकर्ता र जनता पनि गलत राजनीतिक संस्कारका शिकार भए। फलतः समाज नै द्वन्द्वमय विकल्पतर्फ आकर्षित भयो।

२. निर्वाचनप्रणाली र प्रजातन्त्र

हाल प्रयोगमा रहेको सामान्य बहुमत प्रणाली र २०४६ सम्म प्रयोगमा रहेको प्रतिस्पर्धी बहुमत प्रणालीबाट सबै वर्ग, जात, धर्म, लिङ्ग र सम्प्रदायको प्रतिनिधित्व हुन सकेन। त्यसमा पनि राजनीतिक विभाजन र भिनो अन्तरबाट जित्ने/हार्ने अवस्थाजस्ता निर्वाचनप्रणालीका दोषले प्रतिनिधित्वमा असर परेको छ। “मताधिकार, प्रतिनिधि छान्ने र प्रतिनिधि हुने” तीन प्रक्रियामध्ये कुनै एकको प्रयोग हुन नसक्ने भएमा त्यस्तो निर्वाचनप्रणालीलाई “दोषयुक्त” मान्नुपर्दछ। निर्वाचनद्वारा जति मात्रामा जाति, वर्ग, समुदायको उचित प्रतिनिधित्व हुन सक्छ, मतदाताले त्यति नै बढी समस्या समाधान गर्न सक्छन्।^२ निर्वाचन

^१ डा. बाबुराम भट्टराई, संविधान..., कान्तिपुर, कार्तिक २६, २०५७

^२ जोसेफ एफ जीमरम्यान Electrol System and Direct Citizen Law Making paper present in FRG, July 1, 1987

प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणालीको लागि अपरिहार्य तत्व हो। यद्यपि विगतमा त्यसको प्रयोग स्वार्थपूर्तिका लागि भयो^३ र पैसा, पदीय दुरुपयोग र धाँधली निर्वाचनको पर्याय बन्यो^४। फलतः विद्यमान अवस्थामा सर्वसाधारणले देशमा प्रजातन्त्र छ भन्ने अनुभूतिसमेत गर्न छाडिसकेका छन्।^५ सशस्त्र द्वन्द्व चलाउनमा यही पक्ष मुख्य कारण हुन पुगेको छ।

३. गरिबी, अशिक्षा र अवसरको कमी

गरिब भएर अशिक्षित र अशिक्षित भएर नै अवसरबाट वञ्चित भएकाहरूको सङ्ख्या ठूलो छ। शासनप्रशासनमा एकाधिकार प्राप्त केही “जात” हरूको नियन्त्रणका कारण गरिब, पिछडिएका, जाति, जनजाति, वर्गहरू प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक सेवाको अवसरबाट टाडिएका छन्। हालसम्मका संविधान निर्माताहरूले गरिबीमा रुमल्लिएका व्यक्तिको हितमा संविधान निर्माण गरेका छैनन्।^६ अतः शिक्षित र स्वावलम्बी नभएसम्म खेताला, गोठाला, हली, ज्यामी बनाई शोषण गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने मध्यकालीन शोषक चिन्तन विद्यालयको स्थापना, सञ्चालन, पाठ्यक्रम निर्धारण र भर्ना प्रक्रियामा पनि हावी भयो।^७ २०४७ को संविधानले निम्न स्तरका गरिब, पिछडिएका व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्थामा अधिकतम सहभागी गर्ने, त्यस्ता समाज, समुदायको हित, प्रवर्द्धन गर्नेतर्फ खासै महत्व दिएन।^८ परिणामतः प्रजातन्त्र सर्वसाधारण नेपालीहरूका लागि महत्वहीन बन्दै गयो।^९

^३ निलाम्बर आचार्य एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल भो. ३४/३५, २००१, पृष्ठ ७/८

^४ दमननाथ ढुंगाना, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल भो. ३८, २००१, पृष्ठ ६, विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय, अर्न्तवार्ता, जनमन्त्र, मे ९, १९९७ --(=, कानून, नोभेम्बर २०००, दमन नाथ ढुंगाना, काठमाडौं पोष्ट, १९ फेब्रुअरी, २०००

^५ राजन भट्टराई, थ्रेट टु नेपाली डेमोक्रेसी, प्लसमेडियम, २००३, पृष्ठ २०

^६ टेक ताम्राकार, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल पृष्ठ ७१

^७ प्रो. डा. अनन्त राज पौडेल, गभर्नेन्स इल नेपाल, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल भो. ३३, २००१, पृष्ठ १३/१४

^८ दमननाथ ढुंगाना, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल, भो. ३८, पृष्ठ ३/४

^९ बलबहदुर मुखिया, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल, ऐ ऐ पृष्ठ ५६

४. जनजाति र क्षेत्रीय वर्गको उपेक्षा:

पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको शासनकालपछाडि हालसम्म ४८.६ प्रतिशत^{१०} “दुई जात” ले राजनीति र सरकारका सम्पूर्ण अंगहरूको ९५ प्रतिशतभन्दा बढी सार्वजनिक पद भोग गरिएका छन्।

बहुमत जनसंख्यामध्ये थोरै अछूतका कारण, थोरै रङ्गका र थोरै शारीरिक बनौटका कारण राज्यका शासनप्रशासनका निकायहरूमा “अयोग्य” ठहरिँदै आए। २०४७ अगाडिको संविधानमा, ती जाति, जनजातिको मातृभाषा, धर्म, लिपिको संरक्षण, शिक्षाको व्यवस्था गर्नुको बदला “गैरकानुनी” मानी रोक लगाइयो।

राजनीतिक दलहरूले समेत नेतृत्व चयन गर्दा यस्तो असमानताको अन्त्य गर्न नसक्नु र २०४७ को संविधानको प्रयोगले पनि जाति, भाषा, धर्म, वर्ग, क्षेत्र र लिङ्गका आधारमा गरिने भेदभावको अन्त्य गर्न नचाहनु उक्त परिस्थितिको कारक हो।

उदाहरणका लागि^{११} सन् २००० को तथ्यांकको आधारमा

क्रसं	जात	मन्त्री-मण्डल	%	प्रतिनिधि सभा	%	मन्त्रालयका सचिव	%	त्रि.वि. वि.का प्राध्याप	%
१.	ब्राम्हण	१२	४८	७७	३७.७	१९	५४.३	२४२३	४३.८
२.	क्षेत्री	३	१२	४७	२२.९	५	१४.२	६९०	-
३.	तराइवासी	४	१६	३९	१९	४	११.४	८३४	-
४.	रालिमगुता	३	१२	२७	१३.२	-	-	१३८	-
५.	नेवार	२	८	१३	६.३४	७	२०	१३६५	-
६.	मुस्लीम	१	४	२	१	-	-	४१	-
७.	अन्य	-	-	-	-	-	-	४३	-

^{१०} केन्द्रीय तथ्यांक विभाग स्ट्याटिस्टिकल एयर बुक इल नेपाल, २००३, पृष्ठ २१-२६

^{११} प्रो. डा. अनन्तराज पौडेल, ऐ ऐ पृष्ठ.....

५. शासनव्यवस्थाको संरचना

राणा शासनयता संरचित शासनव्यवस्था केन्द्रीकृत छ। यसबीचमा हरेक आन्दोलन सम्झौतामा अन्त्य गरी पूर्वशासनप्रणालीलाई थोरै परिवर्तन गरी निरन्तरता दिइएको छ। समग्रमा, कार्यपालिका, व्यवस्थापिका र न्यायपालिका संवैधानिक सीमाभित्र आबद्ध भई कार्यरत छैनन्।^{१२} २०५९ असोज १८ पछि त अति आधारभूत संवैधानिक व्यवस्थाबमोजिम पनि काम भएका छैनन्।

६. जुंगाको विवाद

विवाद हुनै नपर्ने विषयसमेत परम्परागत सोचग्रस्त पूर्वाग्रहका कारण विवादित छ। संविधानमा “हिन्दू अधिराज्य” र “देवनागरी लिपिमा नेपाली भाषा” “राष्ट्रभाषा” उल्लेख गरिनु यसैको उदाहरण हो।

७. ऐतिहासिक परिस्थिति

डेढ दसय वर्ष अधिसम्म नेपालको शासनव्यवस्था स्थानीय जाति, भाषा, क्षेत्रबमोजिमका अलग-अलग राज्य व्यवस्था भएको र ती राज्य व्यवस्था अधिल्लो अवस्थामा कमजोर संघीय संरचनामा आबद्ध थिए। यसअतिरिक्त किराँत, लिच्छवी, मल्ल र राणाहरू तथा बाइसे चौबीसे राजारजौटाहरूको अवशेष अद्यापि छँदैछ। हाम्रो राजनीतिक प्रणालीले हाम्रा परम्परागत परिस्थिति र वर्तमान अवस्थाबीच संवेदनशील ढंगबाट सन्तुलन कायम गर्नुपर्छ।^{१३} त्यसो नहुँदा स्वभाविक रूपमा वितृष्णा र विद्रोही भावना जागृत हुन्छ।

^{१२} बरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता मुकुन्द रेग्मी, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल भो. ३४/३५, २००१, पृष्ठ ५

^{१३} निलाम्बर आचार्य, ऐ ऐ, पृष्ठ ९

८. भ्रष्टाचार तथा राजनीतिक अपराध

मानवीय कमजोरीका कारण भ्रष्ट आचरण बारम्बार हुन सक्छ तर राज्यका संयन्त्र त्यसविरुद्ध चनाखो र नियन्त्रणउन्मुख हुनुपर्दछ। उच्चपदस्थ व्यक्तिहरू स्वैत अपराधमा लिप्त हुनु र भ्रष्टाचारको बढ्दै जानु नै विद्यमान दैनिक प्रशासन र न्याय व्यवस्था जटिल हुनुको कारक हो। राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचारको सीमा छैन। माओवादीले असुल गरेको चन्दाको पारदर्शी हिसाब नभएको हुँदा^{१४} माओवादीमाथि समेत सर्वसाधारणले भ्रष्टाचारको शङ्का गर्न थालेका छन्। डलर काण्ड, पजेरो काण्ड, सांसदअपहरण काण्ड, बोइङ काण्ड (धमिजा र लाउडा), दिलसाद वेग हत्याकाण्ड आदि राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचारका नमुना मान्न सकिन्छ।^{१५} सारमा व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थकै कारण नेताहरूले प्रजातान्त्रिक संस्कारका लागि आवश्यक राजनीतिक सोच राख्न सकेनन्।^{१६}

९. अक्षमता र अदूरदर्शीता

अदूरदर्शी, अक्षम र स्वार्थी उच्चपदस्थहरू हुनु र तिनलाई कुनै पनि परिवर्तनले ठीक स्थानमा ल्याउन नसक्नु आमनागरिकको दुर्भाग्य हो। तिनले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सभा, सम्मेलन, वार्ता, बैठकमा राज्यको उचित प्रतिनिधित्व गर्न नसकेका कारण राज्यले नै अरुको सामु घुँडा टेक्नुसमेत परेको छ।

१०. अति राजनीतीकरण

राजनीतिक सीमा र क्षेत्रलाई विर्सिएर हर क्षेत्रमा गरिने राजनीतिक चालबाजी गैरराजनीतिक क्षेत्रहरू तहसनहस हुनुका मुख्य कारण हुन्। अर्थतन्त्र, शिक्षा, सामान्य प्रशासन, प्रहरी, न्यायप्रशासन, वाणिज्य, विदेश

^{१४} दमननाथ ढुंगाना, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल ल भो. ३८, २००१, पृष्ठ ५

^{१५} बलबहादुर मुखिया, ऐ ऐ, पृष्ठ ५६-५९

^{१६} धुवकुमार, के कारणले नेपालको प्रजातन्त्र विरामी भयो ? (What ails democracy in Nepal?), CNAS काठ. १९९८ पृष्ठ ४

नीति आदि दलगत राजनीति गरिनुपर्ने क्षेत्र होइनन् । विडम्बना, ती सम्पूर्ण निकायमा राजनीतिक दलले शाखा विस्तार गरेर प्रशासन, न्याय, सुरक्षा, उद्योग वाणिज्यसमेत प्रत्यक्ष राजनीतिक दलबाट प्रभावित भएका छन् ।^{१७} न्याय, कानुनको भेदभावपूर्ण प्रयोग, अवसर प्रदानमा कपटी आचरण, उत्पीडन, दमन, जातिवादी स्वार्थका लागि राज्य संयन्त्रकै प्रयोग आदिसमेत विद्यमान माओवादी विद्रोह विस्तारका थप कारण हुन् । चरम सामन्ती तथा अहंकारी राजनीतिक संस्कार पनि सशस्त्र विद्रोहको निम्ति थप जिम्मेवार छ ।

शान्तिस्थापना कार्य

शान्ति स्थापना कार्य पूर्ण राजनीतिक विषयवस्तु हो । तसर्थ निकासका लागि राजनीतिक वार्ता मात्रै विकल्प हुन सक्छ ।

संविधाननिर्माण

युद्धविराम र वार्ताको परिणाम संविधान निर्माण नै हो- वर्तमान संविधान संशोधन गरेर होस् वा नयाँ संविधान लेखेर । त्यसनिम्ति संविधान सभा, जनमत संग्रह, संविधान संशोधन, सर्वदलीय आयोग आदि कुनै पनि प्रक्रिया अवलम्बन हुन सक्छ ।

संविधानको प्रकृति र ढाँचा

यो राज्यमा पाँच पटकसम्म संविधान लेखिएका छन् । ती सबै संविधान निर्माणमा राजाको (२००४ सालबाहेक) स्वार्थ प्रधान देखिन्छ । संविधान सभा वा संसद कहींबाट ती कुनै पनि संविधान अनुमोदन भएका छैनन् ।

हालसम्मका सबै संविधानमा निम्न दुर्गुण देखा पर्छन् -

१. राजाद्वारा प्रदत्त भएकोले आफ्नो अधिकारको पृष्ठपोषण गर्नु, त्यसवारेमा उचित तर्क गर्न नसक्नु ।

^{१७} दमननाथ ढुंगाना, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल, ऐ पृष्ठ ८, विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय, एसेज अन कन्स्टीच्यूसनल, भो. २९, १९९९ पृष्ठ. २

२. शासनव्यवस्थाका संरचनाहरू अन्य मुलुकका उत्तम मोडलमा आधारित भए पनि स्थानीय ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि महत्त्वहीन ठान्नु ।

३. २०१५ र २०१८ को संविधान लेख्ने विशेषज्ञलाई नेपालको यथार्थ नबताई सतही जानकारी दिनु ।

४. २०४७ को संविधानले उत्कृष्ट मोडल भित्र्याए पनि माथिबाट तल शासन संचालनको प्रबन्ध मात्र गर्न सक्नु ।

५. नागरिकहरूको दमित भावना बुझी वास्तवमा सबै जाति, जनजाति, वर्ग, लिङ्ग आदि यथार्थलाई समानता दिन नचाहनु ।

उल्लिखित दुर्गुणहरू संविधानका प्रावधानहरूले स्पष्ट गर्दछ । नागरिकताप्राप्ति (लैङ्गिक, भेदभाव धारा ९) मा गरिएको व्यवस्था धारा ११ को समानताद्वारा ध्यान मोड्न चाहेको देखिन्छ । समान प्रकृतिका नियोजित प्रावधानहरू धारा १९, धारा ३, धारा १८ र धारा ६ मा छन् । यसअतिरिक्त संविधानमा लेखिएका राम्रा प्रावधानहरू सीमित व्यक्ति, जाति र वर्गका हितमा मात्र प्रयोग हुन सक्नु भनी धारा १२ (२) खण्ड १, २, ३, ४ र ५ धारा १३ (१) प्रतिबन्धात्मक खण्ड, धारा २० (१) प्रतिबन्धात्मक खण्ड, धारा ११२, ११३ लगायत एक चौथाइ संविधानका धाराहरूको प्रयोग निर्विकल्प नभएर स्वविवेकीय नियन्त्रणद्वारा निर्देशित छन् । बहुचर्चित धारा १२७ को प्रयोग र धारा २७ को प्रावधानले समेत उक्त यथार्थलाई प्रष्ट गर्दछ ।

संविधानको ढाँचा

समाजको सर्वोपरि हित, उन्नतिको लागि संविधान बाधक बन्न हुँदैन । वर्तमान संविधानको भाषा र प्रावधान कपटपूर्ण भएकोले समस्याको निकास ठूलो परिवर्तन वा नयाँ लेखनबाहेक अन्य प्रक्रियाद्वारा सम्भव छैन ।

अतः संविधान निर्माण गरिँदा निम्न अतिरिक्त ढाँचा उपयुक्त देखिन्छ ।

१. राजनीतिक ढाँचा

- (क) राजनीतिक निकायका संरचनाहरू अर्धसङ्घीय ढाँचामा लैजाने,

- (ख) स्थानीय गाउँ, प्रतिनिधित्व प्रक्रिया पारदर्शी प्रतिनिधिमूलक र न्यायपरक पार्ने । स्थानीय निकायलाई हालको तुलनामा बढी स्वायत्तता प्रदान गरी स्वायत्त निजामती प्रशासन र प्रहरीको व्यवस्था गर्ने । राज्यले तोकेका विषयवस्तुउपर आर्थिक स्वायत्तता र कानून निर्माण गर्न पाउने अधिकार प्रदान गर्ने ।
- (ग) जटिल बहुलवादी सामाजिक संरचना भएमा ती निकायको निर्वाचनमा एकल सङ्क्रमणीय पद्धति कायम गर्ने ।
२. संसद्
- (क) संसद् दुई तह नै कायम गर्ने ।
- (ख) तल्लो तह प्रतिनिधिमूलक राख्ने तर त्यसको निर्वाचन, निर्वाचन एकाई निर्वाचकमण्डलीय क्षेत्र मार्फत ६० प्रतिशत र राज्यस्तर निर्वाचन क्षेत्र मार्फत ४० प्रतिशत सदस्यहरूको निर्वाचन गर्ने ।
- (ग) माथिल्लो सदनलाई जातीय सद्भाव सदनको रूपमा विकास गर्ने । एकल सङ्क्रमणीय निर्वाचन, जातीय महासंघ, योग्यता, दक्षताका आधारमा पदेन र मनोनित सदस्यहरूको व्यवस्थाद्वारा सदनको स्थायी गठन गर्ने ।
३. मन्त्रिपरिषद् गठन
- जाति, जानजाति, वर्ग, क्षेत्र, लिङ्गको अनुपातमा मन्त्रिपरिषद् गठन गर्ने ।
- (क) संसदीय ढाँचा प्रयोगमा रहेको हुँदा मिश्रित संसदीय शासनप्रणाली कायम गर्ने ।
- (ख) प्रधानमन्त्रीको प्रत्यक्ष निर्वाचन गर्ने ।
४. आर्थिक ढाँचा
१. आर्थिक स्तरका आधारमा शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, नियुक्ति, सेवा आदि सहूलियत तथा उद्योग व्यवसायप्रधान ऋण, जमानत, अनुदान आदि सुविधा प्रदान गर्ने ।

२. प्राकृतिक स्रोत तथा दक्षताका आधारमा पेसा व्यवसाय सुरक्षा गर्ने ।
३. स्थानीय उत्पादन आदिको संरक्षण गर्ने र परम्परागत पेसा तथा रोजगारलाई राज्यले सुरक्षा प्रदान गर्ने ।
४. विपन्न वर्ग, जाति, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्रका व्यक्तिहरूलाई आर्थिक उन्नति प्रदान गर्ने कार्यक्रम संचालन गर्ने ।
५. सामाजिक न्याय व्यवस्था
- (क) स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, रोजगार आदि राज्यले प्रदान गर्ने सुविधा, सहूलियत अवसरहरू पिछडिएका वर्ग, जाति, जनजाति, लिङ्ग, वर्ण, क्षेत्रका व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रथामिकताका आधार प्रदान गर्ने ।
- (ख) राज्यकोष खर्च गरी प्रदान गरिने जागरण, साक्षरता, सीपमूलक कार्यक्रम, ऋणप्रवाह, सहूलियत, अनुदानसमेत त्यस्ता व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रथामिकताका साथ प्रदान गर्ने ।
- (ग) सम्भव भएसम्म सम्पूर्ण जात, जाति, भाषा, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्र, समूदायको पहिचान र योगदान जनिने गरी पठनपाठनको व्यवस्था गर्ने तथा तिनीहरूको संस्कार, सभ्यता र सीप सुरक्षित गर्ने ।
- (घ) प्रत्येक जाति, भाषा, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्रको पूर्ण ज्ञान दिलाउन सङ्ग्राहलय स्थापना गर्ने ।
६. संवैधानिक निकाय
- (क) संवैधानिक पदमा नियुक्ति गर्न जाति, जनजाति, वर्ग, लिङ्ग, क्षेत्रहरूको समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व हुने गरी सल्लाहकार समिति गठन गर्ने ।
- (ख) सल्लाहकार समितिको सिफारिसमा सर्वोच्च अदालतलगायतका निकायमा खण्ड (क) को अनुपातमा नियुक्त गर्ने ।

समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिमा जातीय समस्या, राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थ र आरक्षण

● खगेन्द्र प्रसाई

नेपाली समाजको अहिलेको सर्वाधिक महत्त्वको मुद्दा “हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्व” र समस्याको निकास “दिगो शान्ति” मानिएको छ। तर दिगो शान्ति त्यति सहज कुरा होइन। समाजको निरन्तर प्रगतिशील रूपान्तरण र सामाजिक अन्तरविरोधहरूको प्रभावकारी र निरन्तर निकासमा दिगो शान्ति निर्भर गर्दछ। जातीयताको मुद्दा वर्तमानको द्वन्द्व, विकास, लोकतन्त्र, समानता आदिसँग जोडिएर उठ्ने गरेको छ। यस विषयले २०४६ पछि सार्वजनिक बहसमा पर्याप्त स्थान प्राप्त गरेको छ। यस मुद्दाको उठानमा गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरू अगुवा बनेका छन् र दाताहरूले अपार धनराशी खन्याएका छन्। तर, यो विषयको उठान, समस्याको प्रस्तुति र समाधानका प्रस्तावहरू निकै हल्का ढङ्गले भएका छन्।

यस समस्याको उठानमा देखिएको प्रमुख त्रुटि के हो भने यसले नेपाली समाजको प्रमुख चरित्रलाई गहन ढंगले बुझ्न सकेन या बुझ्ने कोसिस गरेन। नेपाली समाजको प्रमुख समस्या या अन्तरविरोध आर्थिक विसमता हो या वर्गीय प्रकृतिको हो या त्यस उप-उत्पादन या त्यसलाई टिकाउन

रचिएका र मजबुत गरिएका सामाजिक मूल्य र सम्बन्ध नै हो। कुनै व्यक्ति या समूह पछि पर्नुको प्रधान कारण जात या जातीयता नभएर उसको आर्थिक स्रोतमाथिको पहुँचको अभाव नै हो।

नेपालका थुप्रै ठाउँमा भएका र भइरहेका संस्कृतीकरण (Sanskritization) यसको ठोस र अकाट्य प्रमाणहरू हुन्। संस्कृतीकरण यस्तो प्रक्रिया हो जसमा “तल्लो” जात या “जाति” क्रमशः उपल्लो जातिको सामाजिक सम्मान, सुविधा र शक्तिर उक्लन्छ। अध्ययनहरूका निष्कर्ष के हुन् भने यस प्रक्रियाको प्रमुख कारण आर्थिक अवस्थामा आएको परिवर्तन नै हो। यसरी जातीय मुद्दाको उठानले असमानता र भेदभावको वास्तविक कारण र आधारलाई छायामा पारेको छ। यसो भनेर जातीय विभेद छैन भनिएको भने होइन बरु त्यसैको जरा या आधारलाई पहिल्याउन खोजिएको मात्र हो।

अब अहिलेसम्म अघि सारिएका समाधानका प्रस्तावहरूलाई हेरौं।

पहिलो, आरक्षण। यसभित्रका कमजोरीहरू हेरौं :

पहिलो, आरक्षणले समाजका सम्पूर्ण मानिसलाई परिवर्तनमा सहभागी गराई त्यसको फल चखाउँदैन। यसले पिछडिएकाहरूमध्ये “केही” लाई मात्र “भाग्यमानी” बनाउँछ। आरक्षणबाट प्राप्त अवसरको फाइदा कुनै खास जातिको साँढै सानो अंशले मात्र प्राप्त गर्छ र त्यो अंश पनि अरू अवसरमा पहिला नै पहुँच भएको व्यक्ति वा समूह हुने छ। बहुसङ्ख्यकहरूको अवस्थामा त्यसले कुनै सकारात्मक र प्रगतिशील प्रभाव पार्नेछैन।

दोस्रो, आरक्षणको माग समाजको खास स्थानका अवसरहरूमा गरिएको छ। यसले समाजका सबै अवसरहरूलाई आकर्षित र गुणस्तरीय बनाउनुपर्छ भन्ने कुरा चुइँक्क पनि उठान गर्दैन। प्रजातान्त्रिक र दिगो समाधान त समाजका विविध अवसरहरूलाई “स्तरीय अवसरहरूमा” रूपान्तरण गर्नु र सबैका लागि गुणस्तरीय अवसरहरूको निर्माण गर्नु हो। लोकतन्त्रमा सबैलाई उच्च जीवन स्तरको अधिकार छ, जो आरक्षणले गर्न सक्दैन। लोकतन्त्र सबैलाई गुणस्तरीय अवसरको स्थिति सिर्जना गर्ने व्यवस्था हुनुपर्छ।

१. नेपालमा वस्तुगत स्थितिले कुनै खास भू-भागमा जातीय स्वायत्तता सम्भव छैन किनभने नेपालको कुनै पनि भूभागमा एक मात्र जाति या सांस्कृतिक सम्प्रदाय बसोबास गर्दैन। बहुमत जातिको स्वायत्तता भनिएको हो भने त्यो लोकतान्त्रिक हुँदैन किनभने एक जातिको शासकीय वर्चस्व या विशिष्टता या एकाधिकारलाई कायम गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ जहाँ अन्य जातिहरू फेरि पनि अल्पमतमा पर्न जान्छन्।
२. यस मान्यताले जातीयताको निरन्तरता र संस्कृतिको संरक्षणलाई आवश्यक ठान्छ। समाजशास्त्रीय आँखाले हेर्दा खुला र परिवर्तित समाजमा संस्कृति पनि सामाजिक जीवनका अरू पक्षसँगै निरन्तर परिवर्तन भइरहन्छ, स्थिर रहँदैन। आर्थिक र राजनीतिक परिवर्तन अनि संस्कृतिसंरक्षणको कुरा गर्नु अवैज्ञानिक र असङ्गतिपूर्ण हुन्छ। संस्कृतिको संरक्षण गर्नुभनेको यथास्थितिवाद र प्रतिक्रियावादी मान्यता हो। समाजको निरन्तर परिवर्तनको प्रक्रियामा संस्कृति पनि निरन्तर परिवर्तन भइरहने कुरा हो।
३. लोकतान्त्रिक सहभागिताको हिसाबले हेर्दा कुनै जात या जाति विशेषको शासनको प्रत्याभूति गर्ने हो भने त्यहाँ अन्य जातिको स्थिति के हुने? यदि सबै समानताको आधारमा शासन प्रकृत्यामा प्रत्यक्ष-परोक्ष सहभागि हुन्छन् भने त्यो “जातीय” स्वशासन भयो कसरी? यदि सबैले समानताका आधारमा सहभागी हुन पाउँदैनन् भने आधारभूत लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारको उल्लङ्घन भएन?
४. आत्मनिर्णय केलाई भन्ने- जातिको पहिचान र हैसियतमा शासनको सहभागितालाई या एक व्यक्ति या नागरिकको रूपमा स्वतन्त्र ढंगले शासनमा सहभागितालाई? प्रत्येक नागरिकलाई समानताका आधारमा शासनमा प्रत्यक्ष/परोक्ष सहभागी हुने व्यवस्था गर्ने हो भने त्यो आत्मनिर्णयको अधिकारको प्रत्याभूति भएन।
५. “जातीयता” को चिन्तन विभाजनकारी हुने खतरा छ। जातीयताको आधारमा विभाजन गाढा भएका देशहरू लामो कालसम्म पनि त्यसले सृजना गरेको सामाजिक द्वन्द्व र अराजकताको शिकार भएका प्रमाणहरू छन्। यसले व्यक्तिलाई समाज र राष्ट्रको स्वतन्त्र, सक्रिय र

चिन्तनशील सदस्य बनाउनुको सट्टा एउटा जाति या सम्प्रदायको साँगुरो घेराभित्र सीमित गर्दछ।

६. संवैधानिक र राजनैतिक रूपले “जात जात एक ठाउँ” “जातको लागि जात” भनेर मान्ने हो भने यसले जातिवादलाई अनावश्यक पक्षपोषण गर्नुलाई स्वभाविक र स्वीकार्य बनाउँछ। यो भनेको जातीय सङ्घर्षताको प्रवर्द्धन हो।

समाधानको खोजी

१. पहिलो समाधान राज्यको चरित्रको रूपान्तरण हो। अर्थात्, राज्यको लोकतान्त्रीकरण। राज्यका अङ्गहरूको लोकतान्त्रीकरण र पार्टीहरूको लोकतान्त्रीकरण।
२. स्थानीय निकायको सबलीकरण र केन्द्रीय, क्षेत्रीय र स्थानीय निकायबीच अधिकार र कर्तव्यको साभेदारी।
३. स्थानीय, क्षेत्रीय र केन्द्रीय निकायहरूको नेतृत्वमा नागरिकहरूको अंश (Share) रहने गरी साना, मझौला, ठूला उद्योगहरूको स्थापना।
४. स्थानीय निकायद्वारा शैक्षिक संस्था, अस्पताल र अन्य आवश्यकताका कतिपय वस्तु र सेवाहरूको सुलभ मूल्यमा संचालन।
५. स्थानीय निकायद्वारा साना तथा मझौला उद्योग, बैंक र अन्य आर्थिक क्रियाकलापको संचालन। यसले नागरिकहरूको सहभागिता र स्वामित्वलाई सहज पार्दछ र साधन तथा स्रोतलाई केन्द्रीकृत हुनबाट बचाउँछ।



शान्तिस्थापनामा युवाको भूमिका

● सोम लुईटेल

देशको कुल जनसंख्याको बहुसंख्यक हिस्सा युवाले ओगटेको छ। तसर्थ युवा नेतृत्वका समस्याबारे छलफल गर्दा पनि शान्ति स्थापनामा उनीहरूको भूमिकालाई केन्द्र बनाउनुपर्छ। यसै सन्दर्भमा युवाका समस्यामा केन्द्रित यो अवधारणापत्रले राजनीतिक नेतृत्वलाई केन्द्र बनाएको छ। माओवादी युवा र महिलाका समस्या जस्ता युवाका क्षेत्रगत समस्याबारे पनि यहाँ गहिरो विश्लेषण गरिएको छैन।

क. नेपाली युवाका प्रमुख समस्या

१. गरिवी, बेरोजगारी, उपयुक्त शिक्षाको अभाव, जीवन धान्न नसक्ने अर्थतन्त्र, नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी अवसरहरूको अभाव, नीतिनिर्माणमा सहभागिताको उपयुक्त वातावरणको कमी, विकास तथा शान्तिस्थापना प्रक्रियामा युवाको कमजोर भूमिका नेपाली युवाका प्रमुख समस्याहरू हुन्। त्यसमा पनि महिला, जनजाति, दलित तथा पिछडिएका वर्ग र क्षेत्रका युवाका समस्या अझ जटिल छन्।
२. विशेषज्ञ शिक्षामा सबै युवाको समान पहुँच नहुनु अर्को प्रमुख समस्या हो। देशको समग्र शिक्षानीति वैज्ञानिक, जनमुखी तथा सुलभ नभएका कारणले नेपाली युवा उत्पादनशील, स्वावलम्बी र सक्षम हुन सकेका

छैनन्। सामान्य शिक्षासमेत हासिल गर्न नपाएका युवाको संख्या पनि ठूलो छँदैछ।

३. बेरोजगारी नेपाली युवाको एक प्रमुख समस्या हो। सबै युवाले शिक्षा हासिल गर्न पाएका छैनन्, प्राविधिक र विशेषज्ञ शिक्षामा सीमित युवाको मात्र पहुँच छ र पढे-लेखेका पनि ९० प्रतिशतभन्दा बढी युवा बेरोजगार छन्। यसले गर्दा “शिक्षित बेरोजगारी” भविष्यमा नेपाली समाजको अझ ठूलो बोझ नबन्ला भन्न सकिन्न। यो अवस्थाले युवाको रचनात्मकतामा ह्रास आइरहेको छ भने देशविकासमा पनि नकारात्मक असर परेको छ।
४. शिक्षित युवाको विदेश पलायन अर्को चुनौति हो। राज्यले छात्रवृत्ति दिएर पठाएका व्यक्तिहरू विदेशतिरै बस्ने प्रवृत्तिले “थिङ्क ट्याङ्क” विदेशिने समस्या त छँदैछ, उनीहरूमाथि भएको लगानी पनि खेर जाने गरेको छ। विश्वव्यापीकरणका कारण सिर्जित अवसरका साथै यस्तो स्थानान्तरण घनीभूत हुँदा देशविकासमा पर्ने असरको पनि मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु जरुरी छ। अहिले विदेशमा काम गर्ने नेपाली कामदारमार्फत भित्रिने “रेमिटेन्स” को भूमिकालाई हेर्दा हाम्रा अदक्ष कामदारलाई अर्धदक्ष र दक्ष बनाउँदै अझ बढी वैदेशिक रोजगारीमा प्रोत्सासन गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ। माओवादी समस्यासमेतका कारण गाउँहरू युवाविहीन हुँदै गएको र त्यसले कृषिअर्थतन्त्र र सामाजिक जीवनमा पर्ने असरबारे पनि विचार पुऱ्याउनु पर्छ।
५. देशको मूल विकास प्रक्रियामा युवासहभागिता कमजोर छ। उनीहरू देशको नीति निर्माण, कर्मचारीतन्त्र, दल, व्यावसायिक संगठन तथा सामाजिक जीवनका अन्य क्षेत्रमा अपेक्षितरूपमा नेतृत्वदायी भूमिकामा छैनन्। उनीहरूलाई कमजोर र अपरिपक्व वर्गका रूपमा चित्रण गरिएको छ।
६. विशेषज्ञ शिक्षा सीमित वर्गलाई मात्र उपलब्ध हुनु, कमजोर नागरिक शिक्षाका कारण बहुसंख्यक युवाले राजनीतिमा सरोकार र चाख नराख्नु अर्को ठूलो दुर्भाग्य भएको छ। सम्पन्न वर्गका, शहरीया निजी विद्यालयमा अध्ययन गरेका युवामा राजनीति, देश, सामाजिक विषयहरूमा चासो नराख्ने प्रवृत्ति भएबाट असल शासनका लागि चुनौती थपिएको छ। उनीहरूको अनुत्पादक र आपराधिक गतिविधिमा रहने गरेको संलग्नताको स्थिति ज्यादै खतरानाक छ।

७. नेपाली युवाबीचमा ठूला-ठूला विभेद पनि देखिन्छन् । यस्ता विभेद लिङ्ग, जात, जाति, शैक्षिक पृष्ठभूमि, सामाजिक उत्पत्ति, आर्थिक हैसियत आदिमा आधारित छन् । महिला, दलित र अल्पसंख्यक र ग्रामीण युवा अझ पिछडिएका र भेदभावग्रस्त छन् । यसविरुद्ध कुनै संस्थागत र नीतिगत व्यवस्था गरिएको छैन । यी विभिन्नताले युवाएकतालाई विभाजन हुनपुगेको छ ।
८. नेपाली युवा सामाजिक, नागरिक, सांस्कृतिक र आर्थिक भूमिकामा पनि कमजोर छन् । युवालाई सामाजिक जीवनका नेतृत्वमा स्थापित गराउने, उद्योग र व्यापारका क्षेत्रमा नेतृत्वदायी भूमिका दिने मामलामा समेत कुनै संस्थागत प्रयास भएको छैन ।
९. युवा योग्य, स्वस्थ, स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोणसहितका सक्रिय र आशावादी भएमा देशको दिगो विकासमा मद्दत पुग्छ । तर, यसविरुद्ध भएमा समग्र विकास प्रक्रियामा नकारात्मक असर पार्ने मात्र होइन, अपराध र हिंसाको वृद्धिमा सहयोग पुग्छ । मूलधारको विकास प्रक्रियामा युवाको कमजोर पहुँच पनि सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वलाई निरन्तरता दिने र विकास गराउने कारक हो ।
१०. सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वका बाहक र अग्रदस्ता युवा नै हो । युवालाई रचनात्मक र स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोणपूर्ण बनाउन सकिएमा र राष्ट्रनिर्माण तथा शान्ति स्थापनामा भूमिका दिन सकिएमा त्यसको असर सशस्त्र विद्रोहमा सरिक युवामा पनि पर्दछ । तर, त्यसो हुनसकेको छैन ।

ख. युवाको नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी समस्या

युवाका समस्या पनि नेतृत्व विकाससंग सम्बन्धित छन् । यहाँ नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी, अझ विशेष गरी राजनीतिक नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी समस्याहरूलाई सूत्रबद्ध गरिएको छ ।

१. **सिद्धान्त, नीति र नेतृत्वप्रतिको आस्थामा गिरावट** : मूलधारका राजनीतिकदलका नेताहरू सिद्धान्तबाट विमुख हुने, नीतिमा स्थिरता नहुने, असक्षम, अनैतिक र भ्रष्ट भएको कारणले युवा नेताहरूमा सिद्धान्त, दल र नेतृत्वप्रति निराशा उत्पन्न भएको छ । यो निराशालाई हटाउन संस्थागत प्रयासहरूको अभाव छ ।

२. **दल सञ्चालनमा प्रजातान्त्रिक परिपाटीको अभाव** : राजनीतिक दलहरूमा आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्र सृष्टि नभएकाले युवा वर्गको लागि नेतृत्व विकासमा प्रतिकूल अवस्था छ । नेतृत्वको निहीत स्वार्थ र गुटगत प्रवृत्ति एवम् पुराना तथा नयाँ पुस्ताबीचको भिन्नताले युवालाई पुराना नेताको 'हुन्छबहादुर' बनाएको छ । पुस्तागतरूपमा रहेको वैचारिक र मनोविज्ञानिक भिन्नता; नयाँ पुस्तामा रहेको विचार र सिद्धान्तप्रतिको उदासीनता र प्राविधिक पक्षमा लगाव तथा पुरानो पुस्ताको आधुनिक प्रविधिप्रतिको कमजोर पकड आदिले दुई पुस्ताबीच व्यापक भिन्नता पैदा गरेको छ ।
३. **नेतृत्व विकासमा संस्थागत संरचनाको अभाव** : पढाइमा कमजोर र अन्य क्षेत्रमा काम नलाग्ने मान्छे नेता बन्ने प्रवृत्ति हावी छ । राजनीति लाग्ने युवालाई नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी तालिम, अध्ययन, सुविधा, अध्ययन भ्रमणको कुनै सरकारी, गैरसरकारी वा दलगत व्यवस्था छैन ।
४. युवाको भूमिकालाई अवमूल्यन गर्ने संरचना र परिपाटी : दलको नीतिनिर्माण तह, कर्मचारीतन्त्रको उच्च ओहदा, व्यावसायिक संगठनको नेतृत्व जस्ता स्थानमा युवाको भूमिकालाई नजरअन्दाज गरिएको छ । प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने अवसर पाएका सीमित युवाको भूमिका पनि निर्णायक छैन । दलका भ्रातृ निकायका नेतृत्वमा युवा नै हुने भए पनि उनीहरू दलका निर्णायक बन्दी हुने गर्दछन् ।
५. युवाहरूमा विभाजन : युवा नेताहरू स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोणयुक्त, खुला दिमाग र रचनात्मक क्षमता नभएको पृष्ठभूमिमा उनीहरू पार्टीका र गुटका आधारमा विभाजित छन् । उनिहरू विषयका आधारमा विभाजित वा एकजुट हुने र नीतिनिर्माणमा भूमिका खेल्नसक्ने अवस्थामा छैनन् । युवाउत्थानकै विषयमा समेत पार्टीको हवीप पर्खने र त्यसैलाई अन्तिम सत्य मान्ने प्रचलन व्याप्त छ ।
५. युवा नेतृत्व समयानुसार दुरुस्त बन्न नसक्नु : युवा नेताहरूले युवाको अवस्था, चाहना, माग र चुनौतीलाई आत्मसात् गर्न सकेका छैनन् । उनीहरूमा आधुनिकता, भूमण्डलीकरण, विज्ञान प्रविधि र सूचना प्रविधिले सिर्जना गरेको अनुकुलतालाई आत्मसात् गर्ने र सोअनुरूप आफूलाई रूपान्तरण गर्ने प्रवृत्तिको अभाव छ । बाहिरी संसारसँगको सम्पर्क पनि युवा नेताहरूमा अत्यन्त सीमित छ ।

६. युवाको भूमिका : शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा युवा नेतृत्वको भूमिका पनि परिभाषित तथा मजबुत छैन ।

ग. युवा नेतृत्वविकासका समस्याहरूको प्रकृति

युवाको नेतृत्व विकासमा देखिएका समस्याहरू मूलतः दुई प्रकृतिका छन्-

- संरचनागत : खास पदहरूमा उमेरको हद, कर्मचारीतन्त्रमा वरिष्ठता आदि ।
- मनोगत र प्रवृत्तिगत : युवाको भूमिकालाई कम आँक्नु ।

घ. युवा नेतृत्वविकासका लागि सुझाव

१. सरकारका लागि

- युवा नेतृत्वविकासका लागि संरचनागत अवरोधहरू हटाउने र युवामैत्री संरचनाको विकास गर्ने ।
- राज्यको पुनःसंरचना गरी दलित, महिला, जनजाति, पिछडिएका क्षेत्रका युवाको नीतिनिर्माण तहमा समान पहुँच स्थापित गर्ने ।
- शिक्षानीतिमा परिवर्तन गरी वैज्ञानिक र व्यावसायिक शिक्षामा जोड दिने । नागरिक शिक्षालाई बढावा दिने ।
- युवाको नेतृत्व विकाससम्बन्धी विदेशका वा केन्द्रीय स्तरका तालिम, अध्ययन, भ्रमण, छात्रवृत्तिमा सबै युवाको पहुँचलाई स्थापित गर्ने ।
- युवालार्ई राजनीतिक तथा नागरिक भूमिकामा प्रोत्साहन गर्न शिक्षा, सञ्चार, कर्मचारीसम्बन्धी नीतिमा पुनरावलोकन गर्ने ।
- युवा बेरोजगारीको अन्त्य गर्ने । युवालार्ई आकर्षक, चुनौतीपूर्ण र नीतिनिर्माणको तहका रोजगारी र व्यवसायमा स्थापित गराउने ।
- युवालार्ई सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्रमा स्थापित गराउन संरचनागत व्यवस्था गर्ने ।

- विशेषज्ञ युवालार्ई देशभित्रै रोजगारी र अवसरको सृजना गरी “थिङ्क ट्याङ्क” विदेशिनबाट रोक्ने ।
- युवाबीचमै रहेका भेदभावहरू हटाउन संचरनागत सुधार गर्ने ।
- देशको समग्र विकास र शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा युवाको भूमिकालाई सबल बनाउने ।
- भूमण्डलीकरण (विशेषतः नेपालको विश्व व्यापार सञ्जालमा प्रवेश) सँगै उत्पन्न भएको दक्ष जनशक्तिको अभाव पूरा गर्न युवालार्ई तालिम, अध्ययनसाथ अद्यावधि राख्ने ।

२. दलका लागि

- युवालार्ई नेतृत्वविकाससम्बन्धी तालिम र अरु अवसरहरू प्रदान गर्ने ।
- राजनीतिक दलभित्र आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको विकास गर्ने ।
- दलको जिम्मेवारीमा सिद्धान्तनिष्ठ, दृष्टिकोणयुक्त, समक्ष, योग्य युवालार्ई प्रोत्साहित गर्ने ।
- पार्टी जीवनमा रहेका सामन्ती संस्कृतिको अन्त्य गरी प्रजातान्त्रिक संस्कृतिको विकास गर्ने ।
- युवालार्ई विषयवस्तुको गुण र दोषका आधारमा पक्ष विपक्षमा लाग्ने, मतदान गर्ने परिपाटीको विकासका लागि संरचनागत, नीतिगत सुधार गर्ने ।
- युवा नेतृत्वलाई दलहरूको नेतृत्वमा स्थापित गर्न योजना बनाउने ।

३. गैरसरकारी संस्था तथा नागरिक समाजका लागि

- युवालार्ई नेतृत्व विकास, व्यक्तित्व विकास, प्रजातान्त्रिक संस्कारसम्बन्धी तालिम दिने र सोसम्बन्धी विदेशी अनुभव आर्जनका लागि प्रोत्साहन र सहयोग गर्ने ।

- युवालाई सीपविकास र आधुनिक प्रविधिसँग परिचित गराउने तथा भूमण्डलीकरणले सृजना गरेका चुनौती र अवसरहरूसँग एकाकार हुन सहयोग गर्ने ।
- राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक जीवनका समस्याबारे युवालाई परिचित गराउन अन्तरक्रिया, कार्यशाला, गोष्ठी आदि आयोजना गर्ने ।
- युवाबारेको र युवा स्वयम्को लघुताभाषी भूमिकालाई परिवर्तन गराउन शैक्षिक तथा सञ्चारका माध्यमलाई प्रयोग गर्ने ।
- राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक विषयहरू (जाति, जनजाति, लिङ्ग, मानवअधिकार, निर्वाचन प्रणाली र कानूनी राज्यका अवधारणागत पक्ष आदि) बारे युवालाई सचेत गराउने ।
- संवैधानिक विकास, राज्यको पुनःसंरचना र शान्ति निर्माण प्रक्रियामा युवाको भूमिकालाई सुदृढ गर्न सहयोग गर्ने ।
- नेतृत्व हस्तान्तरण तथा उत्तराधिकारीत्वका लागि चेतना, वकालतजस्ता अनुकूल अवस्था सिर्जना गर्ने ।
- विभिन्न तहका नेता तथा विशेषज्ञहरूसँग अन्तरक्रिया गराउने ।

४ . युवाका लागि

- स्वतन्त्र युवा आन्दोलनको विकासमा जोड दिने ।
- युवा नेताहरूको विषयकेन्द्री समूह गठन गर्ने ।
- राष्ट्रनिर्माण तथा विकास प्रक्रिया, द्वन्द्व रुपान्तरण, संवैधानिक विकास, कानूनी राज्यको स्थापना तथा नागरिक तथा सामाजिक भूमिकामा युवाको सरोकार र क्रियाशीलता बढाउने ।
- युवा एकतामा जोड दिने ।
- संसारमा र देशभित्रै विकास भइरहेका दार्शनिक अवधारणाप्रति स्पष्ट हुँदै हाम्रो भूगोल, गरिबी तथा पछ्यौटेपनबाट मुक्तिका

लागि जनपक्षीय, प्रजातान्त्रिक र समाजवादी विचारलाई जीवनदर्शन मान्ने ।

- भूमण्डलीकरणले सृजना गरेका अवसर र चुनौतीहरूको सामना गर्दै विश्वव्यापीरूपमा युवाको प्रतिस्पर्धामा नेतृत्वदायी भूमिका स्थापित गर्ने ।



नेपालको अर्थतन्त्र र भूमण्डलीकरण

● माधवप्रसाद आचार्य

पृष्ठभूमि

दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धपछि नेपालको अर्थव्यवस्थाले अनेक आकार लिँदै आएको छ। विश्वका अन्य धेरै मुलुकजस्तै दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धमा भारतीय अर्थतन्त्र पनि छिन्नभिन्न भएको थियो। नेपाली सैन्यले युद्धमा वीरता देखाए पनि नेपाली भूमिमा युद्ध भएको थिएन। युद्धको लगत्तैपछि पाटजस्ता केही उत्पादनको माग हवात्तै बढ्यो। नेपाली उद्यमीहरूले त्यो माग धानेका थिए र औद्योगिक अग्रसरताको आकाङ्क्षा राखे। आफ्नो अर्थतन्त्र क्रियाशील भएपछि भारतले व्यापारमा व्यवधान सिर्जना गर्‍यो। एकपछि अर्को गर्दै नेपालका औद्योगिक प्रयासहरू बन्द हुन थाले।

विस्तारै नेपालमा निर्यात प्रवर्द्धन र आयात प्रतिस्थापनको नयाँ युग सुरु भयो। भन्सारमहसुल तथा व्यापारसम्बन्धी महासहमति (जेनेरल एग्रीमेन्ट अन ट्यारिफ एन्ड ट्रेड)लाई संयोजन भए पनि यस सहमतिमा धेरै राष्ट्रले असहमति जनाए। भारतले स्पष्टतः आर्थिक संरक्षणको नीति लियो। अर्को ठूलो छिमेकी चीनले बन्द आर्थिक व्यवस्था अँगालिसकेको थियो। त्यतिखेरको द्विध्रुवीय विश्वका राजनीतिक प्रणाली मात्र द्विध्रुवीकृत थिएनन् आर्थिक प्रणाली पनि त्यसै दिशामा लम्केका थिए।

आर्थिक विचारधाराका दुई सम्प्रदाय सधैं सक्रिय छन्। एक थरी हरेक नागरिकको राष्ट्रिय स्रोतमा पहुँच निश्चित गर्न राष्ट्रिय स्रोतसाधन सरकारको नियन्त्रणमा रहनुपर्ने कुरा मान्दछन्। अर्का थरी यसमा सहमत छैनन्। उनीहरू स्रोतसाधनको अत्यधिक उपयोगका लागि निजी हातहरूलाई विश्वास गर्नुपर्ने ठान्छन्। दुवै किसिमका प्रणालीहरू हेरिइसकेका छन्। अर्थव्यवस्था सिङ्गो व्यवस्थाको एक भाग मात्र भएकाले एक खालको प्रणालीमाथि अर्को खालको प्रणालीको सर्वोच्चता सिद्ध गर्न सार्थक कठिन छ।

अर्थव्यवस्थाको चयन

नेपालले आफ्नो आर्थिक नीतिका रूप यी स्थापित विचारधारामध्ये कुनै एकलाई पछ्याएन। यसले सधैं तिनले नेपालका लागि सहयोग विस्तार गरून् भन्ने आशामा स्रोतसाधनयुक्त मुलुकहरूलाई रिभाई राख्न मात्र चाह्यो। केही दार्शनिकहरू खोट व्यवस्थामा होइन, कार्यान्वयनमा चाहिँ छ भन्ने ठान्छन्। यो सत्य होइन। व्यवस्थाको उचित कार्यशीलताका लागि सहयोगी संस्थापनाहरू हदैसम्म विकास हुनुपर्छ। अर्थव्यवस्था उचित ढङ्गले छानिएन भने आवश्यक संस्थापनाहरूले अपेक्षित आकार लिँदैनन्। उदाहरणका लागि सहकारी समाजवादी अर्थतन्त्रको मेरुदण्ड हो भने उत्पादकदेखि उपभोक्तासम्मका विविध तहका बजार र बजारप्रतिनिधि बजारमुखी पुँजीवादी अर्थतन्त्रका आधार हुन्। यसै गरी दुवै व्यवस्थाको उपभोगको संस्कृति पनि भिन्न हुन्छ।

नेपालले कुनै एक व्यवस्था नअँगालेको कारणले खास दिशामा व्यवस्थालाई चलाउन नसकेको भनेर प्रमाणित गर्न कसैलाई सचेत गराउनका लागि यी स्थापित सिद्धान्तहरूको यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएको होइन। तर, दुवै खालका अर्थव्यवस्थाका सकारात्मक मूल्यहरू समेटेर दुवैको सारको पद्धति बन्छ भन्ने भूटो आशासँग वास्तवमा यी कुनैको पनि भावना भिन्न सकेन।

मुलुकका अधिकारवालाहरूले अर्थतन्त्रलाई छ्यासमिस मात्र परेनन्, यसलाई छुट्टै स्थापित आर्थिक व्यवस्थाका रूपमा देखाउनका लागि पनि लादे। विश्वविद्यालय र कलेजहरूलाई कथित मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्थाको आधारणा

अध्यापन गराउन निर्दिष्ट गरियो । यसमा राम्रा पक्ष मात्र छन् भन्ने गरी पाठ्यक्रम विकास गरियो । सन् १९९० को दशकको सुरुसम्म यो व्यवस्था जारी रह्यो ।

आफूलाई सरकार ठान्ने राजनीतिकर्ताहरूलाई यसले अस्थायी राहत दियो । विभिन्न तहका आवधिक योजना बने र त्यसका पूरक वार्षिक योजनाहरू पनि बने तथापि लक्ष्य कहिल्यै हासिल हुन सकेन । भिन्नभिन्न पञ्चवर्षीय योजनामा राष्ट्रका भिन्नभिन्न प्राथमिकताहरू कायम रहे । प्राथमिकता किन फेरियो भनेर कुनै कारण त दिइएन किन असफल भयो भने मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने काम पनि भएन । यसो गरिएको थियो नै भने पनि त्यसलाई सार्वजनिक जानकारीमा कहिल्यै ल्याइएन । मुलुकको धरातलको यथार्थ अवस्थामा टेकिएर होइन माथिल्लो तहमा रहेकाहरूलाई कस्तो लाग्यो त्यसैअनुसार योजना गरेको देखियो ।

चीन र सोभियत सङ्घजस्ता मुलुकहरूले सरकारले नागरिक/समुदायहरूले भेदभावरहित रूपमा लाभ पाउने गरी तिनलाई सञ्चालन गर्ने सर्तमा केही उद्योग चलाउन र पूर्वाधार निर्माण गर्न मन्जुर गरे । मित्रराष्ट्रहरूले स्थापना गरिदिएर सञ्चालनमा ल्याइए पनि ।

जलविद्युत, सडकनिर्माण, यातायात सहयोग र आधारभूत तहको उत्पादनका लागि कलपुर्जासम्मको सहयोग गरेका थिए । सरकार पनि तिनलाई चलाउन राजी भयो । परिणामस्वरूप, छिट्टै थुप्रै सार्वजनिक उद्यमहरू च्याउसरि फैलिए ।

अर्कातिर अरू केही सहयोगी मुलुकहरूलाई सरकारले उद्योग चलाउने कुरा मन परेको थिएन । त्यसैले तिनले स्वअध्ययन र खुला पुस्तक परीक्षाप्रणालीजस्ता कुरामा सहयोग गर्नमा तिनको ध्यान गयो । अध्ययनअध्यापनका लागि यो सर्वोत्तम व्यवस्था भए पनि भिन्न प्रणालीमा अभ्यस्त विद्यार्थी यो परिवर्तनसँग मिलान हुन सकेनन् ।

मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्थाले आर्थिक फाँटका सबैलाई अन्याय गऱ्यो । साठी र सत्तरीको दशकमा सहकारीले गति लियो । सरकारले अनिवार्य वचतको माध्यमबाट किसानलाई सहजीकरण गर्न चाहेको ।

सन् १९९० यताको नेपाली अर्थतन्त्र

सोभियत संघको विघटनले द्विध्रुवीयताको अन्त्य भएपछि बजारमुखी अर्थव्यवस्थाको मान्यता विश्वव्यापी रूपमा फैलियो । आत्मनिर्भरतामा विस्वास गर्ने मुलुकले पनि पुर्जी र प्रविधिमा खुलापन अगाँल्ले थाले । माथि उल्लेख भएभन्नाँ नेपालले कुनै एक अर्थप्रणाली नअगाँलेकाले यसअघि नेपाल अस्पष्ट भए पनि सन् १९९० पछि नेपालले बजारअर्थनीति अँगाल्यो । धेरै सार्वजनिक निगम र संस्थापनाहरू निजीकरण गरिए । यसरी सार्वजनिक संस्थालाई समाप्त गरी पूरै निजीकरणमा ढल्किनु ठीकबेठीक केही भन्ने कुराको उत्तर दिन सजिलो छैन, तथापि पुर्जीवादी अर्थतन्त्रको अवतरणका लागि यो कोशेढुङ्गो साबित भएको छ ।

अनौपचारिक अर्थतन्त्र

व्यापारबाट जसरी भएपनि धेरै धन थुपार्ने होड चल्यो । जसलाई सरकारमा पहुँच हुने राजनीतिज्ञहरूले प्रोत्साहन दिए । घुस, भ्रष्टाचार र अन्य अनुचित तवरका आमदानीलाई कानुनले अपराध माने पनि समाजमा त्यस्ताको हैसियत उच्च नै रह्यो । भव्य महल बनाउने र चिल्ला कारमा हिड्ने क्रम बढ्यो तर कसैले पनि क्षमता भन्दा बढी तथा आश्चर्यजनक आर्थिक परिवर्तनमा चुनौती गर्न सकेन ।

गैरसरकारी क्षेत्र

नेपालमा गैर सरकारी संस्थाहरूले बीसौं शताब्दीको उत्तरार्धदेखि कार्य गरेको पाइन्छ । त्यसमा केही सरकारको प्रत्यक्ष सहयोगले त केही सहयोगका स्रोतले संचालनमा छन् । त्यस्ता गैर सरकारी संस्थाले नेपालमा रूपैया भित्रायता पनि त्यसको संरचना नगन्थे छ । केही विकासे कार्यकर्तालाई बाहेक यस्ता गैर सरकारी संस्थाहरू हात्ती आयो हात्ती आयो फुस्सा सरह भएका छन् । यो अवस्थाले के देखाउँछ भने वास्तविक जनताको राहतको लागि नेपालका सरकारहरू नत क्षमतावान छन् न त इमान्दार नै ।

हराइ रहेको श्रमशक्ति

ऐतिहासिक रूपमा भन्नु पर्दा बेलायतले गोरखा भर्ती लिन थाले देखि नै नेपालमा Remittance भित्रन थालेको हो। विश्वव्यापी सूचना प्रवाह, आर्थिक वृद्धि, देशका रोजगारीको अभाव, असुरक्षा लगायतका विभिन्न कारणले यूवाहरू विदेशिन बाध्य भएका छन्। यसो भएकोमा सरकार पनि खुसी नै छ। यो विश्वव्यापीकरणको एउटा उदाहरण हो। तर विश्वव्यापीकरणको प्रतिस्पर्धामा नेपालले दिन प्रतिदिन पराजयको बाटो अँगालिरहेको छ।

गृहयुद्ध

आर्थिक विकासको आधारशिला शान्ति हो। देश युद्धको मारमा भएकोले त्यसको असर आर्थिक उत्पादनमा परेको छ। साना तिना उद्योगधन्दाहरू बन्द हुदै जानु र विश्वव्यापीकरणको व्यापारिक सन्जाल भित्र प्रवेश गर्नको लागि पनि हामी पाखुरा सुर्किएर अगाडि बढ्न सक्ने अवस्थामा छैनौं। एउटा विकसित देश अर्को अविकसित देशको हितमा कहिल्यै हुँदैन। आफुमानै आत्मनिर्भर हुनुपर्दछ।

लगानी

समाजवादी तथा पुँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्थाले आर्थिक उत्पादनको लागि अर्थको एक मुष्ट लगानीलाई बढी जोड दिन्छन्। समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्थाले समाजमार्फत बढी उत्पादन हुन्छ भन्छ भने पुँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्थाले बजारको माध्ययम अपनाउछ। यदि हामीले नेपाली अर्थतन्त्रको आधारशिलाको बारेमा कुरा गर्दा विश्वव्यापी अर्थतन्त्र र बजारको बारेमा पनि सोच्न थाल्नुपर्दछ। उत्पादन, अनुसन्धान, नयाँ उत्पादनको विकास र नयाँ प्रविधिलाई विश्व बजारमा परिचित गराउन लगानीको जरूरी पर्दछ तर त्यस्तो लगानी राष्ट्रको लागि सुहाउँदो पनि हुनुपर्दछ। नेपाली अर्थतन्त्र विश्वबजारमा एउटा प्रतिस्पर्धी हुनुपर्दछ र उत्पादन गर्नुपूर्व आफ्नो लगानी

क्षमता, प्रविधि, मानवसंसाधन तथा विश्वबजारमा पहुँच आदि कुरालाई प्राथमिकरूपमा सोच्नु पर्दछ।

प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक मूल्य र गुणस्तरलाई पूर्णता दिनुपर्दछ। उद्योगले आफुलाई उत्पादनको लागि कच्चा पदार्थ, योग्य जनशक्ति, आवश्यक प्रविधि र लगानीको मात्राको बीचमा तालमेल मिलाउन सक्ने बनाउनु पर्दछ। वेसिजनमा पनि नेपाली बजारमा न्यूजिल्याण्डको स्याउ पाइन्छ तर त्यो भन्दा राम्रो र स्वादिलो नेपाली स्याउ न्यूजिल्याण्डमा बिक्री हुँदैन। जोमसोमको स्याउ नेपाली बजारमानै पाइँदैन यदि पाइँहाले पनि आयतित स्याउ भन्दा महँगो हुन्छ। व्यापारको लागि पुर्वाधार तयारी गर्नु अत्यन्त आवश्यक हुन्छ तर डब्लूटीओको नीतिले नेपाली उत्पादनलाई व्यवस्थित गर्न र बजार विस्तार गर्न कुनै सहयोग गर्दैन। अब नेपालले आफैले आफ्नो उत्पादनको गुणस्तर वृद्धिगरी सम्भावित बजार सम्म उत्पादन पुऱ्याउन लागि पर्नुपर्दछ।

प्रायजसो सबै देशहरूले विश्वबजारलाई अंगालेका छन भने नेपालले किन नअगाल्ने ? तर विश्वबजारको ढोका बन्द गऱ्यो वा कुनै तयारी विना वा आफु अक्षम हुदाहुदै ढोका खोल्नो भने त्यो आफैमा घातक सावित हुनेछ।

तुलनात्मक उपलब्धि

लगानीकर्ताहरू तुलनात्मक उपलब्धि पाएको खण्डमा लगानी गर्न उत्साहित हुन्छन भने अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय लगानीकर्ताहरूले राष्ट्रको उपलब्धिलाई बढी जोड दिन्छन्। राष्ट्रिय स्रोतले आशालागदो आर्थिक योगदान दिन सकेन भने लागानीकर्ताहरू लगानी गर्न आर्कषित हुँदैनन्। प्राथमिकताका साथ उद्योग भित्रको आवश्यक व्यवस्थापन, सन्चालन तथा उत्पादित सामाग्रीको बजार विस्तारलाई सूचारू गराउने। बजार व्यवस्थापन, बिक्री, सेवा र पुन बिक्री नै नाफा जगेडा गर्न सक्ने मुख्य स्रोत हुन। सतर्कतापूर्वक उत्पादन प्रकृया अगाडि बढाउने जसले खेर जाने कच्चा पदार्थमा कटौति गर्दछ। त्यसैगरी उद्योगको पुर्वाधार, मानव संसाधनको प्रयोग, प्रविधि प्रयोगको ज्ञान आदिले पनि सकारात्मक भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछ।

गुणस्तर र मूल्य

सामान्यतया गुणस्तर र लागतमूल्य सँगसँगै अगाडि बढ्छ भन्ने मानिन्छ तर यो सदैव सत्य हुदैन। कहिले कही थोरै लगानीमा गुणस्तर र धेरै लगानीमा गुणस्तरहीन वस्तु उत्पादन हुने हुन्छ। त्यसको मुख्य कारण कामदारको शिप, क्षमता र गुणमा निर्भर हुन्छ। यदि शिप, क्षमता र गुणले युक्त कामदार हुने हो भने वस्तुको उत्पादन पनि गुणस्तर र मूल्य पनि कम हुन्छ, साथै कच्चा पदार्थको उचित प्रयोग समेत हुन्छ।

वर्तमान नेपाली अर्थतन्त्र

नेपालको अर्थतन्त्र कृषिमा आधारित छ भने औद्योगिक विकासको गति सुस्त छ। राष्ट्रिय बजारको आकार, भौगोलिक वनावट, राष्ट्रिय स्रोत, भौतिक पूर्वाधार तथा राजनीतिक अस्थिरता जस्ता प्राथमिक अवस्थाहरूको कारणले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय लगानीकर्ताहरू आकर्षित हुदैनन्। द्वन्द्वको कारण अधिकांश यूवाहरू आफ्नो गाँउ छाडेर हातमुख जोर्नको लागि सिमाना पारी जानुपरेको छ वा देशका सहरहरूमा वा जिल्ला सदरमुकाममा शरणार्थीको रूपमा गुजारा गर्नु परेको छ यो अवस्थाले कृषि उत्पादनमा ठूलो समस्या देखिएको छ।

देशमा अत्यन्त थोरै उद्योगहरू संचालनमा छन् जस्तै बैंक, टेलिकम सेवा तथा स्वास्थ्य सेवाहरू तर ती सेवा पनि सहर केन्द्रीत छन्। अझ भन्ने हो भने सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र नै सहर केन्द्रीत हुदै गइरहेको छ। जसको कारणले सहरमा दिनप्रतिदिन समाज विरोधी कार्यहरूको विगविगी बढेको छ। सरकार यूवाहरूलाई देशमा रोजगार दिन भन्दा रेमिटचान्सको नाममा विदेशमा पठाउनमा नै तल्लिन देखिन्छ, अन्नत यो औद्योगिक क्षेत्रको लागि आफ्नो खुट्टामा आफैले वन्चरो हान्नु समान हो।

डब्लूटीओ को सदस्यता आफैमा एउटा राजनैतिक निर्णय हो। कारणहरू अनेकन भए तापनि डब्लूटीओ भनेको नै विकशित राष्ट्रहरूको लागि हो। राजनीतिक क्षेत्रमा, नीतिनिर्माण क्षेत्रमा, कार्यान्वयनमा, आर्थिक क्षेत्र अर्न्तगत उत्पादन तथा वितरणमा भई रहेका भ्रष्टचारलाई हटाउन निकै मुस्किल छ किनभने यो एउटा संस्कार नै बनि सकेको छ। तथापि यी

कुराहरूमा सुधार हुने हो भने नेपालले विश्व व्यापारको फाइदा उठाउन सक्छ।

राजनीतिक स्थिरता

नेपाल अधिराज्यको संविधान २०४७ पछिको राष्ट्रीय निर्वाचनमा भाग लिई सोबाट बनेको सरकारले जनताको चाहाना वमोजिम काम गर्न सकेनन्। राजनीतिक पार्टीहरू जनताको हितमा भन्दा आफ्नो हितमा लिप्त भए।

(यस लेखको अंग्रेजी रुपान्तरण पृष्ठ १९७ मा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ)



सशस्त्र दृढत्वको रूपान्तरण र संसदीय दलहरूको भूमिका

● बालकृष्ण ढकाल

विषयप्रवेश

राष्ट्रिय राजनीतिमा राजनीतिक दलहरूको भूमिका गहन हुन्छ। उनीहरूमा अन्तर्निहित प्रजातान्त्रिक दर्शन र अभ्यासले मुलुकको समग्र राजनीतिक जीवनलाई प्रवाहित गर्छ। यस अर्थमा प्रजातन्त्रका आधारस्तम्भ राजनीतिक दलहरू नै हुन्। राजनीतिक दलहरू विचारमा प्रस्ट, कार्यप्रणालीमा सक्षम र व्यवहारमा जिम्मेवार भए भने प्रजातन्त्रको प्रवर्द्धन र सुदृढीकरण हुन्छ। यसको उल्टो अवस्थाले समग्र राजनीतिक जीवनमा अप्रजातान्त्रिकता, भाँडभैलो र अस्तव्यस्तता भाङ्गिन पुग्छ।

आमनागरिकहरूले पार्टी रोज्ने भनेकै पार्टीका विचार, नीति र कार्यक्रमको ठोस औचित्यले हो। दलहरूका विचार नीति प्रष्ट भए र व्यवहार लोकतन्त्रवत् भयो भने आममानिसले त्यसैमार्फत प्रत्यक्ष वा अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा प्रजातान्त्रिक आचरणको विकास गर्दै लान्छन्। राजनीतिक दलको आन्तरिक प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवहार र दल-दलका बीचमा हुने सुभबुझ र पारदर्शी व्यवहारले मुलुकको राजनीतिक जीवनको दिशा र गतिको निर्धारण गर्दछ। मुलुकको शासन सत्ताधिकारमा दलले प्रस्तुत गर्ने चरित्र, सुभबुझ र प्रतिपक्षीहरूसँगको नीतिगत सम्बन्ध अन्ततोगत्वा दलहरूको आन्तरिक सक्षमता एवं दृढतामा निर्भर गर्छ।

यसो हुनाले लोकतान्त्रिकीकरणको प्रक्रियालाई गतिशील र प्रभावकारी पार्नमा, मुलुकका राजनीतिक विवाद हल गर्ने कुरामा, अन्यायमा परेको र किनारा लगाइएको वर्गलाई मूलप्रवाहमा ल्याउनमा र समावेशी लौकिक राज्यप्रणालीको विकास गर्नमा राजनीतिक दलको दार्शनिक सोच र अभ्यस्त व्यवहारले ठूलो खेल खेलेका हुन्छन्। जुन मुलुकका राजनीतिक दलहरूमा जनउत्तरदायी सामूहिक भावना र जनमुखी दार्शनिक सोच एवं सक्रिय सहभागितामूलक लोकतन्त्रात्मक अभ्यास भएको छ ती देश राजनीतिक स्थिरता कायम गर्नमा सफल छन् र तिनको समग्र राष्ट्रिय जीवन, भौतिक तथा मानवीय उन्नतिमा रहेको देखिन्छ।

नेपाल अहिले गम्भीर हिंसात्मक विद्रोहको चपेटोबाट गुज्रिरहेको छ। यो हिंसात्मक विद्रोहको अभ्युदय र विकासका लागि लोकतान्त्रिकतामा विश्वास राख्ने दलहरूभित्र रहेको अप्रजातान्त्रिक घुसपैठले ठूलो भूमिका खेलेको छ। यस सन्दर्भमा अहिलेसम्मको विकासक्रमलाई यसरी पर्गेल्न सकिन्छ :-

राणाकाल र प्रजातन्त्रको खोजी

जनताले लौकिक तवरले सङ्गठित हुने प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास गर्ने कार्यको हालसम्म पाइएको राजनीतिक प्रकृतिको प्रयासमा १९९३ साल जेष्ठ २० गते टङ्गप्रसाद आचार्य र धर्मभक्त^१लगायतले स्थापना गरेको प्रजापरिषद नै पहिलो संगठित दलको रूपमा अगाडी आएको देखिन्छ। जाहानिया दमनकारी राणाशासनबाट आजित नागरिकहरूले स्वतन्त्र, सङ्गठित र एकताबद्ध हुन गरेको यो प्रयासमा सामूहिक नेतृत्व र उत्तरदायित्वको प्रजातान्त्रिक सोच रहेको पाइन्छ।

सो दल स्थापनाको प्रमुख उद्देश्य राणाहरूको निरंकुश शासनको अन्त्य गरी प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्थाको सुत्रपात गर्ने रहेको थियो। नागरिकहरूले आफ्नो शासन आफै गर्न पाउने सोचसाथको सो सो आन्दोलनमा त्यस बखत शासनभारमा चाहेजति सरिक हुन नपाएका राजाको पनि संलग्नता देखिन्छ। सबल नेतृत्वको अभाव, प्रारम्भिक चरणको अपरिपक्व आन्तरिक प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यास र शासकवर्गमा उत्पन्न त्रास र दमनका प्रयाससँगको

^१ निलाम्बर आचार्य, प्रजातन्त्र संकटमा पृ.१४

मुकाविला गर्ने पर्याप्त शक्तिको अभावमा केही वर्षभित्रै सो दलले नागरिक सक्रियतालाई तीव्र गर्ने गरी गति लिन सकेन । वि.सं. १९९७ देखि सो दलका नेता टङ्कप्रसाद आचार्यलाई कैद गरिनु र धर्मभक्तलाई फाँसी दिनुजस्ता कुराले नेपाली नागरिक सङ्गठनका प्रयासविरुद्ध शासकीय दमनको सिलसिला प्रजातान्त्रिक आन्दोलनको प्रारम्भसँगै रहेको थियो भन्ने कुरालाई सिद्ध गर्न थप प्रमाण आवश्यक छैन ।

प्रजापरिषदले लिएको उद्देश्यमा आफ्नो अभिमत प्रकट गर्दै मुलुकबाहिर (*भारत बनारसमा*) बसेर वि.सं. २००२ साल माघ १२ गते विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालाको अग्रसरतामा त्यस बखतका भारतीय समाजवादी नेताहरू डा.राममनोहर लोखिया र जय प्रकाशको सहयोगमा “अखिल भारतीय नेपाली कांग्रेस” पार्टीको स्थापना गरे । निरंकुश भारदारी राणाशासनलाई परास्त गरेर स्वतन्त्र र प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकारको स्थापना गर्नको लागि जनताको आन्दोलनलाई सङ्गठित गर्नका लागि सशक्त प्रयासको रूपमा उक्त कदमलाई लिन सकिन्छ ।

वि.सं. २००३ साल माघ/फाल्गुन महिनामा कलकत्ताको भवानीपुरमा सम्पन्न मेलाले सो पार्टीको नाम अखिल भारतीय नेपाली कांग्रेसबाट “नेपाली राष्ट्रिय कांग्रेस” मा रूपान्तरण गरेको देखिन्छ । नेपालमा राजनीतिक गतिविधि सञ्चालन गर्ने उद्देश्यले स्थापना भएको सो दलको नाममा “अखिल भारतीय” विशेषणयुक्त नाम भएकोले सायद सो नाम संशोधन गरी “नेपाली राष्ट्रिय कांग्रेस” राखिएको हुन सक्छ । सो भेलाले भारतमा चलिरहेको स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलनमा सहयोग गर्ने र श्री ५ को नेतृत्वमा नेपालमा जनउत्तरदायी सरकारको गठन गर्ने कुरालाई प्रमुखताका साथ पारित गरेको देखिन्छ । प्रजापरिषदको गतिविधिमा लागेको आरोपमा वि.सं. १९९७ देखि काठमाडौंको जेलमा रहेका टङ्कप्रसादलाई सभापति, विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालालाई कार्यवाहक सभापति र डिल्लीरमण रेग्मीलाई प्रचाराध्यक्ष बनाएर सो दलले बनारसमा आफ्नो कार्यालय राखेर राजनीतिक गतिविधिलाई निरन्तरता दिएको देखिन्छ ।

राणाहरूको शासनविरुद्धमा जनताको शासन स्थापित गर्ने उद्देश्यले गठित उक्त राजनीतिक दलका नेताहरूमा २००५ सालमा तीव्र मतभिन्नता प्रारम्भ भएको पाइन्छ । डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी र विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालाबीचको व्यापक मतभेदलाई आन्तरिक प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासबाट

समाल्न नसकेपछि सुवर्ण समसेर, महावीर समसेर, सूर्यप्रसाद आदिसँग मिलेर डिल्लीरमण रेग्मीले नेपाली प्रजातान्त्रिक कांग्रेसको स्थापना गरे । त्यहीँबाट नेपालमा राजनीतिक दलभित्र प्रजातान्त्रिक तरिकाले आन्तरिक समस्या समाधान नगर्ने र फुटवादी राजनीति गर्ने परम्पराका सुरुवात भएको देखिन्छ ।

तथापि, राणा शाहीविरुद्धमा आन्दोलनरत नेपाली प्रजातन्त्र कांग्रेस र नेपाली राष्ट्रिय कांग्रेस दुवैको लक्षित उद्देश्य एकै रहेको भएर २००६ साल चैत्र २७ गतेका दिन दुवै दलका प्रतिनिधिहरू सम्मिलित रहेर “नेपाली कांग्रेस” नामक पार्टीको गठन भएको थियो जुन आजसम्म नेपाली कांग्रेसका नामले क्रियाशील छ ।

नागरिक तहबाट जनअधिकार खोज्ने सवालमा वि.सं. २००६ भाद्र ३० गतेका दिन पुष्पलालको नेतृत्वमा औपचारिक रूपमा “नेपाल कम्युनिष्ट पार्टी” को स्थापना भएको देखिन्छ । दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धपछि विश्वव्यापी रूपमा देखा परेको समाजवादी क्रान्तिको लहर र भारतमा ब्रिटिस साम्राज्यको पतन, चीनको विजयोन्मुख समाजवादी क्रान्ति जस्ता प्रभावहरूले गर्दा राणा शासनविरुद्ध एकत्रित हुन सो पार्टीको स्थापना भएको देखिन्छ । जनवादी राज्यसत्ता स्थापना गर्ने मूल लक्ष्य रहेको सो पार्टीको घोषणापत्र कलकत्ताबाट जारी गरिएको थियो ।

प्रजातन्त्रको घोषणादेखि अपहरणसम्म

विचारधारात्मक धरातल र समस्यालाई हेर्ने दृष्टिमा नेपाली कांग्रेस र नेपाल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीबीचमा स्पष्ट भिन्नता थिए । तथापि, परिवेशले राणाशासनलाई अन्त्य गरी जनताका प्रतिनिधिमाफत शासनसत्ता सञ्चालन गर्ने आन्दोलनमा उनीहरूको संयुक्त प्रयासको माग गर्‍यो । यसैले नेपाली जनतालाई रैतिबाट नागरिक बनाउनका लागि संयुक्त आन्दोलन (जनक्रान्ति) छेडे ।

राजा, राणा र कांग्रेसका बीचमा २००७ सालमा दिल्ली सम्झौतामाफत नेपालको शासन प्रणालीको मार्गचित्र बनाइयो । श्री ५ त्रिभुवनलाई राजगद्दीमा राख्ने र राणा कांग्रेस सम्मिलित १० सदस्यीय मन्त्रीमण्डल बनाइने सहमतिको साथ राजासहित राजनीतिक दलहरू नेपाल प्रवेश गरे ।

२००७ सालमा प्रजातन्त्र स्थापनाको घोषणा गरियो र मोहन समसेरको प्रधान मन्त्रीत्वमा विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालासमेत सम्मिलित रहेको सरकार बन्यो ।

राणाको शक्ति राजासँग साभेदारी हुन थाल्यो । राजाको निगरानी र इच्छानुसार मन्त्रीमण्डल बन्ने क्रममा २००८ साल मङ्सिर १ गतेका दिन मातृकाप्रसाद कोइरालाको प्रधान मन्त्रीत्वमा १४ संसदीय मन्त्रीमण्डलको गठन भयो । २०१२ साल माघ १३ गतेका दिन टङ्कप्रसाद आचार्यको प्रधान मन्त्रीत्वमा गठित ७ सदस्यीय मन्त्रीमण्डल पनि श्री ५ महेन्द्रको इच्छानुसार नै गठन भएको थियो । २००७ साल माघ ५ गतेदेखि २०१३ साल जेष्ठ १३ सम्मका सरकारहरूमा रहेका मानिसहरूको सङ्ख्यात्मक चित्र यस्तो देखिन्छ ।

सरकार गठन	संलग्नता							
	राणा	ठकुरी	क्षेत्री	बाहुन	नेवार	जनजाति	दलित	जम्मा
२००७.१०.५	५	०	१	३	१	०	०	१०
२००८.८.१	४	२	०	३	२	३	०	१४
२०१२.१०.१२	०	४	०	३	०	०	०	७
जम्मा	९	६	१	९	३	३	०	३१

यसरी प्रजातन्त्र भनिए पनि रूप मात्र फरक तर उही शासकहरूले शासन गरेको देखिन्छ ।

टङ्कप्रसादको सरकारपछि २०१४ सालमा राजा महेन्द्रबाट डा. के.आई.सिंहको प्रधान मन्त्रीत्वमा सरकारको गठन गरियो र २०१४ साल कार्तिक १४ गतेका दिन त्यस सरकारलाई हटाई आफ्नै प्रत्यक्ष नेतृत्वमा शासन शुरु गरियो । यसबाट समेत राजा सन्तुष्ट हुन नसकी २०१५ साल जेष्ठ २ गतेका दिन आम चुनाव गराउने ध्येयले सुवर्ण शम्सेरको अध्यक्षतामा अर्को अन्तरिम मन्त्रीपरिषदको गठन भयो । २०१५ साल फाल्गुन ७ गतेका दिन देशमा तल्लो सदनका लागि आम चुनाव गर्दा १०९ सिट संख्या रहेको सो चुनावमा जम्मा नौ राजनीतिक दलहरूले भाग लिएका थिए । जसमा नेपाली कांग्रेसले ७४ स्थान र राष्ट्रवादी गोर्खा

परिषदले १९ स्थान पाएका थिए । बहुमत प्राप्त नेपाली कांग्रेसको १९ सदस्यीय मन्त्रीमण्डलको गठन भयो ।

यो सरकारले दुई वर्षजति काम गर्दागर्दै २०१७ साल पौष १ गतेको कदम राजाबाट चालियो र जननिर्वाचित प्रधान मन्त्रीलाई अपदस्थ गरी दलमाथि प्रतिबन्ध लगाइयो र राजाबाट शासनको जिम्मा पुनः आफैले लिने काम भयो ।

दलप्रतिबन्धित पञ्चायतः

राजाद्वारा लागू गरिएको निर्दलीय पञ्चायती व्यवस्थामा राजनीतिक दलहरूले राजनीतिक सङ्गठन गर्न पाएनन् । शासकले थाहा नपाउने गरी राजनीतिक गतिविधि दलहरूले सञ्चालन गरे पनि आमनागरिकमा त्यसको सञ्चार हुन्थ्यो । खुला राजनीति गर्न नपाउने हुनाले हिंसात्मक विद्रोहका सोचहरू कार्यान्वयनमा आए ।

२०१८ सालको नेपाली कांग्रेसको सशस्त्र विद्रोह, २०२८ सालको तत्कालीन नेपाल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (माले)को सशस्त्र विद्रोह र नेपाली कांग्रेसका कार्यकर्ता बसन्त भट्टराई सहितका मानिसहरूले २०३० सालमा गरेको विमान अपहरण प्रतिबन्धित अवस्थाका दलहरूले गरेका चर्चित राजनीतिक घटना हुन् ।

एक दलीय पञ्चायती व्यवस्थाको विरोध र प्रजातन्त्रको पुनर्बहाली गर्ने उद्देश्यले वि.सं. २०४२ साल जेष्ठ १० गतेदेखि नेपाली कांग्रेसले देशका विभिन्न भागमा अहिंसात्मक आन्दोलनको रूपमा सत्याग्रह सुरु गर्‍यो । नेपाली कांग्रेसको यस आन्दोलनमा कम्युनिष्ट पार्टीका नेताहरू मनमोहन अधिकारी, तुलसीलाल अमात्य, विष्णुबहादुर मानन्धरहरूले समर्थन दिए र यसै दौरानम कांग्रेसका नेताहरू साथै उनीहरूसमेत पक्राउ परे ।

दलहरू प्रतिबन्धित रहेकै अवस्थामा वि.सं. २०४२ साल असार ६ गतेका दिन नारायणहिटी राजदरवार वरिपरी लगायत राजधानीका अन्य क्षेत्रमा बम विष्फोटन गराइयो ।

खुल्ला राजनीतिक परिवेशमा दलहरूको प्रवेश

निर्दलीय व्यवस्थामा दल, नागरिक र आमजनता पिल्सिएर रहे पनि उक्त प्रणालीलाई अन्त्य गर्ने राजनीतिक दलहरू आ-आफ्नो गृहकार्यमा लागिने रहेका थिए। २०४६ कार्तिक २०, २१ र २२ गते काठमाडौंमा सम्पन्न नेपाली कांग्रेस केन्द्रीय समितिको बैठकले देशमा प्रजातन्त्रको पुनर्बहाली गर्नका लागि राष्ट्रव्यापी आन्दोलन गर्ने निर्णय गर्‍यो।

उक्त आन्दोलनलाई संयुक्त रूपमा संचालन गर्दा मात्र सफलता हासिल गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने ध्येयले वाम दलहरूकाबीचमा आपसी राय सल्लाह भई २०४६ साल माघ २ गते ने.क.पा.(माले),ने.क.पा.(मार्क्सवादी),ने.क.पा. (चौथो महाधिवेशन),ने.क.पा(मानन्धर),ने.क.पा.(बर्मा),ने.क.पा(अमात्य) र नेपाल मजदुर किसान पार्टी सम्मिलित आन्दोलनका निमित्त संयुक्त वाममोर्चाको गठन गरियो।

वाममोर्चा र नेपाली कांग्रेसका बीचको कार्यगत एकताबाट २०४६ साल फाल्गुन ७ गतेदेखि प्रजातन्त्रका पुनर्बहाली गर्न देशव्यापी आन्दोलन सुरु भयो। देशमा प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापनाको लागि नेपाली कांग्रेस र संयुक्त वाममोर्चाले आन्दोलन छेड्ने उद्घोष गरेपछि सो आन्दोलनमा आफ्नै प्रकारले जुट्ने गरी २०४६ साल माघ ३१ गते ने.क.पा.(मसाल) सर्वहारावादी संगठन, मालेमालगायतका बाँकी समूहहरू आवद्ध भई संयुक्त राष्ट्रिय जनआन्दोलन मोर्चा बनाए। डा. बाबुराम भट्टराई सो मोर्चाका प्रवक्ता चयन भए। आन्दोलन २०४६ साल चैत्र २६ गतेसम्म जारी रह्यो। राजाको घोषणामार्फत् “निर्दलीय व्यवस्थाको अन्त्य गरी बहुदलीय व्यवस्थाको प्रादुर्भाव” भयो। नेपाली कांग्रेसका कार्यवाहक अध्यक्ष कृष्णप्रसाद भट्टराईको अध्यक्षतामा वाममोर्चा र अन्य स्वतन्त्र व्यक्तिसमेत सम्मिलित ११ सदस्यीय मन्त्रीमण्डलको गठन गरियो। नयाँ संविधान जारी गर्ने र समयमा आमनिर्वाचन सम्पन्न गर्ने कार्यमा जुटेको सो सरकारले सफलतापूर्वक आफ्नो काम सम्पन्न गर्‍यो।

अवसरको हतार : दुरदृष्टिको कमी

जनआन्दोलनले सफलता पाई बहुदलीय व्यवस्थाको प्रादुर्भाव भइसकेपछि राजनीतिक दलहरू संविधान निर्माणको कार्यमा लागे। जनताका

समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्ने संरचनाको खोजी नगरी संविधान ढाँचा उतार्न थालियो। सर्वोच्च अदालतका न्यायाधीश विश्वनाथ उपाध्यायको अध्यक्षतामा गठित संविधान सुझाव आयोगमा नेपाली, कांग्रेस, जनमोर्चा, एवं अन्य स्वतन्त्र मानिसहरूको समेत संलग्नता रहेको थियो। उक्त आयोगमा संलग्न रहने हिसाबले दलहरूले कानूनका ज्ञाताहरूलाई पठाए पनि आपसी दिगो राजनीतिक सम्बन्धलाई मजबुत गर्नेतिर दलहरूको सोच जान सकेन। बेलायत, अमेरिका, भारत र अन्य प्रजातान्त्रिक कहलिएका देशहरूका संविधानलाई आधार बनाई नेपालको संविधान लेख्ने कार्य गरियो।

दलहरू तत्काल आफ्नो दललाई निर्वाचित गराएर सत्तामा कसरी पुग्न सकिन्छ भन्ने सङ्कीर्णताबाट बाहिरिन सकेनन्। दिगो राजनीतिक संस्कार र अभ्यासको मार्गाचित्र बनाउनुका लागि जनतालाई निर्णयमा पुग्न सहजकर्ता बन्नुपर्ने दलहरू आन्दोलनको नेतृत्व गरेको आडमा आफूलाई जनताको मालिक ठान्न पुगे। ढाँचागत प्रविधिमा संविधान निकै राम्रो पनि देखियो। तर संविधानको अभ्यास गर्ने क्रममा दलहरूले जनतालाई मालिक बनाउने होइन आफ्ना दलीय पिछलग्गू बनाउने होड जारी राखे। परिणामतः समाजका विभिन्न तहमा प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यास केकसरी गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने कुरामा संविधान स्पष्ट भएन। स्थानीय निकाय र तिनको खाकालाई संविधानमा नसमेटेबाट यो कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। प्रजातन्त्र र प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासको दार्शनिक अस्पष्टता, प्रजातान्त्रिक नेतृत्वप्रणालीको दलहरूभित्रै अभ्यास गर्ने परिपाटीको अभावले समग्र राष्ट्रिय राजनीतिलाई दुषित बनायो।

सबल राष्ट्रिय सोचको कमी

दलहरूले ल्याएको संविधानले राष्ट्रको आर्थिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, नागरिक र राजनीतिक जीवनको चरित्र कस्तो हुने भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट पारेन। पञ्चायती व्यवस्थाकै संरचनात्मक राजनीतिक ढाँचा र भौगोलिक विभाजनमा संविधानलाई सीमित गर्ने कुराले पनि दलहरू मुलुकको आमूल परिवर्तन र नवीन राष्ट्रिय चिन्तनको सुरुआतलाई भन्दा यथास्थितिमै आफ्नो राजनीतिक हैसियत र बर्चस्व कायम राख्न तल्लिन रहे। फलतः

एक प्राविधिक राजनीतिक प्रणालीसहितको नेपाल अधिराज्यको संविधान २०४७ जारी भयो ।

दलहरूभित्रै प्रजातन्त्रमूलक अभ्यासको अभाव

नेपालका दलहरूभित्र आपसमा प्रजातन्त्रमूलक अभ्यासको अभाव नेपाली राजनीतिका लागि सबैभन्दा घातक विषय रहिआएको छ । जनताले विश्वास गरेका मुख्य राजनीतिक दलहरू आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको अभावमा पटकपटक मुलुकलाई निरङ्कुश तानाशाहीका जिम्मा लगाउनका लागि सहायक बनिआएका छन् । एक समय कोइराला दाजुभाइ बीचको (मातृका र वी.पी) भगडालाई सत्ताको भगडामा रूपान्तरण गरियो । नेपाली कांग्रेस सत्तामुखी पार्टी हो भन्ने आरोपलाई २०१७ सालमा कांग्रेसकै प्रमुख सचेतक विश्वन्धु थापा, महामन्त्री तुलसी गिरी, उप-प्रधानमन्त्री सुवर्ण शम्शेरसमेतलाई आफ्नो हात लिई दलमाथि नै प्रतिबन्ध लगाएको देखिन्छ । नेपाली काङ्ग्रेस यी डिल्लीरमण र विश्वेश्वरप्रसादबीचको विवाद होस् वा डा. तुलसी गिरीको दरबारप्रवेश र पञ्चायतीकरणको सन्दर्भ होस् आन्तरिक अप्रजातन्त्रका उपज हुन् ।

पछिल्लो अवधिका छत्तीसे चौरतरे विवाद र देउवा काङ्ग्रेसको उदयजस्ता कुराले नेपाली काङ्ग्रेसभित्रको पदलोलुप मनोवृत्तिग्रस्त नेतृत्व र असामूहिक नेतृत्वपद्धतिको स्पष्ट सङ्केत मिल्छ । आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्र भएन भन्नेलाई “आधा शताब्दी प्रजातन्त्रका लागि लडेकालाई प्रजातन्त्रको पाठ सिकाउने” भन्ने ओठेजवाफ त्यो दलमा लाग्नेहरूको साभ्ना जवाफ हुँदै आएको छ । यसबाट आन्तरिक प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासको अभावमा मूलप्रवाह प्रजातान्त्रिक आस्थामा रहँदारहँदै पनि नेपाली काङ्ग्रेस राष्ट्रिय राजनीतिमा असफल रहिआएको छ ।

यता नेपालका कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीमा पनि आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको अभावले आन्तरिक विवादलाई सही तरिकाले समाधान गर्न नसकेका अनेक उदाहरण देखिन्छन् । तेस्रो महाधिवेशनबाट महासचिव बनाइएका केशरजङ्ग रायमाफी २०१७ सालको शाहीकदमलाई प्रगतिशील कदम मान्न पुगेको कुराले यही दर्साउँछ । बीचबीचमा फुट्दै र जुट्दै आएको हालको नेकपा एमालेको राजनीतिक अस्पष्टता आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको अभावको परिणति नै हो ।

आफ्नै पार्टीका सांसदद्वारा सरकार गिराउने खेल

नेपालका मुख्य राजनीतिक दलहरू आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रमूलक अभ्यासमा भन्दा आन्तरिक षडयन्त्रको मनोदशाबाट ग्रस्त छन् र यही मनोदशा मुलुकको प्रजातन्त्रीकरणलाई असफल बनाउन र हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्व चर्काउनमा कारक रहिआएको छ । २०५३ साल फाल्गुन २० गते सुरु भएको संसद्को एघारौँ अधिवेशनमा प्रधान मन्त्रीले राखेको विश्वासको प्रस्तावउपर मतदान हुँदा पक्षमा १०१ र विपक्षमा ९२ मत परेकोले विश्वासको मत विफल भयो र सरकार पतन भयो । यसले दलहरूभित्र सबै सदस्यका कुरा समान तरिकाले सुनेर सामूहिक निर्णय गरिँदैन वा प्रजातान्त्रिक तरिकाबाट गरिएको निर्णयबाट कसैको स्वार्थसिद्ध नहुने भएमा ऊ प्रजातन्त्रमूलक शैलीलाई जतिसुकै बेला परित्याग गर्न तत्पर भइहाल्छ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यो दलभित्रको आन्तरिक अपरिपक्व प्रजातान्त्रिकताको द्योतक हो ।

अपरिपक्व राजनैतिक नेतृत्व र नेपाली जनताले भोग्नुपरेको हैरानी

नेपाली राजनीतिक दलहरूमा आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको अभावको कारण दलहरूका गतिविधि कल, बल र छलमा आधारित हुँदै आएका छन् । नेतृत्व अलौकिक तरिकाले राजनीतिक परिवर्तनको अपेक्षा राख्ने र कार्यकर्ता नेताका भ्रममा अल्मलिने रोगले नेपालका सबै दल रुग्ण छन् । राष्ट्रको व्यापक सोचको दलहरूमा अभाव हुनुका पछाडि आन्तरिक प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासको अभाव जिम्मेवार कारण छ । नेतृत्व अध्ययनशील छैन, अध्ययनशील कार्यकर्ताको कुरा सुन्ने पक्षमा नेतृत्व छैन । दार्शनिक चिन्तन र सामूहिक सोचबाट चल्ने परिपाटीको दलीय नेतृत्वमा अभाव छ । यसैले अबको नयाँ पुस्ताले राजनीतिक दलहरूभित्र आन्तरिक प्रजातन्त्रको प्रश्नलाई स्पष्ट गर्नु र दलको वैचारिक तथा दार्शनिक सोचलाई नेपाली यथार्थमा कसरी मूर्त बनाउन सकिन्छ भन्ने कुरामा विशेष चिन्तन गर्न आवश्यक छ ।



सुशासन र दृढताको रूपान्तरणका लागि जातीय सहभागिता

● हडकड राना

१. पृष्ठभूमि

नेपाल भौतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक विविधतायुक्त मुलुक हो। यहाँका जनता विविध जातिजनजाति, भाषिक तथा धार्मिक फाँटका छन्। सामाजिक रूपमा नेपाली जनतालाई जात र जातीयताका आधारमा वर्गीकरण गर्ने गरिएको छ। नेपाली जनतालाई आर्य र मङ्गोलियन गरी दुई किसिममा समेट्न सकिन्छ।

१.१ जनजाति

जातिको अवधारणा ग्रिक शब्द इथोसबाट व्यत्पन्न भएको हो जसले राष्ट्र, जनता, जात, प्रजाति वा यस्तै किसिमको अर्थ दिन्छ। जातीय (इथनिक) शब्दले प्रमुख समूहबाट आफूलाई अलग्याएर जात, रक्तसम्बन्ध, भाषा, प्रथा, जीवनशैली, संस्कृति, धर्मजस्ता आधारमा आपसी सहता कायम गर्ने भन्ने तात्पर्यबोध गराउँछ।

यसर्थ जातित्व भन्ने कुराले भाषा, धार्मिक विश्वास, साझा सम्पदा, र आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक चाखको अनुभवको साभेदारीद्वारा जनताको खास

समूहको सचेत समूहबद्धतालाई औँल्याउँछ। नेपालमा जनजाति शब्दलाई यस्तो जातित्वको सङ्ग्रहमा प्रयोग गर्ने गरिएको पाइन्छ। नेपालमा जम्मा ६१ आदिवासी जनजातिलाई सरकारी कार्यदलले पहिचान गरेको छ। कार्यदलले परिभाषा गरेअनुसार आफ्नै मातृभाषा र परम्परागत संस्कृति भएका हिन्दू वर्णका चार वर्णभित्र नपर्ने जाति आदिवासी हुन्। आदिवासी जनजाति विकास प्रतिष्ठान ऐन २०५८ ले ५९ आदिवासी जातिलाई जनजाति मानेको छ र मातृभाषा र परम्परागत संस्कारजस्ता कुरालाई परिभाषाको आधार बनाएको छ।

१.२ शासन र सुशासन

शासनका अवधारणाभित्र अनेक मानवक्रियाकलापलाई व्यवस्थित र संयोजित गर्ने अनेक संस्थापना र निकायवीचको साझा प्रयासलाई बुझ्नुपर्छ। यस्तै सुशासनले सार्वजनिक संस्थापनाहरूमा प्रजातान्त्रिक तरिकाको सहभागिता, समता, इमान्दारी, पारदर्शिता र उत्तरदायित्वलाई दर्साउँछ। सुशासन वा शासनसँग राजनीतिक स्थिरता, सार्वभौमिकताको संरक्षण, राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा र प्रतिष्ठा, राष्ट्रिय स्रोतसाधनको सर्वोत्तम उपयोग र आमजनताको भलाइको प्रवर्द्धनजस्ता कुरा जोडिन आउँछन्।

शासन सञ्चालनलाई राजनीतिक, आर्थिक र प्रशासनिक अख्तियारीको राज्यका सबै तहमा गरिने व्यवस्थापनका रूपमा बुझ्न सकिन्छ। यसले जनता र समूहहरूले प्रवाह गर्ने चाख, हकाधिकारको अभ्यास र तिनका सामाजिक दायित्वका संयन्त्र, प्रक्रिया र संस्थापनाहरूलाई समेट्छ।

सुशासन समावेशी र सहभागितामूलक सामाजिक प्रक्रिया हो। यो प्रजातन्त्रका समानता र हकाधिकारको समानताका आधारणासँग नबाहिकन अगि जाने प्रक्रिया हो। सीमान्तकृत समूहलाई समेटेर सार्वजनिक सेवा र उपयोगमा उनीहरूको पहुँच निश्चित पार्नमा यसले भूमिका खेल्नुपर्ने मानिन्छ। सुशासनको कुरा गर्दा राज्यका अङ्गका शक्तिको बाँडफाँडमा सबै तह र तप्काका जातिजनजातिको समान पहुँचको कुरा बढी आउँछ।

प्रजातान्त्रिक शासनप्रणालीमा सुशासनले जनतालाई भेदभाव, चाहना, अन्याय र भयबाट मुक्त राख्नुपर्छ। हरेकको आफ्नो सम्भाव्य क्षमताको

विकासका लागि उचित रोजगारीसहितको सहभागिता, अभिव्यक्ति, सङ्गठनका स्वतन्त्रताजस्ता कुरालाई आदर्श शासनप्रणालीका अत्यावश्यक तत्त्व मानिन्छ।

सुशासनका विशेषता

- जनसहभागिता
- कानूनको शासन
- पारदर्शिता
- जनउत्तरदायित्व
- सहमति-अभिमुखता
- समता
- रणनीति दृष्टि
- प्रभावकारिता र कार्यकुशलता

२. जनजातीय समस्या, आन्दोलन र राजनीति

सामान्यतया जनजातीय प्रश्नलाई शिक्षाका माध्यमबाट विश्वव्यापी भावनाले घटाउँदै लान्छ भन्ने सोचिने गर्छ। वास्तविकताचाहिँ शिक्षाको विस्तार र आधुनिकीकरण बढ्दै जाँदा जनजातीय माग चाहिँ घट्दै होइन बढ्दै गैरहेको छ। यसै गरी जति बढी आर्थिक समृद्धि हुँदै जान्छ उतिउति जनजातीय द्वन्द्व पनि बढ्दै गएको छ। यसलाई प्रेरित गर्ने अनेक पक्ष छन्।

नेपाली समाज बहुभाषिक, बहुधार्मिक तथा बहुसांस्कृतिक छ। चालीसभन्दा बढी मातृभाषाका वक्ता नेपाली छन्। मुलुकका विभिन्न भागमा अनेक जातजाति आधारभूत आवश्यकताबाट समेत वञ्चित आदिम कालीन अवस्थामा गुञ्जिरहेका छन्। अशिक्षा, निरक्षरता, गरिबी, आधारभूत स्वास्थ्यसेवाको अभाव, लैङ्गिक विभेद, महिला र बालशोषण, जातपातको उचनीच, अन्धविश्वास, भाग्यवाद, छुवाछूतलगायतका अनेक आदिम मूल्यमान्यताले नेपाल जकडिएको छ। जनजातीय पहिचानको मूल्यलाई उपेक्षा गरिएको छ।

जनतामा, खास गरी जनजातीय समूहरूमा, बढ्दो चेतनाले एकरूपताको धारणालाई हाँक दिएर जनजातीय अधिकारको खोजी सुरु भएको छ। सामाजिक राजनीति र परम्परागत सामाजिक संरचनाचाहिँ २००७ सालपछि पनि निरन्तर रहेको रूढिवादी विचार र हिन्दूवादमा आधारित छ। साभ्रा राष्ट्रिय एकरूप संस्कृतिको निर्माणका नाममा राणाशासनकालीन नीतिले नै निरन्तरता पाइरहेको छ।

यसलाई राणापछिको जनसहभागिताको शासन र पञ्चायतकालले पनि निरन्तरता दिइल्याएको हो। राजनीतिक साध्यका लागि जनजातीय सवाल नेपालका लागि नौलो कुरा होइन। पचासको दशकमा नेपाली तराई काङ्ग्रेसले तराईका लागि हिन्दी भाषालाई राज्यको भाषाका रूपमा माग गरेको थियो। त्यस क्षेत्रका मैथिली, भोजपुरी, अवधि र थारू भाषी जनजातिले त्यो कुरा स्वीकार गर्ने रुझान देखाएका थिए। नेपाल सद्भावना पार्टीको यो माग यथावत् छ। अन्य जनजातिका यस्ता अनेक किसिमका मागले विभिन्न समयमा राजनीतिक स्वरूप धारण गर्दै आएका छन्।

नेपालको प्रजातान्त्रिक वातावरणमा पनि जनजातिहरूले जनजातीय पहिचानमा निहित गौरवको खोजी गरेका छन्। यसै गरी जनजातीय सवाललाई उनीहरूले राजनीतिक तथा आर्थिक फाँटको हिस्सेदारीको रूपमा पनि उठाएका छन् जसलाई राष्ट्र र राष्ट्रियतासँग असङ्गत रहेको ठानिनु हुँदैन।

बहुदलीय प्रजातन्त्रमा तीव्र बनेको जनजातीय आन्दोलन अहिले पनि जारी छ। सन् १९९० मा स्थापित छातासङ्गठन नेपाल जनजाति महासङ्घअन्तर्गत रहेका जातिजनजातिका सांस्कृतिक समूहका रूपमा आफ्नाआफ्ना समूह क्रियाशील छन्।

२.१ नेपालको जनजातीय आन्दोलनका प्रेरक कारण : एक अवलोकन

जनजातीय आन्दोलन आजको उपज नभएर शासकवर्गको दमन, भेदभाव र खटनले उब्जाएको कुरा हो। हिन्दू जातपातको प्रणालीभित्र जवर्जस्त मिलान गर्ने नीतिविरुद्ध जनजातीय समूहको असन्तोषले विकसित यस

आन्दोलनले विदेशी विद्वानलाई उनीहरूतिर आर्कषित गर्‍यो । डोरबहादुर विष्टजस्ता नेपाली विद्वानले पनि यसलाई टेवा दिए । संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घले १९९३ लाई विश्वआदिवासी वर्षको रूपमा मनाउनु र १९९५ - २००४ को अवधिलाई यसको दशकका रूपमा मनाइनेजस्ता घटनाले पनि यसलाई थप ऊर्जा प्रदान गरे ।

पञ्चायतपछि र प्रजातन्त्रकालमा जनतालाई अधिकारवाला बनाउने जनताको सार्वभौमिकता, वैधानिक राजतन्त्र र नागरिक जागरणसाथ भएका अनेक गतिविधिले जनजातीय आन्दोलनलाई क्रियाशील गर्नमा थप बल दिएका हुन् ।

अनेक धरातलमा उभिएका जनजातीय समुदायमाथिको भेदभाव र शोषणले जनजातीय आन्दोलनलाई अगाडि धक्कले काम गरे । गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरूको अधिकार वकालतका कार्यक्रमले पनि यसलाई टेवा दियो ।

संवैधानिक कारण

संवैधानका केही धाराले समानताको कुरा गरे पनि धेरै धाराले सीमान्तकृत सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक समूहमाथि अनेक भेदभाव कायम राखेको छ । नेपाललाई हिन्दू राष्ट्र र नेपाली भाषालाई राज्यको भाषाका रूपमा परिभाषित गरेर गरिएको विभेदले तीव्र आलोचना खाएको छ । वास्तवमा अनेक जनजातिले यसो नहोस् भनेर माग गरेको भए पनि त्यसको वास्ता नभएपछि त्यसले आन्दोलनलाई गति दिने सामान्य कुरा नै हो ।

सामाजिक आर्थिक कारण

सामाजिक बहिष्करण, निरपेक्ष असमानता, निरपेक्ष गरिवी, स्रोतसाधनमाथिको पहुँचको अभाव र यी सवाललाई सम्बोधन गर्नमा राजनीतिक संरचनाको असफलताले नेपाली समाजलाई जातीय आन्दोलन र द्वन्द्वका लागि भूमि खडा गर्‍यो । धर्मवादी परम्पराले कायम गरेका उचनीचका व्यवस्थाले शोषणमूलक सामाजिक व्यवस्थालाई निरन्तरता दियो । केन्द्रीकरण र क्षेत्रीय असन्तुलन, राष्ट्रिय आयको असमान र असन्तुलित वितरणजस्ता कुराले जनजातीय आन्दोलनलाई चर्काउन मलजल गर्‍यो । यसबाट द्वन्द्वले चर्कनका लागि वातावरण पायो ।

खास जातसमूहको वर्चस्व

सबै क्षेत्रमा खास जातसमूहको वर्चस्व कायम रह्यो । पञ्चायत व्यवस्था स्वयंमा असमानतावादी सोचमा आधारित भएको र बाहुन क्षेत्री र नेवार जातसमूहका मानिसहरूले शक्तिको अभ्यासमा एकाधिकार कायम गरेकै कुराले बहुदलीय शासनकालमा पनि निरन्तरता पायो । केही राजनीतिक दलको बनोटमा यो कुरा अद्यापि प्रतिबिम्बित हुन्छ । जस्तै प्रमुख राजनीतिक दलमा यस्तो अवस्था देखिन्छ:

दल	खस	मङ्गोल-किराँत	मधेसी	दलित	नेवार	जम्मा
नेपाली काङ्ग्रेस	२३	३	३	-	१	३०
नेकपा एमाले	४८	८	३	१	५	६५
राप्रपा	२१	७	७	१	५	४१
नेपाली काङ्ग्रेस (प्रजातान्त्रिक)	२२	७	२	-	२	३३
जम्मा	११४	२५	१५	२	१३	१६९

(स्रोत: फिल्ड सर्वे २००५)

राजनीतिक मुद्दा र निषेधकारी मानसिकता

नेपाली राजनीतिमा कमजोरीलाई स्वीकार नगर्ने गजबको मनोविज्ञान छ । समस्यालाई जनमत लिनका लागि उछाल्ने तर निर्वाचन जितेपछि त्यसलाई सम्बोधन नगरी परम्परालाई नै निरन्तरता दिने दशाबाट नेपाल ग्रस्त छ । यसले जनजातिलाई अलग्याएको अलग्याए राख्ने काम गर्‍यो । राज्यका नीति, योजना र कार्यक्रममा जनजातीय समुदायको समावेशी परिवेश सिर्जना भएन ।

शासनमा जनजातीय सहभागिताको अभाव

माथि उल्लेखित लगायत अन्य कारणले गर्दा जनजातीय समुदायलाई शासनमा सहभागी हुने र योजनागत रूपमा सुधारको कार्य अगि बढाउने

वातावरण मिलेन । सहभागिता भनेको प्रतिनिधिको उपस्थित मात्र नभएर सक्रिय संलग्नता हो । सहभागिताका हिसाबले सन् २००० को मन्त्रिपरिषद् र संसद्को बनोटलाई हेर्दा यो कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

मन्त्रिपरिषद्को जातजातीय बनोट

जात र जातीय समूह	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
बाहुन	१२	४८
छेत्री	३	१२
तराईवासी	४	१६
नेवार	२	८
राई लिम्बू, गुरुङ, मगर, तामाङ, थकाली र अन्य	३	१२
मुसलमान	१	४
जम्मा	२५	१००

प्रतिनिधिसभाको जातजातीय बनोट २०००

जात र जातीय समूह	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
बाहुन	७७	३७.५६
छेत्री	९७	२२.९२
तराईवासी	३९	१९.००
नेवार	२७	१३.१७
राई लिम्बू, गुरुङ, मगर, तामाङ, थकाली र अन्य	१३	६.३४
मुसलमान	२	०.९७
जम्मा	२०५	१००.००

सचिवस्तरीय कर्मचारीतन्त्रको जातजातीय बनोट

जात र जातीय समूह	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
बाहुन	१९	५४.२८
छेत्री	५	१४.२२
तराईवासी	४	११.४२
नेवार	७	२०.००
जम्मा	३५	१००.००

स्रोत अनन्तराज पौडेल “इन्धिसिटी एन्ड क्राइसिस अफ गभर्नेन्स इन नेपाल”, (इन्धिसिटी एन्ड पोलिट इन साउथ एसिया, २००२)

माथिका तालिकाबाट नेपालमा शक्तिको प्रयोग गर्नमा सीमित जातजातीय समूहको बोलवाला रहेको तथ्य स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

जनजातीय आन्दोलनका मुख्य आयाम र मुद्दा

जनजातीय आन्दोलनका मुद्दा सांस्कृतिक आर्थिकदेखि लिएर संवैधानिक मागसम्म तन्केका छन् । सांस्कृतिक तहमा जातीय, भाषिक तथा धार्मिक समानताका प्रश्नहरू छन् भने आर्थिक क्षेत्रमा राज्यको स्रोतको केन्द्रीकरणविरुद्ध स्रोतसाधनको समानतामा आधारित बाँडफाँडको कुरो छ । यस्तै समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व र क्षेत्रीय स्वायत्तताको कुरा पनि राम्ररी उठेको छ । यसरी लौकिकतावाद (सेक्युलारिज्म), भाषिक अधिकार, विशेष संरक्षणात्मक व्यवस्था, राज्यमा सहभागिता, सामाजिक भेदभावउपर नियन्त्रण र माथिल्लो सदनलाई जातीय सभा कायम गर्नेसम्मका मुद्दाले स्थान लिएका छन् ।

माओवादी द्वन्द्वको जनजातीय आयाम

माओवादी विद्रोहले आदिवासी जनजाति, दलित महिलाजस्तो सामाजिक रूपले पाखा पारिएका समूहबाट विचारणीय रूपमा टेवा पाएको छ । यसमा तान्ने र घचेट्ने दुवै खालका अनेक कारण छन् । छुचान्ने देखिएका कारण हुन्:

- क) माओवादीले आमूल सामाजिक रूपान्तरणको आह्वान गरेका छन् ।
- ख) जनजातीय समुदायहरूमा व्याप्त गरिबी - माओवादी विद्रोहको आधार भएको छ ।
- ग) सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक मुद्दाहरूलाई जनजातीय आत्मनिर्णयको अधिकारलाई माओवादीहरूले अरूको तुलनामा बढी सशक्त र बलपूर्वक तरिकाले उठाएका छन् ।

शासनमा जनजातीय सहभागिता बढाउने उपाय

जनजातिहरूलाई सामाजिक रूपले एकल्याइएको र सीमान्तकृत गरिएको समस्यालाई राष्ट्रिय समस्याको रूपमा लिनुपर्ने कुरामा आमसहमति बन्दै गएको छ । समस्याहरू बहुमुखी भएकाले एकै उपाय मात्रले तिनको हल हुन सक्ने अवस्था छैन । राज्यका सबै तहमा उनीहरूको सहभागिता एउटा उपचारात्मक उपाय हो ।

शासनमा उनीहरूको सहभागिता निश्चित पार्न उनीहरूलाई व्यवधान गरिरहेका संरचनात्मक अवरोधहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्न आवश्यक छ । यस्ता धेरै उपायमध्ये राज्यलाई धर्मानुप्राणित राज्य नराखी लौकिक राज्यका रूपमा रूपान्तरण गर्नु र केही क्षेत्रमा उनीहरूका लागि विशेष संरक्षणका व्यवस्था गर्न आवश्यक छ ।

सामाजिक भेदभाव अन्त्य गर्ने र समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्वको निर्वाचनप्रणाली पनि यसका थप सहायक उपाय हुन् ।

निष्कर्ष

जनजातीय समस्या बहुआयामिक छ र यसले प्रत्यक्षअप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा सिङ्गे राष्ट्रिय जीवनलाई प्रभावित गरेका छन् । जातीय समस्या स्वयंमा द्वन्द्वका सूचक होइनन् ।

मेरो विचारमा यसले द्वन्द्वलाई इन्धनकै रूपमा काम गरेको त छैन तर यसले द्वन्द्वलाई उत्प्रेरकका रूपमा काम गरेको छ ।

शासनमा जनजातीय सहभागिताका माध्यमबाट द्वन्द्वको गतिलाई मत्थर बनाउनमा केही टेवा पुग्नेछ । यो समस्या द्वन्द्वको केन्द्रमा नभए पनि केन्द्रमा जाने खतरा छ । त्यसैले सबै सरोकारवालाले यसतर्फ ध्यान दिन आवश्यक छ ।

(यस लेखको अंग्रेजी रूपान्तरण पृष्ठ १७१ मा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ)



शान्तिको चाहना, द्वन्द्व र मधेसी समुदायका समस्या

● बलदेव चौधरी

१. पृष्ठभूमि

अमनचयन र शान्ति मानववर्गायत प्राणीजगतको आधारभूत आवश्यकता हो। हामी मानवजातिले चाहेको सुसङ्गत तथा प्रजातान्त्रिक शान्ति हो। वि.सं. २०५२ सालबाट सुरु भएको माओवादी जनयुद्धका कारणले गर्दा नेपाल अहिले हामी प्रजातन्त्र र सुसङ्गताबाट वञ्चित छ। मधेशक्षेत्रको शान्तिसुव्यवस्थालाई पनि यसले ज्यादै नराम्रो गरी प्रभावित गरेको छ।

तराईक्षेत्रमा माओवादी विद्रोहको समस्या रहेको छ भनिन्छ तर यस समस्याको संरचनागत पृष्ठभूमि हेरिएको छैन। मधेसी समुदायउपर गरिएका र यसभित्र रहेका अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवहारको लेखाजोखा नगरीकन मधेसी समुदाय र माओवादी विद्रोहको अन्तर्सम्बन्धको बारेमा आकलन गर्न सकिन्न। यस आधारबाट हेर्ने हो भने माओवादी विद्रोह मधेसको समस्याको सतहमा देखिएको छनक मात्र हो। २६० वर्ष अगाडिबाट समाजमा गरिएको भेदभाव र तिरस्कारपूर्ण व्यवहार, असमानताका निरन्तरता नै हाम्रा मूलभूत समस्या हुन्।

तराई क्षेत्रमा लगभग २५ लाख कृषिमजदुरहरू रहेका छन् ती कृषि मजदुरहरूमा तराई क्षेत्रमा मधेसे, अछुत, दलित र पछाडि पारेका वर्गहरू रहेका छन्। २०११ सालतिर तराईमा आत्मस्वाभिमानका खातिर “रे” “जी” कहो भन्ने आन्दोलन गरिएको थियो। निकै ठूलाठूला किसान विद्रोहहरू

भएका थिए। आज ती विद्रोह भएको ५२ वर्ष भइसक्दा पनि उनीहरूको समस्या “चुच्चे दुङ्गे उही टुङ्गे” भनेभै छ। शताब्दीयौँदेखि राज्यले आफूहरूलाई पाखा पारेको अनुभूति गरेका मधेसी समुदायमा माओवादीहरूले ल्याएको क्रान्तिकारी विचारहरूले भट्टै आकर्षण गर्‍यो। एउटा आन्तरिक कृण्ठाबाट पीडित भएका समुदायमा जातीय स्वतन्त्रता, आत्मस्वाभिमान, स्वयत्तता, समानता र न्यायपूर्ण संसारको निर्माण गर्नेजस्ता गुलिया नारा स्वाभाविक तवरले आकर्षणकारी बने। धेरै मधेसीहरू माओवादीको मधेसीमुक्ति मोर्चा थारुवान मुक्ति मोर्चाजस्ता सङ्गठनहरूमा सङ्गठित हुँदै गए। माओवादी आन्दोलनबाट आफूहरूले भोग्नुपरेका यावत समस्याको समाधान हुने आशामा मधेसी समुदायहरू पुनः अर्को विशाल समस्यामा फस्दै गए, अन्ततः मधेसी समुदायको हालत “ताप्केबाट उम्केको माछा भुङ्गोमा परे” जस्तै भएको छ।

२. नेपालको तराई क्षेत्र र मधेसी समुदाय

मधेश नेपालको मेरुदण्डको रूपमा रहेको छ भने यस क्षेत्रमा बसोबास गर्ने मधेसी समुदाय अभिन्न अङ्गको रूपमा रहेको छ। एक अङ्ग निष्क्रिय भयो भने सम्पूर्ण प्रणाली नै भताभुङ्ग हुन जान्छ। तसर्थ : पूरा अङ्गमा भएको समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि प्रत्येक अङ्गका समस्याहरूलाई समाधान गर्दै लैजानु पनि नितान्त आवश्यक कुरा हो।

सिद्धान्ततः मधेसमा बसोबास गर्ने मानिस मधेसी र पहाडमा बसोबास गर्ने पहाडी भए। यसो हो तापनि भाषाभाषीको आधारमा रङ्गको आधारमा, जातजातिको आधारमा, संस्कृतिको आधारमा छुट्टयाउने चलन रह्यो। यसले गर्दा मधेसमा भौतिक विकास भए पनि त्यहाँ बसोबास गर्ने सबैले समतामूलक तरिकाले त्यसको प्रतिफल पाएनन्। परम्परागत रूपमा संरचनागत स्वरूप लिई सकेका भेदभाव र अन्यायपूर्ण प्रचलनले मधेसीहरू विभेदको शिकार हुन पुगेका छन्। मधेसमा बसोबास गर्ने मधेसी समुदायको समग्र अध्ययन एकै ठाउँमा राखेर गर्नु जटिल कार्य हो। सबै जातजातिको सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक अवस्था हैसियत एकनास छैनन्। तिनीहरूको स्रोतसाधनमाथि पहुँचको अवस्था फरकफरक छ। नेपालमा करिब ६८ भन्दा बढी मधेसी समुदायको बसोबास रहेको छ। एकसाथ सबै जातजातिको विश्लेषण गर्न सम्भव नभएकाले यहाँ मधेसी समुदायलाई ३ भागमा राखेर विश्लेषण गर्न खोजिएको छ।

- क) आदिवासी जनजाति मधेसी : थारु, राजवंशी, माझी, सतार, भागर गजगार्ड, ताजपुरिया, धानुक, मेचे, किसान, राची, कोचे आदि ।
- ख) दलित मधेसी : चमार, मुसहर, दुसाद, तत्मा, मात, खत्वे, डोम, हतखोर, धनिया, बाँतर आदि ।
- ग) अन्य समूहका मधेसी
- अ) पहुँचमा रहेका मधेसी : भ्ना, राजपूत, कायस्थ, लाल, माडवारी, गुप्ता, रौनियार, मिश्र, कथवनिया, भुमियार ।
- आ) मध्यमवर्गमा रहेका मधेसी : - यादव, साह, तेली, हखवार्द, वरही, सोनार, नुनिया, मेडियार, कुर्मी, कोइरी, केवत, मुस्लिम, राजधोवी, माली, कुम्हार ।
- इ) लोप हुन लागेका मधेसी पत्थारकट्टा, मुण्डा, कहार आदि ।

३. जनसङ्ख्यात्मक अवस्था

सन् २००१ को राष्ट्रिय जनगणना अनुसार नेपालमा मधेसी समुदायको जनसङ्ख्या ६८, ७६, ७६७ देखाइएको छ । तराई जिल्लाको कुल जनसङ्ख्याको २,१२,१२,४५३ छ । विगत पाँच दशकदेखि तराईमा विभिन्न कारणले पहाडी क्षेत्र र भारतबाट ठूलो सङ्ख्यामा बसाइँ सरेको राष्ट्रिय जनगणनाले देखाएको छ । इ.सं. १९५२/५४ मा तराई जिल्लाका पहाडी मुलुकका मानिसको सङ्ख्या कुल जनसङ्ख्याको ५.९ प्रतिशत थियो भने इ.सं. २००१ मा बृद्धि भएर २९.८ प्रतिशत पुगेको छ । सो जनगणनाअनुसार नेपालको कुल जनसङ्ख्यामध्ये ३४ प्रतिशत मधेसी समुदायका मानिस छन् ।

जनसङ्ख्याको आधारमा हेर्ने हो भने आदिवासी जनजाति मधेसीहरूमा सबैभन्दा बढी थारुको जनसङ्ख्या १५,३३,८७९ छ । सबैभन्दा कम जनसङ्ख्या कोचेको १४२९ छ । दलीत मधेसीमा सबैभन्दा बढी जनसङ्ख्या चमारको २,६९,६६९ छ भने सबैभन्दा कम जनसङ्ख्या कनियाको १२,३१६ छ । अन्त्यमा सबैभन्दा बढी मुस्लिम ९,७१,०५६ र यादवको ८,९५,४२३ छ भने सबैभन्दा कम जनसङ्ख्या पत्थरकट्टाको ५५२ छ । तथ्याङ्कसङ्कलनमा नै पनि तराईवासी मधेसी समुदायप्रति संवेदनशील नभएको हुन सक्ने केहीले अनुमान गरेका छन् ।

४. वर्तमान राज्यव्यवस्था र मधेसी समुदाय :

नेपालका एकीकरण शासकीय सोचबाट भएको हो । यसो भएकाले एकीकरणलाई भौगोलिक समाहिती र शासनशक्तिको केन्द्रीकरणका अर्थमा ग्रहण र अभ्यास गरियो । परिणामस्वरूप सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक, भाषाभाषी, जातजाति, धर्म आदिका आधारमा एकीकरण साकार हुन सकेन । जनताले अधिकारप्राप्तिका लागि इतिहासमा अनेक पल्ट आन्दोलन गरे तापनि शासक वर्गको एकीकरणको एकलकाँटे बुझाइका कारण जनतालाई उनीहरूकै शक्ति अभ्यास गर्न दिइएन ।

वि.सं. २०४६ सालको जनआन्दोलनबाट बहुदलीय संसदीय व्यवस्थालाई वरण गरिँदा पनि राज्यप्रणालीको मूल चरित्रमा परिवर्तन हुन सकेन । नेपाली राष्ट्रिय जनजीवनको विविधता र बहुलतालाई संविधानले स्वीकार गरे पनि राज्यसञ्चालकहरूले त्यो बहुलता र विविधताको मर्म, महत्त्व र पहिचानबाट राष्ट्रियताको सुदृढीकरण गर्ने कुरालाई व्यवहारमा ल्याउन चाहेनन् । राज्य चलाउनेहरूमा सङ्कुचित मनोभावनाले जरा गाड्नाले मधेसी समुदायलगायतका पूर्वउपेक्षित समूहहरूले राष्ट्रिय जीवनको किनारमा रहनुको विकल्प पाउन सकेनन् ।

तसर्थ संकुचित राज्यव्यवस्थाका कारण नेपाललाई हाम्रो देश भनेर गर्व गर्नेहरूको लागि राज्य पनि हाम्रो हो भन्ने अनुभूत भएन । मधेसी समुदाय नेपालका महत्त्वपूर्ण उर्जा हुन् । संस्कृति-सभ्यताको धनी यो समुदायलाई राष्ट्रविकासको मूलधारबाट टाढा राखिएको छ । मधेसी भनेपछि नेपाली होइनन् भन्ने सोचले अधिकांश गैरमधेसी नेपालीमा घर गरेको छ । यही कारण स्रोतसाधन र शासनप्रशासनमा बोलवाला रहनेहरूबाट मधेसी समुदायका मानिसहरू भेदभाव र अन्यायको सिकार बनेका छन् । मधेसी समुदायमाथि राज्यद्वारा गरिने विभेद र त्यस विभेदले जन्माएका समस्यालाई छोटकरीमा यसरी दर्साउन सकिन्छ :

५. मधेसी समुदायउपर गरिएका भेदभाव

मधेसी समुदायउपर निम्न भेदभाव कायम रहेका छन् :

- क) राज्यको स्रोतसाधनको बाँडफाँडमा पक्षपात : नेपाल अधिराज्यको कुल जनसङ्ख्याको ३४ प्रतिशत भाग ओगटेको मधेसी समुदायले बसोबास गरेको तराईक्षेत्रका लागि गरिने बजेटविनियोजन न्यून छ । यो क्षेत्र उत्पादकत्वका आधारमा बढी राष्ट्रिय आय दिने क्षेत्र भए

पनि मधेसी समुदायको घनत्व बढी भएका कारण उपेक्षाको सिकार बनेको छ। यसरी राष्ट्रिय स्रोतसाधनको बाँडफाँडबाट मधेसी समुदायलाई राज्यले ठगेको छ। यसरी अर्कोतिर राष्ट्रिय आयआर्जनमा भने मधेशको महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा रहेको छ। स्रोत उत्पादन र संकलनमा तराईको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका भएपनि, राज्यद्वारा पक्षपातपूर्ण स्रोत र साधनको बाँडफाँड भएको छ।

- ख) सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक पक्षको उपेक्षाभाव : मधुसका ऐतिहासिक धार्मिक र सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक सम्पदाहरूको संरक्षणमा राज्यपक्षबाट कुनै चासो देखाएको पाइँदैन। मधेसीले प्रयोग गर्दै आएको धोती, कुर्ता, गम्छालाई अपहेलनाका कारण उक्त परिहरन लोप हुन लागेको छ। मधेसी समुदायले मनाउँदै आएको चाडपर्वलाई त्यति महत्त्व दिएको पाइँदैन। उदाहरणका लागि थारुहरूको जितिया चाड ठूलो महत्त्वपूर्ण चाड हो थारु कल्याणकारी सभाले सो चाडमा विदा हुनुपर्छ भन्ने पटकपटक सरकारसमक्ष माग गर्दासमेत सो माग पूरा भएको छैन।
- ग) भाषिक : नेपालको राष्ट्रभाषालाई नेपाली (खस) लाई स्थापित गराएको छ। अहिले राज्यको हरेक निकायमा नेपाली भाषा अनिवार्य छ जसले गर्दा अन्य भाषा अथवा मातृभाषा लगायत मधेसी समुदायले बोल्ने भाषा ओभ्हेलमा परेका छन्। फलत : मातृभाषामा शिक्षा प्राप्त गर्न पाउने हक संविधानमा मात्रै सिमित भएको छ।
- घ) असमान राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधित्व : देशको राजनीतिक व्यवस्थामा मधेसी समुदायको भूमिका निर्णयकारी हुन नदिने गरी राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधित्वको परिपाटी कायम छ। राजनीतिका लागि मधेसी समुदाय अन्यका लागि हन्वेर्ना मात्र साबित भएका छन्। पहाडमा करिब सात हजार मतदाताबाट एउटा संसद चुन्न पाउने छन् भने मधेसमा एउटा सांसद चुन्न एक लाख मतदाता चाहिन्छ। पहाडी समुदायका मानिस मधेसबाट सांसद बन्न सक्छन् भने कुनै पनि मधेसीलाई पहाडबाट प्रतिनिधित्व गर्न दिएको छैन। राजनीतिक र कुटनीतिक नियुक्तिमा पहाडी मुलुकका मानिसहरूले मात्र नियुक्ति पाउने गरेका छन्।
- ङ) नागरिकता एवं राष्ट्रियता : नेपालमा नेपालीहरूको निम्ति नागरिकताको प्रमाणपत्रलाई व्यवहारमा अनिवार्य बनाइएको छ।

यसको अभावमा संवैधानिक एवं कानुनी हकको प्रयोग हुन सक्दैन। नागरिकताको प्रमाणपत्रको अभावले कुनै पनि व्यक्तिको कानुनी अस्तित्व तथा उसको जीवनयापनको निर्वाह तथा उन्नति-प्रगतिमा अवश्य भने बाधा हुन्छ। श्री ५ को सरकार गृहमन्त्रालयका अनुसार नेपालमा भण्डै ३४ लाख मधेसी नेपालीहरू नागरिकताको प्रमाणपत्रबाट वञ्चित रहेका छन्। सरकारको दृष्टिकोणमा समेत नेपाली नागरिक मानिएका तर प्राविधिक कारण दर्साएर नागरिकता नदिइएका यी नेपालीहरूको सार्वभौमिकता र राष्ट्रप्रेमको समेत तीव्र अवमूल्यन गरिएको छ।

६. विभेदले उब्जाएको समस्या :

१. मधेसी समुदाय नेपाली भएर पनि राज्यले नेपालीको पहिचान दिलाउन नसकेका कारणले राज्य हाम्रो हो कि होइन भन्ने भावना विकास भएको।
२. धार्मिक सांस्कृतिक उत्पीडनले गर्दा मधेसीहरूको मौलिक पहिचान सङ्कटमा परेको।
३. पक्षपातपूर्ण आर्थिक स्रोतको बाँडफाँडले मधेसी समुदाय भन्भन् गरिबीतर्फ उन्मुख हुँदै जानु।
४. मधेसी समुदायको प्रतिनिधित्व बढाउनु सट्टा घट्टै जानु।
५. भाषिक समस्याले गर्दा योग्य मधेसीहरू ओभ्हेलमा पर्नु।
६. अन्धविश्वास, कुरीति र गलत प्रचलनमा जकडिएकाहरूको समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्ने राज्यसँग ठोस कार्यक्रम नहुनु।

७. समाधानका उपाय

मधेसी समुदायको समस्या समाधान सजिलो सहज तरिकाबाट निस्कन्न। मातृभाषा प्रयोग गर्न पाउनु, रेडियोमा मातृभाषा समाचार सुन्न, नागरिकता लिनमा सरलीकरण आदि उपाय समाधानको खोजीमा गर्नुपर्ने प्राथमिक काम हुन्। यसका साथै निम्नानुसारका कदम चाल्न सकेको खण्डमा यसको निदानमा टेवा पुग्न सक्छ :

१. नेपालका मधेसी समुदायको पहिलो चाहना नै मधेसीको रूपमा यस समुदायको निर्विकल्प मान्यता पाउनु हो। अर्थात मधेसी समुदायको न्यायपूर्ण मान्यता वा नेपाल राष्ट्र भनेको मधेश मूल र पहाड मूल गरी दुई मुलुकमा बसोबास गर्ने साभा हो भनी स्वीकार गर्नुपर्छ।
२. नेपालका मधेसीहरूलाई नेपाल अधिराज्यभित्र न्यायपूर्ण जीवनयापनका लागि हक र अधिकारको मान्यता चाहिएको छ। आजसम्मको अनुभवनले के सिद्ध गरेको छ भने नेपाल अधिराज्यको संविधान २०४७ ले मधेसीहरूको हित सम्भव छैन। तसर्थ संविधानको संशोधन वा पुनर्लेखन वा संविधानसभामार्फत मधेसी समुदायलाई समानताका आधारमा राज्यबाट व्यवहार हुने प्रत्याभूति गर्नुपर्छ।
३. मधेसी समुदाय बहुदलीय व्यवस्थामा विश्वास गर्दछ। जनसङ्ख्याको आधारमा मुलुकको संरचनामा परिवर्तन गर्नुपर्छ।
४. राज्यसत्ताका सम्पूर्ण अङ्गहरूमा मुलुकको सबै समुदायको जातीय सङ्ख्याको आधारमा समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्वको संवैधानिक व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्छ।
५. विना भन्कट नागरिकता पाउने व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्छ।
६. सरकारी निकायका उच्च पदहरूमा जनसङ्ख्याको आधारमा मधेसी समुदायलाई प्राथमिकता दिनुपर्छ।
७. मधेसी समुदायको लागि विशेष किसिमको शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम लागू गरिनुपर्छ र मधेसी विद्यार्थीहरूलाई छात्रवृत्तिको व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्छ।
८. मधेसीप्रतिको व्यवहार र दृष्टिकोण परिवर्तन गर्न केही कानुनी व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्छ।
९. मधेसी समुदायको जनसङ्ख्या देखाउने सही तथ्याङ्क लिनुपर्छ।
१०. भाषिक, धार्मिक र सांस्कृतिक स्वतन्त्रताको प्रत्याभूति दिनुपर्छ।
११. अन्धविश्वास र रुढिवादी प्रचलन अन्त्य गर्नका लागि ठोस राष्ट्रिय कार्यक्रम चलाउनुपर्छ।
१२. मधेसीहरूको परम्परागत ज्ञान शीपको प्रवर्द्धन गर्न उचित योजना र कार्यक्रम लागू गर्नुपर्छ।

१३. राज्यको स्रोतको बाँडफाँडमा समानुपातिक बनाउने नीति राज्यले अवलम्बन गर्नुपर्छ।
१४. तराई क्षेत्रमा हुने बसाइँसराइबारेमा ठोस नीति बनाउनुपर्ने र भारतबाट गैरकानुनी बसाइँ सरी आई अस्थायी बसोबास गर्नेहरूको तथ्याङ्क व्यवस्थित गरिनुपर्छ।

मधेशमा आर्थिक, सामाजिक, भाषिक र धार्मिक राजनीतिक उन्नतिको सम्भावना रहे तापनि राज्य व्यवस्थाको पूर्वाग्रही सोचले मधेसी समुदाय अधोगतितिर रहेको छ भने अर्को तर्फ यिनै कारणले मधेशमा माओवादी जरो गाड्न सफल भै रहेको छ। तसर्थ यसबारे सरकार तथा गैरसरकारी सङ्घसस्था, बुद्धिजीवी, राजनैतिक पार्टीलगायत नागरिक समाज सही नीति अवलम्बन गरी मधेसी समुदायलाई उन्नत समाज निर्माणमा पहल गरेमा हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वको रूपान्तरण सम्भव हुँदै जान्छ।

दुन्दुरुपान्तरणका सन्दर्भमा जनजाति र दलितका सवाल

● नीलम संग्रौला

जनजातिको उत्पत्ति:

नेपालमा जनजातिको इतिहास मङ्गोल किराँतको इतिहास हो। बाबुराम आचार्यका अनुसार किराँतहरू नेपालका प्रथम वासिन्दाहरू थिए। किराँतहरू अस्ट्रो-एसियन जातिसमूहभित्र पर्दछन्। केही एतिहासिक प्रमाणअनुसार पाँच हजार वर्ष पहिले अस्ट्रोएसियन जातिसमूहकै अन्य तिब्बती-बर्मेली जातिहरू पनि बर्माबाट असाम हुँदै नेपाल आए। यी नयाँ जातिहरूले आफ्नो छुट्टै परिचय कायम राख्न सकेनन्। यिनीहरूको संस्कृति र अन्य पहिचान किराँतहरूसँग मिसिन थाले। यिनै दुई पृष्ठभूमिका जातिहरूको सम्मिश्रणबाट हालको नेपाली मङ्गोल-किराँत समुदायको विकास भएको मानिन्छ।

प्रेम ब. लिम्बूका अनुसार प्रथम शासक किराँतहरूले यिनीहरूको आफ्नो शासनको सबैभन्दा प्रमुख ठाउँ काठमाडौँ उपत्यका लिच्छविहरूको आक्रमणबाट २३६ वि.सं. मा गुमाए। तर यिनीहरूको शासन बनेपामा राजा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले विक्रम सम्वत १८३१ मा आक्रमण गर्नु भन्दा पहिलेसम्म कायम थियो। त्यस्तै गण्डकी क्षेत्रका प्रदेशहरू जसमा मंगोल, किराँत जातिले शासन गरेका थिए यी क्षेत्रहरूपनि खसहरूको पहुँचमा आए (न्यौपाने)।

गोरखा राज्यको विस्तारको समयमा केही जनजाति समूहहरूलाई उच्च स्थान दिएको थियो तर यिनीहरूलाई शाह क्षेत्री र बाहुन शासकहरूले लाखापाखा लगाए। केही इतिहासविदहरूका अनुसार विक्रम संवत् १७६८ देखि १८१४ सम्ममा जम्मा ४९ जना काजीहरूमा १० जना मगर र गुरुङ जाति नै थिए। अभिमान सिंह (राना), जो कोत पर्वमा मारिए, यिनी नै जनजातिको उच्च पदस्थ थिए। त्यसपछि जनजातिहरूले सैनिक, न्यायपालिका लगायत सरकारी कार्यालय तर्फ उच्च पद धारण गरेको तथ्याङ्क पाइँदैन (डि.बी. गुरुङ)।

दलित/छुवाछूतको उत्पत्ति:

मनुस्मृतिले सात प्रकारका व्यक्तिहरूको समूहलाई दलित अथवा अछूतको रूपमा लिएको छ।

- १) युद्धबन्दी
- २) बाँचनको लागि जसले दासत्वको स्वीकार गरेको छन्
- ३) महिला दासीका सन्तान
- ४) जसलाई किनिएको हो
- ५) दानमा पाएकाहरू
- ६) दास पिताका सन्तान
- ७) राजाबाट दण्डित भएकाहरू

आर्यहरूले तल्लो वर्गका आर्य थिए र पराजित अनार्यहरूलाई अस्पश्य ठाने। लिच्छवि कालमा आएर त्यस बेलाका शासकहरूले छोइछिटो हाल्नुपर्ने र नपर्ने व्यवस्था कायम गरेका थिए। यी मध्ये जसलाई छोइछिटो हाल्नुपर्ने हो तिनीहरूलाई असदशुद्र भनियो र जसलाई छोइछिटो हाल्नुपर्ने हो तिनीहरूलाई सदशुद्र भनियो र असद शुद्रमा मुख्य समूहका कामी, दमाई, साकी, पोडे, च्यामे, कसाई, गाइने, ,वादी, मुसहर आदि र सद शुद्रमा राई, लिम्बू, गुरुङ, मगर, तामाङ थारु आदि वर्गिकृत गरिएको थियो।

बाबुराम आचार्यका अनुसार शुरुमा आर्यहरूले किराँतहरूलाई दास बनाई पानी नचल्नेको रूपमा समाजमा प्रवेश गराए। यो बनाइले के कुराको तथ्यलाई प्रष्ट पार्दछ भने दलितको सम्बन्ध खसहरूसँग मात्र नभएर किराँतहरूसँग सम्बन्ध नै रहेको पाइन्छ। राजा जयस्थिति मल्ला (१३९०-१३) ले जातीय छुवाछूतलाई संस्थागत गरे भने श्री ३ जङ्गबहादुर राणाले सर्वप्रथम मुलुकी ऐन जारी गरी धातु जातपात र छुवाछूत प्रथालाई कानुनी रूप दिए (छापामा दलित)।

जातजातिसम्बन्धी विभिन्न नीति र विचार

- (१) पहिलो विचारले जातजातिमाथि भएको उत्पीडनबाट मुक्ति दिलाउनको बदला उनीहरूको संरक्षण गर्ने कुरा गर्दछ। यो संरक्षणवादी विचार हो।
- (२) दोस्रो विचारले विभिन्न जाति र समूहको समस्यालाई प्रषय दियो भने यसले विखण्डन ल्याउँदछ भन्ने कुरा गर्दछ। यो विचार एकतन्त्री एवं निरंकुश पञ्चायती शासकहरूको थियो।
- (३) तेस्रो विचारले जाति, जनजातिहरूको सवालमा समानताको कुरा गर्दछ।
- (४) चौथो विचारले जाति, जनजातिको सम्बन्धमा समतामुलक व्यवहारको अपेक्षा गर्दछ। यस विचारको अनुसार यदि लंगडो र सग्लोलाई प्रतिस्पर्धा गराउने हो भने लंगडोलाई सग्लो मानिस बराबर सुविधा दिएर मात्र प्रतिस्पर्धा गराउनुपर्दछ। यो समतावादी विचार हो।

स्रोत : छापामा जनजाति

हाम्रा राजनीतिक दलहरू यी चारमध्ये कुनकुन विचारको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछन् ? अब तिनीहरूको जातजातिसम्बन्धी नीतिहरूको कुरा गरौं :

राजनीतिक दलहरूका घोषणापत्रमा जनजाति र दलितसम्बन्धी कुरा नेपाली कांग्रेसको घोषणापत्र (आमनिर्वाचन २०५६)

आदिवासी जनजाति:

नेपाली कांग्रेसले एक स्वतन्त्र परिषद्को गठन गर्नेछ, जसले जनजातिको खोजी, विकास र प्रवर्धन गर्दछ।

अछूत र उपेक्षित वर्ग:

- दलित वर्गकोलाई राजनीतिक निर्णयप्रक्रियामा उचित सहभागिता गराइनेछ। यसलाई कार्यान्वयन गर्ने संसद्मा विधेयक प्रस्तुत गरिनेछ।
- दलित वर्गको उत्थानको लागि एक स्वतन्त्र परिषद्को गठन गरिनेछ।

नेपाल कम्युनिष्ट पार्टी एमालेको घोषणापत्र-२०५६

सबै जाति,, जनजाति, भाषा, धर्म र संस्कृतिलाई समान अधिकार सुसंस्कृत,, सभ्य र उन्नत समाजको आधार

- जाति, जनजाति, भाषा, धर्म र संस्कृतिको आधारमा गरिने भेदभावको अन्त्य हुनुपर्दछ र त्यस्तो कानुनी व्यवस्था जसले सबै भाषाभाषीको समान अधिकार, अवसर र सुविधाका संरक्षण गर्दछ, लागू गरिनेछ।
- पिछडिएको समाज पिछडिएको जाति, जनजाति, भाषा र संस्कृतिको विकासको लागि विशेष व्यवस्था गरिनेछ।
- मातृभाषामा प्राथमिक तहसम्म शिक्षा पाउने अधिकार सुनिश्चित गरिनेछ।
- विभिन्न जातिर जनजातिहरूको इतिहास लेखिने छ जसले राष्ट्र निर्माणमा महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान दिएका छन्। व्यक्ति र सङ्घ संस्था जसले विभिन्न जातजातिको विकास र संवर्धन गर्ने योगदान दिएका छन् तिनीहरूलाई सम्मान गरिनेछ।

- देशका विभिन्न भागमा छरिएर रहेका सांस्कृतिक सम्पदाहरूको संरक्षण गरिनेछ। लोपन्मुख रहेको जातीय कला, संस्कृति र साहित्यको विशेष सुरक्षा गरिनेछ।
- राष्ट्रिय विखण्डन र सांप्रदायिकता फैलाउने क्रियाकलापहरूलाई दुरुत्साहित गर्दै सामाजिक सद्भाव र समानतामा जोड दिइनेछ।
- त्यस्ता नीति र मान्यताहरू जन्म जनताका राष्ट्रिय एकताका आधारहरू हुन ठोस रूपमा ल्याइनेछ।
- विभिन्न जाति, जनजातिका विद्वानहरूलाई प्रोत्साहन र सम्मान गरिनेछ।
- अन्धविश्वास, छुवाछूत संगसंगै सामाजिक कुरितिलाई समाप्त गर्ने अभियान चलाइनेछ।

संयुक्त जनमोर्चा,नेपालको घोषणापत्र २०५६

- जाति, जनजाति र धार्मिक सम्प्रदायबीच फरक ल्याउने कानुनी र सवैधानिक व्यवस्थाको अन्त्य गरिनुपर्दछ।
- विभिन्न जाति र जनजातिलाई जातीय स्वयत्तता दिइनुपर्दछ।
- छुवाछूतलाई उन्मूलन गर्ने विशेष अभियान चलाउनु पर्दछ। विद्यालय अस्पताल, मन्दिर, धारा, सार्वजनिक समारोह, भोज भत्तेर र दुध र घिउको व्यापार जसले छुवाछूतको प्रोत्साहन गर्दछ त्यसलाई दण्डनीय बनाइनेछ।
- तल्लो जाति विवाहलाई प्रोत्साहन गरिनेछ।
- शिक्षा र रोजगारीका क्षेत्रमा दलित, अल्पसङ्ख्यक र पिछडिएकालाई आरक्षणको व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्दछ।
- राष्ट्रिय सभालाई जातीय सभामा परिणत गरिने सबै जातिलाई आफ्नै जातीय भेषभूषा र जातीय भाषामा पेस हुने अधिकार प्रदान गरिनेछ।

राष्ट्रिय प्रजातन्त्र पार्टीको घोषणापत्र २०५६

जनजाति समस्या र समाधान: नेपाली संस्कृति र वीरताको पहिचान

- अल्पसङ्ख्यक र आदिवासी समुदायसम्बन्धी संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घीय प्रावधानलाई लागू गरिनेछ।
- राष्ट्रिय जनगणना आयोग २०५८ को स्थापना गरिनेछ।
- राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगमा जनजातिको सहभागितालाई अनिवार्य गरिनेछ।
- राष्ट्रिय सभामा जनजाति, तयार समुदाय, अल्पसङ्ख्यक दलित र उपेक्षित वर्गलाई समानुपाति प्रतिनिधित्व गराइनेछ।
- राष्ट्रिय भाषालाई राष्ट्रभाषाको मान्यता दिइनेछ।
- मातृभाषामा शिक्षा लिन पाउने अधिकार दिइनेछ। पाठ्यक्रम, शिक्षक र विद्यालयको व्यवस्था विस्तारै गरिनेछ।
- जनजाति प्रतिष्ठानको कार्यक्षेत्रलाई विस्तार गरी निर्णय गर्ने तहमा जनजातिको सहभागिता सुनिश्चित गरिनेछ।
- सबै जाति र समुदायको चाडपर्वमा भौतिक सुविधा र सार्वजनिक विदा प्रदान गरिनेछ।
- जनजातिसम्बन्धी अनुसन्धानको संस्थागत प्रोत्साहन गरिनेछ।
- छोटकरीमा जनजातिलाई राष्ट्रको लुलधारमा ल्याई समस्याको समाधान खोजिनेछ।

नेकपा माओवादीको जातिसम्बन्धी प्रकाशमा आएको नीति:

जातीय समस्या समाधानको लागि नेकपा माओवादीहरूले उत्पीडित जातिहरूको आत्मनिर्णयको अधिकारलाई स्वीकार गरेको छ। त्यसकारण जनजाति र दलितको समस्या समाधानको लागि निम्न रणनीति अपनाउने गरी सो दलले प्रकाशमा ल्याएका सामग्रीबाट जानकारी मिल्छ :

१. विदेशी साम्राज्यवादीहरूको आडभरोसामा टिकेको वर्तमान सामन्ती हिन्दू उच्च जातीय राजतन्त्रात्मक प्रतिक्रियावादी राज्यसत्तालाई ध्वस्त पारी उत्पीडित जाति, जनजाति, दलित समुदाय, पिछडिएका तराईवासी आदिको वास्तविक प्रतिनिधित्व हुने जनताको संयुक्त जनवादी गणतन्त्रात्मक राज्य सत्ताको स्थापना गरिनुपर्दछ।
२. जाति, भाषा, धर्म र सांस्कृति अन्तर, क्षेत्रगत र वर्गीय अन्तरको आधारमा हुने कुनै पनि प्रकारको शोषण र उत्पीडनको अन्त्य गरिनुपर्दछ। हिन्दू उच्च जातिलाई भाषा, धर्म, संस्कृति आदि हरेक क्षेत्रमा दिई आइरहेको विशेषाधिकारको अन्त्य गरी सबै जातिहरू बीचमा स्वतन्त्रता समानता, सदभावना र भ्रातृत्वपूर्ण सम्बन्धको विकास गरिनुपर्दछ।
४. विभिन्न पिछडिएका जाति-जनजाति तथा क्षेत्रगत भाषा, समुदायहरूलाई स्वायत्त शासन सञ्चालन गर्ने अधिकार प्रदान गरिनुपर्दछ। ती जातीय स्वायत्त क्षेत्रहरूलाई आफ्नो जातिको विकासको निम्ति आर्थिक, सामाजिक, भाषिक, शैक्षिक, सांस्कृतिक आदि विविध कार्यक्रमको आयोजना तथा सञ्चालन गर्नेपनि स्वतन्त्रता प्रदान गरिनुपर्दछ।
५. मुलुकको संविधान, ऐन, कानून आदि निर्माणको लागि केन्द्रीय जनकांग्रेसमा जातीय स्वशासित क्षेत्रहरूबाट जातीय समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व हुने गरी जातीय परिषद् गठन गरिनुपर्दछ।
६. राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक, आर्थिक विकासका विभिन्न निकायहरूमा विनाभेदभाव प्रवेश र सहभागी गराउनु विशेष ध्यान दिइनुपर्दछ। साथै तराईलगायत पिछडिएका क्षेत्रहरूमा आर्थिक र सामाजिक विकास कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गर्न पनि विशेष ध्यान दिइनुपर्दछ।
७. लोप हुन लागेको चेपाङ, राउटे, राजी, माझी दराई, कुमाल आदि अति पिछडिएका जनजातिहरूको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धन गर्न विशेष ध्यान दिइनुपर्दछ। ती जनजातिहरूको विकासका लागि विविध कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गरिनुपर्दछ।

८. हिन्दू धर्मको जाति तथा छुवाछूत प्रथाको सिकार बन्न पुगेका पहाड, तराई र उपत्यकाका दलित समुदायप्रति छुवाछूत पूर्णतः उन्मूलन गरी उनीहरूलाई स-सम्मान सामाजिक मर्यादास्तर उठाउन जोड दिइनुपर्दछ।
९. दलित समुदायलाई शिक्षा, प्रशासन, स्वास्थ्य, विकास निर्माण आदि हरेक क्षेत्रमा विशेषाधिकारको व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्दछ।
१०. सबै भाषामा निःशुल्क शिक्षा दिइनुपर्दछ। सञ्चारमाध्यम सरकारी सूचना, दस्तावेज आदि पनि सबै भाषाहरूमा प्रसार गरिनुपर्दछ।
११. विभिन्न पिछडिएका जाति, जनजातिहरूको भाषा र संस्कृतिको संरक्षण र विकासका लागि एउटा जातीय प्रज्ञाप्रतिष्ठानको स्थापना गरिनुपर्दछ। विदेशी छाडावादी संस्कृतिमाथि प्रतिबन्ध लगाइनुपर्दछ।
१२. हिन्दू धर्मलाई मात्र दिई आएको विशेषाधिकारको अन्त्य गरी धर्मलाई राज्यबाट अलग गरी धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्यको स्थापना र सबै प्रकारका धर्मलाई समान रूपले स्वतन्त्रता प्रदान गरिनुपर्दछ।
१३. वर्तमान हिन्दू अभिजातवादी सरकारले खस भाषालाई मात्र दिई आइरहेको विशेषाधिकारको अन्त्य गरी सबै भाषालाई समान रूपले संरक्षण र विकास गर्ने अवसर दिइनुपर्दछ। साथै कुनै भाषालाई माध्यम भाषाका रूपमा अनिवार्य गराइनु हुन्न र सरकारी कामकाज, शिक्षा आदि क्षेत्रमा भाषाको प्रयोजन जातिहरूको स्वेच्छामा आधारित हुनुपर्दछ।

नेकपा माओवादीको जनजातिसम्बन्धी पहल

- २०४८: धर्म निरपेक्ष राज्यको अधिकार र भाषा भाषी/जनजातिको समानता
- २०५१: अखिल नेपाल जनजाति सङ्घको गठन
- २०५२: नेपालमा जनजाति नीतिको अंगीकार (क्षेत्रिय स्वायत्तता, भाषाको समानता)
- २०५३: जातीय स्वायत्तताको अङ्गीकार सँगसँगै आत्म निर्णयको अधिकार
- २०५४: केन्द्रीय स्तरमा जनजाति विभागको स्थापना/संयुक्त जनमोर्चाको विलय

२०५७: नयाँ जनवादी सरकारको साङ्गठनिक स्वरूप नुसार जनजाति क्षेत्रीय मोर्चामा जोड

२०५८: संयुक्त क्रान्तिकारी जनपरिषद्को स्थापना

स्रोत: हर्क गुरुङ "सामाजिक वचिचिती र माओवादी विद्रोह"

तालिका १: माओवादी पार्टीको सामाजिक बनोट

सामाजिक समूह	संयुक्त क्रान्तिकारी परिषद्	जनवादी सरकार		जम्मा	प्रतिशत
		अध्यक्ष	उपाध्यक्ष		
पहाडी जाति	१७	७	११	३५	४३.७५
१. बाहुन	१३	३	५	२१	
२. क्षेत्री	४	३	३	१०	
३. ठकुरी	-	१	३	४	
पहाडी जनजाति	१५	१४	७	३६	४५
४. मगर	४	४	२	१०	
५. तामाङ	१	५	१	७	
६. नेवार	४	१	-	५	
७. गुरुङ	१	२	२	५	
८. राई	२	-	-	२	
९. लिम्बू	१	१	१	३	
१०. घर्ति	२	१	-	३	
११. दराई	१	-	-	१	
तराई जाति					
१२. गोइत	१	-	-	१	१.२५
तराई जनजाति	२	१	-	३	३.७५
१३. थारु	१	१	-	२	
१४. राजवंशी	१	-	-	१	
दलित	२	१	२	५	७.२५
१५. कामी	१	१	-	२	
१६. दमाई	१	-	-	१	
अन्य	-	-	२	२	
जम्मा	३७	२३	२०	८०	

स्रोत: हर्क गुरुङ "सामाजिक वचिचिती र माओवादी विद्रोह"

लिम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मुक्ति मोर्चाको अन्तरिम घोषणापत्र २०५७

मागहरू:

१. हिन्दू धर्म र संस्कृतिको आधारमा निर्मित संविधान र ऐन कानूनका आधारलाई परिवर्तन गरी धर्म निरपेक्षताको सिद्धान्तको आधारमा संविधान संशोधन गरिनुपर्दछ।
२. सबै जातिहरूको समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व गराई वर्तमान राष्ट्रिय सभालाई अधिकार सम्पन्न जातीय परिषद्मा परिवर्तन गराइनुपर्दछ।
३. कुनै पनि भाषालाई अनिवार्य बनाउने प्रावधान हटाइनुपर्दछ। मातृभाषामा अविलम्ब शिक्षा दिइनुपर्दछ। सरकारी सूचना, दस्तावेज, संविधान कानून आदि सबै भाषामा प्रकाशित गरिनुपर्दछ।
४. लिम्बूवान् क्षेत्रमा रोजगार मुलुक उद्योग धन्दा, कलकारखानाको स्थापना गरी रोजगारको व्यवस्था गराइनुपर्दछ।
५. लिम्बूवान स्वायत्तता प्रदान गरिनुपर्दछ।
६. लिम्बू जातिहरूको संरक्षण र विकासका लागि विकास कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन गरिनुपर्दछ।
७. शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, विकास र निर्माण सबै क्षेत्रमा लिम्बू जातिलाई यथोचित सहभागी बनाइनुपर्दछ।

खम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मोर्चाको नीति र कार्यक्रम

खम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मोर्चा केन्द्रीय समितिको रतन्छा-खोटाङमा बसेको पाँचौं बैठक (२०५३ मङ्सिर २२ र २३ गते) पारित नीति :

१. संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घद्वारा घोषित विश्व आदिवासी दशक एवं ४६ औं क्रान्ति दिवसको अवसरमा खम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मोर्चा गम्भिरतासाथ घोषणा गर्दछ, २०५७ मा खम्बूवान लिन्छौं।
२. नेपालको संविधान २०४७ को धारा ४(१), धारा ११(३) र धारा ५५ (४) लाई स्पष्टसँग विस्तार गरी किराँत राष्ट्र खम्बूवान स्थापना गरिनुपर्दछ।

३. विश्व आदिवासी वर्ष र आदिवासी दशकको अवसरमा राष्ट्रसङ्घद्वारा घोषित खम्बू जातिको आत्मनिर्णयको अधिकार बहाल गर्दै खम्बूवानमा लादिएको संविधान, ऐन कानूनअन्तर्गतका सम्पूर्ण राजनीतिक तथा प्रशासनिक निकायहरू विघटन गरी खम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मोर्चाको नेतृत्वमा खम्बूवान अन्तरिम सरकार गठन गरिने छ ।
४. खम्बूवानका जनतालाई केन्द्रीय शासन प्रणालीको श्री ५ को सरकार द्वारा निर्देशित सेना, प्रहरी र कर्मचारीहरको औपनिवेशिक दमनबाट मुक्तपारी स्वशासन (खम्बूवान वासीको आफ्नो शासन) को अधिकारले सम्पन्न बनाइने छ र अनतराष्ट्रिय कानूनमा व्यवस्था भए सरह श्री ५ को सरकारले खम्बूवानलाई क्षतिपूर्ति दिलाउनुपर्दछ ।
५. खम्बूवान भूमिमा संचालित सम्पूर्ण आयोजनाहरू र स्थानिय प्राकृतिक स्रोतमाथि खम्बूवान राज्यको अधिकार बहाल गरिनेछ ।
६. खम्बूवानको अन्तरिक सरकारद्वारा गठन गरिने एक विधानसभाले खम्बूवानवासी जनताको हितमा खम्बूवानको संविधान निर्माण गर्नेछ र यसै अनुरूप संगठीत खम्बूवानलाई गतिशील बनाइनेछ ।
७. रचनात्मक सङ्घर्षबाट २०५७ मंसीर २४ गते (५० औं क्रान्ति दिवस) अघि नै खम्बूवान राष्ट्रिय मोर्चाको नेतृत्वमा स्वशासित खम्बूवान सरकार गठन गरिनेछ ।
८. २०५७ मङ्सिर २४ गतेसम्ममा स्वशासित खम्बूवान सरकार गठन गर्ने काममा बाधा खडा गरिन्छ, भने यो उपनिवेशवादी शासन ठाल्ने श्री ५ को सरकारको समानान्तर खम्बूवान सरकार खडा गरिनेछ ।

जनजाति महासङ्घले अघि सारेका प्रमुख सवाल

१. नेपाललाई धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्य घोषणा गरिनुपर्ने ।
२. अनिवार्य संस्कृत शिक्षा खारेज गरी प्राथमिक तहसम्म भए पनि मातृभाषामा शिक्षा दिने व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्ने ।
३. हालको राष्ट्रिय सभालाई जातीय सभामा परिणत गर्नुपर्ने ।

४. जनजाति मन्त्रालय र प्रतिष्ठान स्थापना गरिनुपर्ने ।
५. जनगणनामा हुने त्रुटी हटाउनु पर्ने ।
६. जनजातिको आत्मसम्मानमा ठेस पुऱ्याउने खालका पाठ्यपुस्तकहरू विद्यालय तथा विश्वविद्यालयको पाठ्यक्रमबाट हटाइनुपर्ने ।
७. रेडियो नेपाल जस्तो आमसञ्चारका माध्यमहरूमा जनजातिका विविध भाषामा कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गरिनुपर्ने ।
८. जनजातिका हकहित र विकाससंग वाभिने संवैधानिक धारा उपधाराहरू खारेज वा संशोधन गरिनु पर्ने ।
९. जनजातिको आर्थिक विकास गर्न रोजगारमुलक आर्थिक कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गरिनुपर्ने ।
१०. शिक्षा, सेवा तथा राजनीतिमा जनजातिका लागि छात्रवृत्ति, आरक्षणको व्यवस्था गरिनुपर्ने ।
११. आदिवासी जनजातिहरूसँग राज्यले गरेको सन्धी सम्झौतालाई एकतर्फ उल्लङ्घन गरेर तिनीहरूको प्राकृतिक स्रोतमाथिको परम्परागत अधिकारलाई खोसेकोमा सोको क्षतिपूर्ति सहित पुनःस्थापना गर्नुपर्ने ।
१२. जनजातिको हकहित पुनःस्थापित गर्ने आत्मनिर्णयको अधिकार ।
१३. राजनीतिक पार्टीहरूले जनजातिबारे आफ्नो औपचारिक नीति तथा कार्यक्रमहरू सार्वजनिक गर्नुपर्ने ।

जनजाति समस्या समाधानार्थ हर्क गुरुङको विचार

नेपालमा आदिवासी जनजातिका समस्या समाधानार्थ यिनले चार धाराको उल्लेख गरेका छन् । ती हुन् :

१. बलिन्द्र धारा :
मुलुकी ऐन १८५४ को जातीय विभेदका कारण जनजातिका पुस्तौ पुस्ताले बलिन्द्र धारा आसु बगाइसकेका छन् । नेपाल अधिराज्यको संविधान १९९० ले आसु पुछ्न सकेको छैन ।

२. सुनधारा:

यो भनेको अभिजात वर्गको पेवा हो। नेपाली भाषाले मात्र राष्ट्रभाषाको मान्यता पाएको केही जातको मात्र सुनधारा हो यो। यस बाट आदिवासी जनजातिका मृतभाषालाई आघात र संस्कृतिमा नकारात्मक प्रभाव परेको छ।

३. ढङ्गेधारा:

ढङ्गेधारा सितिमिती टसमस हुँदैन। विद्यमान संविधानमा हिन्दू अधिराज्यसम्बन्धी अवधारणा अर्थात धारा ४ (१) धार्मिक एकाधिकारको निरन्तरता हो, जुन समानताको हकसम्बन्धी धारा (११) (२) को विपरीत छ।

४. अमृतधारा:

माथि उल्लिखित धाराहरू जनजातिका जातीय, भाषिक तथा धार्मिक थिचोमिचोको मूल कारण हुन्। यसको समाधानका लागि उनले केही अमृतधाराको व्यवस्था गरेका छन्। ती हुन् :

(क) स्वायत्त शासन तथा समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व।

(ख) बहुभाषिक नीति

(ग) धर्मनिरपेक्षता

(घ) आदिवासी जनजाति उत्थानका निमित्त सकारात्मक कदम

स्रोत : आदिवासी जनजाति राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठानको प्रतिवेदन # ०२, २००४

वर्तमान समस्याको रूपरेखा

अल्पसंख्यक जनता र अरू सीमान्तकृत समूहहरूले भोगिरहेका समस्याहरूलाई बुझी अवलोकन गर्दा एतिहासिक कारणहरू जसबाट सृजित जातीय भेदभाव, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक सीमान्तकरण र व्याप्त

गरिवी नै प्रमुख रहेका छन्। अर्को नेपालको ज्वलन्त समस्या भनेको जातिवाद र छुवाछूत हो जुन जयस्थिति मल्लले संस्थागत गरेका थिए। उनले जातिवादलाई संस्थागत मात्र गरेनन् तर उनले कहिल्यै नसकिने छुवाछूतको लामो फेहरिस्तानै छाडे जसले प्रतिष्ठा कलंकित पारिरहेको छ।

वि.सं. २०५८ को जनगणनाले जनजाति र दलितको निकै ठुलो सङ्ख्या देखाएको छ। जनजाति समूहले सम्पूर्ण जनसङ्ख्याको ३७.२ प्रतिशत (मानव विकास प्रतिवेदन-२०६१) र दलित समुदायले १२.९५ प्रतिशत (राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग) ओगटेका छन्। वितेका अनुभवहरूले के देखाएका छन् भने ती समुदायहरू राष्ट्रिय जीवनबाट अलग्याइएका छन्। यी दुई समुदायका जनताहरू जीवनको सबै पेत्रहरूमा पछाडी परेका छन्। वि.सं. २०४६ सालको जनआन्दोलन भन्दा अघिका शासकहरूले यस समस्यालाई सुनेर पनि नसुने भैं गरे। यिनीहरूले चार जाति छत्तीस वर्णको मात्र कुरा गरिरहे। तिनीहरूको आवाज (विशेष गरी दलितको)लाई कृत्वियो र उनीहरूलाई सामाजिक जिवनबाट अलग्याइयो। त्यसैले यिनीहरूले यो अन्यायपूर्ण शासनलाई फ्याल्न अत्यन्तै उत्साहपूर्व २०४६ सालको आन्दोलनमा भाग लिए। उनीहरूको यो आशा थियो की यसले उनीहरूलाई मुक्ति स्वतन्त्रता र बन्धनबाट मुक्त गर्दछ।

मुलुकमा एकतन्त्री शासन समाप्त भयो र प्रजातन्त्रको बहाली भयो तर जनजाति र दलितको आशा उस्ताको उस्तै नै रह्यो। नेताहरूले तिनीहरूलाई बोलिने मात्रै ठिक्क पारिरहे किनभने तिनीहरू भोटको निमित्त मात्र प्रयोग भए।। यद्यपि प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापना भए पनि प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रक्रियाको थालनी हुन सकेन। नेताको वर्षौंको प्रजातन्त्रप्रतिको समर्पण चोरीतन्त्रमा परिणत भयो किनभने उनीहरूले शक्तिलाई केन्द्रमै राखे। प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापनाले जनतालाई एकतन्त्री शासनबाट मुक्त मात्र होइन तिनका जीवनमा सकारात्मक परिवर्तनको पनि आशा गरिएको थियो।

समुदायबाट उठेका उपेक्षाहरूलाई बटुलेर प्रजातन्त्रलाई फलदायी बनाउने सम्भावना पनि थियो तर यस्तो हुन सकेन। त्यो रोग ग्रस्त चिन्तन जसले

कुनै पनि समुदाय जात र वर्गलाई नै अस्वीकार गर्‍यो यसले विद्रोहलाई बढाउन उचित वातावरणको सिर्जना गर्‍यो र यसको फाइदा उमेरमा कान्छो सङ्गठनमा कमजोर र सिद्धान्त तथा रणनीतिमा उग्रवादी विचारधाराले लियो। राज्यको संयन्त्र जनजाति र दलितका थुप्रैका समस्यालाई समाधान गर्न सकेन। त्यसैले चिठीएका युवाहरू, विद्रोहको आगोको लफ्कामा लपेटिएकाहरूले अहिलेको जनयुद्धको आकार धारण गर्न सहयोग गर्‍यो। तिनीहरू जो समानता र न्यायमा इच्छुक थिए उनीहरूले सशस्त्र सङ्घर्षको नै विकल्प देखे।

जहाँसम्म जनजाति र दलितको सीमान्तकरणको कुरा छ, यसलाई हामी निम्न भागमा वर्गीकरण गरेर हेर्न सक्दछौं :

१. व्यवस्थापिका

व्यवस्थापिकाले देशको दीर्घकालीन र अल्पकालीन विकास कार्यक्रमहरूको निर्धारण गर्दछ। त्यसैले जातीय बनोटले समाजको विकासमा महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछ। तलको तालिकाले माथिल्लो र तल्लो सदनको जातीय बनोटलाई प्रस्ट पार्दछ।

तालिका २: राष्ट्रिय सभा र प्रतिनिधिसभाका सदस्यहरूको जाति विश्लेषण

तह	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
राष्ट्रिय सभा २०५६	३५	६	७	४	८	-	६०
प्रतिनिधिसभा २०५६	१२४	३०	३९	-	१२	-	२०५
जम्मा	१५९	३६	४६	४	२०		२६५

स्रोत: नेपालको जातीय प्रश्न (२०५८)

तालिका ३: प्रतिनिधिसभाको जातीय बनोट २०५६

	नेपाली कांग्रेस		ने.क.पा. एमाले		राष्ट्रिय प्रजातन्त्र पार्टी		अन्य		जम्मा	
	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
खस	७३	६६.४	४७	६५.३	५	४५.४	७	५८.३	१३२	६४.४
जनजाति	११	१०	१३	१८.१	१	९.१	०	०	२५	१२.२
मधिसे	२०	१८.२	८	११.१	३	२७.३	४	३३.३	३५	१७.१
नेवार	६	५.४	४	५.५	२	१८.२	१	८.३	१३	६.३
दलित	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
जम्मा	११०	१००	७२	१००	११	१००	१२	१००	२०५	१००

स्रोत राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग

तालिका ४: जिल्ला विकास समिति र नगरपालिकाको मेयर र उपमेयरको जातीय विश्लेषण

तह	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
जिल्ला विकास समिति सभापति	५०	१३	७	-	५	-	७५
मेयर र उपमेयर	५७	१०	२४	-	२५	-	११६
जम्मा	१०७	२३	३१	-	३०	-	१९१

स्रोत: नेपालको जातीय प्रश्न

माथिका तीन वटा नै तालिकामा खसहरूको अधिपत्य रहेको पाइन्छ भने जनजाति र दलितको प्रतिनिधित्व एकदमै कम रहेको पाइन्छ। यसमा पनि

दलितको उपस्थिति राष्ट्रिय सभामा बाहेक शून्य नै रहेको पाइन्छ। यी तालिकाले खसहरूको नै समग्र शासनमा अधिपत्य रहेको प्रस्ट हुन्छ।

२. राजनीतिक क्षेत्र:

तालिका ५ : राजनीतिक पार्टीका केन्द्रीय कमितिका केन्द्रिय समिति सदस्यको जातीय विश्लेषण

पार्टी	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
नेपाली कांग्रेस	२३	३	३	-	१	-	३०
ने.क.पा. एमाले)	४८	८	३	१	५	-	६५
राष्ट्रिय प्रजातन्त्र पार्टी (राप्रपा)	२१	७	७	१	५	-	४१
नेपाली कांग्रेस प्रजातान्त्रिक	२२	७	२	-	२	-	३३
जम्मा	११६	२३	१५	२	१३	-	१६९

स्रोत: उल्लेखित पार्टीका केन्द्रीय कार्यालय

यो माथिको तालिकाले पनि दलित र जनजातिको नेतृत्वपंक्तिको अवस्थाको चित्रण गर्दछ। राजनीतिक पार्टीहरू दलित र जनजातिहरूलाई दिवास्वप्न मात्र देखाइरहेका छन्। एकापट्टी यिनीहरू दलित र जनजातिको सहभागिताको कुरा गर्दछन् भने अर्कोपट्टि यिनीहरूकै पार्टीमा दलित र जनजातिको सहभागिता अत्यन्तै न्यून रहेको पाइन्छ। यसमा पनि जो नेतृत्वमा पुगे तिनीहरूले पनि जातीय विषयमा पर्याप्त चाख देखाउने प्रयाससम्म पनि गरेनन्।

३. न्यायपालिका

तालिका ६ : अदालतका न्यायाधीशहरूको जातीय विश्लेषण

अदालत	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
सर्वोच्च	१३	-	३	-	२	-	१८
पुनरावेदन	५२	२	१०	-	८	-	७२
जिल्ला	१०७	४	५	-	१०	-	१२६

जम्मा	१७२	६	१८	-	२०	-	२१६
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स्रोत: सर्वोच्च अदालत (२०६१/८/१०)

न्यायपालिकामा पनि खसहरूकै आधिपत्य रहेको पाइन्छ, भने जनजाति र दलितको स्थिति यहाँ पनि नगन्य नै छ। अभूतभन्दा दलितको त नगन्य नै छ।

तालिका ७ : २०५६ सालको निर्वाचनमा नियुक्त भएका निर्वाचन अधिकृतहरूको जातीय विश्लेषण:

खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
१८६	२	८	-	९	-	२०५

स्रोत: नेपालको जातीय प्रश्न (२०५७)

तालिका ८: आयोगका आयुक्तहरू र संवैधानिक अङ्गका प्रमुखहरूको जातीय विश्लेषण

संवैधानिक अङ्ग	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
लोकसेवा आयोग	३	१	१	-	१	-	६
अख्तियार दुरुपयोग अनुसन्धान आयोग	३	१	-	-	१	-	५
योजना आयोग	३	-	१	-	२	-	६
न्यायाधिवक्ता	१	-	-	-	-	-	१
लेखापरीक्षक	१	-	-	-	-	-	१
निर्वाचन आयोग	३	-	१	-	२	-	६
जम्मा	१४	२	३	६			२५

स्रोत: नेपालको जातीय प्रश्न (२०५७)

यो तालिकाले पनि खसहरूकै अधिपत्य देखाएको छ भने दलित र जनजातिमा पनि सीमान्तकृत गरिएको छ।

४. कार्यपालिका (मन्त्रिपरिषद्)

तालिका ९: अहिलेको सरकारको मन्त्रिपरिषद्का सदस्यको जातीय विश्लेषण

तह	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
उपाध्यक्ष	२	-	-	-	-	-	२
मन्त्री	६	१	१	-	२	-	१०
जम्मा	८	१	१	-	२	-	१२

स्रोत: नेपाल समाचारपत्र (फरवरी ३, २००५ र फरवरी १५, २००५)

यो तालिकाले पनि अधिकांश मन्त्रिपरिषद्का सदस्यहरू खस सम्प्रदायका नै रहेको देखाउँछ। यसमा नेवारको उपस्थिति आश्चर्यजनक छ।

५. उद्योग वाणिज्य:

तालिका १०: नेपाल चेम्बर अफ कमर्स र उद्योग वाणिज्य महासङ्घमा कार्यरत कर्मचारीहरूको जातीय विश्लेषण (अधिकृत तह)

संगठन	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
नेपाल चेम्बर अफ कमर्स	७	-	-	-	९	-	१६
नेपाल उद्योग वाणिज्य महासङ्घ	२३	२	-	-	११	-	३६

जम्मा	३०	२	-	-	२०	-	५२
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स्रोत नेपाल चेम्बर अफ कमर्स र उद्योग वाणिज्य महासङ्घ २०६२

यो तालिकाले पनि उद्योग र वाणिज्य क्षेत्रमा खसहरूकै अधिपत्यलाई दोहोर्याएको देखाउँछ।

६. पर्यटन

तालिका ११

एजेन्सी	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
ट्रेकिङ	८४	१४५	-	२	२८	-	२५९
राफ्टिङ	१५	३१	-	-	२९	-	५५
होटल र रिसोर्ट	३८	४२	-	-	८५	-	१६५
ट्राभल एन्ड टुर्स	४५	३८	८	-	६७	-	१५८
जम्मा	१८२	२५६	८	२	१८९	-	७३७

स्रोत छापामा जनजाति (२०५८)

यो तालिकाले जनजाति (मङ्गोल-किराँत) को उपस्थिति सबैभन्दा बढी रहेको छ। शासन र राजनीतिमा नगन्य जनजातिहरू यो क्षेत्रमा चाहिँ किन यति धेरै सङ्ख्यामा उपस्थिति जनाए भन्ने कुरा धेरैको मानसपटलमा पर्न सक्छ। अखिर यो क्षेत्रलाई पनि सक्षम र पढेलेखेका मानिसहरू नै आवश्यक पर्दछ। यो प्रश्नको एउटै उत्तर देखिन्छ। त्यो के हो भने खसहरूले राज्यका अरू सबै अंगमा पहुँच रहेको छ। अनि नातावाद र कृपावादको जालो ज्यादै भ्याङ्गिएको छ।

७. निजामती क्षेत्र

तालिका १२: आर्थिक वर्ष २०६१/६२ मा लोक सेवा आयोगमा दर्ता भएका निवेदकको निवेदन अनुसारको जातीय विश्लेषण

	निवेदन	सिफारिस
खस	७७११३	१२५६
मंगोल-किराँत	७१०५	८१
दलित	८१०	११
नेवार	४७२७	६७
जम्मा	८९७५५	१४१५

स्रोत: लोक सेवा आयोग

तालिका १३ : लोक सेवा आयोगको केन्द्रीय कार्यालयमा रहेको कर्मचारीहरूमा जातीय विश्लेषण:

खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	जम्मा
८७	१२	२	३	३७	१४१

स्रोत: लोक सेवा आयोग (२०६१/१२/२९)

८. मजदुर युनियन:

तालिका १४: जिफन्ट र योसंग सम्बन्धित संगठनहरूको जातीय विश्लेषण

संगठन	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार	अन्य	जम्मा
नेपाल ट्रेड	२८	५	३	२	४	-	४२

युनियन							
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र मजदुर युनियन (नेस्वमयु)	२	४	१	-	२	-	९
नेपाल यातायात स्वतन्त्र मजदुर संगठन	१४	३	२	-	२	-	२१
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र कार्पेट मजदुर युनियन	१	९	-	-	२	-	१२
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र होटल मजदुर युनियन	१५	३	-	-	३	-	२१
नेपाल ट्रेकिङ्ग ट्राभल्स च्याफ्टीड मजदुर युनियन	४	५	-	१	-	-	१०
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र टेक्सटायल गार्मेन्ट मजदुर युनियन (नेस्वटेगामयु)	१०	-	-	-	१	-	११
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र चिया मजदुर युनियन	६	४	-	४	१	-	१५
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र प्रेस मजदुर युनियन	९	१	-	१	२	-	१३
नेपाल अटो मेकानिक्स ट्रेड	१२	२	-	१	२	-	१७

युनियन							
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र सफाई मजदुर युनियन	-	-	-	१०	१	-	११
नेपाल विजुली, पेन्टर, प्लम्बर तथा निर्माण मजदुर युनियन (क्युवेक-नेपाल)	७	५	१	१	३	-	१७
नेपाल रिक्सा चालक युनियन (नेरिचायु)	७	४	१	-	-	-	१२
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र खाद्य तथा पेय मजदुर युनियन (नेस्वखापेमयु)	८	१	१	-	१	-	११
नेपाल स्वतन्त्र केमिकल तथा आइरन मजदुर युनियन	८	३	१	-	-	-	१२
कृषि मजदुर सङ्घ नेपाल	७	७	-	२	-	-	१६
नेपाल सडक व्यापार श्रमिक सङ्घ	१३	२	-	-	-	-	१५
जम्मा	१५१	५८	१०	२२	२४	-	२६५

स्रोत जीफन्ट (२०६१)

यी माथिका तथ्यांकहरूबाट दलित र जनजातिको स्थिति थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ। नेपाल ट्राभल-ट्रेपकङ्ग-य्याफिटड युनियन र कार्पेट युनियनमा जनजातिको बाहुल्य देखिन्छ भने तल्लो तहको पेशा मानिने सरसफाई

युनियनमा दलितको अत्यधिक बाहुल्यता रहेको पाइन्छ। यसबाट के देखिन्छ भने जाति अनुसारको पेशाकै अहिलेपनि समाजमा व्याप्त रहेको छ।

तालिका १५ : जनजाति र दलितको आर्थिक वन्धितता जाति जनजातिअनुसार घर परिवारको स्थिति (जम्मा घर परिवार - ४१७४३७४०)*

जाति/ जनजाति समूह	घरको किसिम		फूलस ट्वाईलेट	पानीको स्रोत धारा, पाईप	विजुलीको सुविधा		पकाउने इन्धन		
	पक्का	कच्चा			विजुली बत्ती/बायो ग्यास	मट्टीतेल	काठ	मट्टीतेल	ग्यास
उपल्लो जात	५२.४	१८.१	३१.९	६०.८	५२.१	४३.२	६५.३	१६.०	१६.१
जनजाति	३२.६	३४.७	२०.८	५८.५	३८.१	५९.८	७०.१	१४.४	८.२
दलित	१९.७	५०.७	१३.३	४३.३	१८.०	७६.९	७५.२	५.९	१.३

स्रोत रिडिड अन गमरमेन्स एउट डिमलपमेन्ट।

* स्टाटिस्टिकल पकेट बुक, नेपाल २००४

यो तालिकाले माथिल्लो जात र जाति/जनजातिको आर्थिक स्थितिको चित्रण गरेको छ। जम्मा घर परिवार सङ्ख्या ४१७४३७४ मा माथिल्लो जातिको पक्का घर ५२.४ प्रतिशत छ जब ३२.६ र १९.७ प्रतिशत पक्का घर क्रमशः जनजाति र दलितको पाइन्छ। त्यस्तै फूलस ट्वाईलेटको सुविधा लिने माथिल्लो जातको प्रतिशत ३१.९ छ भने जनजाति र दलितको क्रमशः २०.८ र १३.३ रहेको पाइन्छ। त्यस्तै खाना पकाउने इन्धन जुन अलिक सुविधा योग्य छ त्यसमा माथिल्लो जातको बढी र जुन सुविधा योग्य छैन त्यसमा कम प्रतिशतको प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ। यसको विपरित स्थिति दलित र जनजाति समुदायको देखिन्छ।

तालिका १६: निर्णय गर्ने र कार्यान्वयन गर्ने तहमा जाति र जनजातिको सहभागिता

क्षेत्र	खस	मंगोल-किराँत	मधिसे	दलित	नेवार
निजामति सेवा, सेना र प्रहरी	७७.०	१०.०	४.०	०.०	१८.०
संवैधानिक अंग,	६७.०	८.०	१३.०	१.०	११.०

न्यायपालिका, मन्त्री परिषद र सांसद					
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स्रोत: नेपाल मानवअधिकार वर्ष पुस्तक २००४

माथिको तालिकाले उही स्वरूपलाई दोहोऱ्याएको पाइन्छ। खसहरूको चौतर्फी सहभागिता रहेको छ भने जनजाति र दलितको सहभागिता ज्यादै न्यून छ। यसमा पनि दलितको सहभागिता त नगन्य छ।

तालिका १७: सामाजिक समूहअनुसार विद्रोहका पीडित, १३ फेब्रुअरी १९९६ - ३१ डिसेम्बर २००३

सामाजिक समूह	जम्मा	राज्यद्वारा	माओवादीद्वारा	जम्मा (%)
आदिवासी जनजाति	१७६३	१३.७८	७.५५	२१.३३
क्षेत्री/ठकुरी	१५५१	८.१९	१०.५७	२८.७६
बाहुन	९०५	५.२	५.७५	१०.९५
बलित	४००	३.५३	१.३१	४.८४
तराईका अन्य जाति	१८६	०.८३	१.४१	२.२५
पहिचान नभएका	३३७०	३३.८८	६.९	४०.७८
जम्मा	८२६५	६५.९८	३४.०२	१००

स्रोत: नेपाल मानव अधिकार वर्ष पुस्तक २००४

नेपाल मानवअधिकार वर्ष पुस्तक २००४ का अनुसार विद्रोहमा मारिएका जम्म ८,२६५ मानिस थिए। जसमा ४०.७८% लाई कुन सामाजिक समूहका हुन् भनी चिन्न सकिएन किनभने तिनीहरूको अवस्था ज्यादै नराम्रो तरिकाले काटिएको वा टुक्र्याइएको अवस्थामा थियो (हर्क गुरुड)। यी मध्ये मारिएका र पहिचान भएकाहरूमा २१.३३% आदिवासी जनजाति थिए भने यसमा राज्यबाट १३.७८ र माओवादी तर्फबाट ७.५५ मारिएका थिए ॥ माओवादीहरूबाट हत्या गरिएकाहरूमा १६.३२% माथिल्लो जातका थिए भने दलित र जनजाति ८.८३% रहेका थिए। यसबाट के कुरा प्रस्ट

देखिन्छ भने जातीय समस्या अत्यन्तै नाजुक अवस्थामा रहेको छ। सबै क्षेत्रहरूमा माथिल्लो जातकै बोलवाला रहेको छ।

जनजातिको परिभाषा:

श्री ५ को सरकाद्वारा गठित कार्यदलले तयार पारेको प्रतिवेदनले ६१ आदिवासी जनजातिलाई आदिवासीको रूपमा चिनाएको हो।

कार्यदलले आफ्नै मातृभाषा र परम्परागत संस्कार भएको तर पनि हिन्दू धर्मअनुसारको चार वर्णव्यवस्थाभित्र नपर्नेहरू जनजातिभित्र पर्दछन् भनि परिभाषित गरेको छ।

जनजाति भन्नाले निम्न विशेषता भएका समुदायलाई जनाउँदछ :

- जसको आफ्नै छुट्टै सामूहिक संस्कृतिक पहिचान हुन्छ।
- जसको आफ्नै भाषा, धर्म, परम्परा, संस्कृति र सभ्यता हुन्छ।
- त्यसको परम्परागत सामाजिक संरचना समानतामा आधारित हुन्छ।
- जसको आफ्नै परम्परागत भौगोलिक क्षेत्र हुन्छ।
- जसको लिखित र अलिखित इतिहास हुन्छ।
- जुन समुदायभित्र हामीको भावना हुन्छ।
- जुन समुदायहरूको आधुनिक नेपालको राजनीतिमा र राज्यसञ्चालनमा कुनै पनि निर्णायक भूमिका हुँदैन।
- जो नेपालको आदिवासी हो।
- जसले आफूलाई जनजाति ठान्दछन्।

साभ्ना एजेन्डा/कार्यसूची

- जाति, जनजाति, भाषा र संस्कृतिको आधारमा गरिने भेदभावको अन्त्य गरिनेछ।

- अन्धविश्वास, छुवाछूत लगायत सामाजिक कुरीतिहरू अन्त्य गर्ने अभियान चलाइनेछ ।

अस्पष्ट एजेन्डा/कार्यसूची

विभिन्न जातिलाई स्वायत्तता

नेपाल एउटा बहुजनजातीय बहुभाषिक र बहुधार्मिक देश हो । यहाँ कुनै पनि ठाउँमा एउटा मात्रै जनजाति बसोबास गरेको क्षेत्र छैन । त्यसैले स्वायत्तता एकदमै जटिल र राम्ररी परिभाषित छैन ।

सहभागिता:

सहभागिता भनेको सरकारको सहभागी पक्ष हो जसले निर्णयकर्ताहरूलाई राष्ट्रनिर्माणमा गम्भीर हुन दबाव दिन्छन् । जब हामी सहभागिताको कुरा गर्दछौं, हामीले दलित र जनजातिको सहभागिता भन्ने कुरा बुझ्नुपर्दछ । जनजातिको सहभागिता उठाउनु एकदमै उचित कुरा हो किनभने यिनीहरू दलितहरू भन्दा राम्रो स्थितिमा छन् । मानव विकास प्रतिवेदन (२००४) अनुसार जनजातिको सङ्ख्या सम्पूर्ण जनसङ्ख्याको ३७.२% रहेको छ र तिनीहरूको साक्षरता प्रतिशत ३.२% रहेको छ । यस्तो परिप्रेक्षमा कसरी हामी समान सहभागिताको कल्पना गर्न सक्छौं । समान सहभागिता भनेको विकासका क्षेत्रहरूमा समान मानवस्रोतको परिचालन हो ।

आरक्षण

हाम्रो उद्देश्य भनेको समाजमा केही परिवर्तन ल्याउनु हो जहाँ समाजका सबै सदस्यहरूको उनीहरूको जीवनमा केही परिवर्तनको अनुभव गर्दछन् । तर साधारणतया आरक्षणले हामीले जुन कुराको आश गरेका हौं त्यो दिन सक्दैन । सबैभन्दा पहिले आरक्षणले समाजका सबै सदस्यलाई समेट्न सक्दैन । दोस्रो, यसले समाजका नगन्य व्यक्तिहरूलाई मात्र भाग्यमानी बनाउँदछ र त्यो सरह त्यो हुनेछ जो पहिलै देखि सुविधाले सु-सज्जित भएका हुन्छन् अथवा आरक्षणमा पनि ति समूह पुग्नेछन् जसको पहुँच उच्च तहसम्म रहेको हुन्छ ।

समाजका तल्लो वर्गका मानिसहरू जहिल्यैपनि कठिन अवस्थामानै रहेका हुन्छन् । त्यसैले यो व्यवस्थाले दलित र जनजाति भित्रनै अभिजात वर्गको पैदा गर्दछ । यसको लागि स्वतन्त्र भारतको उदाहरण एकदमै सुहाउँदो छ । त्यहाँको संविधानको धारा ३४१ मा गरिव र उपेक्षित वर्गको उत्थानको लागि आरक्षणको व्यवस्था गरेको पाइन्छ । त्यहाका संविधानविद्हरूले के आश गरेका थिए भने १० वर्षभित्रमा यहाँको जातिगत समस्या समाधान हुनेछ । तर, अहिले पनि हामी देख्न सक्दछौं, भारत कस्तो अवस्थाबाट गुज्रिरहेको छ । यसले आरक्षण अहिलेको अवस्थाको समाधान होइन भन्ने दर्साउँछ ।।

अरू सम्पदाप्रति कुनै धर्म, भाषा लादिदा आउने परिणाम :

नकारात्मक परिणाम : श्रीलङ्गामा अल्पसंख्यक तामिललाई बहुसङ्ख्यक सिंहालीहरूको भाषा लादिँदा युद्धको त्रासले फैलियो । भुटानमा अनिवार्य डुक्मा संस्कृतिले गृहयुद्धको निम्त्यायो । बङ्गाली मुसलमान र बुद्धिस्टहरूको धर्ममा विश्वासले बङ्गलादेश युद्धको भूमरीमा पयो । बङ्गालीमाथि पन्जावीको थिचोमिचोले पाकिस्तान टुक्रियो । यी माथिका कुराहरूले के कुरा प्रस्ट पार्दछ भने जति धेरै अरू जातमाथि प्रभाव जगाउन खोजिन्छ, त्यति धेरै अस्तव्यस्तताको स्थिति आउन सक्छ ।

जातको जातीय परिचय, धर्म, संस्कार र भाषाको पूर्ण अस्तित्वलाई पनि स्विकार्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । भाषाको कुरा मात्रले भने सहभागिता र न्यायलाई प्रभाव पार्न सक्दैन भन्ने कुरा खसहरू जस्तै दलितहरू पनि खस भाषा नै बोल्दछन् तर खासहरू शक्ति र राजनीतिमा भए जस्तै अवस्था दलितहरूको नभएबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

सकारात्मक परिणाम: नेपाली भाषा सबै जातजातिको सम्पर्क र माध्यम भाषाको रूपमा विकसित भएकोले माध्यम भाषाका रूपमा रहेको यसको भूमिकालाई राष्ट्रिय जीवनसँग अलग्याएर हेर्नु हुँदैन ।

सरकारको दलित र जनजातिसम्बन्धी व्यवस्था:

आदिवासी जनजाति विकास राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठान, राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग र दलित विकास समिति यी तीन संस्थाहरू जनजाति र दलितको समस्या समाधान गर्न श्री ५ को सरकारको तर्फबाट काम गरिरहेका छन् ।

आदिवासी जनजाति विकास राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठानको उद्देश्य :

१. आदिवासी जनजातिको सामाजिक, शैक्षिक, आर्थिक र सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रमा कार्यक्रम लागू गर्दै आदिवासी जनजातिको विकास गर्ने
२. आदिवासी जनजातिको भाषा, लिपि, संस्कृति, साहित्य, कला र इतिहासको संरक्षण र विकास गर्ने ।
३. आदिवासी जनजातिको परम्परागत ज्ञान, सिप, प्रविधि र विशेष ज्ञानको संरक्षण र विकास गर्ने र आर्थिक सिप विकासमा सहायता पुऱ्याउने ।
४. देशको समग्र विकासमा जनजातिलाई सहभागी गराई विभिन्न जाति, जनजाति र समुदायहरूमा राम्रो सम्बन्धको विकास गराउने ।
५. आदिवासी जनजातिको सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक र सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रमा विकास र प्रवर्धन गर्न सहायता गर्ने ।

तालिका १८ : आदिवासी जनजाति विकास राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठानको वार्षिक बजेट

आर्थिक वर्ष	विनियोजित रकम	
१९९६/९७	२,३००,०००	जम्मा सबै
१९९७/९८	४,०००,०००	२,५००,०००
१९९८/९९	७,०००,०००	जम्मा सबै
१९९९/२०००	१५,०००,०००	१४,३५५,०००
२०००/२००१	१५,०००,०००	१४,९२९,०००
२००१/२००२	१५,०००,०००	१०,२९२,०००
२००२/२००३	१५,०००,०००	५,०८२,०००
२००३/२००४	२३,२५०,०००	जम्मा सबै
२००४/२००५	२९,७५०,०००	जम्मा सबै
कुल जम्मा	१२६,३००,०००	

स्रोत: आदिवासी जनजाति विकास राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठान

राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग:

दलित समुदायको मानवअधिकार तथा उनीहरूको विकासको लागि नीति निर्माणमा सहयोग पुऱ्याउन एउटा स्वायत्त स्वतन्त्र एवं अधिकार सम्पन्न

निकायको रूपमा श्री ५ को सरकारद्वारा २०५८ चैत्र ६ गते राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोगको गठन गरिएको हो । राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोगका काम, कर्तव्य र अधिकार निम्नबमोजिम छन् :

- (क) दलित वर्गको हक, हित र अधिकारको निर्बाध उपभोग गर्न पाउने वातावरण सिर्जना गर्न आवश्यक पर्ने कार्यहरू गर्ने ।
- (ख) उल्लेखित कार्य गर्न आवश्यक पर्ने प्रचलित कानून र श्री ५ को सरकारको नीतिनियममा समयानुकूल संशोधन गर्ने सिफारिस गर्ने ।
- (ग) नेपाल पक्ष भएका जातिभेदविरुद्धका तथा मानवअधिकारसम्बन्धी अन्तराष्ट्रिय दस्तावेजहरूको कार्यान्वयनका लागि आवश्यक पर्ने रणनीति तथा कार्यनीति तर्जुमा गरी श्री ५ समक्ष कार्यान्वयनका लागि सिफारिस गर्ने ।
- (घ) दलित वर्गको उत्थान र विकास कार्यमा संलग्न गैरसरकारी संस्थाका काम कारवाइको समन्वय र अनुगमन गर्ने ।
- (ङ) दलित वर्गको उत्थान र विकासका लागि सामाजिक भेदभाव, छुवाछूत र परम्परागत संस्कारलाई हटाउन सामाजिक जागरण कार्यक्रमहरू बनाई गै सरकारी संस्थामार्फत् कार्यान्वयन गराउने ।
- (च) दलित वर्गप्रति समाजमा कुनै भेदभावपूर्ण वा गैरकानुनी कार्य भएमा सोको उजुरी सुनी प्रचलित कानून बमोजिम कारवाही गर्ने, गराउने ।
- (छ) राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग सम्बन्धी उपयुक्त कानुनी व्यवस्था गर्न आवश्यक विधेयक मस्यौदा तयार गर्ने ।

तालिका १९: राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोगको वार्षिक बजेट

आर्थिक वर्ष	विनियोजित रकम	कैफियत
२००१/०२	२,३६९,०००	-
२००२/०३	१०,०००,०००	३,०००,००० खर्च हुन नसकेको
२००३/०४	१,२५०,०००	५,०००,००० खर्च हुन नसकेको
२००४/०५	१२५,०००	-

कुल रकम	३७,३६९,०००
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स्रोत: दलित गैरसरकारी संस्था महासङ्घ

दलित विकास समिति:

दलित समुदायको आर्थिक सामाजिक उत्थानका लागि आवश्यक कार्यक्रम तर्जुमा गरी सञ्चालन गर्ने स्थानीय विकास मन्त्रालय अन्तर्गत यो समिति वि.सं. २०५४ सालमा गठन भएको हो। यो समितिमा स्थानिय विकास मन्त्री अध्यक्षको रूपमा र राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग र युवा तथा खेलकुद सचिव सदस्यको रूपमा रहने व्यवस्था छ। यी सबै पदेन सदस्य रहेका हुन्छन्। कार्यकारी निर्देशक राजनीतिक नियुक्ति हुन्छ। यस समितिले उच्च शिक्षामा अध्ययनरत दलित विद्यार्थीहरूलाई छात्रवृत्ति प्रदान गर्दै आएको छ। यसका अतिरिक्त आय आर्जन, सिप विकास तालिम तथा अन्य समसामयिक विषयमा गोष्ठी तथा अन्तरक्रिया संचालन गर्दै आएको छ। यद्यपी यसको गठन प्रकृया, स्रोत साधनको उपलब्धता र राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेपका कारण प्रभावकारी हुन सकको छैन। यो समितिमा २३ सदस्य रहेका छन् जहाँ १२ जना सदस्य गैर दलित रहेका छन्। तीनवटा नै अधिकृतस्तरका कर्मचारीहरू गैर दलित रहेका छन्। यसबाट पनि हामी यस समिति प्रति सरकारको धारणा कस्तो रहेको छ भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाउन सक्दछौं।

तालिका २०: दलित विकास समितिको वार्षिक बजेट

आर्थिक वर्ष	विनियोजित रकम
२०५४/५५	६० लाख
२०५५/५६	१ करोड २५ लाख
२०५६/५७	१ करोड २५ लाख
२०५७/५८	१ करोड २५ लाख
२०५८/५९	१ करोड २५ लाख
२०५९/६०	१ करोड १२ लाख ५० हजार

२०६०/६१	१ करोड १२ लाख ५० हजार
२०६१/६२	२ करोड १२ लाख ५० हजार
कुल जम्मा	९ करोड ९७ लाख ५० हजार

राष्ट्रको दशौं योजना (२०५९/०६४) मा दलित सम्बन्धि नीति तथा कार्यक्रमहरू

नवौं योजना जस्तै दशौं योजनामा पनि दलित समुदायको उत्थानका लागि आवश्यक नीति तथा कार्यक्रमहरू लक्षित कार्यक्रम अन्तर्गत “दलित तथा उपेक्षित समुदाय” भनेर विस्तृत रूपमा दिइएको छ। जुनलाई तल चर्चा गरिएको छ।

यस अध्ययनको पृष्ठभूमिमानै वर्षौं देखि गरिवी र सामाजिक वञ्चिता, आर्थिक, सामाजिक र राजनीतिक क्षेत्रमा पछाडी परेर मारमा परिहेको तीतो सत्य पोखिएको छ। यद्यपी यसका कारणहरूमा लक्षित कार्यक्रमहरू प्रभावकारी हुन नसक्नु, शैक्षिक एवं चेतनाको स्तरमा पछाडी पर्नु र विकासको मूल प्रवाहमा यस समुदायलाई सहभागी बनाउन नसक्नु भनेर विश्लेषण गरिएको छ।

दिर्घकालीन अवधारणा, उद्देश्य र रणनीति:

दशौं योजनामा दलित समुदायको जीवनस्तर अन्य जातजाति सरह समान रूपमा सम्पन्न र समबृद्धशाली बनाई उनीहरूलाई आत्मसम्मानका साथ विकासका प्रयासहरूमा तिनीहरूको पहुँच बढाउदै लैजाने उद्देश्य लिइएको छ। यस उद्देश्य परिपूर्तिका लागि आर्थिक सामाजिक विकास, सशक्तिकरण, परम्परागत सीपका आधुनिकीकरण सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठामा अभिवृद्धि गरी ४ वटा रणनीति लिइएको छ। कार्यक्रममा दलित समुदायको उत्थान र विकासको लागि निर्दिष्ट उद्देश्य परिपूर्तिका लागि सामाजिक शैक्षिक, स्वास्थ्य, आर्थिक र संस्थागत क्षेत्र विभिन्न काङ्कम तर्जुमा गरिएका छन्। जसमध्ये केही महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रमहरू यस प्रकार रहेका छन्।

सामाजिक कार्यक्रम

- गैरदलित भित्रको धार्मिक, सामाजिक कट्टरपना र दलित भित्रको हिनताबोध घटाउदै लैजाने ।
- दलित महिलाविरुद्धको हिंसा र उत्पीडनको अन्त्य गरी उनीहरूमा निर्णय गर्ने र नेतृत्व गर्ने क्षमताको विकास गर्ने ।

शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम:

- सबै दलित समुदायका बालबालिकालाई माध्यामिक स्तर सम्मको शिक्षा निःशुल्क प्रदान गर्ने ।
- उच्चशिक्षा विशषगरी प्राविधिक र व्यवसायिक शिक्षामा दलितहरूको पहुँच सरल बनाउने ।
- विद्यालयमा सम्भव भए दलित महिला र नभएमा दलित समुदायका व्यक्तिबाट शिक्षक भर्ना गर्ने ।
- दलित विद्यार्थीले पाउदै आएको छात्रवृत्तिलाई बृद्धि गर्दै लैजाने ।
- दलितहरूको सिपको विकास र प्रवर्द्धन हुने गरी प्राविधिक तथा व्यवसायिक शिक्षामा पाठ्यक्रमको तर्जुमा गर्ने ।
- अन्तराष्ट्रिय तथा राष्ट्रिय गैससले दलित सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रम गर्दा सम्भव भएसम्म दलित वर्गबाट नै गर्ने ।

स्वास्थ्य कार्यक्रम

- दलित समुदायको जीवनशैली, खानपीन र सरसफाईमा सुधार ल्याउन सरकारी तथा गैर सरकारी संस्था परिचालन गर्ने ।
- प्राथमिक तथा आधारभूत स्वास्थ्य सेवा पहुँच बढाउने ।
- महिला स्वास्थ्य कार्यकर्ता वा स्वयंसेविकाको छनौट गर्दा दलित महिलालाई प्राथमिकता दिने ।

- परिवार नियोजनका कार्यक्रमहरू सञ्चालन गरिनेछन् किनभने दलित समुदायमा बालमृत्युदर, शिशुमृत्युदर र मातृमृत्युदर उच्च रहेका छन् ।

आर्थिक कार्यक्रम

- जमिन वितरण गर्दा दलित सुकुम्वासीलाई प्राथमिकता दिने ।
- वैदेशिक रोजगारीमा दिने कोटामा उनीहरूलाई तालिम प्रदान गर्ने ।
- दलितहरूको परम्परागत सीपमा आधुनिकीकरण गरी सरल कर्जा सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउने ।

अध्ययनअनुसन्धान :

दलित समुदायको जनसङ्ख्या र तिनीहरूको जीवनका विभिन्न पक्षहरूको पहिचान गरी अध्ययन अनुसन्धान गर्न प्रोत्साहन गर्ने ।

संस्थागत व्यवस्था:

- जिल्ला विकास योजना तयार गर्दा दलितहरूको लागि गरिने सामाजिक आर्थिक विकास कार्यक्रमको योजना बनाउन जिल्ला विकास समितिलाई लगाइनेछ ।
- सरकारी र गैर सरकारी कार्यक्रम समन्वय गरी जिम्मेवार व्यक्ति र शाखा खोलिनेछ ।
- दलितको स्तर हेर्न स्थानिय स्तरमा कार्यगर्ने समिति गठन गर्ने प्रकृयाको थालनी गरिनेछ ।
- उपयुक्त नीति तथा कार्यक्रम बनाई स्वीकृत रूपमा लागु गर्न हाल अलग रहेका राष्ट्रिय दलित आयोग र दलित विकास समितिलाई एकिकृत गरिने छ ।

छुवाछूत हटाउने नाममा प्रयोग भएको रकम

धेरै दातृसंस्थाहरू बढीभन्दा रकम खर्च गरेर मात्र दलितका समस्या समाधान हुन्छन् भन्ने विश्वास गर्दछन्। दलित र जनजातिको समस्या उनीहरूभित्र भन्दा गैरदलित र गैरजनजातीय समुदायमा बढी अन्तर्निहित छ। दलितका नाममा गरिएको खर्च र उनीहरूको अवस्थामा परिवर्तनको स्थिति हेर्दा रकमको खर्च गराइ कति सार्थक छ हेर्न सकिन्छ:

सङ्घ/संस्था	रकम
डेनिडा दलित गैर सरकारी संस्था महासङ्घ नारीवादी महिला सङ्घ संस्था दलित कल्याण सङ्घ	१३,९३५,७१० (तीन वर्षको लागि) ६,९००,००० (२ वर्ष ६ महिनाको लागि) ९,०००,००० (तीन वर्षको लागि)
एक्सन एड नेपाल (२००३ को लागि) सरस्वती सामुदायिक विकास मञ्च (सप्तरी) दिगो जिविकोपार्जन मञ्च (पर्वत र बाग्लुङ) वादीको लागि सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता (सप्तरी) काठमाण्डौ केन्द्रिय राष्ट्रिय सङ्घ संस्थाहरू नेपाल राष्ट्रिय सामाजिक कल्याण संगठन	२,७६१,००० २,६००,००० २,२००,००० १,९००,००० ४,६००,००० २,५५५,६२०
लुथरन वर्ल्ड फेडरेसन नेपाल राष्ट्रिय दलित सामाजिक कल्याण सङ्घ जनउत्थान प्रतिष्ठान नारीवाद महिला सङ्घ संस्था दलित कल्याण सङ्घ	२,९००,००० १,४३८,००० ६३५,००० १,४४६,०००

स्रोत गुड गभर्नेन्स (जुलाई - अगष्ट २००३)

राज्यको फितलो संयन्त्र र कुशासन अनि सङ्घ संस्थाहरूकोगैर जिम्मेवारीपन नै दलित र जनजाति वर्गको हालको स्थितिका जिम्मेदार पक्ष रहेको कुरालाई नकार्न सकिदैन। त्यसैले समाजको अझ भन्नाँ राज्यको आमुल परिवर्तन नगरीकन सन्तुलित समाजको कल्याण गर्न सकिदैन। सामाजिक समृद्धिको लागि राजनीतिक पार्टीहरूले जनजाति र दलितको क्रयासिल सहभागिताको प्रश्न आएका छन् तर तिनीहरूले राज्यको मूलधारमा ल्याउन कसरी सम्भव हुन्छ भनेर कुनै खाका कोर्न सकेको छैनन।

सारमा, दलित र जनजातिलाई मुलधारमा ल्याउन तलका बुँदाहरू उल्लेख गर्न चाहान्छु।

- समाजको रूपान्तरण जहाँ गुणात्मक अवसरहरू सभव हुन्छ।
 - राज्यको लोकतान्त्रीकरण
 - विकेन्द्रीकरण
 - औद्योगिकीकरण
- शैक्षिक सङ्घ संस्थाहरू र आवश्यक सरसामानहरूमा उचित रकम
- जनचेतना जगाउने कार्यक्रमहरूको परिचालन
- शैक्षिक स्तर अभिवृद्धि गर्ने कार्यक्रमहरू
- रोजगारमुलक सिपको तालिमको व्यवस्था
- सबै जात जातिमा हामीको भावनाको विकास गर्ने कार्यक्रमहरू
- नेतृत्व क्षमता विकासका कार्यक्रमहरू
- सबै सम्प्रदायको संस्कार प्रति सचेतना जगाउने कार्यक्रमहरूको थालनी।

हाम्रो उद्देश्य भनेको उत्पिडित र सिमान्तीकृत गरिएका मानिसहरूको समग्र विकास गरी एक समतामुलक समाजको निर्माण गर्ने तर्फ हुनुपर्ने हो। मानवताको आधारमा सबै मानवहरू समान हुन्छन। विकासको फलको आस्वादन गर्ने हक सबै जनतामा हुनुपर्दछ। यदि स्वस्थ समाजको निर्माण गर्ने हो भने अभिजात वर्गबाट (अभिजात वर्ग खस अथवा समाजका अरू वर्ग पनि हुन सक्दछन) तल्लो तहका मानिसमा गरिने शोषण रोकिनु

पर्दछ । त्यपछि मात्र हामी स्वस्थ, समृद्ध अनि प्रजातान्त्रिक समाजको कल्पना गर्न सक्दछौं ।

(यस लेखको अंग्रेजी रुपान्तरण पृष्ठ २१९ मा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ)



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Nepal's Foreign Relation in the Context of Peace Building

- Yubaraj Sangroula

Foreign relation in its most wild terms is defined as a 'strategic game of powers between two or more countries', the power being the decisive element in all aspects and very moment in treatment of each other. In this game, the 'power' plays the decisive role; the powerful partner in the pact is prone to impose wild 'conditions' over powerless one. The position of weaker countries in the realm of 'international relations' is thus always vulnerable.

The dominant partner plays the game of 'cordial relations' with weaker nations with three basic strategies as its strong instruments to render the latter as 'obedient' partner. They are: firstly, the dominant partner indulges in 'negotiation with its weaker counterpart' with instrument of persuasion;

¹ This strategy is 'generally defined as diplomacy'. Owing to the 'imbalanced nature of relations between two partners' the consequence is generally

secondly, the dominant partner, if the instrument of persuasion fails, uses psychological threats to 'render the weaker counterpart abide by the given 'design'; and thirdly, it, if both instruments fail to achieve desired goals, resorts to 'physical force', the politico-economic sanctions being the most initial but prominent ones.

This is what, as the history has been educating over two hundred years, the Nepalese people roughly take the meaning of 'foreign relation'.³ Over the years, Nepal has experienced the 'diplomacy' in its dimensions as discussed above. In many times, it has faced difficult times from the 'south', without much difference even after the 'quit of British colonial regime' in 1947. Sugauli Treaty, Gurkha Regiment and status of Suzerainty were the products of 'three dimension diplomacy between a powerful British Colonial regime and weaker Nepal. The legacy of this 'three dimension diplomacy' continued even after 'victory' of independence movement in India.

Nepal's foreign relation has come to a 'crucial point' in the context of Maoist insurgency and the global fight against the

disadvantageous to weaker one. This is why 'the term diplomacy is cautiously taken, and often used skeptically by the weaker nations.

² The 1989 embargo imposed by India against Nepal is a suitable example of the 'manifestation of the third dimension of diplomacy'.

³ When a 'group of ordinary Nepalese people- comprising some bus drivers, farmers, shoppers, vendors and low ranking employees of the organized and unorganized sector- was interviewed, an overwhelming majority of them said: "thula le sanalai pelne niti kutniti ho" (a policy of powerful rendering the powerless subordinated is a diplomacy). Many of them cited 'America's attack against Iraq, as an example. Similarly, 'Indian embargo against Nepal in 1989' was also cited as the example. Some of them also referred to 'British discriminatory treatment of Gurkhas'. Obviously, the meaning of foreign relation in a country like Nepal of which situation is vulnerable is taken from the negative perspective. This perspective indicates to 'imbalanced reciprocity', where the powerful does not feel necessary to 'respect the rules of game' in relation to the weaker partners.

menace of terrorism. The traditional paradigm of 'neutrality' or 'tilting neither to South nor North' has almost come to a 'verge of collapse'. The mounting and phenomenal growth of the Maoist insurgency has dragged Nepal into active agenda of many countries. Although, its traditional partners like China, India, UK, America, Japan and Germany have deeply expressed their concern to address the conflict, the meaningful collaboration of these countries to help Nepal address this problem is largely absent. No consensus among these countries to address this devastating conflict is emerged among them. In contrast, the conflict has gradually led the way to 'build a military pact between Nepal and alliance of India, UK and USA'.⁴

UN and EU have expressed their deep concerns regarding Nepal's continuously deteriorating situation, and their interest to 'political resolution versus military one' is obvious, but their role to that direction is seen less dynamic compared to military support of 'India, UK and USA. Japan has consistently urged to 'political resolution' of the conflict, yet its role too is inactive.

Shifting Paradigms of Nepal's Foreign Relation: Out-bound mobility of Nepalese over the years is sharply increased, which automatically necessitates the country's foreign relation take note of this fact. But this is a field where Nepal's diplomacy is not only inactive and undefined, but

⁴ Although, the reaction of 'China' to this development is not yet 'manifested' in concrete term, but it is obviously potential of 'serious change in China's attitude to Nepal' in future. The military support to 'Nepal' has been increasing from these three countries as a joint venture. Increased military support from these countries in the context that 'Nepal already has a military relation with India through the Gurkha Regiment' with India may seriously affect the 'Sino-Nepal traditional relations'. For China it may mean an 'outset of Nepal's tilting to South' in future.

also left in anarchy.⁵ Together with increased openness of Nepal to the world, the Maoist insurgency has ushered 'Nepal's foreign relations to a new dimension with emerging challenges'.

Long back, King Prithwi Narayan Shah said in his Divyopadesh (Divine Counseling), "Nepal is a yam between two boulders, whose existence can only be kept intact if the strategic relations with these two powers could be kept politically balanced". The international scenario of his period was marked by an era of 'colonialism'. The war was 'defined as a privilege of the powerful country', and annexation of the smaller nations a duty of the empire. The context of the international relation is now fully changed. Colonialism and imperialism are deplored and denounced. Two boulders in the north and south of Nepal have shifted from political power to

⁵ In my personal experience, the Nepalese diplomats (?) seriously lack the culture of diplomacy. One of the main reasons behind is lacking of 'diplomatic expertise' and obligation to work for the country. Inferiority complex is pervasive in them. Their existence in any country is not understood as governed by the issue of equality of sovereignty and mutuality of interests. They rather take themselves as 'passive agents to participate in rituals, pronouncing the government's interest or expectation for cooperation, etc. Generally, the diplomats are those who have retired their service. It is a country where even the retired chief justice and parliament speakers have accepted the position of 'ambassadors'. Diplomacy for Nepal is therefore a 'mission to spend a retired life'. This practice has seriously hindered the 'culture of diplomacy in Nepal'. I found a "Fijian Ambassador" in a European country visiting universities and explaining his country's social, economic and political situations. I found him successful in getting European countries' interest generated to his nation. He was active in developing added information about his country to European countries. He told the history of his country and created groups of youths interested in Fiji. This is what I mean a 'diplomatic culture'. Moreover, he kept him busy for exploring areas of business for his countrymen/women and approached educational institutes to get students from his country admitted. If you ask many expatriate Nepalese what Nepalese ambassadors do in other countries, the blunt answer is that they 'eat *dalbhat*', and are busy to buy gifts for '*chorijawai*'. This might not be exactly what they only do, yet these are what they often and preferably do.

economic booms. Nepal has thus ceased to a ‘yam between two rocks’. If the capacity to exploit international trade and commerce is built, Nepal’s position can be defined as a ‘floating lotus’ in a big pond of economic prosperity. But Nepal has miserably failed in this mission; rather Nepal has rapidly been converted into a ‘garbage container’ by concentration of spies, intelligence missions, arm smugglers and traders, human traffickers, etc.

Some Assumptions Needing Empirical Enquiry: The foreign policy of Nepal is said to have been built on ‘a concept or principle of neutrality’. What does neutrality means is however not defined. King Birendra, through his peace zone proposal, made attempt to define it as a ‘concept of equidistance to both neighbors, but the proposal itself disappeared with induction of Nepali Congress in government after 1990 popular movement.⁶ The principle of

⁶ Concept of equidistance meant absolute no-leaning position. Culturally, Nepal’s proximity with India has strongly been felt. Mobility of people to each other’s country is a religiously, socially and culturally entrenched phenomenon. The openness of the border and free mobility across each other’s border has brought Nepal and India closer. The same is not true with China. There was a segment of peoples during ‘*panchayat* regime which often suggested the king that ‘to be too closer in relation with India will distance Nepal with China’. By doing such maneuver, as they believed, could please the Chinese government. Concept of Zone of Peace was an emerging principle of international law which outlawed war. The concept of neutrality, as it was practiced by Switzerland during II World War, does not define war of aggression *per se* is a crime against international law. A country preferring to be ‘neutral’ do not support or denounce any party engaged in the war. By promising ‘neutrality’ to warring parties, it safeguards its independence. Concept of Zone of Peace was, however, used by a group of ‘ultra-royalists’ to practice a policy to ‘pull Nepal form its closer relation with India in a pretext of equal distance with China, which was determined so by its ‘rugged topography in the north’. It was nothing but a diplomatic bankruptcy of the ‘pseudo-intellectuals in and around royal palace’. India thus suspected the concept from the very inception. India preferred to nullify the proposal then by proposing the Indian sub-continent itself a ‘zone of peace’. The declaration of the concept by King Birendra, however, projected the concept of

‘yam between two rocks’ propounded by King Prithwi Narayan to define geopolitical situation of Nepal, did not cease to haunt the Nepalese feudal rulers in any part of the history after unification. This haunting has stayed in the mind of rulers of Nepal as an inerasable obsession. In this perspective, there have been some assumptions emerged which need to be empirically tested in order to ‘revisit the foreign policy of Nepal’.

- Owing to the given ‘geo-political situation of Nepal’ (yam between two rocks), the existence of Nepal is dependent on the strategically balanced relation with India and China (two rocks in the sense of big powers). This geopolitical placement of Nepal is defined as a ‘disadvantageous’ condition of Nepal.⁷ or a ‘perennial survival threat’.⁸

equiproximity, though in abstract sense. See for detail, Yubaraj Sangroula, *Concept of Zone of Peace: An Emerging Theme of International Law*, 1988. Kathmandu, Nepal.

⁷ Often political leaders and intellectuals attribute this factor as a major hindrance to the development of Nepal. People of Nepal have psychologically been prepared to take this situation as a ‘condition of squeeze’. Rulers of Nepal have described this situation as a perennial source of their ‘hardship’. The situation is advocated as ‘curse of nature’ building a pessimistic impression in the mind of peoples. This has devastatingly affected the need of learning a skill to develop a ‘creative, critical and active’ diplomacy. As an outcome the population of Nepal has nurtured a sense of ‘inferiority’ to their neighbors; they feel helpless, incompetent to compete in business, trade and commerce. The culture of “*choukidari*” (a typical word used to denote what most of Nepalese are engaged in India) is thus emerged strongly in the last one hundred years.

⁸ Owing to this principle of ‘survival diplomacy’, the population of Nepal has been educated to believe on ‘likelihood’ of invasion from one neighbor if Nepal is closer to other. Especially, the leftist political force, along with royalists during the Panchyat regime, advocated to ‘militant nationalism’, founded on pre-empted fear of invasion from the South. The closeness in relation with India is thus viewed by a quarter of population as coveted with possibility of Indian interference and invasion. The Nepalese diplomacy with neighbors is thus wrongly founded on the perceived ‘survival threat’.

- Nepal and India share 1600 kilometers long border. The socio-cultural and ethnic similarity has compelled Nepal to keep its border open with India.⁹ The socio-cultural and ethnic proximity of the people of India and Nepal induce Nepal's closeness to India,¹⁰ which in turn demands for increased political and economic relations between these countries, in exclusion of China. The equal distance between two neighbors is thus not possible.
- The open border between Nepal and India has facilitated the increased incidents of illegal

⁹ The compulsion of 'open border' is attributed to the socio-economic and ethnic proximity between Nepal and India. To have a border open per se is not a problem. The problem in fact lies in failure to 'properly regulate it'. It is simply not possible for any countries to 'maintain borders undefined and unregulated'. If one closely observes the 'problems in relation between India and Nepal' over the last five decades, the disputes over the 'border lines' are the major factors for building 'suspicion' to each other's motives and interests. Open border does not connote to a 'circumstance' that people can jump in from one country to other anytime for any reason. There is definite purpose for a national of one country entering to other. Pakistan, Bangladesh and India were a 'single country' in the past. They have maintained a 'defined border regulation system'. Russia, Belarusia, Ukraine and several other former Soviet Union members are socially, culturally and ethnically are as close as Nepal and India. But they too have maintained a defined border policy. The illegal transactions, including arms smuggling, is a serious problems facing the Indo-Nepal border. This problem thus demands to be addressed by proper policy to border.

¹⁰ This statement is not fully true. The ethnic groups that maintain proximity with dominant Indian population constitute not more than 30% of the total population. Overwhelming majority of the population consists of tribal and Mongoloid stock peoples. The socio-cultural proximity may be equally true with China, the Tibetan Autonomous Part. The population dwelling in the northern part of Nepal maintains proximity with Tibetan ethnicity. Nevertheless, the rugged mountain and Himalayan peaks obstruct free and easy access to Tibetan region of China. Nepal thus has been compelled to maintain its dependence in trade and commerce with India. This factor keeps Nepal and India closer. Proximity with India is a Nepal's compulsion. This aspect of the Indo-Nepal relation is overshadowed. Emphasis on socio-cultural proximity between Nepal and India as the overriding factor of good relation in fact blurs the 'objective reality' of the Indo-Nepal relations.

transactions of commodities, contrabands, arms, close border crimes like human trafficking, robbery, money counterfeiting, smuggling of forest resources and immigration of labor force etc. The open border is also a source of problem of population growth in Nepal.

- Increasing incidents of illegal transactions and immigration have negatively attracted the 'peoples and governments of the both countries' to their relation, which is, if not overtly, largely founded on 'suspicion to each other'.
- India is a regional power. Nepal's elongated position on the north is strategically important for India. Nepal is thus viewed by India cautiously, and so that its motive is rested on need of keeping Nepal by any means under its security umbrella. India's growing strategic concern to Nepal is an outcome of the lack of institutionalized foreign policy.¹¹
- India's interest to Nepal is based on 'abundant water resources'. India wants to benefit from Nepal's water, if not possible peacefully even by use of force.

¹¹ Nepalese political forces have failed to develop a 'consensus' view on foreign policy. Even the various kings have dissimilar approaches to Indo-Nepal relations. King Mahendra was keen to develop strong bilateral ties with China as a means to strategically keep India far from meddling in Nepal's affairs. King Birendra followed his father's footsteps. King Tribhuvan, however, maintained reliance on India. Widespread difference of views of political forces to China and India is a real problem. The caution of Nepal for strategic balance between India and China is largely an outcome of perceived threat. The threat is an argument rather a fact. The Communist parties are suspicious of India, whereas the Congress and some other right forces are suspicious of China. Both are largely influenced by their own perception and ideologies rather than 'an entrenched fact'.

Nepal's sovereignty is thus threatened from the south owing to 'water resources'.¹²

These are the assumptions one can find in abundance in the fragile 'market of foreign policy politics' of Nepal. One or other of these assumptions often influence 'Nepal's foreign policy', sometime leading to a catastrophic mistake. Obviously, Nepal's foreign policy to neighbors lack consistent approach and paradigm. Its failure to develop a consistent approach to foreign policy to neighbors also seriously affects its relations with other countries, such as UK, America, and Japan etc. In the light of this reality, this article has also made attempt to analyze the existing stature of 'foreign relation' of Nepal. This article will make attempt to examine the grounds and validity of these assumptions.

Changing Characters of Foreign Relation in New Millennium:

2002 was the most exciting year in the history of Nepal's foreign relation. In this year, Nepal found adequate space in the international media due to visits of series of high level dignitaries. In January, United States of America's secretary of State Mr. Colin Powell paid an official visit to Nepal.¹³ This visit gave a new dimension to the US-Nepal relation.

¹² Nepal has repeatedly failed to 'figure out its development agenda'. Water resource is one of the most neglected and mismanaged sector of policy making. The lacking of adequate and appropriate policy concerning water resource is a cause of 'disputes between Nepal and India'. Transparent, adequate and appropriate policy could put the water resource under its firm control, where India could have its investment channeled for resolving its huge power crisis. The conflict between Nepal and India concerning water resource is thus largely an outcome of 'Nepal's failure to manage its precious water resource'.

¹³ Powell visited Nepal in January 18-19.

Nepal started receiving army assistance following his visit.¹⁴ Powell's visit was the highest-level official visit from the US, since the initiation of diplomatic ties between Nepal and the United States.¹⁵ In the preceding years, US did give no higher importance to the 'higher political and economical relation' with Nepal.

Similarly, earlier in January 14-17, former Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hasimoto visisted Nepal. In the midst of mounting Maoist insurgency, 11th SAARC summit concluded in Kathmandu on 6th January. Mr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee, the then Prime Minister of India, came to Nepal to participate in the SAARC summit and said: "It is an uplifting experience for me to be here in this charming city of Kathmandu, the earthly abode of the Lord Pashupatinath, and in a country

¹⁴ US assistance to arms ended the conventional paradigm of Nepal's foreign relation. Nepal in the past received no assistance for arms in the past from the west, one of the most serious reasons being its strategic relation with neighbors. The reaction of India and China in this regard is yet to be assessed. Definitely, this event has bolstered US-Nepal relation to a new height. Who benefits from this support is yet to be seen. Is the fledging democracy is the beneficiary? The answer is still in the womb of future. However, some people argue that 'sophisticated weapons' will eventually benefit the 'regression'.

¹⁵ In March 1995, Rodham Hillary Clinton, the then First Lady of US, had a very short visit of Nepal. But the visit was for a fun. Unlike other countries in the region (SAARC), she showed no interest to 'discuss the socio-political and development issues. For her Nepal presented a 'unusual' society or 'interesting mass of peoples'. In her autobiography she described, leaving so many important issues untouched, "The landscape of Nepal is among the most beautiful in the world, but inhabitant regions of the country are overcrowded. Human waste is used for fertilizer and clean water is a rarity. The Americans I met all had stories of getting sick after spending time in Nepal, making it sound like an inevitable rite of passage"... "Hotel pool was drained before we arrived, and they refilled it with mineral water". These statements show that high level American leaders have very few information and interest about Nepal prior to Nepal became known for Maoist Insurgency (Living History, Headline Book Publishing, 2003 p. 281).

with India is linked by geography, kinship, tradition and culture'.¹⁶

Mounting interest of these countries to Nepal is basically activated 'by intensified Maoist Insurgency'. The silent diplomacy between western countries and Nepal is shifting to 'conflict management diplomacy'. The interest behind is the 'treatment of Maoist politics' rather than the treatment of 'socio-economic backwardness of the Nepalese people'. It is obvious that Nepal has failed to address the insurgency, and as such it has been largely internationalized. How it will deal with the new challenges is unclear and undecided. Can it be able to 'prevent outside interference' and deal the insurgency independently? The conventional foreign relation has no answer to it, and a 'new approach is absent'. Nepal is thus passing through virtually a 'state of zero sums' in foreign policy concerning the conflict impacting all aspects of the Nepalese life. The undue influence of powerful countries is thus potential.

Historical Perspective of Nepalese Foreign Policy: History of Nepal's foreign policy is very short. The crude form of formal foreign relation started from 'Treaty of *Sugauli Sandhi*', in which, one of various terms and references, Nepal agreed to the British Colonial Government to allow it open a 'resident office' in Kathmandu and 'stay under its effective suzerainty'.¹⁷ Prior to this treaty, Nepal was engaged in series

¹⁶ See, Nepal News 01/24/2002 at www.k2news.com/nepal1012402.htm

¹⁷ Some people argue that Nepal had had diplomatic relation with countries prior to that. They refer to the "marriage of a daughter of Aungsuverma (a feudal chief during early Lichhavi dynasty) Bhrikuti to Tibetan monarch. The marriage was intended to maintain good relation between Nepal and Tibet. It might be defined as a form of diplomacy, but was a means of 'security' of the dynasty than the State itself. Rebellion within the court was a serious problem in those periods. Rebels often engaged in overthrowing the reign of the sitting monarch with help of its neighbor. The establishment of cordial relation

of active wars to annex several principalities, and as such it was in their eyes an expansionist force; it was an emerging 'invading power' in the Himalayan range. The rugged terrain of the country helped to equate with 'modern and sophisticated weapons of British Colonial regime'.¹⁸

The adventure of unification of country was in fact motivated by the king's 'whim of strength' rather than a strategic plan to build Nepal as a stronger nation state.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, to establish 'foundations for foreign relation' did surface nowhere. The monarchy, with absolute power, treated the governance as its 'inherent privilege', and thus no instruments of control or rules to limit its power were acceptable to the monarchy and its 'puppet courtiers'.

through marital relation between two courts was an instrument of safety of each other or guarantee of 'non-involvement in war conspiracy or invasion. These kinds of affairs were sporadic and not fully trustworthy. It is therefore not wise to define these kinds of incidents as an example of 'diplomacy'.

¹⁸ When British colonial government decided to 'invade Nepal', several thousands of troops along with modern weapons marched inside the territory of Nepal from Butwal and several other places to face a tough time. Mountain guerilla warfare of the Gurkhas not only pushed the British army back, but also had been able to inflict severe injury to it. Thus British had to suffer a terrible and humiliating defeat. Gurkhas had been able to chase the British army till Gorakhpur, and hold it. See, Mery Des Chen, "Soldiers, Sovereignty and Silence: Gurkha as Diplomatic Currency, South Asia Bulletin, Vol. XIII Nos. 1&2, 1993.

¹⁹ For example, Bahdur Shah, an exile son of Prithwi Narayan, after death of his brother Pratap Shaha and his wife Rajya Laximi, returned to Nepal from India, and was appointed as the *nayabi* (chief guardian) of infant king Ran Bahadur, his nephew. He immediately engaged in adventure of annexing other principalities in the west and the east. He also ventured to attack Tibet, and had overpowered it. An agreement was signed in accordance to which Tibet was to pay fifty thousand annual royalty to Nepal annually. Tibet did not abide by the condition, and consequently the second war with Tibet broke out. China joined Tibet to help it. Eventually, Nepal signed an agreement with China, thus ending the war. Some intellectuals in Nepal take these incidents as 'examples of Nepalese foreign policy'. Nevertheless, an event of war and resultant agreement cannot be an instance of 'foreign relation'.

The foundation of sound foreign relation and the nation's prosperity is rooted in the system of good and popular governance, which Nepal lacked absolutely all throughout the history. The 'power politics' was the center point that consistently invited intrigues and conspiracies as main occupation within the royal courts. For instance, Pratap Singh Shah had nothing to do except drink, enjoy sex maids and indulge in *tantramantara* (meditation for magical power) at Basnata Durabar (Palace). He died in an age of 28 years in 1834 B.S (See, Gyan Mani Nepal, *Nepal ko Mahabharat*. Sajha Prakasan, 2050). He had two wives, and one was supposed to go for 'sati' (a practice of dedicating life in the funeral pyre of the deceased husband).

Pundit Braja Nath Poudel was interested to make Rajendra Laxmi to take 'sati', as he could have then monopoly in the royal palace. But she had a two years son without guardian. Another wife Maiju Rani was pregnant. Rajendra Laxmi smelt the conspiracy on the side of Maiju Rani. She then sent Mahadev Upadhaya to Betia to convince Bahadur Shah, brother of deceased husband, to help her in this difficult situation. Queen's *sati* was then postponed, and Pratap Singh Shah was cremated along with his eight kepts (sex maids) See, Ibid: P. 15. Queen Rajendra Laxmi's opponents started playing foul, and made all hard efforts to stop Bahdur Shah to come to Kathmandu. The history following the death of Pratap Singh shows that the royal palace had been continuously divided between courtiers often headed by wives of kings. The culture of killings of courtiers by rival groups was phenomenal during the Malla regime. Prithwi Narayan Shah made efforts to stop it.

But once the Queen Rajendra Laxmi took reign on behalf of infant son Rana Bahadur, the culture of killing revived. The

person to suffer from this intrigue was Pundit Braja Nath Poudel, who led a group of courtiers against her in the palace. Immediately upon arrival of Bahadur Shah in Kathmandu, Braja Nath was exiled his head cross shaved (a practice of humiliating Brahmin). He was charged of plotting murder of the queen and having had sexual relation with a princess. Ibid, p.18. Most strikingly, by an agreement between Bahadur Shah and Rajendra Laxmi, Maiju Rani, another wife of Pratap Singh, following the delivery had been sent to 'sati', after a month of his death. Ibid. P. 19. The feud between Bahadur Shah and Rajendra Laxmi did not take long time to start. Consequently, Rajendra Laxmi, with cooperation of magars of Gorkha, put Bahadur Shah under preventive detention. Sarbajit Rana was then declared the chief kaji (equivalent of Prime Minsiter). In a very short period of time, the rumors that the Queen was engaged in sexual relation with Sarbajit Rana did spread. It was a right time for Bahadur Shah for revenge. He then, in 1835 B.S., with the help of Daljit Shah and Shree Harsha Panta, raided the royal palace and arrested Rajendra Laxmi. She was put in 'silver handcuff'.

Kaji Sarbajit and his followers and supporters had been taken to basement of Kumarighar and beheaded. Ibid, p.20. Bahadur Shah obtained full control over the reign. After 10 month, on request of Rajendra Laxmi, Budda Choutaria came to Kathmandu to support the queen. He prevailed over Daljit Shah, who had been the incharge of Basnatapur Palace, when Bahadur Shah was preparing for adventure of war for further expansion of the nation. She was freed and regained the power. She then banished Daljit and killed several other officials. Sarbajit's relatives were then declared officials of the state. Budda Choutaria killed a Brahmin in Paupatinath

for nothing. He was so severely beaten up that he died. Rajendra Laxmi was cautious of 'increasing power of Budda Choutaria, and it was a right occasion to get rid of him. For a charge of killing an innocent Brahmin, he was banished. On death of Rajendra Laxmi in 1842 B.S. Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal again. He expanded the boundary of Nepal and made it a great country. Rana Bahadur Shah, the crown prince, took the power as the king, and the first act he did was the 'ouster of Bahadur Shah from the palace'.

This event initiated another series of 'rivalries, conspiracies and killings' in the royal palace of Nepal. Rana Bahadur followed the footsteps of his father. He was interested in luxury. Beautiful girls and women were his most liked enjoyment. In Pashupati Nath a Brahmin family had come for pilgrimage from Janakpur. A childwidow named Kantawati was accompanying the family. She was beautiful. The information about such beautiful girl was staying at Pashupatinath reached to the palace. King Rana Bahdur Shah then went to Pashupatinath on the back of Elephant to see the girl. He was captivated by the beauty of the girl and she was forcefully abducted, and brought to the palace. She was not ready to be a kept. She asked for the status of the queen. Captivated by the beauty, he agreed to the proposal of Kantawati and married to her at Gorkha. Ibid, p. 35. Once Kantawati became pregnant, with a fear that her child would be rejected by the courtiers and Bahadur Shah could obtain support, Rana Bahadur Shah arrested the former and charged with 12 different types of crimes. He was then sent into imprisonment. In 1854 B.S. Bahdur Saha was killed in the prison. He was found hanging in a prison room. Ibid p. 36. This sequel of conspiracy and rivalry continued. The royal palace was with the king at the center point embroiled in feud

between Pandey vs. Thapa and so on. Bhim Sen Thapa was killed. Mathaber Singh was killed. Gagan Singh was killed. Junga Bahadur Rana came in power following a dastardly massacre. (It was followed by Bhandarkhal massacre.) The court politics of Nepal is thus bloody throughout the history.

The inter court rivalries and feuds were not only unusual affairs, but also dastardly criminal acts. Plots of killings to usurp power were a regular business within the royal palace'. In such a pernicious environment, the issues of the prosperity of nation, enhancement of good governance, and the promotion of sound and open foreign relation were virtually unimaginable. Amidst the phenomena of inter-court rivalry and competition for power, Nepal was dragged to war with British Colonial Government in India. The defeat in the long term was natural in the context of 'super arms and military strength of the enemy'. The government engaged in limited circle of court politics had less intelligence and capacity to judge consequence of the 'unplanned war' with a rudimentary armed capacity.²⁰ The war ultimately ended with a 'treaty between Nepal and British Colonial Government',

²⁰ During the Anglo-Nepal war, Bhimsen Thapa was the principal power holder. He too was a clever and shrewd conspirator. He was the chief architecture of the First Bhandarkhal Massacre. He was a ruthless ruler. In the history has done many such acts which is unimaginable for ordinary peoples (See for detail Ibid, P 63-65) In the defeat of Nepal with Britian, a group of courtiers emerged to punish Bhim Sen Thapa. In this group Gaja Raj Mishra, Bijaya Singh Shahi and Srbajit Pandy were prominent figure. However, the sudden death of the crown prince and other members of the royalty disturbed the move of the group against Bhimesen Thapa, so that he had been able to continue as powerful person even after defeat in the war. Bhimsen Thapa in this context murdered a number of peoples. The first Bhandarkhal massacre eliminated dozens of state officials clearing the way for family oligarchy for Rana regime. In 1894, six month son of Rajendra Bikram died. Bhimsen Thapa was charged with a crime of conspiracy for killing the prince using a poisoned medicine through a doctor. He was then arrested and detained. His opponents grabbed the power and ultimately he committed a suicide.

which reduced the status of Nepal to a 'British Suzerainty'.²¹ This shows the bleak diplomatic condition of Nepal.

After *Kot Massacre*,²² Junga Bahadur introduced a family oligarchic regime in Nepal. The British colonial power had strong support behind it. Incessant instability wrought by court rivalry and resultant massacres was convenient for it to consolidate its influence over Nepal as well as to augment the

²¹ Colonization of Nepal was not impossible in the context of Nepal's shameful defeat. However, British India did not want to instigate Chinese suspicion and alert. Takeover of Nepal would invite war with China. To analyze the given situation intelligently, one can argue that British did not want to takeover of Nepal in order to avoid possible outbreak of war with China.

²² The political conspiracy in the royal court of Nepal even after demise of Bhimsen Thapa continued to exist with its ugly face. At the time of Junga Bahadur's rise, the royal court, as described by Dr. Oldfield, the then British resident at Kathmandu, was divided into three parties; these owed loyalty to the King, queen and the prince, respectively (See, D.R. Regmi, *A Century of Family Autocracy in Nepal*, Published by the Nepali National Congress, 1958. pp 52-58). The party to the Queen was led by Gagan Singh, Commander In Chief. The party to the prince, Surendra Bir Bikram Shah, Junga Bahadur was siding to him, but he also strategically maintained half inclination to the queen. In the party of the King included Chautarias, the chief being the Fatejung. Dr. Oldfield wrote of the situation on the eve of infamous Kot massacre of September 1846: "Earlier the queen had contrived to cause the death of Premier Mathabar Singh Thapa, who, though raised to the exalted position by the Queen's favour, had showed tendencies to become her rival in power and a protagonist of prince Surendra's right to succeed the throne. The queen wanted her own son get it. Junga Bahadur was related with this man as his nephew by his sister, but participated in the plot playing the chief role as the person who shot the Premier dead at the instigation of queen. Since then Junga Bahadur was taken by her confidant. (Quoted from Ibid, p. 54). When Junga Bahadur was unscrupulously gaining power by killing his own maternal uncle, the British resident promptly extended his hand of assistance to this man. Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi writes: "In the beginning the then resident Lawrence had a very poor opinion of his character and wanted to use him for imperialist interest not without certain amount of test of his sincerity and loyalty to British cause, which till the Sikh war had not been furnished. Junga Bahadur firmly stood in the side of the British in this war; consciously to gain the latter's support to his ill-motive of capturing the power. (See, Ibid, p.55).

chance of using Nepal for imperialistic mission of suppressing the mounting anti-British movement in India.²³

Obviously, with the emergence of Rana regime, the independence of Nepal further squeezed as it surrendered to the service of colonial power. Rana's foreign policy was thus virtually pro-imperialist and anti of sovereignty and independence of Nepal. Emergence of Rana regime was thus pernicious to 'independence as well as integrity of the Nepalese nation'.

Rana British Alliance to Subordinate Nepal's

Sovereignty: Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi has rightly remarked:

"Junga Bahadur's success in the Nepal Durabar was a triumph for the British diplomacy". Now the British colonial regime had nothing to fear from Nepal, instead the way for number of

²³ With his success to gain power Junga Bahadur became an eminently important man for British regime. The British resident then became a backbone for Junga Bahadur. British resident's help for him was now unlimited. Thus backed by the British arms Junga Bahadur proceeded to capture power with most consummate skill of conspirator. He was shrewd and master in playing double roles. He knew that unless he removed all his opponents, he would not even dream of the final capture of the power. So he planned to Gagan Singh, and he did it. He did it keeping him close to the queen's plot so that she would not have suspicion to him. He then incited the queen to take revenge of the Gagan's murderer. "He said to Queen, Your Majesty, I am close friend of the late Gagan. On that account my life is not safe. But I feel, your majesty and your son are not out of danger too'. (Quoted from Ibid, p.58). Designedly, Birkishor Pandey was thus charged with the said crime. The queen ordered his arrest and detained. He was chained. The king remained silent. But when his men faced a danger of massacre, King Rajendra Bir Bikram quietly left the palace for British Legation to inform the Resident of the happening at the court. But the British legation's doors were closed. Resident Lawrence had not even courtesy to come down and give hearing to the royal visitor (See, Ibid, 59). Queen was torturous. Fatejung defied what she was doing. The incident eventually culminated to the killing of all courtiers by Junga Bahadur's force. One more dark in the history of Nepal. This perpetuated one century long darkness in Nepal.

benefits had been opened for its free use. Anti-British Nepalese officials were fully eliminated. It is said that Junga Bahadur entered into a secret pact with Governor General of India renouncing the previous policy of distrust. Henceforth, the Nepal government became not only the faithful ally of the British imperialists, but began to function as a collaborator in the act of subjugating Indian sub-continent".²⁴

Features of the Nepalese foreign relations during the post Junga Bahadur's usurpation of power can be summed up as follows:

- The conventional sovereignty that existed before and after unification got largely lost to the British. While Nepal was still an independent country, its independence was subjected to the British mercy. The treaty of 1835 had already placed Nepal in a subordinated position to the British regime concerning Nepal's foreign relation. This treaty prohibited Nepal from seeking external contact without the permission of the British rulers in India. Completion of the subordination was materialized by success of Junga Bahadur's take over of power, who willingly allowed himself to be dictated by the British rulers even in matters of internal matters. The tiny Himalayan Kingdom thus allied to promote the imperialist

²⁴ Ibid. p. 76. Although Nepal was a small country, its role in sustaining colonial rule in Indian sub-continent was crucial. The British colonial rule prolonged mainly due to unlimited and support of the Rana rulers. The history of the foreign relation of Nepal in the past is thus stigmatized. Thus, it is anti-people and anti-independence of Nepal. It gives no room for the pride in the history.

mission. The Nepalese diplomacy for a period of one century thus served the purpose of colonial power'.

- The rise of Junga Bahadur had negative impact in Indian people's freedom movement. Nepal's courage to fight with British regime till 1816 inspired a number of Indian royalties to defy to and prepare fight against colonial regime. King Ranjit Singh's mission in Punjab was one of the most profound one. When Nepal ceased to be an enemy, the British rulers accelerated their war against several princely states in India, and successfully eliminated them. Junga Bahadur did not only keep him neutral to the war between Indian states and British force, but he offered support with eight battalions of soldiers in the Anglo-Sikh war. The Nepalese foreign relation in this context was fully anti-people and pro-imperialist. It is a stigma in the history of Nepal.
- This pro-British Imperialist foreign relation has had devastating impact on Nepal. To please the British colonial regime, the Ranas had to be utterly anti-nation. Their existence was possible in a tyranny. Their luxury and comfort could only be met by sheer exploitation of the people. This became possible for them because of the British support in lieu of the Ranas support to the colonial regime. The diplomacy practiced by the Rana regime was thus a plunder of Nepal's prospect of the development. The foreign relation thus served as an effective 'instrument to suppress the people'.
- As late Dr. Regmi points out, "...although he (Junga) did not formally accept the British suzerainty by way

of treaty provisions he unabashedly went near to it to call himself in private conversations the most loyal servant of the British queen".²⁵ This way the Rana period's foreign policy of Nepal was nothing but a strategy to loot the country in support of the British regime. This regime in reality brought the country under a 'colonial shape'.

- Nepal's foreign policy in this era tremendously helped to 'consolidate the slavery in India. It was immensely crucial to sustain the British colonial rule in two ways: firstly, it sold the Nepalese youths to defend British colonial regime and put the people of the Indian sub-continent into iron chain; and secondly, by volunteering to suppress the Indian people movement, such as in Indian Sipohy Mutiny incident, it showed abominably selfish and unpatriotic zeal to defend the interest of the imperialist force. With the wealth accumulated by providing unlimited service to the British colony, the Rana regime was able to establish a strong power base, which still continues to 'influence the Nepalese politics'.

These historical stigmas are still haunting bad days of Nepal. Moreover, the legacy is still transmitted to modern politicians of Nepal. Nepal has not yet come out of the 'influence and habit of being dictated by foreign powers' in its diplomacy. It has almost lost the sense of thinking independently of its 'pragmatic diplomacy' which can help it to stand high among the community of nations.

Youths Export for Private Revenue Diplomacy of Ranas:

If one can be objectively sensitive of the history of Rana

²⁵ Ibid. p. 80.

regime, he/she cannot resist saying that "Ranas were robbers of Nepal's pride of history and its future both". They were brutal, inhuman and unpatriotic. The country has not yet liberated from the cruelty of loot and barbarity they committed in a period of one century.

Quite before the Treaty of Sugauli was signed in 1816, the East India Company had covertly commenced to execute the plan of raising Gurkha troops for the defense of its colony in India. Captain Hearsay was the first British officer to propose this idea, and General Ochterlony the great supporter. After cessation of Anglo-Nepal war, the idea was swiftly forwarded. From the perspective of diplomacy, several short term and long term purposes induced British rulers to 'establish' Gurkha regiments under their army.

- The captive Gurkha soldiers had been forced to join the enemy army and serve it. Engagement of them in the enemy army would raise suspicion of the Government of Nepal, and these people could not return due to fear of punishment. They could be thus compelled to work continuously for the enemy on the one hand, and it could also reduce the size of the Nepalese army to be a threat to the British colony on the other.
- With its reduced size and war-torn economy, Nepal had not been in position to continue maintaining a large contingent of the military force. It was thus possible for Nepalese army personnel to be enticed by the British rulers, which could offer them employment.
- Those who had served in the British Army had been able to maintain a taintless loyalty to officers. It was

not possible with native Indian people considering the mounting consciousness and movement for independence. Gurkhas therefore could be best force to address the possible uprising of the Indian people.

- In the defeat with British in war, the people of Nepal felt terrible humiliation. It was immensely sensed by the British residents in Nepal. People in Nepal hated British as "*Melekchi Firangi*" (uncivilized and invaders). Nepal could thus reorganize its force and pose a serious threat to British colony. The recruitment of Nepalese in large size under the British army could drain the youth population in Nepal, and as such would let no chance for reorganization of a strong army to be a threat for the British colony as well as ally for their enemies, the princely states in India.²⁶

For Ranas, these British concerns and needs proved to be a 'milking cow'. They were shrewd to understand that British would be facing a tough time to maintain their colony in the days to come. Exports of youths would be a huge source of revenues for their comfort and luxury. The Ranas therefore

²⁶ Brian Houghton Hodgson, a British resident in Nepal during 1920s, vigorously advocated for policy of Gurkha recruitment. His report to the British Government in India reveals that the policy had multi-dimensional hidden objectives. Apart from weakening the Kingdom of Nepal militarily, it would have been a means of wearing out the Gurkhas deep seated distrust towards the British. Besides, the Gurkhas could be held as a pledge for the Nepalese Governments' supportive behavior during emergency. He also pointed out that if the martial tribesmen were drained off the country, the military character of the Nepalese Government and its turbulence would also be diminished. He said, "If we could draw off the surplus soldiery of Nepal into our army, we might do her an immense service, enabling her to adapt her institutions to her circumstances, at the same time that we provided ourselves with the best materials in Asia for making soldiers out of ". See Hodgson Memorandum Relative to the Gurkha Army, 14 Feb. 1825, FM. Vol.125.

took no moment to allow British to 'employ its nationals in the latter's military'. As Mary Des Chen, a Gurkha Historian says:

"The details of recruitment maneuvers are complex, but the essential dynamic was very simple. The Nepalese rulers became gradually willing to exchange hill peasants for things they wanted from the British. The things they wanted included, at different times, assurances of Nepalese independence, restoration of territory, honors, title, money and guns and ammunition. The British were willing to give things it wanted in exchange for 'raw materials' for their Gurkha regiments".²⁷

The independence and regain of the lost territory were not substantial issues for Ranas as compared to the honors and money. Ranas were the rulers who wanted to have for them a 'life style' of Europe in exchange of 'country's youths'.

Rana Prime Minister Bir Shamsher, in lieu of British support to him against Junga Bahadur's family after his death, lifted ban on recruitment of Gurkhas in 1885. He issued a "*rukka*" (order) calling to the citizens of Nepal to volunteer for recruitment in the British Army. With this "*rukka*", the selling of the Nepalese youths was formally legitimized. For this, British Government offered a sum of ten hundred thousands as gift to the Rana Prime Ministers. In the Second World War alone, 1, 24, 000 youths had been recruited. The youth population was thus fully exhausted; the subsequent census showed that the population of Nepal decreased in the

²⁷ "Soldiers, Sovereignty and Silence: Gurkha as Diplomatic Currency, South Asia Bulletin, Vol. XIII Nos. 1&2, 1993. P. 68

history of Nepal. The post Junga Bahadur Rana regime's diplomacy was mainly founded on and around the issue of Gurkhas. This diplomacy resulted in:

- Dilution of national interests among youths of Nepal. This trend is present even today. To migrate to India and other countries for work has been a culture in Nepal, which has been posing a serious threat to Nepal's emergence of a strong nation.
- Educational development of the Nepalese society was severely affected, as the large part of the 'Nepalese youth population' inherited an 'army recruitment culture.'
- Since the recruitment was basically concentrated on hill-ethnic tribes, their participation in the political and civil administration was severely affected, resulting in the present absolutely discriminatory situation. This has been one of the serious causes of the rise of the Maoist insurgency.
- British government had used this population without any security of livelihood. The majority of the retired Gurkhas are abjectly poor. The recruitment thus pushed them in a state of economic marginalization. The historical practice of recruitment of the Nepalese people in the foreign armies is one of the serious causes of the 'deep rooted poverty in Nepal'.

The legacy of the recruitment continued even after the withdrawal of British regime in India. Ranas with India and Britain signed an agreement, popularly known as Tripartite Treaty of 1947, which legitimized the presence or recruitment of the Nepalese youths in the Indian and British Armies even in the modern times. A sovereign country, with avowed

policy of non-alignment, has maintained a culture of 'selling youths in foreign army'. This has been a paradox of the Nepalese sovereignty as well as the foreign policy. Obviously, no foreign policy of Nepal can be objectively studied without keeping in mind the reality of 'its citizen's participation' in foreign armies.

To conclude the historical contexts, the following summaries can be drawn up:

- Royal courts of Nepal had been formed and destroyed frequently. The administration of the country was carried out not by mutual trust and cooperation among courtiers and officials. Foundation of the state was rested on 'rudimentary feudal values', where kings and courtiers could see their roles nothing more than that of 'tribal chiefs". Courtiers did not trust each other, and incessantly engaged in conspiracy to get rid of one another, because their selection or access to power was not governed by system of rules and quality. One could be trusted person of the king by supplying beautiful women and getting into plunder of people for wealth necessary to the 'pleasure and comfort of the king".²⁸ The development of the nation and welfare of the people had never been a concern within and around the royal courts. Absolute power and plunder for accumulating the wealth had been a

²⁸ This allegation is absolutely proved by the facts of lives of Pratap Singh Shah and Rana Bahadur Shaha. Rana Bahadur Shah believed that the king had privilege to 'have sex with every beautiful woman he liked'. It was why he even dared to kidnapped a 'widow', which according to religion was 'intolerable sin'. This incident shows that they even dared to violate moral codes 'for the sake of sexual lust and physical comfort'. Many of these killings and court-crisis are related with sexual adultery of the kings and queens.

sole mission of courtiers. Obviously, the sequel of massacres never stopped especially from the Malla period. None of the rulers had national vision. They took nation as a crowd and kings considered themselves 'chieftain' with unlimited powers. The lack of intelligence, national vision and system of administration hindered Nepal's emergence as a 'nation state'. In such a state, it is natural to fail in developing a 'well-thought and defined' foreign relation. None of the royalties prior to Prithwi Narayan had come out of their conspiratorial court politics, nor did they have bit information about the world. Modernity in all aspects of life was thus fully rejected in the royal courts of Nepal.

- Prithwi Narayan Shah made attempt to 'see Nepal beyond his court'. His intelligence could explore the 'significance' of Nepal as a nation state. Survival of the Himalayan kingdom could not be possible in situation where the nation was divided into dozens of 'rudimentary princely states'. While the adventure of the unification was an adventure to 'establish him as the historical monarch', he was also fully convinced that the existence of his state (Gorkha) was also in trouble in the context of expanding and consolidating British colonial empire in India. However, there was hardly any other person within his own court, who could understand this development. He had subtle understanding of the fact that it was far harder to 'save the unified Nepal' than to unify itself. It is why he 'subtly defined its position as a yam between two rocks', the movement of any rock could squeeze and crushed the fragile yam. His fingers were covertly

pointing out to the increasing colonial empire in the south, as its mission to Nepal and across China could not be ruled out. China had sense of it too. In both ways, Nepal could be the first victim. He made efforts to 'educate his officials of this fact' and made hard efforts to 'prevent a circumstance' of rivalries within the court. He therefore did not give special privilege to his own brothers. However, he failed in this mission. Right before his death, his bothers started engaging 'conspiratorial court-politics', which emerged in a heinous and nasty form during his first successor, Pratap Singh Shah. King Prithwi Narayan's 'strategic vision of foreign relation' ceased to exist along with his death.²⁹

- The rise of Rana regime fully shattered Prithwi Narayan's strategic vision³⁰ on foreign policy. Ranas

²⁹ Bahadur Shah raided Tibet and created a situation where China was dragged to support Tibet. This event took place when British colonial regime in India had been seriously planning to 'destroy Nepal as a powerful state'. It shows that Bahadur Shah had little understanding or insights of father's vision of foreign policy. It leads us to conclude that none of Prithwi Narayan Shah's successors had faint understanding of his strategic foreign policy'. On the other hand, a huge number of courtiers were 'traitors'. They did not hesitate to approach British rulers against the interest of Nation. Often the group after its defeat in the court conspiracy ran to the British rulers. Even Amar Singh Thapa, a person so praised as a national hero today, after the defeat in war did not return to Nepal; rather he befriended to British. (See, Gyanmani Nepal, Ibid).

³⁰ What did his vision mean is, however, still not accurately understood. Some people take it as 'strategic neutrality'. In my opinion, this understanding does not have substance as well as ground to be convinced. The concept of neutrality had no meaning at that point of time, in the context of this region. British colonial rulers' interest in the region was to accumulate wealth, and for that they had no respect of any principles. The way they plundered the Indian states showed that there was no barrier between the right and wrong for them. Prithwi Narayan clearly understood this 'fact'. He had subtle idea that Nepal could not save it 'by invoking its desire to be neutral'. The statement that "Nepal was a yam between two rocks" rather intended to educate the

fully surrendered to British colonial regime, and in 1929, through a treaty of friendship, obtained an assurance to independence of Nepal. This assurance was, nevertheless, not an outcome of ‘mutual respect to each other’s sovereignty’; rather it was a reward of the British colonial regime to Ranas for their incessant, unlimited and unreserved service to strengthen the colonial rule in India. Ranas were in fact nothing but ‘group of covert’ agents of the British regime, especially important to collect youths of Nepal for its army. Their surrender to the British regime resulted in total rejection of ‘Prithwi Narayn’s vision of foreign policy. Independence, not the mere existence of Nepal as a nation, was the ‘fundamental underpinning’ of the Prithwi Narayn’s vision of foreign policy. Ranas had been able to maintain existence in the cost of independence. The concept of independence in turn underpins a notion of protecting the freedom and capability of defending the sovereignty of the nation. Unfortunately, defense capability was destroyed by the ‘conspiratorial court politics of his own successors’ and the freedom by the Ranas. In brief, Prithwi Narayan’s vision was founded on the ‘activism of people to defend the nation’ rather

‘courtiers, military and people at large’ of the difficult position Nepal was placed at. He was trying to aware all of this reality and urge people to carefully prepare themselves to defend the nation. This message, in the context of divided Nepal, was also meant to several annexed or yet to be annexed princely states. He was trying to ‘strategically convince them that their existence as a smaller state’ was not possible, so that the unification of Nepal as a powerful nation able enough to defend itself was a historical demand. During the Panchayat regime, there was an attempt to ‘define strategic neutrality-based foreign policy’, and for this the philosophy was drawn up from Prithwi Narayan’s Divyoudesh. How far they understood the ‘insights’ of the Prithwi Narayan’s vision is however not investigated.

than the ‘passive neutrality’ of the rulers to other countries. 30 years Panchayat regime’s foreign policy was influenced by the latter notion. The concept of zone of peace, however, could be implemented to transform ‘passive neutrality’ into ‘constructive and strategic diplomacy’.

- Bir Sumsher’s *Rukka* and 1947 Tripartite Treaty completely ended the ‘independence as well as neutrality’ of the Nepalese foreign policy. These two instruments institutionalized the ‘recruitment of Nepalese youths’ in foreign armies, thus rendering Nepal as country of mercenaries. Gurkhas are in many occasions condemned as ‘mercenaries’ even today. A country which maintains a ‘military pact’ with other country cannot be defined as a ‘neutral country’, and a country of which citizens are recruited by others in their armies cannot be termed as ‘independent’. Nepal’s independence is thus severely circumscribed. While the practice has been tolerated by neighboring country China, Pakistan and others, the tolerance itself cannot address the limitation in independence and purify the stigma attached. Thus, the foreign policy of Nepal is yet to be defined, and it would be hard to do so unless the issue of the ‘Gurkha recruitment in foreign armies is settled down’. Excuses like employment opportunities to peoples, economic benefits, historical legacies or any such things cannot constitute ‘good grounds for justification as ‘concept of independence and sovereignty and a practice of citizens’ recruitment in other countries’ armies are uncompromisingly contradictory to each other both from the stand of international and domestic laws.

Conventional international law 'defined such practice' as 'source of mercenary soldiery'. Modern international law founded on UN charter, on the other hand, rejects any practice that promotes armament and military build-up. No civilized theories can be used to defend a 'practice like Gurkha recruitment'. Obviously, the existence of this practice fully stigmatizes the Nepalese foreign policy.

- 1947's treaty exists without any improvement or ratification of the Parliament even after the promulgation of the 1990 Constitution. According to article 126, it requires such treaties to be ratified by two third majority of the joint session of the parliament. The treaty which allows Nepalese citizens recruitment in the foreign armies violates, although implicitly, the avowed principle of non-alignment protected by the constitution. Prithwi Narayan's vision of foreign policy is thus 'rejected by his all successors, all kinds of regimes and all kinds of political forces, including certain groups of communist party'. Occasional statement of political leaders and state's officials that "Nepal's foreign policy has been guided by Prithwi Narayan's Divyopadesh" is nothing but a sheer lie.

Contemporary Foreign Relations of Nepal with Other Countries:

After 1951, Nepal has been opened to the world and has been active in many international forums. It has been pretty much involved in 'peace making process in different parts of the world', despite a fact that the peace in the country itself is subjected to a 'unprecedented crisis'. What Nepal gained or

lost from its expanding international relation is a question demanding critical analysis. Moreover, does Nepal have any principles or values of foreign policy is also an important question. In the following part of this article, an attempt will be made to explore nature and importance of Nepal's diplomatic relation with various countries in the present context.

Western Countries: USA, UK, Germany, France, Denmark and Russia are the major western countries having bilateral relations with Nepal. Politically, the USA and UK are comparatively significant than others. Economically, Germany and Denmark are crucial partners. Nepal and United States official relation was established in 1947 and as such USA has been the first country to 'set up diplomatic relation with Nepal' from the western hemisphere after the 1951 change in Nepal.³¹ USA established its embassy in Nepal in 1959. USA started economic assistance to Nepal from 1951, and since then Nepal has received \$791 million for its development efforts. In recent years, the annual economic assistance through US Agency for International Development (USAID) is about \$40 million. This assistance primarily supports development projects in various sectors like agriculture, health, family planning, environmental protection, democratization, governance, and hydro-power. United States has a permanent embassy in Nepal. Germany and Denmark have substantially contributed in

³¹ UK's relation with Nepal was set up right after 1816 Treaty. However, the relation between Nepal and UK then was not a 'relation between British Government at UK. It was a 'relation between East India Company Government and Nepal. Relation with UK should therefore be defined as a 'traditional neighborly relation'. UK and Nepal relation before 1947 was thus a 'relation between British India and Nepal'.

democratization, resource mobilization and infrastructure development of Nepal.

Nepal's relation with western countries has come to a crucial point due to following factors:

- Closer cooperation with China, a rapidly emerging global economic powerhouse, is important for western countries' interests, USA in particular.³² In the context of Nepal's strategic location due to sharing of a long border with China, American foreign policy to Nepal cannot be seen in isolation of its larger interest and relation with China. America's relation with India during the post cold war era has taken a 'new dimension'. It seems that the former has 'recognized the latter's dominant role in the region'. Nepal's lying in between these two boulders is strategically important for America to 'monitor' its relation with China as well as the SAARC region. For America, Nepal provides a 'safer place' for its diplomatic as well as secret maneuvers towards China and India. While this factor was more relevant during the cold war, its importance is still undeniable. For this reason, America needs a stable Nepal, so that its diplomatic mission to China and SAARC can be carried out from Nepal. Nepal-America relation is thus significantly influenced and determined by the latter's interest to the region rather than Nepal itself.
- India is consistently emerging regional power in the South and South East Asia. Series of events in the post independence era of India such as separation of Pakistan as an independent nation; separation of Bangladesh from

³² See, Bangkok Post, Tuesday, November 16, 2004 (US should look beyond China).

Pakistan; and annexation of Sikkim by India have frequently changed the political 'status quo' of the region. In the context of prolonged disputes with Pakistan resulting in full scale wars twice in the past, and also border disputes with China leading to a war in 1962, India has put its 'security concern' as primary agenda of 'diplomacy' with neighboring countries as well as others. This situation on the other hand has engendered several implications in Nepal's foreign relation with other countries in the region as well as overseas.

- India has insistently urged for a 'stable' tie with its neighbors, whereas the same has often been defined by its neighbors as a 'quest to a regional bully'. While India has 'perceived a threat' if Nepal has not been within its security umbrella,³³ the Indian

³³ India has made its security concern as a primary agenda for its relation with Nepal since its independence. Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, for instance, in one of his speech before the Parliament in 1950 summed up India's security concerns vis-à-vis Nepal. He stated: "From the time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with magnificent frontiers... We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated, because it is also the principal barrier to India. Therefore, as much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to grow wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own security." Nehru and his successors subsequently stated that any Chinese attack on Nepal would be regarded as aggression against India. (See, Library of Congress Country Studies: Nepal. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+np0146\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+np0146))). India's perception of threat from China had occasionally devastating impact on Indo-Nepal relation. Failure of India to develop a friendly relation with China during the period from 1950s to 1980s had engendered a 'situation in which Nepal suffered seriously'. This situation often threatened the 'independence and integrity' of Nepal. Although, Nepal never sensed or perceived threat of attack from China, and it had been able to forge a 'friendly relation with China', India persistently failed to 'see friendly relation between Nepal and China' a boon for Indo-Nepal relation. The sudden annexation of Sikkim by India, on the other hand, severely affected the psychology of the Nepalese people. While India could assure Nepal of non-violability of its independence and integrity, it implicitly demanded Nepal to 'accept a condition suzerainty' that prevailed

perception has been taken as a ‘bully’ to a smaller nation by the Nepalese population. Because of these differing attitudes, Nepal’s relation with India has been oscillating considerably over the years, particularly in matters relating to security.

- India’s perception of threat from China³⁴ and its failure to develop a friendly relation with it hindered open diplomacy of Nepal with other countries. Its relation with western countries was also somehow affected by India’s preferred relation with Soviet Union. Nepal’s relation with China in the perspective of the latter’s unpleasant relation with Soviet Union and India engendered ‘skepticism’ in the south bloc to Nepal’s emerging open international relation.³⁵

during the British colonial regime. The time has now amply shown that India’s perceived security threat from China was ‘unrealistic’ and ‘unfounded’. This reality now demands for ‘redefinition’ of the ‘Indian perception of relation between India and Nepal’. However, there has been less change in the perception founded on 1950s doctrine of Nehru.

³⁴ India’s suspicion that China would invade Nepal posing a security threat to India was ‘fictitious’ and ‘unfounded’, whereas the same could not be denied between them for their border dispute. Since there was a vast border between China and India to invade India, if China liked so, it was not necessary to take Nepal’s route, which required a vast rugged terrain to cross to approach India via Nepal. Nepal and China maintained friendly relation since 1792, when they signed a Sino-Nepalese Treaty in 1792, after China defeated Nepal in a war. If China had intention to invade Nepal, it could do earlier. According to the treaty, China would come to the aid of Nepal should it ever be invaded by a foreign power. It was probably one of the reasons British colonial regime did not invade Nepal. In 1956, the previous agreement was replaced by a treaty of amity and commerce with China. In subsequent years, China offered, to remove any suspicion of invasion, to sign a pact of non-aggression or mutual defense with Nepal. However, Nepal did not agree to it considering the sensitivity it would engender in its southern neighbor. This proves that Indian suspicion of Chinese invasion of Nepal not founded on ‘fact’.

³⁵ In 1950 China took Tibet under it, which India regarded as a buffer zone shielding the subcontinent from real or potential Chinese invasion. For India, Nepal thus became important in India’s security calculations. Regarding the issue of Tibet, Indian views coincided with Western countries. Fearing that

Obviously, Nepal’s relation with China and other countries in the one hand was marked by ‘shy and covert diplomacy’.

- Formal annexation of Tibet by China sparked a ‘tension’ to the European and American countries. Their interest to this region was thus heightened. Particularly, USA became sensitive to this issue. Western countries thought Nepal as a vulnerable country to come into ‘communist helm’, in the context of massive propaganda of Beijing and Nepal’s emerging closer relation to it. Soviet Union was equally cautious to China’s influence to Nepal and diplomatic reaction of the USA. Soviet Union thus entered into an active diplomatic relation with Nepal to ‘ensure its position in the region’. Beijing too thought ‘conglomeration of the western powerful countries along with India’ in diplomatic relation with Nepal as a threat to its interest. China thus reacted by establishing a huge diplomatic mission in Nepal. Indeed, diplomatic relation of all these powerful countries with Nepal was prompted or engendered by their ‘covert interest of balancing or

China might eventually subvert or invade Nepal, India signed a ‘Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the regime dominated by Ranas in 1950. Western countries thus did not object or suspect India’s move to Nepal. For them India’s any move for blocking the China would be acceptable. This suggests that ‘Western Countries as well as India’s relation with Nepal is largely marked by need of blocking China’. Thus their relation with Nepal in broader perspective is characterized by an ‘instrumentality’ of monitoring China. This character limits ‘other countries’ relation with Nepal strategically to its proximity to China. Obviously, significance of Nepal beyond its strategic location is largely overshadowed in the international arena, which is a great injustice to Nepal. For instance, Nepal played a crucial role in ‘victory of allied force in the II World War by contributing its over two hundred thousands youths in British infantry. However, the sacrifice made by Nepal was even not acknowledged by the international community.

counter balancing the influence of one another’ and ‘attraction to Nepal was based on negative factors’. Each was abundantly skeptical of other and the dire impact of it was the division of the Nepalese population into several groups as pro or anti to these various powerful countries. These countries’ relation with Nepal was thus ‘founded on dynamic of negative attraction’.

Obviously, Nepal has been a ‘home for serving the regional interests of big powers’, and as such is effectively being used for preventing one another’s influence, which in turn has converted it into a hot-spot for ‘diplomatic games and maneuvers’. Its internal politics and policies were thus largely influenced by ‘powerful nations’ diplomatic agenda or maneuvers’. The competition to ‘win over’ the political forces within Nepal was pervasive and immensely active. This competition is marked by the following characters of the Nepalese politics since 1951:

- India actively supported Nepali Congress till the end of 1960s. China’s active support to Nepal during 1960s encouraged the monarchy of Nepal to ‘challenge the Congress force, and eliminate its elected government. Silence of western countries to the ‘monarch’s role during 1960s pushed the Nepali Congress to the helm of India.
- Nepal’s leftist force being attached to Indian leftist force as its patron, China preferred to rely on monarchy rather than the leftist parties themselves. It created an agony among the many communist leaders, which helped Soviet Union to pocket a group

of it. The division of the leftist force contributed to strengthen the undemocratic government in Nepal, and in the meantime it pushed ‘a segment of the leftist force’ to ‘extremist line’, the CPN Maoist being its present continuation. China continued its ‘some kind of moral support’ to the communist party, without threatening its relation with monarchy. This policy of China widened the gape between ‘congress and leftist’ as the former considered ‘royalty and communist’ as partners for conspiracy against democracy.³⁶ This allegation on the other hand ‘destroyed a foundation of relation between China and the Nepali Congress’. Obviously, the Congress and some Communist Parties had been ‘branded as pro-Indian and Pro-Chinese parties’. This divided the nation terribly weakening the prospect of restoration of democracy for a long time.

- Royalty, although maintained a good relation with China by assuring its equal distance with India, suppressed pro-China leftists, which was necessary to please the western countries as well as Soviet

³⁶ The Nepali Congress consistently and indiscriminately defined communists as its longtime political and ideological foe. It harbored deep misgiving over communist political intentions. Many western and Indian observers shared with the Nepali Congress that open political environment would allow disciplined communist cadres to mount street protests, paralyze the government, and force a showdown with the king and the army. Army officers, most of whom rejected the antimonarchist platform of the communists, invariably regarded the communists as a potential security menace and threat to the throne. This view was rejected by the subsequent development as responsible communist parties invariably defended the ‘constitutional monarchy’. Indeed, this element that consistently engaged in anti-communist propaganda and design was afraid of its longtime engagement in the extortion of the national treasury in name of ‘supporters of the monarchy’. When the shocking massacre of the king Birendra took place, it became established that ‘the royalty was at danger inside the place itself’.

Union. Western countries vehemently disliked leftist force for their ideology of 'Maoism' as well as support of 'China's annexation of Tibet'. Western countries thus consistently supported royal mission to suppress leftist force. On the other hand, they maintained an indifferent policy to Nepali congress for it being closely aligned with Indian democracy, which largely sided to Soviet Union. The western countries' support to restore democracy was thus largely absent till 1980s, when Nepali Congress lost its support of Indian Congress and avowed to forge 'a policy to achieve reconciliation' with monarchy. Continued dislike and apathy of western countries even to the moderate leftists in fact severely hindered their 'induction in the liberal democratic process', and thus provided a 'ground for emergence of the extremism'.

Historically, the support of western countries, except a few like Denmark, Switzerland, etc, to consolidate democracy and enhance economic development has not been a prime agenda of their 'relation with Nepal'; in other words, Nepal itself does not constitute a center point of 'western countries' relation with Nepal'. One can thus argue that the 'western countries' diplomatic relation with Nepal has not been constructive to transform the latter into a 'viable and vibrant democratic society', which lies one of the most important cause of 'present Maoist insurgency'.³⁷ Western countries

³⁷ Western countries have largely failed to differentiate between liberal democratic left force and extremist communist groups. A account given by the Library of Congress country studies, for instance, is as follows: "The strong communist showing in the 1991 election was disturbing development from the perspective of Birendra and the army" (See, Internal Security Concerns, op. cit note 29). This statement has no truth. The communist making big show

share almost a similar foreign policy to Nepal, except some differences concerning military aid.

USA: As pointed out by Donald Camp, US Deputy Assistant Secretary for the South Asian Affairs, US-Nepal relation has obtained prominence in the context of rising Maoist insurgency. In an address to the occasion organized by the "Heritage Foundation", he said: "US concerns with events in Nepal has increased over the past couple of years, and our assistance levels have gone up accordingly".³⁸ US policy towards Maoist insurgency is critical as well as offensive. To quote Donald Camp, "From a humanitarian standpoint alone, the US does not wish to see these (Maoists) insurgents prevail... But the Maoists threaten US interests for other reasons as well. The leadership has made clear that it seeks to replace the constitutional monarchy with an absolutist communist regime-one that would be overtly hostile to the Unites States".³⁹ Obviously, the political interest is always in

in the 1991 election had publicly avowed the faith on 'multi-party system' and 'constitutional monarchy'. However, the so-called royalist force did it best to destabilize the leftist force, who had actively participated in the constitution making process. This element was however actively working to 'divide the Congress and Leftist force' as a grand design to destabilize the infant democracy. Many western diplomats and intellectuals in Nepal had been deeply influenced by the deceptive propaganda of the so-called royalists. They had been actively engaged to oust the UML government from moment it was formed. The immature dissolution of the UML government did seriously hinder in consolidating the faith among the leftist cadres towards 'their roles in democracy'. It justified the CPN Maoist's propaganda that leftist parties would not be tolerated within the 'framework liberal democracy'. Obviously, a huge number of leftist youths who enthusiastically participated in the general elections switched their loyalty to 'extremism' advocated by CPN Maoist. Western diplomats have thus made a serious mistake with regard to 'liberal leftist force of Nepal'. Indeed, no instance of discord and dispute was reported between the monarch and the communist prime minister during 9 months' UML government.

³⁸ See, US Department of State, Statement on Nepal. Remarks to the Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. March 3, 2003.

³⁹ Ibid.

higher tone in the US foreign policy to Nepal. The nature of the US assistance to, and relation with, Nepal would thus be largely determined by the 'insurgency context'. One of the dominant characteristics of this policy in the present context is the extension of the 'assistance to the military purpose'. As Donald Camp maintains:

"We are meeting this challenge (Maoist Insurgency) with integrated strategy that involves a number of elements. On the assistance side, we are increasing our development aid to Nepal, in an effort to alleviate the legitimate grievances that helped give rise to the Maoist insurgency in the first place. At the same time, we have begun supplying the Government with security aid intended to give the Royal Nepal army the ability to contain Maoist threat-including rifles, basic equipment, and military training". This combined assistance strategy, along with our political and economical efforts, is designed to help create a more secure environment in which Nepal can continue its badly needed socio-economic development, as well as to stave off a Maoist victory, convince the insurgents that they cannot win militarily, and pave the way for a political settlement".⁴⁰

The statement is plain. It overtly shows high intention of the USA to diplomatically engage in the 'present situation', and thus the present context has a great stake in the US-Nepal relation. The Maoist insurgency has played a crucial role in shift of the 'dynamics of the foreign policy of Nepal' with

⁴⁰ Ibid.

USA.⁴¹ Interestingly, the Maoist context has brought India, UK and America in a common platform with regard to their 'foreign policy to Nepal'.⁴² The US engagement in the military assistance along with India and UK to Nepal has largely done away with the 1965 covert treaty (it was an exchange of letters but had treaty effect in true sense) between Nepal and India that prohibited Nepal obtaining arms from a country other than India. Moreover, this pact has ended the traditional equidistance policy of Nepal to India and China. This development has established Nepal's tilting to the South in acquiescence of the western countries. One has to wait the 'Chinese reaction to it'.

⁴¹ One of the striking features of the shift of American foreign policy to Nepal is that US has brought India decisive partner. Christine Rocca, Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs, in her testimony before the House International Relations Sub-Committee on Asia and the Pacific remarks: "I would like to start with India, where we are continuing to transform our relationship. Soon after taking office, President Bush outlined his vision of a transformed and deepened US-India partnership, one that reflects India's emergence as a major regional power and the shared values that unite the world's two largest democratic countries. The scope of the relationship has widened and broadened significantly over the past two years. The United States and India have overlapping vital national interest-promoting peace and the stability in South Asia, combating international terrorism, and preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction... Over the past year we have stepped up consultations on strategic and regional issues, and greatly fortified cooperation in science and technology, defense exchanges, intelligence dialog and law enforcement". U.S Department of State, Released on March 20, 2003.

⁴² As pointed out by Donald Camp, US in coordination with other countries, including India and the UK, has begun helping RNA to meet its critical basic needs. The US military assistance budget to Nepal is \$ 14 million for FY 2002, aid that will help the Government reestablish control in the country side and to persuade the Maoists to lay down their weapons and work peacefully toward a political solution. Connected to this aid are steps that encourage human rights improvements among the security forces. We have unfortunately seen an unacceptable number of abuses over the last year-on the both sides. The US has successfully pushed for the establishment of a human rights cell within the RNA, and all of our joint exercises undergo a comprehensive human rights vetting before they can take place. At the same time, the training we provide to the military and civil police includes a human rights component. Op. cit Note 36.

The US policy of arming the RNA has two basic objectives: firstly, to help the Government reestablish control in the countryside; and secondly, to persuade Maoists to lay down their weapons and work peacefully toward a political solution. Based on actual reality of current Nepal, materialization of both of these objectives is a serious challenge to face. The Government has almost lost its control in the countryside, and Maoists have gained strength quantitatively and qualitatively even after the military assistance of USA. The following facts thus demand review of the military assistance policy of USA:

- With increased capacity of Maoists to strike against the Government security force, the eminent danger of Maoists strength gained by seizing sophisticated weapons supplied by USA has sharply increased. This will obviously thwart the peace as well as the possibility of peaceful settlement of the problem.
- Reportedly, the human rights violation by the security force has sharply increased. It has stood as the first in rank to commit 'determinate killings and disappearances' of persons.⁴³ This has been serious blow to the 'principle of rule of law and due process', which are indispensable elements of the democracy. The US military support may boost the anti-human rights psychology of the security force, and as such human rights situation may face further deterioration. This fact has been well realized by the US government itself. Donald Camp, for instance, in his remarks to Heritage Foundation has maintained: "...We have

⁴³ See, Human Rights Watch, 2004, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Civilian Struggle to Survive in Nepal's Civil War*. <http://hrw.org/reports/2004/nepal1004/>

unfortunately seen an unacceptable number of abuses over the last year".⁴⁴

- In the current situation of the constitutional deadlock, the democracy has severely suffered. Consistent military support, in a situation where human rights violation has become a serious problem, without accountability to representative government may severely jeopardize the future of democracy.

Of course, the given situation demands US to review its policy concerning military assistance. The protection and promotion of democracy should be the center point of the US diplomacy to Nepal, because the resolution of the problem in absence of democratic institutions would largely be a myth. To ensure control of the countryside by people's representatives is the first and foremost requirement. Moreover, the likelihood of US dependence on India concerning the foreign policy to Nepal might destroy its traditional neutrality with neighbors.

India: The 1950 Treaty on Peace and Friendship is a traditional foundation of the Nepal-India relation. The treaty and letters between two countries concerning their relations state that "neither government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor". The treaty obligates both countries "to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighboring state likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments". The treaty also provides Nepal a preferential treatment in economic and economic opportunities in India. The bilateral relation between Nepal

⁴⁴ Ibid.

and India, nevertheless, has occasionally seen tough times and a number of misgivings.

India has consistently demanded Nepal to be within its security umbrella, which many Nepalese have regarded as a 'bullying against Nepal'. It is a general perception of the Nepalese intelligentsia that India has failed to understand 'difficulties faced by Nepal due to its landlocked situation and strategic location between two big countries'. In the wake of the rise of the China as a communist country, India saw a threat to its security from the north and as such it demanded Nepal without hesitation to 'side it' against China. This is plain from Indian Prime Minister Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech before the Parliament in 1950. He stated:

*"From time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with magnificent frontiers...We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated, because it is also the principal barrier to India. Therefore, as much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would risk our own security."*⁴⁵

Many Nepalese view that the statement was unnecessary to make, if not totally wrong. A few things which history does not support in the statement are that:

- Firstly, Nepal has been an independent nation at least for recorded period of over 2500 years, and throughout its history it has been able to maintain a peaceful relation with the northern neighbor. As early

⁴⁵ See, Library of Congress Country Study, Op cit note 29.

as 1792, Nepal and China signed a treaty of amity declaring a commitment that none of them would invade each other. Thus, it was not necessary for India to be afraid of 'Nepal's independence'.

- Secondly, India did not exist as a country like today in the history. It was divided into several kingdoms prior to British colonization. India thus never faced a situation of invasion from the north.
- Thirdly, although it was a generosity of Prime Minister Nehru to appreciate Nepal's independence, yet it was a historical fact that Nepal existed as an independent nation with its own strength throughout the history.

The statement thus unnecessarily sparked suspicion of Nepal towards intention of southern neighbor, and for so-called ultra-nationalist it became a boon for 'politics' based on feigned threat for the south to Nepal's independence and integrity.

Although India and China had encountered a war between them, nevertheless, it was due to their failure to settle border disputes. Nepal had nothing to do with it. The so-called perception of security threat from the North is thus largely a 'myth' than a reality. Over the years, the situation has largely changed. Most importantly, India and China have developed friendly relations. The Indian concern of security threat from the north is thus largely obsolete. Obviously, Nepal and India in their bilateral relations have nothing to do with 'presence of communist China in the north frontiers of Nepal'.

However, it does not mean that Nepal and India don't have problems in their relations. But these problems are not associated with security issue; rather they are outcomes of

failure to adjust each other's genuine interests in matters of trade and transit.⁴⁶ In 1978, India agreed to separate trade and transit treaties. Nevertheless, in 1989 the relation between Nepal and India faced a 'nightmare' in their traditional longstanding friendly relations. Failure to renew the trade and transit treaties in 1989 resulted in a virtual Indian economic blockade of Nepal that lasted until late April 1990.

Although economic issues were major factors in two countries confrontation, Indian dissatisfaction with Nepal's 1988 acquisition of Chinese arms played an important role. India perceived the armed purchase with China as an indication of Nepal's intent to build a military relation with China, in violation of the 1950 treaty and letters exchanged in 1959 and 1965, which included Nepal in India's security zone and precluded arms purchase without India's approval. In this perspective, the Indo-Nepal relation has been marked by following trends and characters:

⁴⁶ The problem of trade and transit has specially surfaced since 1970s. Due to its special location marked by landlocked position, Nepal has been pressing for substantial favor of India in the trade and transit treaty. In 1978, India agreed to concede with demand of Nepal to enter into a separate Trade and Transit treaty, satisfying Nepal's long-terms demand. In 1975, King Birendra proposed that Nepal be recognized internationally a zone of peace; the proposal immediately received the support of China and Pakistan. India, however, held its recognition. In its view, if the proposal did not contradict the 1950 treaty and was merely an extension of non-alignment, it was unnecessary. If it was a repudiation of the special relation, it represented a possible threat to India's security and could not be endorsed. This issue implicitly contributed to 'cool the relation between' Nepal and India. India's obsession of insecurity from the north hindered the 'Nepal's Zone of Peace' getting an international recognition. Indeed, the proposal was nothing but an expression of the difficulty engendered 'by Nepal's sandwiched landlocked position', demanding special favorable treatment for neighbors. It was in fact an 'institutionalized assurance from the side of Nepal to refrain from any kind of acts that would hinder India's security' in lieu of its special privileges concerning free trade and transit through India territory. India, however, failed to understand its 'insights' in a friendly manner. Nepal took it 'suspiciously'.

- Nepal and India have kept their borders open and militarily unmonitored. The open border is a source of series of problems ranging from evasion of custom duty to smuggling of contrabands and arms. India's incessant security concern due to smuggling of arms and ammunition by terrorists and penetration of foreign intelligence freely from the Nepalese territory has been a source of discontent between two countries. Nevertheless, government of none of the country has expressed willingness to regulate the borders. In fact, Nepal's trade is adversely affected by the open border. As reported by various studies, the illegal trade outweighs the legal trade between Nepal and India, seriously affecting the Nepalese economy.
- Nepal's grievance to India that it has consistently ignored the difficult geo-political position of Nepal is not seriously considered and addressed by India.⁴⁷ Consequently, the Nepalese people often feel India is bullying against Nepal's interests.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ India has always used the security agenda as 'a condition for Nepal India relation'. This issue creates a severe situation to Nepal due to its sandwiched position. India's quest for Nepal's tilting to its might jeopardize its independence and integrity. As it is difficult to 'stay away from India', it is equally difficult to do the same with China. India has always failed to understand this reality. Following the incident of Indian Airline's hijacking, India put an air embargo against Nepal. Indian media have consistently baselessly accused Nepal for giving a closed eye to Pakistani intelligence agency ISI agents, who, as they say, are using Nepalese soul against Indian interest. Nevertheless, India is not interested to close the border. Nepal has vigorously asserted that it has never allowed its territory to be used by anybody against its neighbors; however India is not ready to accept it. Most importantly, Nepal has always been unable to convince the South Block mandarins about its bona fide in maintaining proper security at border so that no one can use it against India.

⁴⁸ Some year before, an Indian Airlines jet had been highjacked by a group of Islamic terrorists. The highjackers had been boarded on plane by Indian

- Located in a strategic and difficult position and India's perennial suspicion of insecurity from the north, Nepal is obliged to 'convince or please' India in its each and all efforts concerning international relation. This in turn makes Nepalese to think of their independence crippled or squeezed. This has been a 'perennial source' inferiority complex on the part of the Nepalese people.⁴⁹

In crux, while there has been a habit in the south block to consider Nepal's position not beyond that of a suzerainty, the Nepalese people think this attitude as a practice of 'bully' by India. Most importantly, India, which is a big power, has

airlines staff, as the ground handling of the Indian airlines in Thribhuvan International Airport is carried out by its own staff. The tickets had been issued by the Indian Airlines Office in Kathmandu itself. The aircraft was hijacked at Indian territory. It was flown to Indian territory. Indian mass media condemned the security system of Nepal. Most painfully, an allegation was made that a Nepalese national who had been a passenger in the aircraft had been condemned as 'accomplice of the terrorist'. Nepal had been described as a 'nest of Pakistani spies (ISI). However, the propaganda of Indian mass media was a sheer lie. This propaganda seriously tarnished the image of Nepal, and seriously jeopardized tourism industry of Nepal. The shocking impact of the false propaganda was never addressed by the Indian government. From 1996, Nepal came into a crisis of Maoist insurgency, which organized and controlled from Indian territory. In Nepal, there had been a serious fight going on, but Maoist leaders had been able to organize massive demonstration in Delhi. Indian government allowed the demonstration to take place. Many Nepalese had thus been compelled to believe that India had been allowing its territory to 'use against Nepal.

⁴⁹ While the Nepalese people share cultural and social similarity with Indian people, the Indian government's stereotyped attitude to Nepal has hindered 'people's level diplomacy'. The Indian government's attitude is largely an obstacle to 'forge pragmatic relations between Indo-Nepalese institutions. It is true that the *Panchyati*-regime of Nepal had been largely responsible to 'foment nationalism in Nepal which implicitly propagated anti-Indian feeling among the Nepalese people. The Nepalese people had been educated that 'their nationalism meant opposition of India'. Nevertheless, this regime sustained largely due to support of the Indian government.

more expectation from Nepal,⁵⁰ and that expectation is often expressed without sensitivity of the problem of a 'landlocked and strategically located' smaller nation. Despite a number of outstanding issues that have oscillated the Indo-Nepal relations in certain occasions, their relations are historically very extensive. India has been substantially involved in the economic and infrastructure development of Nepal since 1951. The first assistance of India to Nepal was the construction of 'Tribhuvan Airport'. The Tribhuvan Highway was another crucial assistance in the infrastructure development of Nepal during 1950s. Other assistance include construction of 78.5% of the East West High Way, construction of 22 bridges at Kohlpur area, Tanakpur-Mahendranagar link road, Raxaul/Birgunj Broad Gauge Rail Link, establishment of B.P. Koirala Institute for Health Sciences and Expansion of the Bir Hospital. Besides these, India has supported several other projects in the sector of education and health.⁵¹

China: Communication between Nepal and China dates back to time immemorial.⁵² There have been a number of historical

⁵⁰ Although the 1950 treaty spells out the nature of 'relation between Nepal and India', Nepal is alone obliged to comply with the terms and reference of the treaty. According to the 1950 treaty, each party is obliged to inform the other about the danger of invasion by other force and provide support in that situation. However, India did never comply with this provision. India engaged in wars two times with Pakistan, but Nepal no information was given to Nepal. Similarly, India gave no information when it engaged in war with China. India has been nuclear power, and possesses sophisticated arms. Thus, it would be simply unrealistic to think of security threat from Nepal to India. The reciprocity if thus not fully entrenched, See, Prof. K. Khanal, "Nepal's Foreign Policy- A review: Prospect of Consensus and Reorientation.

⁵¹ See for detail, India-Nepal relations. Embassy of India, Kathmandu Nepal. www.south-asia.com/Embassy-India

⁵² The historical relation between Nepal and China goes back to Jin and Tang dynasty when great Chinese scholars Fahein and Huen Tsang visited Nepal and wrote about Nepal. Fahien, a Buddhist Monk, visited Lumbini, the birth

anecdotes that show Nepal and China exchanged artists and intellectuals to understand each other. However, diplomatic relations between Nepal and China was started since 1792, when a treaty of amity was signed following a war. Formal diplomatic relation with communist government of China started from August 1, 1955. In 1956, Nepal and China signed an agreement which replaced a treaty of amity concluded in 1856, at the conclusion of war between China and Nepal.

Since the establishment of the diplomatic relation in 1956, China has been a constant development partner, and as such it has significantly contributed to Nepal's infrastructure development.⁵³ Nepalese intellectuals believe that Sino-Nepal

place of Buddha, in 406 AD in pursuit of knowledge and peace. Among the same time a Nepali Monk named Buddabhadra visited China to preach the teachings of Buddha. The travel writings of Xuan Zhang, a Chinese traveler who visited Lumbini and Kathmandu in the 7th century, have been one of the main sources Nepalese pre-medieval history. Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti was given in marriage to Chinese King Srong Tsangampo. She along with Chinese Princess was instrumental in converting Buddhism in Tibet. Later Araniko and his followers visited Tibet and China in order to build monasteries and temples. The white Pagoda in Beijing, built by Araniko, still stands as an immortal witness and testimony to the antiquity of Nepal-China relations. See, Nepal China Relation, www.nepalembassy.org.cn/nepal_china_relation.htm. Some Chinese scholars like Huen Tsang spent considerably long time in Nepal and described Nepal as a 'store of culture and civilization'. It is said that Chinese learned the 'practice of writing in paper from Nepal'.

⁵³ Over the years, China has provided more than two dozens of infrastructure plants as economic aid to Nepal. Its economic assistance has helped Nepal to build its capacity to supply, to some extent, the common needs of food, shelter, health, clothing, transportation and power. See, Prakash Chandra Lohani, [nepalnews.com](http://www.nepalnews.com) (Kathmandu Monday May 14 2001) <http://www.nepalnews.com.np> As late as 2002, the economic cooperation of China to Nepal has further increased. During King Gyanendra 's visit to China, in July 2002, two countries agreed to open a consulate office at Sanghai. Agreements were also signed between two countries, which ensured 780 million Nepalese rupees annual aid to Nepal. The grant was envisaged to construct 18 KM road between Rasuwa and Sabrubehi, to open a civil servant hospital and a polytechnic institute at Banepa.

relations have always been characterized by a deep sense of understanding, friendship and cordiality.⁵⁴

China has respected Nepal's sovereignty resolutely and firmly, and this has been in reciprocity to 'recognition of Tibet and Taiwan as integral parts China'. Nepal and China share 1,414.88 KM border. The border has been amicably fixed, and, unlike India and China, Nepal and China do not have any issue of border left unaddressed. One striking features of the Sino-Nepal relation is that the former has refrained to 'meddle or interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal', and it has proved its commitment to work with any segment that come in the power of Nepal. In addition, China has resolutely refrained to 'suspect Nepal of its engagement against security of China'. Obviously, the relation between Nepal and China is peaceful and stable.⁵⁵

China is growing as an economic as well as political superpower. Its relation with other countries, including its neighbors, is not sporadic and undersigned. Obviously, the Sino-Nepal relations also need to be considered in totality of its international diplomacy. The following characters are important:

- Chinese diplomatic efforts in the Indian subcontinent are two-pronged: one aimed at the pursuit of ultimate geo-strategic objectives in the company of India, the

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Chinese government has been smart enough to 'maintain a peaceful and stable relation' with its southern neighbors like Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar and Pakistan, which India has consistently failed. M. Zafar, columnist, says, "China wisely acquired a good measure of it by being friendly to its neighbors. India insists to browbeat its neighbors into submission and has met with nothing but frustration". See, Face of New Chinese Diplomacy, Defense Journal, September, 2000. www.defensejournal.com/2000/sept/chinese.htm

second effort is tactical and devoted to widening the windows of cooperation with India. The American interest in this regard is crucial. The point where continental interests of America and Asia collide is exactly the point where Sino-Indian interests coincide.⁵⁶ The Chinese diplomatic agenda concerning the Indian subcontinent is thus largely determined by the American and Indian relations. Their close cooperation and alliance will enhance the Chinese effort to strengthen its ties with other South Asian nations, and increased cooperation and trust between India and China will draw it to added 'neutrality'. Obviously, Sino-Indian relation will have 'bearings on the nature of Sino-Nepal relation'. Nepal's security interest in fact is better protected by increased cooperation and mutual trust between China and India.

- China has been cautious of international disorder that might jeopardize its rapidly growing economy. Peace and tranquility in and around China and throughout the world serve its best interest. Obviously, China's diplomatic interest is guided by 'a policy of non-engagement in conflict'. The scope of further improvement of the Sino-Indian relation is greater,⁵⁷ which will significantly ease the 'tension created by the strategic placement of Nepal'.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ India and China have agreed to peacefully resolve their border problems. In autumn 2003, China and India held a meeting that yielded significant progress on their long standing border dispute, and their respective claims to Sikkim and Tibet. Most importantly, Chinese and Indian warships have just held unprecedented joint exercises, while Sino-Indian trade has expanded from 2 billion dollars to 10 billion dollars in four years. See, Francis Fukuyama, China: Global Citizen or Growing Menace in *The Daily Yomiuri*, 2004/05/17. www.asianewsnet.net

- Over the last decade, there has been a vast shift in the traditional Chinese diplomacy.⁵⁸ For examples:⁵⁹
 - China during 1990s ratified the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. China at the same time has taken a much more active role in large multilateral institutions.
 - China used to abstain from UN Security Council resolutions authorizing the use of force because of its concerns that they would violate the principle of sovereignty. But in recent years this changed. China, for instance, voted for Resolution 1441 that sent weapons inspectors back to Iraq, arguing that the latter had defied the UN's authority and by all accounts played an active and helpful role crafting Resolution 1511 on the transition to Iraqi sovereignty.

⁵⁸ 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China has mandated the government to take fresh efforts to create a new situation in diplomacy and help to bring about favorable international conditions for China's modernization drive. As outlined by Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of the CPC, in his report to the congress, the China's diplomacy in the years is to stress the need of maintaining world peace and promote common development. The delegates emphasized that it was possible to maintain peaceful international and favorable neighboring conditions for a relatively long period of time to come as the trends toward multipolarization and economic globalization have provided opportunities for world peace and development. The Congress has thus pledged for better economic cooperation and international peace as a foundation of the future diplomacy of China. Emphasis on favorable neighboring conditions has indicated to 'better relation with neighboring countries'. The India's stereotyped security concern from the north is thus largely outdated. See for detail, Xinhua News Agency, November 14, 2002. www.china.org.cn/international/48717.htm

⁵⁹ Ibid.

- One of the most significant shifts has been in Chinese policy to North Korea to resolve the Nuclear Weapons problem.
- China has been gearing its roles in constructive regional diplomacy and institution building, involving the Association of South East Asian nations, Japan and South Korea.

These shifts largely assure the role of China in promotion of regional as well as international peace. However, failure of Nepal to understand this shift of Chinese diplomacy is obvious. Tilting to south in military affairs might seriously affect the 'Sino-Nepal relations in the days to come'. However, China's failure to understand Nepalese people's democratic concerns is seen one of the reasons to increasing dependancy of Nepal on India.

Japan: Japan has been a constant development partner of Nepal over some decades, and their relations are always friction free. Japan's assistance to Nepal comprises agriculture and human resource development, natural disaster prevention and management, health and education infrastructure development, and basic infrastructure development such as road and bridge construction.⁶⁰ Japan's involvement in the South Asia has been marked by two spectacular features: one promotion of bilateral relation through enhanced economic cooperation among individual nations of the region;⁶¹ and second the reduction of the

⁶⁰ Japan's financial assistance is crucial in development projects of Nepal. So far it has extended billions of dollars to the development of Nepal.

⁶¹ Nepal and Bangladesh are non-nuclear nations and have maintained stable relations with Japan. Its relations with these two countries are fully related with 'economic cooperation'. The political agenda is less obvious in relations of Japan with these two countries. Japan highly appreciates their commitment to cooperate in reduction of nuclear proliferation in the region. Japan's

proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region which obviously threatens the peace in the region and world at large. Obviously, its relation with Nepal is founded on different parameter than that with India and Pakistan, the nuclear powers of the region. Japan-Nepal relation is fully founded on the mutual understanding of peace and prosperity of the people of Japan and Nepal.

Over the years, Japan has shown its keen interest on peaceful resolution of the Maoist insurgency, which is causing great setbacks in Nepal's development efforts. Japan has firmly stood in support of the resolution of the problem by dialogue. Its disinclination to provide military support to the resolution of the problem holds the significance of human rights as well as the protection of democracy. The following excerpt of the country statement of Japan in the Nepal Development Forum Meeting at Kathmandu is a 'crux of the Japan's policy to relation with Nepal:

"Japan believes that the spirit of overcoming difficulties with self-reliant efforts is the most fundamental driving force for development programs. Furthermore, the reinstatement of peace is a prerequisite for development activities.

relation with India and Pakistan is not so stable and easy like other countries in the region as they represent nuclear powers. India and Pakistan have been embroiled into several conflicts over the past. In this context, the politics is not out of scene in the relations of Japan with these two countries. For instance, in 2000, the then Prime Minister Mori of Japan urged these countries to indulge in dialogue to address their problems and also explained Japan's stand concerning nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation issues. This indicates to a fact that Japan's relations with India and Pakistan is largely dependent on their attitudes to 'nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation'. Nepal in this perspective is a country for stable relations with Japan in the region. See, Visit by Prime Minister Mori to South Asia (Summary and Assessment). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. August 28, 2000. www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci

Therefore, Japan urges HMG of Nepal to put every effort in resolving the prevailing conflict through dialogue with all the conflicting parties. Japan will continue to support the efforts of HMG of Nepal on the approach in tackling the two key issues simultaneously-restoration of peace and alleviation of poverty".⁶²

Japan's interest to assist Nepal in its development efforts is sincere and honest. Obviously, to raise the living standards of the people of Nepal has been one of the core concerns of the Japan's assistance to Nepal. As a matter of fact, Japan has consistently urged and encouraged Nepal to promote industrial development under leadership as well as increased involvement of the private sector.⁶³ Japan's policy to relation with Nepal is thus fully founded on its broader conviction to international peace and security, i.e. to bring an end to the conflict for addressing the issue of human security, consolidation of peace, and poverty reduction, maintenance of international peace and security by eradicating terrorism, and disarmament and nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Under these premises, Japan has highlighted its foreign policies as follows:⁶⁴

- In order to consolidate peace, maximum participation and cooperation of international community is necessary. Ownership for peace should also be promoted.
- For preventing terrorism, it is essential for all countries to strengthen their counter-terrorism

⁶² See, Nepal Development Forum 2004 (Japan's Country Statement). Embassy of Japan in Nepal. www.np.emb.go.jp

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Source, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

measures from the standpoint of denying terrorists who act across borders safe haven and means to commit terrorist activities and of overcoming vulnerability to terrorism.

- Every nation must pursue 'Three Non-nuclear Principles' of not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing nuclear weapons and not permitting their introduction to Japan.
- It is important for the resolution of conflicts not only to monitor ceasefire but also to address the root cause of conflicts.
- Poverty reduction should be a key development goal shared by the international community

Nepal's Relation with Some other Important Countries:

Denmark, Canada, Australia, Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany and Norway are other some important countries Nepal has been maintaining relations for considerably long period of time. Of them, Britain has maintained its relation with Nepal since Sugauli Treaty. It has been one of the countries helping in development affairs of Nepal. However, Nepal's contribution through Gurkha regiment to the British government definitely outweighs that what is obtained by Nepal in reciprocity. Britain's military tie with Nepal provides dissimilarity in relation to that of many other European nations.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Britain's position in Nepal's international relation is influential. Even in the context of Maoist conflict, its appearance is significant. It has been playing vital role in military support to the HMG, to get rid of Maoist. On February 19 2002, British Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs responsible for South Asia, Ben Bradshaw's statement shows pervasive interest of the British government in Nepal's current conflict. He said: "We are worried about Nepal's security situation and our cooperation

Bilateral relations of Nepal with countries like Denmark, Canada, Australia, France, Switzerland and Germany are largely founded on financial assistance to the development projects of Nepal. Danish cooperation to Nepal is substantial in the areas of primary education, forestry and democratization process and good governance. Switzerland has been engaged in roads and suspension bridges construction. Australia has been long involved in preservation of forestry and reforestation. Although these countries' assistance is immensely important in restoration and preservation, their influence in the Nepal's international relation is less obvious. Except UK, all these European countries have stood firmly in the line of 'peaceful resolution of the present conflict', and have abstained from providing military support to the State. However, their disinclination to military support is 'passive', as it has failed to counter active military support of other countries. These countries have thus largely failed to pressurize the Nepalese government to seek active way to peaceful resolution of the Maoist conflict.

Conclusions:

As it is obvious from the discussion, Nepal's foreign relation has been significantly expanded and enhanced over the last 50 years, and it has taken a great shift after 1990, following

in this regard will be continued". On may 19 2002, Michael Boyce, Chief of Britain's Defense Staff, visited Nepal to discuss on the potential British military and development assistance to the Royal Nepal Army in fighting against the Maoist rebels. On June, British Government assured to increase the military support from 0.7 to 7 million sterling pound annually. on July 24, 2002, British Embassy in Kathmandu revealed that the UK Government announced an aid package of 650 million to tackle Maoist insurgency and two transport aircraft to Royal Nepal Army. The UK Foreign Office Minister O' Brian visited Nepal on October 9 to chair the first follow up meeting to the international conference of friendly countries on Nepal. See for detail, www.fesnepal.org/reports/2002/annual_reports/democracy_report_2002.htm

restoration of democracy in Nepal and new developments in power equation after the cessation of cold war. Some features of the Nepalese foreign relation in the changed context can be summed up as follows:

- The financial cooperation of friendly and neighboring countries has significantly been increased over the years. Japan has been a consistent partner for the economic as well as infrastructure development of Nepal. Following the restoration of democracy in 1990, countries like Denmark and Norway have come up with significant support in the field of 'democratization and enhancement of the good governance'. Moreover, UN has made significant contribution to the enhancement of democratization and good governance. This positive development has been a fruit of Nepal's reentry into democratic community. The expansion of the economic cooperation in terms of amount as well as the countries, has expanded Nepal's interaction in the international community, and as such is helpful to come out of position created by constraints associated with difficult geo-political location.
- However, due to the rise of Maoist insurgency largely instigated by the failure of 'political leadership to achieve consolidation of democratic process', the foreign relation of Nepal has come to a 'point', where the increasing military assistance is pouring in. This development is potential of affecting 'neutrality-based diplomacy', which is so crucial for its secured existence.

- In addition, the foreign relation of Nepal is increasingly diversified in the context of Maoist insurgency. Currently, Nepal maintains diplomatic relations with many countries which are distinctly divided in approach to deal with the issue of insurgency. China and Japan along with European countries, except UK, have consistently urged Nepal to find peaceful political solutions of the crisis, whereas countries like India, USA and UK are keen to leave military option open and let it go side by side with political solution of the problem. In this context, sophisticated weapons are entering into Nepal. The size of the military and armed police force is incessantly increasing, consequently a huge part of the national income is being shifted to 'arm expenditure', thereby hindering the development projects.
- In the context of mounting conflict, the violation of human rights is emerging as a serious problem. Over twenty thousand peoples have lost lives, and thousands have been displaced or affected by the conflict. The human rights violation by conflicting parties is incessant. Mounting incidents of determinate killings and disappearances by the State's security force and kidnappings and gruesome killings by the rebels have earned to the nation a sad distinction of being among the world's prime locations for enforced disappearances and determinate killings. According to U.N. Working Group on Enforced Voluntary disappearances, Nepal had the highest number of disappearances in the world in 2003.⁶⁶ Unfortunately,

⁶⁶ Human Rights Watch, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Civilians Struggle to Survive in Nepal's Civil War*. 2003.

this unprecedented level of human rights violations has not been a concern of countries that have been pouring assistance in Nepal. Obviously, the increased amount of military assistance and violation of human rights with impunity is threatening a very fabric of the Nepalese democracy.

- In the present context, Nepal is being gradually drawn to the 'helm' of southern neighbors' security umbrella. Moreover, an emerging partnership of the USA and UK with India in security and other international issues, and their joint military assistance to tackle Maoist insurgency in Nepal is likely to have far reaching impact on Nepal's traditional 'equidistance' policy to neighbors. This development might create a 'difficult' situation to Nepal in future. In domestic situation, this development might help military element prevail over the democratic norms and values. Internationally, Nepal might loss its ever standing 'non-aligned position'.

Right Direction to Go:

Nepal needs to emerge smart to define its foreign policy. The long-standing 'psyche' that Nepal is a 'weaker and vulnerable' nation needs to be removed. Nepal has to learn live strategically in accordance with the changed context and demand. It has to be able to understand that 'China and India' are markets for its commodities, and to gain its strength to harness that potential, Nepal must prepare itself to move ahead with enthusiasm and optimism. Nevertheless, Nepal should not forget that this potential can be avail only through 'conscious balance' in relation with its two big neighbors. To

move forward to the said direction, Nepal must pursue the following policies with full determination:

- The open border between Nepal and India need to be pragmatically regulated. The pragmatic way to do it is to ‘fence the border leaving the exit points open for free and unrestricted mobility of the peoples of two countries’. The meaning of the ‘open border’ should not be taken as something to neglect the need of maintaining and regulating borders that might be exploited for illegal or criminal purposes. The systematic regulation of borders would help reduce the ‘security concerns of both the countries’.
- In the given strategic geo-political situation of the country, it is plain for all that it would not be possible for Nepal to defend its independence and integrity by ‘military strength’. Survival of Nepal is fully dependent on its ‘constructive neutrality’, which can be defined as "Zone of Peace". As the concept of Zone of Peace connotes ‘non-alignment, complete disarmament and elimination of military strength’, the maintenance of a huge army is meaningless. The Zone of Peace signifies that Nepal has no one to fight with. The concept of Zone of Peace will tremendously help Nepal to ‘transform itself into a intermediary station for the trade and commerce between China and India’. This concept will thus establish Nepal’s position as a ‘liaison country for two powers of Asia’.
- Economic diplomacy’ should be the crux of Nepal’s foreign policy. Nepal being placed in between China and India should be a ‘free trade zone’ and "free port’ for both countries. Nepal’s prosperity and existence

are dependent on developed trade and commerce. Nepal can share vast energy with these two countries. To achieve this goal, the civil society and political elements must work for:

- redefining the Nepal’s position as a peace zone,
 - resurrecting the optimism of unhindered and unchallenged existence by removing the negative or inferior psyche of the peoples
 - redefining the ‘governance system and its structure’, with indispensable emphasis on ‘autonomy of the people at local level’,
 - recognizing the diversity as the ‘core value of the Nepalese national life’,
 - changing the education system to make the future generation to compete, become self-reliant and maintain allegiance to the nation.
- The development of the national consensus to achieve this goal is where the ‘beginning takes place’. The development of the consensus on the other hand is dependent on enhancement of the ‘democracy and good governance’. The enhancement of the ‘democracy and good governance’ in turn requires ‘resurrection of the new political forces’ i.e. the growth of the visionary youth leadership. These changes will ensure much more assistance, honor and dignity from the international community. The resolution of the Maoist insurgency thus calls for ‘emergence of a new leadership’ in the country capable of representing ‘all segments of the society’.

- Nepal should strive for becoming a ‘center for international affairs’. The endeavor for securing a ‘regional headquarters’ should be emphasized, and for that necessary environment and infrastructure should be developed. Nepal being a ‘birth place of Buddhism as well as the place for religious tolerance’ should be developed as a sanctuary of peace. It should be destination of peace and education for peoples from all over the world.

Finally, the Government must immediately strive for bringing the rebels to the table for peace, and for this ‘the constituent’ assembly must be meeting point. The restoration of "House of Representatives" is a precondition for ‘holding the constituent assembly election. No legitimacy of the declaration of the ‘constituent assembly’ is entrenched without a ‘constitutional forum to transform the power’. The civil society has thus great role to perform for generating ‘consensus’ for ‘restoration of House of Representatives leading to Constituent Assembly Election’

(Source : Sangroula, Yubaraj. 2005. *Nepalese Legal System: Human Rights Perspective*, Kathmandu: Kathmandu School of Law)



Ethnic participation for good governance and conflict transformation

- H.K. Rana Magar

1. Background

Nepal is a small landlocked country with vast physical and cultural diversity. In geographic terms, it includes the lowlands of the Tarai and inner Tarai as well as the highlands of the hill and mountain zones. In cultural terms, the population is made up of various racial, linguistic and religious groups. The people of Nepal are socially segmented along lines of caste, and ethnicity.¹

¹ Nepal South Asia Center. 1998. "Reorienting Economy for human Development" in *Nepal Human Development Report*. Kathmandu. pp.208-209.

The people of Nepal are basically derived from two racial stocks:² Caucasoid (Khasa) from the southwest and Mongoloid from the northeast. The former speak Indo-Aryan languages and are mainly Hindu. The later are mostly Tibeto-Burman speakers subscribing to animistic beliefs although many have adopted Hindu and Buddhist religions. All indigenous nationalities were grouped into the "Matawali (liquor drinking) caste" by the National Code of 1854 promulgated by Junga Bahadur Rana. At present HMG/N has listed 61 indigenous nationalities most of them belonging to the Mongolian races.³

1.1. Ethnicity:

The term 'ethnicity' as a concept is derived from the Greek word "ethos" which means nation, people, caste, tribes and such others.⁴ The term 'ethnic' implies the sense of belonging together as an organizing principle used by a group of people in order to differentiate themselves from other groups in terms of race, kinship, language, customs, modes of living, culture, religion and so on. Thus ethnicity may be defined as the self-consciousness of a group of people united by shared experiences such as language, religious belief, common heritage, and economic and political interest.⁵ In Nepal, the terms "indigenous nationalities" (popularly known as "Janajati") are plainly used to mean ethnic community.

² Gurung,Harka. "Democracy and Social Development in Nepal" in *The role of civil society and democratization in Nepal,NEFAS,1998*, P.92.

³ Shrestha, Chuda Bahadur. 2004 *Nepal Coping with Maoist insurgency: Conflict analysis and resolution*. Kathmandu. pp.3-4.

⁴ Haque, Mahfuzul. 1997. "Theoretical Concepts" in *Ethnic insurgency and National Integration*. New Delhi: Lancers Books. p.14

⁵ Girin Phukon. 2002. *Ethnicity and Polity in South Asia*. New Delhi: South Asian Publisher. p.1.

In Nepal, a total of 61 Adibasi Janajati were identified in the report prepared by the Task Force formed by HMG for the establishment of Foundation for the Upliftment of Nationalities and submitted in 1996. The Task Force Report explains the bases for the identification of 61 nationalities called "Janajati". According to Report, 'Janajati' is that community who has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet does not fall under the conventional fourfold 'VARNA' of Hindu Varna system.

HMG/N has enacted National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act, 2002 and identified 59 indigenous nationalities. The Act defines "indigenous nationalities means a tribe or community as mentioned in the schedule having its own mother language and traditional rites and customs, distinct cultural identity, distinct social structure and written or unwritten history".⁶

1.2. Governance and Good Governance:

The concept of governance has captured the importance for various reasons. First, governance call for a number of institutional and collective efforts to organize and coordinate human activities on several layers such as state, the market and a number of intermediary association, networks and forums that are popularly called civil society. Second, it improves the institutional foundation of democracy through the infrastructure of *Participation, Equity, Honesty, Transparency and Accountability* in assessing the performance of public institutions. Finally, the concern with governance has equally raised questions about an appropriate roles of government in maintaining political stability, sovereignty, national security and identity, optimum

⁶ NFDIN. 2003. *An Introduction*. Kathmandu. p. 7

utilization of nation's resources and promoting the well-being of people at large.

Governance is defined as the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority to manage the affairs of a country at all levels. It comprises mechanism, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Basically the governance is concerned with the management of the state and its people.

The concept of good governance continues to dominate the development discourse in many developing countries. Particularly, the opening of the Third Wave of Democracy in the mid-seventies has facilitated the popular search for ways of power diffusion and good governance.

Good governance is the talk of the day and has become a catch-all word. "Good governance is about building *Inclusionary and Participatory* social processes consistent with the basic democratic ideas of equality of and entitlement to opportunities for decent (civilized and well-brought up) human existence. Under these conditions, all the people of the nation irrespective of their caste, creed religion and culture get to participate effectively in decision making to allocate society's resources".⁷ Good governance calls for the democratic planning and management of development with the people, for the people and by the people, specially the **marginalized**. It is an exercise of political power at all levels to control and manage the nation's affairs.⁸

⁷ Shrestha, Bihari Krishna. 2003. "Conflict resolution through governance effectiveness in Nepal" in A.P. Shrestha et al. (ed.), *Conflict Resolution and Governance in Nepal*. Kathmandu : NEFAS p.186

⁸ Shrestha, Chuda Bahadur. f.n. No. 125, p.143.

When considering good governance, the fundamental issues today are not whether the country has a single party or multiparty majority government, a one-party minority government, presidential or parliamentary system. Questions relating to distribution of power or sharing of organs of the state are also not so relevant. Even self-government or good government is not enough. What has become categorically imperative is clean and quality governance as it affects the lives of the people. The whole idea of good governance is that of giving, or serving and of doing well to the people, of solving their problems and making their lives more livable, satisfying and enjoyable.⁹

In a democratic system, good governance has to secure freedom from discrimination, want, injustice and fear. Freedom of participation, expression, and association for decent work and for the realization of one's human potential are also essential elements for a mature and ideal governance system and a just and equitable society.¹⁰ Good, effective public governance helps to strengthen democracy and human rights, promote economic prosperity and social cohesion, reduce poverty, enhance environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources of the country, and deepen confidence in government and public administration. The goal of good governance cannot be implemented if the whole set of society, all subsystems, and all stakeholders, are not taking responsibility for the sustainable development. Good governance refers not only the quality of government's own actions alone but also to the quality of the politico-social

⁹ Kashyap, Subhash C. 1997. "Good Governance and The Constitution" in *Crime and Corruption to Good Governance*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House. pp. 2-3

¹⁰ UNDP. 2001. "Human Development, Poverty and Governance" in *Nepal Human Development Report*. Kathmandu: Jagadamba Press. p.10

order as a whole and the process of governance that results from that order.¹¹

The concept of good governance is also a response to the constant need for change in order to develop a flexible and responsive administration and remove administrative barriers to economic growth.¹²

1.3. Features of Good Governance:

What constitutes good governance may appear non-controversial. Many points are explained to reflect the feature of good governance. List of attributes¹³ through which we can judge quality of governance are:

Constitutional legitimacy	Democratic election	Rule of law
Respect for human rights	Political openness	Public participation
Tolerance & Equity	Transparency	Absence of corruption
Judicial independence	Active independent media	Freedom of information
Administrative competency	Administrative neutrality	Accountability to public
Public expenditure directed to public purpose	Interest on issues of public concern	

¹¹ Kovac, Polona. "The principles of good governance with an emphasis on slovenia within European union" in *EGPA 2004 Annual Conference*. polona.kovac@fu.uni-lj.si

¹² Ibid

¹³ See, Governance and Good Governance: International and Aboriginal Perspectives.<
<http://www.adb.org/documents/policies/governance/gov300.asp?p=policies> >

On the basis of above-mentioned attributes, we can outline the main elements/feature of good governance. *They are: People's Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Public Accountability, Consensus Orientation, Strategic Vision, Equity and Effectiveness and Efficiency.*¹⁴

People Participation: People should have equal voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention and aspirations.

Rule of Law: In simple terms, rule of law implies that legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially. The concept of rule of law provides a set of principles that impose limits on official powers (executive, legislative and judicial power) the state is supposed to entertain in administering the public affairs. Basically, 'rule of law' prevents exercise of power arbitrarily and also provides resource to law when power is exercised arbitrarily. The rule of law is, therefore, a foundation of the concept of good governance as well a justice.¹⁵

Transparency: Transparency is built on the free flow of information. It implies that the decision makers or others should provide the public with reasonably complete and unbiased information about the decisions and actions of government actors, so that public can make informed judgments about the performance of their government representatives or other agencies.

Public Accountability: Decision-makers in government office, public and private sectors, civil society and other

¹⁴ UNDP. 1997. *Governance and Sustainable Human Development*

¹⁵ Sangroula, Yubaraj. 2005. *Nepalese Legal System: Human Rights Perspective*, Kathmandu: Kathmandu School of Law. p.16

organization must be accountable to the public as well as to institutional stakeholders. Accountability is imperative to make public officials answerable for government behavior and responsive to the entity from which they derive their authority.¹⁶ This may be achieved differently in different countries or political structures depending on the history, culture, environment, and value system. The mechanism employed may vary from general audit to broadly elected legislatures.

Consensus Orientation: Good governance mediates differing interest to reach a consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible on policies and procedures.

Strategic Vision: Leaders and public have a broad and long-term perspective on governance along with a sense of what is needed for achieving objective.

Equity: All men and women have equal opportunities to improve or maintain their way of life.

Effectiveness and Efficiency: Institutions and processes produce the best result by making the best use of resources.

2.0 Ethnic Problems, Movement and Politics

It is generally assumed that ethnicity primarily concerns with a traditional society and that spread of education would reduce the ethnic cleavages replacing the parochial sentiment by universal ideas. But surprisingly, it appears that the more society is modernized, the more ethnic demands are manifested and similarly, the more is economic development

¹⁶ See, Sound development management: The elements of good governance in <<http://www.adb.org/documents/policies/governance/gov310.asp?p=policies>>

the more is ethnic conflict. Thus, both prosperity and poverty have caused ethnic conflict. Various cultural markers are used for ethnic mobilization. Tribal loyalties, religion, language, social discrimination on the basis of caste, sharing of political power and economic opportunities have been utilized for ethnic mobilization. It is a kind of mobilization and manipulation of group identity, which leads to ethnicity.¹⁷ In this way, growing sense of awareness on the part of ethnic communities and the process of modernization have intensified the ethnic assertion.

The Nepalese society is multi-lingual, multi-social, multi-religious and multi-cultural. More than 40 language groups are identified with a few thousands dialect speakers. Natural variations and multiplicity of cultures and languages are unique features of Nepali society making it as an "ethnic turn-table of Asia".¹⁸ In so many parts of the country, ethnic groups live in the primitive stage lacking the basic needs of human development. Illiteracy, poverty, lack of basic health services, gender discrimination, exploitation of women and children, caste hierarchy, superstitious beliefs, fatalism, untouchability, and so many other primitive values are rampant, and ethnic groups do not seem able to assert their sub-national identities to form the larger national identity.

With the growing awareness of people, especially of the ethnic groups, the concept of homogeneity has been challenged on the grounds of demanding one's own ethnic rights. The social policies and traditional social structure based on conservative considerations and orthodox Hinduism

¹⁷ Phukon, Girin. op.cit. p.

¹⁸ Paudel, Ananta Raj. 2002. "Ethnicity and Crisis of Governance in Nepal" in Girin P hukon (ed.), *Ethnicity and Polity in South Asia*. New Delhi: SAP. p.120

continued even after 2007 revolution period. Despite the fact that Nepalese society is multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious the post democratic set-up too failed to feel the reality. In the name of establishing common homogeneous national culture, the post democratic set-up too followed the policies of Rana regime.

Along with formulation of the caste hierarchy in Nepal, Hindu high caste chauvinism was highly dominant during Rana rule, and also during Panchayat time. During these periods the reality of Nepali society being a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious was not recognized. As a result, the legal code, during Rana rule was treated and punished different castes differently for committing the same crime. Justice was practiced in discriminatory way. The general rule had been that the higher the caste the less severe the punishment, the lower the caste, more severe the punishment. During Panchayat era ethnic based organizations were banned and both Nepali and foreign scholars were not allowed to study ethnic issues of Nepal as these studies would supposedly bring ethnic disharmony, disturb the so-called peace of the nation and become a threat to national integration. As a result, during autocratic Panchayat era, a number of underground ethnic based organizations like MaGuRaLi, SeTaMaGuRali, Janajati Utthan Manch were formed. Ethnic movement during Panchayat era was invisible and underground with these names. These were, to some extent, influenced by other ethnic incidences in South Asia.¹⁹

¹⁹ Gurung, G.M. 1999. "Ethnic Identity and Politics of Ethno-Museum in Nepal", in Ram B. Chhetri et al. (eds.), *Anthropology and Sociology of Nepal*. Kathmandu: SASON. p. 82

The appropriation of ethnicity for political ends is not new in Nepal. In the 50s, the Nepali Terai Congress, a political party of southern plain land, demanded the recognition of Hindi as state language. The other linguistic groups of the same area such as the Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi and Tharu communities showed their inclination towards accepting Hindi as lingua franca of Tarai. The Sadbhavana Party, one of the national level political party in the present multi-party set up, is persistently challenging the non-secular approach of the government by demanding Hindi as the second language of Nepal.

Ethnic politics in Nepal first surfaced in the year leading up to the referendum of 1980. Then it disappeared as quickly as it had arisen, because the national referendum confirmed the Panchayat system in power. In the decade of 1980s ethnic activists concentrated on bringing out cultural magazines devoted to the study of their respective groups. Among these were *Kong pi (the Kirat group)*, *Tamu (Gurung)*, *Khanglo (Thakali)*, and *Tharu Sanskriti,(Tharu)*, not to mention the many publications devoted to Newar culture from early on. Since the political change of 1990 ethnic politics have become a permanent fixture in Nepal's multi-party democracy.²⁰

After the success of Popular People's Movement and restoration of multiparty democracy, decades old under current ethnic issues were surfaced and echoed as political manifestation. The political orientations of these manifestations cover a considerable spectrum, ranging from exclusively cultural and identity concerns at one end to the

²⁰ Sharma, Prayag Raj. "Nation-Building, Multi-ethnicity, and the Hindu State, in David N.Gellner et al. (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom*. London: Hardwood Academic Publishers. pp. 483-84

rhetoric of secessionism at the other. In a democratic set-up the ethnic groups of Nepal feel an urge to discover pride in their ethnic identity. At the same time, however, they are also conscious that they can take advantage of the democratic situation and bargain for a good share in the political and economic pie. Such an urge on the part of various ethnic groups need not be in conflict with the idea of nation and nationalism.

The accelerated speed of ethnic movement as a result of ethnic consciousness, especially after the restoration of multiparty democracy, is very much present in Nepal today. There has been a rapid increase in the number of ethnic based organizations and even political parties based on ethnic and regional grounds. Today practically every ethnic group has a cultural forum or association of its own. An umbrella organization called the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities was established in 1990 to bring all the smaller ethnic forums and associations under a single umbrella. At present, 48 ethnic forums and organization have been listed as its federating units.²¹

The phenomenon of ethnicity has been an intrinsic component of the multi-ethnic society of Nepal. In fact, ethnicization of politics and politicization of ethnic identity has tremendously sharpened the ethnic consciousness.

2.1. Reasons Contributing Ethnic Movements in Nepal: An observation

Ethnic movements in Nepal are not the outcome of the day. It is the outcome of century old political suppression and socio-

²¹ Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities. *An Introduction*.

cultural discrimination and domination by ruling class. The dissatisfaction of ethnic groups from the forced assimilation into the tradition of and inclusion into the Caste System, and their movement against it have been highlighted and exposed by foreign scholars, especially western scholars. For instances, Caplan in 1970 highlighted the conflict between high caste Brahmin and the indigenous Limbu in eastern Nepal. Similarly, Gaige and Blaikie (1975) and Cameron and Seddon in 1980 described the inequality and discrimination between high caste and ethnic groups. In addition, Dor Bahadur Bista has accelerated the speed of dissatisfaction through the publication of his book, *Fatalism and Development* (1991). The Announcement of 'Indigenous People's Year 1993' and 'World Indigenous People's Decade, 1995-2004' by United Nations can be counted as an external factor that contributed in harnessing the ethnic movements in Nepal.

Since the end of the Panchayat era and restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990 led to the shifting of power from an authoritarian regime to the citizens in favour of an open and democratic governance, sovereignty of people, constitutional monarchy and freedom of people. Right after the restoration of multiparty democracy, social organization (NGOs & INGOs) and political parties that aim to increase social, economic and political power for various ethnic communities has become an increasingly prominent feature of political landscape of the country. Ethnic communities spontaneously for their identity as well as power sharing in changed context have launched several types of ethnic movements.

Discrimination and exploitation of ethnic communities on various grounds are the pushing factor of ethnic movements

of varied nature. Emergence of ethnic movement is also caused by the growing awareness and empowerment during the initial years of multiparty democracy. People become more aware about inequality, discrimination and ethnic cultural identity. A number of NGOs through their *advocacy programs* empowered people making them capable of raising their voice against injustice, inequality, discrimination, poverty and social exclusion.

Constitutional Reasons:

Many articles of democratic constitution of 1990 explicitly discriminate against marginalized socio-cultural groups, their culture and ways of life. Patronization of the Hindu cultural ethos by declaring Nepal as a Hindu State and protection of only Nepali language by declaring Nepali as language of the state and making compulsory to acquire education is one of the glaring example of discrimination against socially and culturally excluded groups. It has been seriously criticized on the ground that discriminatory state policy should not be the criteria of a democratic state. The improper and irrelevant policy would definitely instigate ethnic conflict.

In fact, one need not search long to uncover the sources of ethnic movements caused by bad social management in Nepal even after the implementation of democratic constitution of 1990. In spite of numerous memorandum and suggestion presented by different indigenous peoples' organizations to the constitution drafting body of the present constitution in 1990, for the integration of indigenous people and nationalities in national mainstream was not enshrined in the constitution. "The violation of norms and values of democracy started just from the very time of promulgation of

new constitution after the restoration of democracy in 1990, which overtly ignored the demands of the majority.²²

Socio-economic Reasons:

Social exclusion, acute inequalities, absolute poverty, lack of access to resources and failure of political structure to address these issues made the Nepali society extremely vulnerable to ethnic movement and conflict. Social exclusion includes inheritance of traditional exclusionary social practices, myth and belief system (social formation is based on a particular theocratic order that is, the Varna Model of superior and inferior species. e.g., caste-based hierarchy, untouchability, restriction on marriage, religion and occupation, etc.). The structural basis of Hindu society is principally shaped by a notion of exclusion and goes beyond the general social division of society. It maintains a rigid hierarchy. This deliberately exploitative social structures and practices are not eradicated by any political systems and still have tremendous influence in Nepali society.²³ Centralization and regional imbalance, skewed distribution of national income, lack of access and unnecessary control over productive resources by certain caste group, dominating influences religiously and culturally biased traditional Hindu values and culture, socio-economic discrimination against ethnic minorities, so-called lower castes (Dalits) have created the feeling of injustice and frustration that ultimately led to the situation of conflict escalation.

The Supremacy of Certain Caste groups:

²² Yolmo, Binod Lama. 2003. "Threat to Democracy and Present Scenario" in *Threat to Nepali Democracy*. IOS. P.55.

²³ Upreti, Bishnu Raj. *The Price of Neglect*. Kathmandu: Brikuti Academic Publication. p.266.

The supremacy of certain cast groups in the power structure of Nepal is also causing resentment among ethnic communities. The Panchayat system was not based upon the concept of equality. It provided virtual monopoly over socio-economic and political benefits to the dominant caste groups. In terms of caste, the Brahman, Chhetri and Newar succeeded in acquiring power position. In the democratic set up also certain groups especially the Brahman and Chhetri dominate politics and bureaucracy.²⁴

A Cursory Observation of Caste Composition of Central Committee Member of Different Political Parties

Parties	Khas	Mangol-Kirant	Madhise	Dalit	Newar	Total
Nepali Congress	23	3	3	-	1	30
Communist Party of Nepal (UML)	48	8	3	1	5	65
Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP)	21	7	7	1	5	41
Nepali Congress (Democratic)	22	7	2	-	2	33
Total	114	25	15	2	13	169

Source: Field Survey (2005)

This table clearly shows the domination of certain caste groups in National Politics of Nepal.

²⁴ Dharamdasani, M.D. 2002. "Problems of Ethnicity in Nepal: An Overview" in *Ethnicity and Polity in South Asia*. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers. p.146.

Political Tug-of-war and Denial Psyche:

From the 1990 popular people's movement, Nepalese people moved from closed hierarchical society to open society. This movement also raised unrealistically high expectations of the people. Ethnic communities have no exception in this regard. All political parties, bigger or smaller, national or regional, in early 1990s irrationally fuelled these expectations just to win popular vote. But after election (General and Local) they are left unattended and their grievances un-addressed. Similarly successive government that came into existence after 1990 failed to address and accommodate ethnic communities' concerns and expectations in the state's plans, policy and programs. This disappointing situation provided further impetus to ethnic movements.

Denial psyche is a unique feature of the Nepali politics. Nobody is ready to acknowledge their own weaknesses in addressing the ethnic issues. The government is not ready to accept the fact that it did not take a correct and effective approach to address the issues; parliamentary parties are not ready to accept their failure as one of the main cause of ethnic movement and ethnic involvement with Maoist conflict.

Lack of Ethnic Participation in Governance

Participation is an important aspect in democratic theory and practice. If any decision is to become binding to person, his/her presence in decision-making process, either directly or through representatives, is essential. Communities, which are excluded and alienated, naturally, will not be in a position of experiencing positive impact of the decision made because their perspective, aspiration, needs and interest are not articulated and weighed equally during deliberation.

Lack of ethnic participation in decision-making processes of various levels of state and the processes by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented) is the most prominent pushing factor of ethnic movement in Nepal. It is also equally important for good governance.

Participation: The principle of participation derives from an acceptance that people are at the heart of development. They are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development, but are also the agents of development. In the latter capacity, they act through groups or associations and as individual. Since development is both for and by people, they need to have access to the institutions that promote it²⁵

Participation concerns particularly the 'input' side of governance, informing decision-makers about the needs, preferences, wishes and capabilities of the public. Participation can contribute to accountability, facilitate transparency, and ensure honesty- the other factor of good governance. It can be direct (personal) or indirect (through representatives), formal or informal, highly institutionalized or ad hoc, continuous or intermittent. Where there is little or no participation, the other factors in good governance will suffer.²⁶

Explicit meaning of *good governance* may be situational and contextual. But people's participation (mainly marginalized people) and their well being in the process of governance is the '*essence*' of good governance. In Nepalese context, ethnic

²⁵ Hilda Lini, Motarilavao. "The Indigenous Concept of Good Governance", in <http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/English/opinion/TimeToTalkOpinion_425873.htm>

²⁶ Uphof, Norman (Prof.) "Decentralization and Good Governance: A framework of decentralization for sustainable community development". New York, U.S.A.

participation has direct impact upon good governance. This is not because of emotional value associated with strong feeling of deprivation in ethnic communities (indigenous nationalities) but due to the presence of significant number in the total population of Nepal. The Census of 2001 has cited the populace of the Indigenous Nationalities at 37.2% of the total population. However, the same Census enumeration has incorporated only 43 of the 59 identified and recognized nationalities, and the rest 16 Adibasi Janajati remain unreported and as unidentified in the Census 2001. These 16 Indigenous Nationalities have been conveniently relegated to the category of "Others", which are registered at 4.8% of the total population. It is safe to claim, therefore, that the Indigenous Nationalities command a respectable 42% of the total population of the nation.²⁷

Failure to develop an integrative political and civil participation in governance is another important ground for ethnic resentment and conflict. Nepal, despite being a home for peoples speaking dozens of languages, having various ethnic connections, castes, professions, cultures, religions and topographical setting, has been ruled by a family and caste aristocracy (upper classes) throughout its history. Representation of the vast majority of the population in political and civil affairs was ignored for centuries. The share of linguistic groups and nationalities in government and civil affairs is still not very promising. Orthodox Hinduism has been consistently reinforced as a basis of the societal structure in Nepal, so as to create a monolithic and systematically structured societal hierarchy of a certain class

²⁷ See, A Report of National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities, 2003.

or caste of the population, the Brahmin and Chetris in particular.²⁸

Caste and Ethnic Composition of Council of Ministers, 2000

Caste & Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
Brahmin	12	48
Chetri	3	12
Tarai People	4	16
Newar	2	8
RLGMT*	3	12
Muslim	1	4
Total	25	100

*RLGMT stands for Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Thakali and such other communities from Mongoloid or the Tibeto-Burman sub-family.

Caste and Ethnic Composition of the Lower House of Parliament, 2000

Caste and Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
Brahmin	77	37.56
Chetri	47	22.92
Tarai People	39	19.00
Newar	27	13.17
RLGMT	13	6.34
Muslim	2	0.97
Total	205	100.00

²⁸ Sangroula, Yubaraj. 2003. "Dynamics of Continuing Conflict in Nepal: A Geo-political Perspective" in Ananda P. Shrestha et. al (eds.), *Conflict Resolution and Governance in Nepal*. Kathmandu: NEFAS. p, 101.

Composition of Caste and Ethnic groups in Secretary Level Bureaucrats

Caste and Ethnic Group	Number	Percent
Brahmin	19	54.28
Newar	7	20.00
Chetri	5	14.22
Tarai People	4	11.42
Total	35	100.00

Source of all Tables: Ananta Raj Poudyal, "Ethnicity and Crisis of Governance in Nepal", (Ethnicity and Polity in South Asia, 2002)

A cursory observation of these sample tables would indicate that there is supremacy of certain groups in the power structure of Nepal. Among the various reasons, the inherent legacy of 104 years of Rana oligarchy, the party less Panchayat era and Hierarchically Stratified Social Structure are responsible for such social discrepancies.

Thus, dominance of some social class, social isolation of ethnic communities from educational opportunities, communication, political representation and participation in governance have left a overwhelming majority of ethnic communities economically poor, politically powerless, and socially marginalized.

Dimensions and the Main Issues of Ethnic Movements:

Issues of ethnic movements range from cultural to economic and constitutional demands. In the field of culture, the claim is for ethnic, linguistic, and religious equality. The ethnic organizations opposed the caste system, supremacy of Nepali

language and Hindu hegemony. In the economic sector, the central issue is for an appropriate provision of fair share of state resources and sentiment is against the monopoly of certain caste group in government employment. In politics, the call is for proportional representation and regional autonomy. In this way, Secularism, Linguistic Rights, Positive Discrimination, Devolution (demand for participation in governance but not decentralization), control of Social Discrimination, demand relating to making Upper House, The House of Nationalities, are the main issues surfaced during ethnic movements.

Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Conflict

The Maoist insurgency has received considerable support from the socioculturally excluded groups like indigenous nationalities, dalits and women.²⁹ There are several reasons, both push and pull factors, for the high participation of marginalized sociocultural groups in the Maoist insurgency. Most visible reasons are:

- a) Maoists have call of radical social transformation,
- b) Rampant poverty among ethnic communities- the basis of Maoist insurgency,
- c) Maoists have raised socio-cultural issues more forcefully in comparison to other mainstream political parties. CPN (Maoist) has declared support for the self-determination rights of ethnic groups, cultural autonomy, declaration of secular state, equal language rights, gender equality and so on.

²⁹ Lawoti, Mahendra. 2005. *Towards a Democratic Nepal*. New Delhi : Sage Publication. p. 65

More over, acute inequalities, absolute poverty, social discrimination against particular community, political oppression, lack of access to resources and successive failure of the governments to address these issues have made our society extremely vulnerable to conflict and mass movement like Maoist 'People War'. Feudal legacy, political instability, dependency syndrome, lack of transparency further contributed to Maoist armed insurgency. Deep rooted social cleavage in terms of caste, ethnicity, gender and regional, cultural, linguistic, and religious forms of discrimination provided fertile ground for conflict to escalate. The predominance of certain groups in all social, political and economic sectors has bred strong feeling of deprivation, as the marginalized people especially ethnic groups strongly believe that they have been excluded from opportunities and resources of the state. The Maoists have tactically exploited this feeling and resentment of ethnic community.

The emergence of ethnic interest groups and increase awareness of social exclusion and ethnic inequalities further fuelled the conflict. One of the main strategies of the Maoists is to mobilize and capitalize ethnic frustration and aspirations. Under this strategy, Maoists have established several ethnic and regional fronts like Magarant National Liberation Front, Tamang National Liberation Front, Tamuwan National Liberation Front, Tharuwan National Liberation Front, Madhesi Liberation Front, Newa Khala, Dalit Liberation Front, etc. and advocating complete regional autonomy. From the very beginning to this date, ethnic support is ground strength of Maoist conflict that contributed to the dramatic growth of insurgency.

Ways of Increasing Ethnic Participation in Governance:

There is a growing consensus that ethnic communities are socially, culturally and politically excluded and economically marginalized. But exclusion and marginalization is not the problem of ethnic communities (Janajati) alone. Since these communities constitute a significant share of the total population, it is a national problem.

As the ethnic problems are multi-facets in nature, there is no one best way of addressing these problems. Participation is one of the remedial measures. And there is no universal method of participation. To ensure ethnic participation in governance, structural problems obstructing ethnic communities from coming into socio-economic mainstreams are to be addressed. And other possible provisions applicable to increase the level of participation may be of varied nature ranging from constitutional remedies to executive decisions of governing bodies of different levels. Categorically numerical listing of modes of participation may not be fruitful and objective. In fact, this is a matter of serious discussion on the floor as well as in many forums. Among several measures, Declaration of Nepal a Secular State to resolve the problem of social exclusion, Time-bound Positive Discrimination in certain areas like education and employment opportunity in order to enhance their capability, Elimination of Social Discrimination, Electoral reforms (shifting from majoritarian to proportional representation), are some of the viable measures for increasing and ensuring ethnic participation in governance.

Summing up

Ethnic problems are multi-facets in nature that directly and indirectly influence the political, social, and cultural life of the country. The ethnic issue of Nepal is also an indicator of conflict. I believe that it does not directly fuel the conflict but plays a catalytic role to spark conflict. Therefore, question of ethnic participation in peace building process will provide a reasonable ground for conflict de-escalation and conflict transformation. Whereas participation in governance will contribute to make democracy a 'way of life' in grass root level for lasting peace.

The nature of ethnic problem of Nepal is not so alarming as seen elsewhere in South Asia. Whether one accepts or not, the confrontation has already been started overtly or covertly. In order to diffuse the confrontation between ruler and ruled, it has become imperative to take the issues seriously by concerned diffusing the over centralized power through power sharing scheme and mechanism and accommodation by ensuring the inclusion of excluded socio-cultural groups. So far ethnic issues are not at the center of the present conflict but there is an increasing risk of being a central risk. Similarly, there is equal possibility of ethnic movements being ethnocentric. If so happen, this will pose a serious threat to national unity. Therefore, to curtail this situation, all concerned (government, political parties, civil societies, ethnic organizations and ethnic activists) must be serious and tolerant.



Economy of Nepal and Globalisation

- Madhav P. Acharya

Background

After the Second World War the economic system of Nepal has taken many shapes. Like many countries of the world, Indian economy had been destroyed in the war. However, no fights had been fought in the land of Nepal though the Nepalese soldiers had shown their bravery in the war. Immediately after the war, demand of some products like jute and other consumable goods went up in the neighbouring country. Nepalese entrepreneurs met the demand and were enthusiastic to the industrial ventures. In later days, India created trade barrier when its own economy begun to function. One after another, the industrial ventures of Nepal begun to close down.

Slowly the new era of export promotion and import substitution policy has taken place in Nepal. Although the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had

been organised, most of the countries disagreed the agreement. Obviously, India undertook the policy of economic protection. The next big neighbour had already been exercising the closed economic system. The then bipolar world had not only polarised political system but it had equally led the economic system to the same direction.

There has always been two schools of economic thoughts- one says that the national resources should be controlled by the government to assure its access by every citizen of the country whereas the next thought doesn't believe it. It believes that its use should be entrusted in private hands to maximize the use. Both the systems are tested. It is very difficult to prove the supremacy of one over the other, because the economic system is only a part of the whole systems.

Selection of Economic System

Nepal did not follow a single established thought as its economic policy. It always tried to please the resourceful nations with the hope that they might extend their support to Nepal.

Some of the philosophers think that defect is not in the system but it is in the enforcement. It is not true. For the proper functioning of a system, the support institutions have to be developed to its fullest extent. If an economic system is not selected properly, the necessary institutions do not take desired shape. For example, cooperative is the backbone of the socialist economy whereas the market agents and different market layers connecting through a system chain from producer to the final consumers are different market institutions for market led/capitalist

economic systems. Likely, the culture of consumption in both the economic systems is different.

These established principles are recited here not to make anybody aware but to prove that Nepal did not take the course of one or the other system to let the system full float and take a definite direction. With the false hope of taking the positive values of both the economy, it lost the essence of both and became a system which actually had no spirit of its own.

The authority of the country not only mismatched it, but also imposed to make this appear like a established economic system. All the universities and college are ordered to teach the concept of so- called mixed economics. Curriculum of every level is developed presuming the positive parts of the systems. The system had been followed until the beginning of 1990s.

It gave temporary relief to the politicians and those who assumed the government. Planning of different levels were prepared and also supported by the annual planning, however the target was never met. The priorities of the nations were set different in different five-year plans. Neither reason was given why the priorities were changed if the target had not been met within the planning period nor it was evaluated. Even if it had been done, it was not brought to the public notice. It seemed that the planning of the country had been done not on the basis of the actual situation on the ground but on the basis of what people on the top level feel.

Different nations like China and the then USSR agreed to help in building infrastructures and provide some factories in the condition that the government is willing to run them and distribute the benefit to every citizen/community indiscriminately. Different factories

and set ups were given by the friendly nations. Hydro-Electric power, Road Construction, Transportation support, and even machinery for basic level productions were supported by them. Government agreed to run those establishments. As a result, many Public Enterprises mushroomed rapidly.

On the other hand, some other countries did not like the government to be directly involved in the production activities and supported the programmes like new-education policy which basically was rooted in self study and open book examination system. This could have been the best learning/teaching methods but the university and the behaviour of the students/learners cultured in different system could not cope up with new changes.

This mixed economic system confused people, workers, producers, market agents and every wings of economic mechanism. The cooperative drive had been very strong in late 60s and 70s. Forced saving system had been launched by the government itself to facilitate the farmers. Cooperative training centres were organised and the cooperative banks (which was later converted into Agriculture Development Bank) had been launched. However the system could not change the intension and intensity of people who had been in favour of private profit. It actually had to support the real producer and final consumers to discourage the profit agents in different layers. Everyone who had been trained up to work in the cooperative was full of profit motives which led them to squeeze the real beneficiaries and pocket the profit for their personal benefit. This was because the profit institutions were equally active and they had been enjoying personal benefits. People think about herself/himself and her/his prosperity before adopting

some common benefits. This definitely led the cooperative system to failure. People also started to think that this is being done to support the then autocratic political system.

Effects of the Dreary System

The demonstration effect had played a great role in configuring the consumption pattern and the shape of the market. It had been so effective in the past. Fast means of transportation and communication like television through satellite system revolutionized the pattern of consumption. It created a global market of products. This gave a big leap to market economy. The scientific and technical development had proliferated useful gadgets to make the life of people easier and fun. This also led people to think more of the personal benefits and the use of resources than never before.

Nepalese Economy after 1990s

The age of global bi-polarisation was over together with the fall of USSR. The market economy in different countries reached to its limit and compelled everyone to agree on the doctrine that private profit motivates entrepreneurship and leads economic system with what market dictates. One has to agree that the era of subsidy and self-sustained economic development has phased out. Even the governments who strived to prove that the self-sustained is better than the dependent economy compelled to think about opening its door to let the new technology and capital in.

As said above, till 1990 Nepal did not experience the full float of one or the other system. This means that it did

not gain experience and even could not develop the necessary institutions for either of them. But after 1990, it had taken a clear path of market economy. Most of the government owned institutions were sold and others are prepared to privatise. All these business enterprises were taken as the burden though most of them had been directly concerned with the life of public. However, one has to agree that the public enterprises were neither following the norms of providing services to the public nor earning for the government. It was partly because of the government interference and partly because of the corruption and misuse of powers within the enterprises itself.

There is no specific answer now whether it is right or wrong to follow the market economy and entrust the whole national resources to the private individuals but this period should be taken as a milestone for the capitalistic economic practices. Since Nepal has taken the route to go to WTO, there is no other way round, however it has to address some of the basic present day characteristics of the national economy.

Informal economy

Business environment has contributed a lot in the personal behaviour of accumulating more wealth with whatever the mean. This had also been encouraged by the politicians who hold the power in the government. Although the bribe, corruption and any type of unfair earning or "unearned income and wealth" are punishable crime by the prevailing laws of the country, it has also gained a type of social status. Nobody shows any concern how somebody has earned an amount of money to show-off more than his capacity, but it has positive impact that

somebody has built a big stucco bungalow and has a shining car and is also loaded with gold ornaments. This could be the part of social aspects but economy has also much to do with this. The first thing is that it has created a big sized informal economy where the formal sector cannot reach and will not be administered as well.

It is equally true that the law of utility is also applicable in money. The section of the society who earns such "unearned income" is equally irrational in spending. They do not show much love to money. Had they developed the habit of investing such income/wealth in productive activities, it would have helped the economy in the long term. However, they are happy to build houses with the money and decorate it lavishly which is sterile in economic sense or buy a new and expensive car which helps to set the multiplier effect in the economy where it is manufactured, or buy gold ornament which is convertible but costs foreign currency. All these activities did not help the economy of the country. In the first place, the culture of unearned income has set an example of undue expectations of others which undermines the fair economic activities. Hence it is very difficult to forecast the trend of market/consumption and investment.

None-Government Sector

Although there had been None Government Organisations (NGOs) in Nepal, the NGOs as such are the campaign of the last quarter of the last millennium. The campaign does not claim to revolutionise the economic aspects of Nepal but in total it has encompassed some of the economic process as well. Some of the NGOs working in Nepal are supported by their particular governments and others have been using charity resources. The major concern here is

that the resource that is flowing into Nepal is not structured. The donors can choose wherever and whatever the way he wants to spend his resources in the country. The money they have been spending has not been helping people to be rational in earning and expenditure. The communities who are in the catchment of the NGOs delivering services are feeling the service as windfall gain. It has spoiled the habit of the beneficiaries. They have started to think that they are the instruments of bringing the money in the country. With the same virtue, they have been demanding undue benefits.

Everyone has to understand that expansion of NGOs and the trust of different governments, resourceful foreign charities and individuals give us the message that the Government of Nepal is neither capable nor honest in disseminating the resources to the right beneficiaries. Had HMG/N been honest and clever, it would have directed resources to the right direction to have real effect in social and economic activities. The Government which has the policy of utilising the private sector had to be clever enough to capitalise the flow of such resources. Unfortunately, even after so many years it does not seem that government has a concrete policy to channel it to the right direction.

Disappearing Labour Force

The history of considerable amount of remittance from selling labour of the country dates back to the days when Nepalese started to serve the British Gurkha battalion. The global flow of information, economic growth of different country demanding more labours coupled with the low economic activities resulting low creation of work in the home economy, low security in the country and

many other elements have forced the youths to leave Nepal. It seems that the Government is also happy with the status and is inducing the youths to leave the country by making favourable rules for them. It might also be one of the conditions of globalisation. In doing so one has to think that the cheap labour is one of the bases of industrial development of market economy. No native or foreign investor will be ready to invest if they do not believe that they are able to compete in the global market by producing comparatively cheaper than its competitor. Hence, by sending the labour to the foreign land, Nepal is losing one of the competitive strength against the global competitor or even helping its foreign competitor by providing access to the cheap labour force.

Civil War

Peace is the precondition of economic development where the business can succeed and create different effects in the economy. However, the country is in war, movement of products are blocked and the business enterprises are threatened against operation. As a result, the already small local market is dwindling again and the investors have been undertaking low profile in the business. No light is seen at the end of the tunnel. This, of course, is not the conducive condition to pull the sleeves and be prepared to go in the global arena, however the government could have definitely thought of the solution although we are not aware of any.

There could be so many economic problems on the way but the above said ones are the most important ones. The developed countries will not favour the least developed ones like Nepal for ever. They have to learn to survive on their own. If the small fry like Nepal would like to

survive from the big fishes, it has to prepare and promote itself to go towards the following direction.

Investment

Nepalese economy has experienced different ages. In 1960s the country had been looking for the grants to support economic activities. After that, both the givers and the receivers experienced that grants are not favourable. Countries and/or the multilateral organisations agreed to extend loans to the receiving countries or undertook the national projects as an alternative. As explained already the socialist countries concentrated more on infrastructures whereas the capitalist countries concentrated more on systems and social activities.

The concept could have worked had the office holders of His Majesty's Government of Nepal displayed some concern to the national economy on the aspect that the loan should be repaid with the income generated upon completion and successful operation of the specific project. Nobody took ownership of the loan and its best use. It seemed that everybody tried to survive with the present rather than seeing the future of the country and people. No government authority would have accepted this accusation then, but it is proved now that the resources had not been used wisely for the economic benefits. Most of the projects implemented were more on the interest of the giver than the need/interest of the country. Whatever may be the reason, both the grant and loan systems could not make successful history in the country.

Whether in the name of capital accumulation or investment, both the capitalists as well as socialists like

to put more resources into production to enrich the economy. The field and purpose could be different. The socialist economists believe that the investment should be prioritised in the area the benefit of which is distributed throughout the society whereas the capitalists believe that the investment should be made where there is market of the product/service and can bring higher proceeds. If we are talking about the precondition of Nepalese economy which has to compete in the global context, we definitely have to think about the global economy and global market. It gives us the clear indication that the investment should be in the area where it brings high proceeds.

Investment is needed both for the production, research and development of the new products, and introduction of new technology to be competitive in the global market. However, before going into investment it is necessary to select the right industry suitable for the country. It is very easy to say the "right industry" but equally difficult to select some suitable ones. Concerning Nepalese economy, first of all, it has to project and position itself in the global market as a competitor. While projecting itself and finding the potential position, it has to think of some of the aspects before going into production. Its own capacity in capital investment, technological support, availability of human resources and the global or niche market are the primary aspects. It is, therefore, clear that it cannot think about going into the advanced technology like space or jet technology.

For competitive price and quality, some of the conditions should be fulfilled. At least one of the conditions of production should be favourable or the market niche should be secured. The industry should be

concentrating in the areas like a) raw materials supporting the production, b) the skilled/semi skilled labour availability c) appropriate technology and d) size of the capital investment within its control. Since the country is taking the clear path of open market economy where capital is the backbone, it should not be worried about the size of the market if and only if the conditions of WTO are fully accepted by all the member countries. Even in this case, the success could be uphill due to its geographical position of the country. To address the problem of geophysical condition, it has to concentrate on high value low volume products. However, in some cases the geophysical conditions and the climate diversity could be the opportunity.

Example: In the off-season, apples from New Zealand are found in Nepali market. We know the off season of apple in Nepali market is the peak season in New Zealand and vice versa. If the apple from New Zealand can be sold in Nepalese market why the same or better Nepali product cannot be sold in New Zealand? If it is not sold, it could be the matter of taste and the quality of the apple. Somebody could laugh at the idea because the juicy and zesty apple of Jomsom is either not available in Nepali market or is more expensive than the imported one. The answer is that the infrastructure and even the superstructures needed for the business should be in place to control the target market. No rule of WTO could help any Nepalese product if the cheapest mean of transportation to deliver the product is not managed and unless a special group of consumers are ready to pay for it. Together with this, Nepal has to know how to grow the taste and quality demanded by the potential clients of the destination market.

This is the era of investment in the economy. The investment could be generated within the country or invited from outside. We know the development history of Taiwan and South Korea where the foreign investment is utilised properly. This has given them sufficient chance to use the land and labour of the country. The industrialists/entrepreneurs adopted it very efficiently which slowly made it indigenous. If we believe that this can be replicated in every country, why not Nepal! If every country is going towards the global market, no country can close its door for the system. But, if the door is opened without preparing for it, it can be suicidal. Investment in the economy is the answer.

Competitive Advantage

Potential investors invest as and when they find competitive advantage in the venture. The same behaviour of the international investors reflects in the competitive advantage of the nation. If the national resources could not contribute sufficient MARGIN to go to the global market the country can not attract the investors. The margin is received from different production activities and learning curve of the business. The primary activities like managing necessary inputs in the factory, operation, sending the products to the market. marketing and sales and service after sales are the major sources of creating margin. Although every firm knows that these are the areas where margins can be created, they simply cannot save from the activities. That is the reason of swelling the production cost causing the price higher than the competitor. Different suggestions are put forward to save the cost. Carrying cost can be slashed down by producing the actual demand so that the producer has virtually zero storage of raw material and finished goods. Careful

production activities and the learning attitude of the managers and the workers bring the cost down, however it is not that easy job to lead the cost activities to a leak-proof channel. Careful production process which minimises the waste also is one of the cost saving techniques.

The support activities like firm infrastructure, employed human resources, technological know-how of the establishment and efficient procurement system are also the areas where margins are created. Both the primary and support activities help in keeping the marginal and average cost below the competitor to create higher profit margins by selling the product in competitive prices.

Everybody is aware that the price is not always the determinant factor to remain in the market. If the target market is identified properly and the product is positioned accordingly, the company can shift its position in the market and the competitors are changed which facilitates to capitalise a different market niche.

Quality and price

People feel that the quality and the cost of production travel together. It is not always true. Sometimes better quality can be produced in comparatively low cost. Let us take two companies working in different environments producing the same product. Inputs are the same but the workers are different. If the workers are motivated and take the company and the work as their virtue will put their heart and soul in the production process. As a result, they will have low wastage and consequently low cost of production than the other company. Definitely, the company with motivated workers and management will be more competitive than the others.

The concept of Total Quality Management is the outcome of the Japanese production management system where the performance evaluation of any company is not done on the basis of the bottom line monetary profit but on the basis of the quality of the product. They not only stick on the quality of the product but also promote the workers and the people in the managerial level on the basis of their quality performance. This system has brought the cost down and the quality high. This is more of human performance and that can be done only by the real committed work force. Most of the well known companies who have been competing in the global market have accepted the challenging "6a" in quality (very- very low variation) as their production norm.

The above are the theoretical tools to fight in the business arena. It does not see the size of the land of a country but it has to have the commitments of the investors, workers, managers and those who create milieu of global business. Nepal should not be afraid of its size and geophysical position but has to have the commitment and capacity of going the route of the global market. Let us see how the present status of Nepalese economy is and if it can accept the challenge posed by the combination of different systems of the country.

Nepalese Economy as of Now

Since the country is in war, the data of the past will be less effective in forecasting the future. Obviously the Nepalese economy is based on agriculture. The industrial growth of the country had been and is very slow. The international investors are not interested in investing into the country. The reason or the combination of the

reasons could be the size of national market, geographical location of the country, availability of national resources, level of infrastructure, and, of course, the political instability which is, as said already, the primary condition of economic development.

The conflict of the country has created a situation in the villages that nobody conflicting the insurgents can live in their native village. To escape from the political situation, youths have been leaving their villages. They have either crossed the border to win bread or have become refugee in the bigger cities or the district headquarters. This has created a situation that agriculture sector is feeling pressure of productive work force. Although the agriculture sector of the country has still to be commercialised, it is still the source of substance of the farmers. With the new situation of outflow of productive labour force, agriculture production is bound to go down. If agriculture could not provide input to the industry and rather become net importer, the economy cannot stand on its own.

There had been quite a few industries running in the country. Most of the industries are either blown up by the insurgents or threatened to close down. Some of the service industries like Banks, Telecommunications, Health services are still working but these are also concentrating in the cities. In total, the economy has become city centered. However, the over crowded cities have very few jobs to offer to the immigrants from the village. This has invited the activities like looting the well-offs, killing people, leaving the family and children unattended in the village, running brothels in the cities and selling girls for prostitution, using alcohol and doing other unethical and anti-social activities. All the

economic and social norms had never run down so low before.

The government has been inducing the youths to leave the country. This could open a debate whether they have to leave the nation to generate small remittance by serving the foreign economy or they have to be treated as the back-bone of the national economy to become competitive in the global market. As said above, the labour resource could be the opportunity of the country to entice the local and foreign investors. The trend of sending labour to the foreign countries could ultimately discourage the investment which is a great disappointment in the course of industrialisation. It does not facilitate to go into the global business.

It seems that applying for the membership of WTO and jumping into the world trade arena is more of political decision than the industrial and business maturity. Whatever the reason, it has already joined the arena. The WTO knows very well that it is for the benefit of the developed countries. That must be the reason that it has given a definite time period to the developing countries before they are obligated to bring down the tariff rates or make it completely free. One of the reasons of underdevelopment of any economy is the interest, intensity, integrity and institutions of the human resource holding the Government positions where decisions are made or taken. They are both in the policy making and execution level. The very force is responsible to lead the country and the economy to the prosperity or poverty. Would they be able to lead the country to the comfortable position in the given period of time?

In principle, the time period given by WTO might not be sufficient to Nepal. Corruption is rampant everywhere-

political field, policy making body, execution, economic field: from production to distribution. The legacy of corruption has become the culture of the society which is not easy to change. It takes generations. Hence the definite time period allocated by WTO might not be sufficient even if sincere attempt is made from now. Is the present system able to put the following elements in place in order to be benefit from global business?

Political Stability

It was assumed that the political dispute had been over after the constitution of Nepal 2047 came into practice. All the political parties participated in the first general election. All of them had their own manifesto for the country and people. An elected government had been formed. However, the law makers and the house could not respect the verdict of people and could not fulfil their aspirations after the political changes. Most of those who were trusted by the general public were found more self-centred.

The constitution of Nepal, 2047 could not fulfil the rift of political camps divided on by the virtue of their beliefs. Those who wanted radical changes could not accept the verdict of people rather started to work in different directions. Again the political instability in the country started and has reached to a considerable size now. The Maoists capitalised some basic characteristics of Nepal- a) the extreme social system divided either on the basis of caste or economy, b) the inefficiency of the elected government and its hypocritical nature of promising to the public and forgetting after assuming the position, c) fear psychosis of people which is the best tool of administering the subjects. The combination of the

elements helped them to have some number of committed human resources and forced the others to agree on their doctrine.

Political stability has a lot to do with the stable government and economic development of the country. These days no crime in the name of insurgents is punishable. Nobody is obligated to obey the rules and regulations. On the other hand, Maoists have been assuring people that they level the nulls and dells of the society and economy. In total the economic situation is in complete chaos. Obviously, no individual investor is ready to risk his capital in this situation. It seems that the country is looking the army solution for the problem.

Government Policy

Actually the political instability has led tri-party power struggle in the country. The de-jury government claims that the power is with it but in-fact it has no mandate from the sovereignty to take decision in favour of the country and people. The result is instability in the government policy. So both the home as well as the international investors do not like to take the *country risk* in making investment in the economy. They are definitely afraid of the unstable government policy, insecurity of their investment and private use of their earnings.

In this scenario, before taking any benefit from the WTO membership, the government has to assure the capitalists/investors/entrepreneurs that proceed of the private investment is guaranteed to the investors. The confidence is gained from the behaviour of the authority not from the lip service. Once the situation is created,

inflow of capital will start. This will create capital adequacy in the economy which is the fundamental condition of growth and development. It seems that Nepal is standing quite far from proving it.

Identification of the industry

It is sufficiently elaborated how a country should identify the industries which can create competitive advantage of the nation. It has to identify the industry in which it can be competitive. It depends on the competitiveness of itself and the players/competitors it chooses in the global market. The nation has to understand where its strength lies and what are the opportunities it can capitalise to lead the industry.

Trained and disciplined labour force

One of the factors creating competitive advantage of the nation is the available labour force. The educational institutions can play a vital role in achieving the target. Curriculum of the educational enterprises should be redesigned which best suits to address the problem of untrained labour force so that the graduates of the educational institutions should not wander here and there to in search of job.

Discipline should be restored not only in the labour force but in every aspect of the activities. The provision of punishment is one of the factors of the police state; not naming a welfare one. Not the labour force but the disciplined labour force is the resource which creates competitive advantage of the nation in investment.

Role of the Government/Institutions

Once the WTO policy is fully agreed, the role of government in the global business and protection of national interest goes down. However, the government and other institutions can help the business units by creating better ground of production.

If the government could facilitate some of the inputs, products can easily compete in the global market. For example; if the government or the electricity authority can provide power to the industry in very low or no price, the cost goes down and the product can compete in the market. Likely, if the cost of borrowing is comparatively low, the cost of production goes down which means the product can compete in the market.

Once the Government has taken the course of market economy, it should show generosity in providing access to the national resources. The government should also be able to show its courage to discourage the underground power play of the nations which always comes on the way of using the available resources for the benefit of the nation.

Although especial favour of a country or the community is not the motto of the fair play through WTO, undercurrent of the political decision always helps or discourages the products in the market. This suggests the government that its relations with the market-states should be cool.

Finally, the consumers are the determinants in the market led economy. Sometimes consumers not only look at the price and quality of the products but also care the origin of the product. Even if a small portion of the consumers show their positive prejudice to the product, no government will have to be worried about the

products. However, it will be too optimistic assumption in the market economy.



Ethnic and Dalit Issue and Conflict Transformation

- Nilam Sangroula

Origin of Ethnicity:

History of ethnic group in Nepal is the "history of Mangol-Kirat". Baburam Acharya was of the view that Kirat were the first inhabitants of Nepal. Kirat belongs to the Tribal group of Austro-Asian. This ancient tribe seems to be the main inhabitants of Nepal. Some historical evidences show that five thousand years ago, the Tibeto-Burman (Mangol), the sect of Austro-Asian family, entered Nepal from Burma via Asam. They couldn't create their own identity because they came to Nepal in a group taking many years of time. Therefore, their culture and other identity mingled with Kirat. The century long process of union between indigenous Kirat and Mangol made the infrastructure of development of the present ethnic Mangol-Kirat.

According to Prem Bahadur Limbu, Kirat, the first ruler of Nepal, suffered defeat of Kathmandu valley, the important

area of their rein in 236 B.C. by the invasion of Lichhavis. But their rein was in existence in Banepa before king Prithivi Narayan Shah invaded in 1831 B.S. Likewise, states of Gandaki which were ruled by Mangol Kirat came under the control of Khasa (Neupane).

In the mission of Gorkha's expansion some of the ethnic groups were trusted with top position. However, they found themselves ignored later by the ruling coalition of shah-chhetri and Bahun gurus. Some historians observed that, of the total 49, there were at least 10 Magers and Gurungs who held the status of Kaji between the year 1768 and 1814. Abhiman sing Rana, General of Magar Ethnic group, who was killed in the Kot Massacre, was the last high ranking ethnic Janajati figure in the royal court of Nepal, thereafter there is no record of an ethnic Janajati holding top rank in military, judiciary and bureaucracy (D.B. Gurung).

Origin of Dalit/Untouchability

Manusmatri has described seven types of group of the individual as Dalit or untouchables.

1. Prisoner of war,
2. Those who accepts Servitude for their livelihood,
3. Children of the women servant,
4. Person who are bought,
5. Person found in oblation,³⁰
6. Children of the serf father,
7. Person punished by the king and outlawed,

³⁰ Religious gift

It is found that the Aryans who belonged to the lower class and those non Aryans who are conquered were called Dalit/untouchables. It is also found that the ruler of that time established a system for certain community as 'need to be purified' and 'need not be purified'. Those who need to be purified are called *Ashad-Sudra* and those who need not to be purified are *Shad-Sudra*. In *Ashad-sudra*, the main groups are Kami, Demai, Sarki, Pode, Chame, Kasai, Ghaine, Badi, Mushahar etc and in *Shad-Sudra* Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Tharu etc. are classified. Therefore, the Dalit of our time are the prey of the unjust system created by the Khasa.

According to Baburam Acharya, in inception, Aryans used to admit Kirat as untouchable making them serf in society. This statement clearly established the fact that Dalit relationship established not only with Khasa there is a consanguinity relationship with Kirat as well (*Chhapa Ma Dalit*).

King Jayasthity Malla (1360-95) is largely accused of institutionalizing the caste based stratification in Nepal. The 1854 penal code prepared by the Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana further solidified the caste based on stratification. The 1990 constitution, the civil rights Act-1955 and the Defamation Act-1963 are some efforts to create a 'caste-based discrimination free' society. But these efforts remained as papery slogan without bringing any significant change in society. In fact, the continual tyrannical attack by the Khasa on Dalit who denied them as a family, community, and barred them from all the potentialities of the development, ultimately united them to raise voices against the discrimination.

Various thoughts and policies regarding ethnicity

- The first school of thought emphasises on protection and reservation instead of liberating them from oppression. This is a policy of protectionism;
- The second school of thought believes that it creates fission among the people when we leave places for different caste and culture. This is the thought of autocratic Panchayat ruler. The identity of the individual Ethnic group was indirectly attacked under the "fusion policy of Panchayat".
- The third school of thought advocates equality regarding caste and ethnic problem. This thought advocates equality based on recognition of the equal individual personality of all.
- The fourth school of thought raises the question of equity. This school of thought believes that if the lame is to compete with the able-bodied; we have to give the lame enough amenities which boost it up to compete with the able-bodied.

Our different parties represent directly or indirectly one of the four schools of thought. Here, we have their policy.

Source: Chhapa Ma Janajati

Manifesto of Different Parties Regarding Ethnic and Dalit Issues.

Nepali Congress Manifesto (in nutshell)

General election – 1999

Aborigines-ethnic

- Nepali congress will immediately implement the policy to form an independent council that will search out, preserve

and develop the knowledge, skill, art and culture with keeping in mind that our country is a cluster of a community inhabited by multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and cultural diversity.

Untouchable and neglected class

- Right representation will be given for Dalit in a nation's political decision process, a bill will be presented for the holistic development and representation of the neglected likewise, emphasis will be given for the management of proper representation of Dalit and neglected class in a party's different level.
- An independent council will be constituted for the upliftment of Dalit class and provision of high scholarship, continuation and expansion of scholarship and a program that used the art, skill and knowledge will be declared.

Nepal Communist Party (UML) Manifesto- 1999

Equal right for entire caste, ethnicity, language, religion and culture: the base for well –refined, civilized and courteous society.

- There should be an end of discrimination based on caste, ethnicity, language, religion and culture- and legal provisions that create equal right, opportunity and facility for all caste, ethnic groups and language will be set forth.
- Special management will be provided for the society and development of deprived caste, ethnic, language and culture.
- The right will be guaranteed for all citizens to acquire education up to primary level in their respective mother tongue.

- History will be written searching different caste and ethnic individuals who have given important contribution in the Nation building. The person and organization, who have given contribution for protection and development of various caste-ethnic, art and culture, will be felicitated.
- Culture heritage, which are scattered in every nook and corner of the country will be protected. Special protection will be given to ethnic art, culture and literature, which are on the verge of extinction.
- Discouraging the tendency of national fission, isolationism and communalism, the policy that emphasized social goodness and equality will be enacted.
- The policy and assumption which are the bases of peoples national unity within various caste, ethnic, language, religion and culture for the just and democratic state will be concretized.
- Scholars and distinguished genius of various ethnic groups will be felicitated and encouraged.
- A campaign that brings to an end of superstition, untouchability along with social ills will be mobilized.

United People's Front (Nepal) Manifesto-1999

- There should be an end of legal and constitutional provision that differentiate between caste ethnic and religious communities.
- Ethnic autonomy should be given to different caste and ethnic group.
- A special campaign should be mobilized that practically eradicate the untouchability. A school, hospital, temple, spring (Tap), public function, feast and in a business of

milk and Ghee- oil etc. which encouraged untouchability will be made punitive.

- Inter -caste marriage should be encouraged.
- Traditional tribal business should be encouraged.
- Reservation system should be there in the area of education and employment for the Dalit, deprived and minorities.
- National assembly should be made a Tribal assembly. Everyone should be given right to present in their tribal attire and tribal language.

Rastrya Prajatantra Party (RPP) Manifesto – 1999

Ethnic problem and solution: Identification of Nepalese culture and prowess.

Its programs includes,

- Implementation of UN provision on rights of minorities and indigenous population.
- Establishment of National Census Commission-2001. Compulsory participation of Ethnic groups in National Planning Commission.
- Proportional representation of Ethnic population, Terai Madishe, minorities Dalit and deprived class in National Assembly.
- Recognition of all National languages as language of the nation.
- Recognition of the right to the education in mother-tongue. Curriculum, teachers and schools will be gradually managed.

- Participation of ethnic population in decision making level by broadening the working area of ethnic academy.
- Public holiday and physical facility will be provided in the festival of all caste and community.
- Research on ethnicity is institutionally encouraged.
- In brief, solution of the problem will be searched, placing the ethnic in the mainstream of the Nation.

Proposed provision to address the issues by Maoist

Maoists demand for the right to self determination to address the problem of the oppressed class and accordingly, they demand for autonomy of the ethnic groups and Dalit. For the solution of the ethnic and Dalit problem Maoist have adopted the following strategies.

- a. Establishment of people's republican form of government with actual representation of oppressed class, ethnic, Dalit community, deprived Terai inhabitants etc. by destroying the existing feudal Hindu high caste reactionary monarchical form of government protected by the foreign imperialists.
- b. There should be an end to any kind of exploitation and oppression on the basis of caste, language, religion and cultures, provincial and class differentiation.
- c. Elimination of the prerogative rights given to the Hindu high caste in their language, religion, culture etc. there should be development of the affinity of fraternity, good faith, equality and freedom among the caste group.
- d. Right should be given to run autonomous regime for the various deprived caste, ethnic and provincial language.

- A full fledged liberty should be provided to held and run the programme in economic, social, lingual, educational, cultural etc. for the development of these Tribal autonomous provinces.
- e. Establishment of the Ethnic council with proportional representation in the central people's congress from these autonomous provinces to frame a nation's constitution and law.
 - f. Special concentration on entry and participation in political process, administration and various sectors of economic development without any discrimination likewise, special concentration should be given to run economic and social development programmes in the Terai along with the deprived regions.
 - g. Special protection and development of deprived Ethnic like Chepang, Raute, Raji, Majhi, Darai, and Kumal who are on the verge of extinction. Multi programmes should be run for the development of these ethnic.
 - h. Emphasis on raising their social dignity respectfully, eradicating completely the untouchability upon Dalit of valley, Hill, Tarai who are the prey of the custom of caste and untouchable.
 - i. Special priority in each sector like education for Dalit, administration, health, construction and development.
 - j. Free education in all language likewise, means of communication, government notice etc. should be available in all language.
 - k. Establishment of Ethnic academy for the protection and development of various deprived caste, ethnic language and culture. Foreign promiscuous culture should be prohibited.

- l. End of prerogative right given only to the Hindu religion, there should be an establishment of secular state by separating from the state and all kinds of religion should be provided independence on the equal basis.
- m. Equal opportunity for the protection and development of all language making to an end of prerogative right giving only to the Khasa language by the present Hindu elite class likewise, any language should not be made medium language and use of language in the area of governmental work, education etc. should be related to the ethnic volition.

Maoist Initiatives on Ethnic Issues

- 1991: Adoption of agenda on secular state and linguistic/ethnic equality.
- November 1994: Formation of Akhil Nepal Janajati Sangh (All Nepal Nationalities Association)
- July 1995: Adoption of 'Ethnic policy in Nepal' (regional autonomy, equality of languages, Secular national ethnic academy, focus on uplift of endangered ethnics).
- February 1996: Out of forty demands, four addressed ethnic concerns (secular state, equality of languages, regional autonomy, end of ethnic oppression).
- January 1997: Adoption of ethnic autonomy with the right of self-determinism.
- August 1998: Establishment of Ethnic Department at central level. United People's Front dissolved and formation of 9 ethnic and 2 regional fronts.

- February 2001: Emphasis on ethnic and regional fronts as the organization basis of the New People's Government.
- May 2001: Formation of United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) and proportion of nine autonomous regions (6 ethnic, 3 geographic); high representation of ethnic fronts in District and Village committees of People's Government.

Source; Harka Gurung "Social Exclusion and Maoist insurgency" (Paper presented at National Dialogue Conference on ILO convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples).

Table 1: Social Composition of Maoist Organizations

Social Group	United Revolutionary Council	People's Government		Total	%
		Chair-person	Vice-Chairperson		
Hill caste	17	7	11	35	43.75
1. Bahun	13	3	5	21	
2. Chhetri	4	3	3	10	
3. Thakuri	-	1	3	4	
Hill Ethnic	15	14	7	36	45
4. Magar	4	4	2	10	
5. Tamang	1	5	1	7	
6. Newar	4	1	-	5	
7. Gurung	1	2	2	5	
8. Rai	2	-	-	2	
9. Limbu	1	1	1	3	
10. Gharti	2	1	-	3	
11. Darai	1	-	-	1	
Tarai Caste	1	-	-	1	1.25
12. Goit	1	-	-	1	

Terai Ethnic	2	1	-	3	3.75
13. Tharu	1	1	-	2	
14. Rajbansi	1	-	-	1	
Dalit	2	1	2	5	6.25
15. Kami	1	1	-	2	
16. Damai	1	-	-	1	
Others	-	-	2	2	
Total	37	23	20	80	100

Source; Harka Gurung "Social Exclusion and Maoist insurgency" (Paper presented at National Dialogue Conference on ILO convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples).

Interim Manifesto of Limbuwan National Liberation Front-2000

Their demands include:

- Amendment of the constitution on the basis of the principle of secularism by changing the base of the constitution and laws which is built upon Hindu religion and culture.
- The present National assembly should be changed into the powerful ethnic council with proportional representation of all caste.
- Elimination of the provision of the constitution that makes a language compulsory. The provision of compulsory Sanskrit language should be omitted from the curriculum. Education in mother-tongue should be provided as soon as possible. Governmental notice, document, constitution, laws etc. should be published in all language.

- Provision of employment in the Limbuwan area by establishing employment oriented cottage and industries.
- Limbuwan autonomy should be given.
- Development programmes for the protection and development of Limbu caste.
- Participation of the Limbu caste in the all area of education, health, development and construction.

Policy and Programme of Khambuwan National Front

The fifth meeting of khambuwan National Front was held in 2053/08/22-23 in Ratancha (Khotang). The extracts of the meeting are as follows

- On the occasion of 46th revolution day and world indigenous decade declared by United Nations Khambuwan national front proudly announced- Khambuwan autonomy within 2057(B.S).
- With explicitly prolonging the article of 4 (1), 11 (3) and 25 (4) of The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal-1990, the Kirat Nation- Khambuwan should be established.
- Restoring the right of self determination of Khambu declared by UNO on the occasion of world indigenous year and indigenous decade, Interim Government under the leadership of Khambuwan national Front shall be organized dismissing the entire political and administrative body.
- People will make sovereign by the right of autonomy (Khambuwan's own reign), freeing them from the colonial exploitation of army, police and employee directed by the central governing system of His Majesty's

Government and compensation should be provided for Khambuwan as per the provision of international law.

- The Right of Khambuwan over natural resources and all programmes operating in the land of Khambuwan shall be reestablished.
- The legislative assembly organized by the interim government of Khambuwan will make the constitution of Khambuwan for the weal of the inhabitants of Khambuwan and a well organized Khambuwan will make dynamic.
- Autonomous Khambuwan Government will be organized under the leadership of Khambuwan National Front before 2057 Mansir 24 (50th revolution day) by the constructive revolution.
- If obstruction rise in the processes of organization of autonomous Khambu government till 2057 Mansir 24, a parallel Khambu government of His Majesty's Government will be organized to let down this colonialist regime.

Main Issues Raised by Janajati Mahasangh (Federation of Indigenous Nationalities)

- a. Nepal should be declared a secular state.
- b. A provision should be made for giving education in mother tongue up to primary level; the compulsory Sanskrit education should be ousted.
- c. The present National Assembly should be rendered into the House of the Nationalities.
- d. Ethnic ministry and foundation should be established.
- e. Errors in census should be omitted.

- f. Those kinds of book which stumble the self esteem of the ethnic should be removed from the university or school curriculum.
- g. Programmes should be launched in various language of ethnic from the means of communication like Radio Nepal.
- h. The articles and sub articles of the constitution should be ousted or amended which doesn't hang together for the well being and development of the ethnic.
- i. Employment oriented economic programme should be launched for the ethnic for their economic advancement.
- j. Scholarship and reservation provision should be declared for the ethnic in education, service and politics.
- k. Unilateral breach of the truce by the state with the ethnic and snatched the traditional right over natural resources that should be compensated and rehabilitated.
- l. The right of self-determination should be given to restore the well being of the ethnic.
- m. Political parties should make public their formal policy and programme on ethnic.

Harka Gurung's view to solve the Ethic problem

He has described the four **DHARA** to solve the problem of Janajati.

- a. Balindra Dhara: Generation of generation had shed tears continually drop by drop due to the discriminatory penal code. The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal-1990 cannot wipe their eyes.

- b. Sundhara: This is private property of elite class. The Sundhara belonged to some of the tribal who have recognized Nepali language as the language of the nation, from this the mother tongue of the ethnic is in stock and it caused negative impact on culture.
- c. Dhunge Dhara: Dhunge Dhara remains unmoved with ordinary labor. The concept of the Hindu Kingdom on the article of the constitution (4) (1) is the continuation of religious monopoly which is the opposite with the right of equality (11) (2).
- d. Amrit Dhara: The above **DHARA** are the main causes of injustice against ethnic groups, for the solution he had managed some Amrit Dhara, which are as follows.
 - Autonomy or proportional representation.
 - Policy of multi lingual.
 - Secularism.
 - Positive steps for the ethnic upliftment.

Source; NFDIN Report # 02, 2004

An outline of existing problem

From the observation and understanding of the problem being faced by the population of minorities and other marginalised groups, it is outlined that the historical facts created by racial discrimination, marginalization in economic and social, and rampant poverty are the major causes of the present crisis in Nepal. Another burning problem of Nepal is castism and untouchability that was institutionalized by Jayasthity Malla. He not only institutionalized the castism in Nepal but also left the legacy of unending untouchability, which is still stigmatizing the humane dignity. The 2001 census stated the voluminous number of the ethnic and Dalit community. The ethnic group represents 37.2 % (Human Development

Report-2004) and Dalit 12.95% (NDC-2003) of the total population of Nepal. Past experience has proved that these communities are marginalized and segregated from the national life. People of these two communities are lagging behind in all walks of life. The rulers of the pre- democratic revolution-1990 had turned a deaf ear to their problem. They only embarked on four castes and thirty-six colours. Thus, the marginalized people's voices have been trampled. They are forced to live in isolation, especially Dalits. This has led them to earnestly take part in the revolution of 1990 to overthrow the unjust system, with hope to get emancipation, freedom and redeem their pledge.

Autocracy collapsed and democracy rose in the country. But the hope of ethnic and Dalit remained in situ. The leaders only paid lip services to them as they used them only for ballots. Though the democracy reinstated, the democratic system doesn't exist. The year's long dedication of leaders for democracy turned into kleptocracy as they began to use power for their own shake. It is no doubt that the establishment of democracy not only liberates the people from the autocratic system but also brings expectations among the downtrodden class of the people for advancement of their life. There was potentiality to make democracy fruitful assembling the expectations rises from the community. But, this simply doesn't operate. The diseased contemplation, which rejects the community, caste and class, create an atmosphere for the aggravation of the mutiny. Younger in age, weak in organization and extremist in principle and strategy, tactfully exploit the resentment. The state mechanism has not been able to sweep the piling problem of ethnic and Dalit. So, the irritated youths lighted on the flame of fire of mutiny/revolution, and made shape of the ongoing people's war. Those who are desirous on equity and justice, found only the way of armed struggle as alternative.

So far as the marginalized area of ethnic and Dalit population, we can basically categories the following areas.

1. In legislative

Legislation determines the long-term and short-term development programmes of the country. Caste structure plays a pivotal role in the development of a society. The below table depicts the caste structure of the upper and the lower house.

Table 2: Caste analysis of the member of National assembly and House of representative.

Level	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
National assembly-1999	35	6	7	4	8	-	60
House of representative-1999	124	30	39	-	12	-	205
Total	159	36	46	4	20		265

Source; Nepal ko Jatya Prasna (2001)

Table 3: House of representative, caste structure of -1999

	Nepali congress		Nepal communist party(UML)		Rastriya prajatantra party(RPP)		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Khasa	73	66.4	47	65.3	5	45.4	7	58.3	132	64.4
Janajati	11	10	13	18.1	1	9.1	0	0	25	12.2
Madhishe	20	18.2	8	11.1	3	27.3	4	33.3	35	17.1
Newar	6	5.4	4	5.5	2	18.2	1	8.3	13	6.3
Dalit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	110	100	72	100	11	100	12	100	205	100

Source; National Dali Commission.

Table 4: Caste analysis of the president of District development committee, Mayor and the Deputy Mayor of the Municipality.

Level	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
DDC President	50	13	7	-	5	-	75
Mayor and Deputy Mayor	57	10	24	-	25	-	116
Total	107	23	31		30		191

Source; Nepal ko Jatya Prasna (2001)

The abovesown tables show the dominance of Khasa in legislative whereas, mere representation of Janajati. Null representation of Dalit could be seen except in National Assembly.

2. Political sector

Table 5: Caste analysis of the central committee member of the political parties.

Parties	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
Nepali congress	23	3	3	-	1		30
Nepal communist party-UML	48	8	3	1	5		65
Rastriya prajatantra party	21	7	7	1	5		41
Nepali congress (democratic)	22	7	2	-	2		33
Total	116	23	15	2	13		169

Source; Field survey (2005)

From the abovesown table it is clearly seen that the condition of Dalit, Terai community and Janajati are under hegemony. The political parties are only sharing the reveries with the ethnic and Dalit. On the one side, they embark on the participation of ethnic and Dalit in the national politics for achieving the harmonious society but on the other hand it is found that they were totally ejected in leadership. A few who gets the privilege, show their reluctance to the problem.

3. In judiciary

Table 6: Caste analysis of the judges of the court.

Courts	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalits	Newar	Other	Total
Supreme	13	-	3	-	2		18
Appellate	52	2	10	-	8		72
District	107	4	5	-	10		126
Total	172	6	18	-	20		216

Source; Supreme Court (2061/8/10)

In judiciary it is clearly seen the dominant number of Khasa and marginalisation of Janajati and Dalits.

Table 7: Caste analysis of the officers who were appointed as a election officers in 1999 election

Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
186	2	8	-	9		205

Source; Nepal ko Jatya Prasna (2001)

Table 8: Caste analysis of the head of the constitutional organs and commissioners of the commission.

Constitutional organ or commission	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
Public service commission	3	1	1	-	1		6
Commission on investigation of abuse of Authority	3	1	-	-	1		5
Planning commission	3		1		2		6
Election commission	3		1		2		6
Attorney General	1						1
Auditor General	1						1
Total	14	2	3		6		25

Source; *Nepal ko Jatya Prasna (2001)*

This table also shows the abundance of Khasa in the constitutional organs and in commission, and the table also shows the reiteration of marginalization of Ethnic and Dalit.

4. In executive

Table 9: Caste analysis of Council of Ministers of the present Government

Level	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	other	Total
Vice-Chairman	2						2
Ministers	6	1	1	-	2		10
Total	8	1	1	-	2		12

Source; *Nepal samachar patra (Feb. 3, 2005 and Feb. 15, 2005)*

This table also presents the nude picture of the Khasa as they hog the most of the ministerial posts. Other casts (except Newar) representation in the governance is neglected. Newar's representation is amazing.

5. Industry and commerce

Table 10: Caste analysis of the employs of Nepal chamber of commerce and Federation of Nepalese chambers of commerce and Industry (FNCCI). (Officers level)

Organization	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	other	Total
Nepal chamber of commerce	7		-	-	9		16
FNCCI	23	2	-	-	11		36
Total	30	2	-	-	20		52

Source; *Nepal chamber of commerce and FNCCI-2005.*

The table also shows the majority of Khasa employees and minorities of other caste and Ethnic group.

6. In tourism

Table 11:

Agency	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
Trekking agency	84	145		2	28		259
Rafting agency	15	31			29		55
Hotel & Resort	38	42			85		165
Travel & Tour agency	45	38	8		67		158
Total	182	256	8	2	189		637

Source; *Chhapa ma Janajati (2001).*

The table shows the completely opposite picture from the above tables. Mangol-Kirat stands the highest position. This is very amazing picture as it depicts their marginalized participation in politics as well as in other level of governance. Sector of tourism also seeks the educated and the trained manpower. So the question arises- why they are marginalized in other sectors? The question might arise in everybody's mind. The bitter truth is that Khasa dominated the every level of governance and the nepotism and favoritism played the vital role in the marginalization.

7. Pubic service

Table 12: Caste analysis of the applicant's application applied in Public service commission in different post in the fiscal year 2061/61.

	No. of application	Recommendation
Khasa	77113	1256
Mangol-Kirat	7105	81
Dalit	810	11
Newar	4727	67
Total	89755	1415

Source; Public service commission- Annual report (2061).

Table 13: Caste analysis of the employees of public service commission of central office, Kathmandu.

Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Total
87	12	2	3	37	141

Source; Public service commission (2061/12/29).

8. Union of workers

Table 14: Caste analysis of the National committee of gefont and affiliated member of the organization.

Organization	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar	Other	Total
Nepal trade union	28	5	3	2	4		42
Nepal independent workers union(NIWU)	2	4	1		2		9
Independent transport workers association of Nepal(ITWAN)	14	3	2		2		21
Nepal independent carpet workers union(NICWU)	1	9			2		12
Nepal independent hotel workers union(NIHWU)	15	3			3		21
Union of trekking-travel-rafting workers union(UNITRV)	4	5		1			10
Independent textile garment workers union of Nepal(ITGWUN)	10				1		11
Independent tea plantation workers union of Nepal(ITPWUN)	6	4		4	1		15

Independent press workers union of Nepal(IPWUN)	9	1		1	2		13
Nepal auto mechanics trade union(NATU)	12	2		1	2		17
Independent garbage cleaners union of Nepal(IGCUN)				10	1		11
Central union of painters, plumber, Electro and construction workers-Nepal(CUPPEL-Nepal)	7	5	1	1	3		17
Nepal rickshaw pullers' union(NRPU)	7	4	1				12
Nepal independent food and beverage workers union(NIFBWU)	8	1	1		1		11
Nepal independent chemical and iron workers union(NICIWU)	8	3	1				12
Federation of agricultural workers, Nepal(FAWN)	7	7		2			16
Nepal street vendors' union(NSVU)	13	2					15
Total	151	58	10	22	24	-	265

Source; gefont (2061)

These above facts clearly depict the condition of ethnic and Dalit. The table shows the excess of Ethnic in carpet workers union and in trekking-travel-rafting union while the garbage cleaners union is full of lower caste. From this it could be assumed that, caste-base occupation is still prevalent in Nepal. So, it is crystal clear that they are marginalized and segregated from the mainstream of the development.

Table 15: Economic marginalisation of Ethnic and Dalit Household characteristics by Ethnicity/Caste, 2001(Total household-4174374*)

Ethnic/ caste group	House Type		Flush Toilet	Water source, Tap/Pipe	Lighting facility		Cooking fuel		
	Pucca	Kacha			Electricity/ Bio-gas	Ker- osene	Wood	Ker- osene	Gas
Upper Caste	52.4	18.1	31.9	60.8	52.1	43.2	65.3	16.0	16.1
Janajati	32.6	34.7	20.8	58.5	38.1	59.8	70.1	14.4	8.2
Dalit	19.7	50.7	13.3	43.3	18.0	76.9	75.2	5.9	1.3

Source; Reading on Governance & Development

* Statistical Pocket Book, Nepal 2004.

The above table shows the economic condition of the upper Caste and Caste/Ethnic group. Out of the total household of 4174374, the upper Caste Pucca house represents 52.4% while Ethnic and Dalit represent 32.6% and 19.7% respectively. Likewise, facility of flush toilet enjoying by the upper caste is 31.9% while it is 20.8% and 13.3% for ethnic and Dalit respectively. Likewise, consumption of electricity by the upper caste is much more than the Ethnic and Dalit. From these above data, economic marginalisation of Ethnic and Dalit can be depicted.

Table 16: Participation of Caste and Ethnic in decision making and implementation sector

Sector	Khasa	Mangol-Kirat	Madhishe	Dalit	Newar
Civil service, Army and Police	77.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	18.0
Constitutional organs, Judiciary, Council of Ministers and Parliamentarians	67.0	8.0	13.0	1.0	11.0

Source: Nepal Human Right Year Book 2004.

The above table also reiterates the same condition. All the sectors are occupied by the Khasa while the participation of Ethnic and Dalit is almost none, they are marginalised.

Table 17: Insurgency Victims by Social Group, 13 February 1996-31 December 2003

Social Group	Total	By state	By Maoist	Total (%)
Indigenous People	1,763	13.78	7.55	21.33
Chhetri/Thakuri	1,551	8.19	10.57	28.76
Bahun	905	5.2	5.75	10.95
Dalit	400	3.53	1.31	4.84
Other Caste of Terai	186	0.83	1.42	2.25
Unidentified	3,370	33.88	6.9	40.78
Total	8,265	65.98	34.02	100

Source: Nepal Human Right Year Book 2004.

According to Human Right Year Book 2004, 8,265 persons were killed in the insurgency from 13 February 1996 to 31 December 2003. Out of the total, 40.78% couldn't be identified to which social group they belonged to since many of them were disfigured, mutilated and disappeared (H. Gurung). Among those who were identified, 21.33% were Indigenous people. Even among this 21.33%, the State killed more indigenous people 13.78% than the High caste people 13.39%. Maoist killed twice as many High caste 16.32 versus 1.31% Dalit and 7.55% Janajati. This shows the deeply rooted antagonism between the High caste, and Ethnic and Dalit. High caste domination on the decision making sectors and discrimination mated out against Ethnic and Dalit reached the pinnacle of endurance.

Definition of Janajatis

61 Adhibasi Janajati (Indigenous Nationalities) are identified as Janajati in the report prepared by the task force formed by His Majesty's government for the establishment of the foundation for the upliftment of nationalities, and duly submitted in 1996.

Janajati is that community who has its own mother tongue and traditional culture and yet does not fall under the conventional fourfold **VARNA** of the Hindu system or the Hindu hierarchical caste structure.

Their Characteristics are as below;

1. A distinct collective identity.
2. Own language, religion, tradition, culture and civilization
3. Own traditional egalitarian social structure.
4. Traditional homeland or geographical area.

5. Written or oral history.
6. Having we felling.
7. Has had no decisive role in the political and government of modern Nepal.
8. Who are the indigenous or native people of Nepal, and
9. Who declares itself as "Janajati".

Common agenda

- There should be an end of discrimination based on caste, ethnic, language and culture.
- A campaign that brings to an end of superstition, untouchability, along with social ills will be mobilized.

Ambiguous agenda

Autonomy for different tribe:

Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious country. There is not any place inhabited by only one ethnic group. Thus, the issue of autonomy is complex, and not well defined.

Participation:

Participation is the input side of governance, informing and pressing decision makers to be serious in the process of national building. When we speak of participation we have to make a clear conception about ethnic participation and Dalit participation. It is apt to rise the slogan of ethnic participation because ethnic are in better place than that of Dalit. According to the Human Development Report (2004), Janajati represents 37.2% of the total population of Nepal and

their literacy rate is 39.0%. On the other side of the coin, Dalit represents 12.9% of the total population of Nepal. Among them the male and female literacy rate is 10% and 3.2% respectively. In this scenario, how can one imagine the equal participation? Equal participation means equal manpower in development sectors. But it doesn't mean that participation of ethnic and Dalit in nation building should be avoided.

Reservation:

Our concern should be for the positive change in society that can be felt by all the members of society. But reservation simply does not provide fruit, which we are anticipating. Firstly, reservation does not include all members of the society. Secondly, it can be fruitful to some of the handful segment of the society only who have been previously equipped with all amenities. The downtrodden class of the society would continue to remain neglected and unrepresented. This system ultimately produces elite class among and within the ethnic and Dalit society. The independent India is very suitable example of it. The Constitution of India, in its article no. 341 has stated the reservation system in order to improve the life standard of the poor and secluded class. The experts of the constitution were on the view that within ten years the problem of caste ethnic would vanish. But for all's attention, India is confronting this problem. Thus, reservation cannot be the one and only solution of the present state.

Consequence of bestowing one religion or language to other sects;

Negative consequence;

Bestowing the language of shamhali upon the minorities Tamil resulted the panic of war in Srilanka. Civil war invited due to necessity of Dukpa culture in Bhutan. Bangladesh was

surrounded in a bloody war due to faith in the religion between Buddhist and Bangali Mushalman. Pakistan is separated due to domination of Panjabi over Bangali (Neupane). From the above statement it is clear that the more we dominate the other caste, the more we face a disturbing state. Therefore, we have to fully accept the existence of other language, culture, religion and tribal identity. The complexity is that in Nepal, debate and discussions regarding these issues are under low consideration. But we should be fully convinced that language does not play equal role in a pace of development. Like Khasa, Dalit speaks Nepali language but it is amazing that the Khasa have the upper hand power and politics, whereas Dalit are on the horns of a dilemma.

Positive consequence;

The positive consequence is that Nepali language emerged and developed as "lingua franca" and "language of the Nation" which facilitated communication among different lingual groups.

Proposed provision of government

The three organizations viz. National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), National Dalit Commission, and Dalit Development Committee are working to solve the ethnic and Dalit Problem on the behalf of His Majesty's Government.

Objective of National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN)

- a. To make overall development of the indigenous nationalities by formulating and implementing the programmes relating to the social, educational,

economic and cultural development and upliftment of indigenous nationalities.

- b. To preserve and promote the language, script, culture, literature, arts, history of the indigenous nationalities.
- c. To preserve and promote the traditional knowledge, skill, technology and special knowledge of the indigenous nationalities and to provide assistance in its vocational use.
- d. To cause the indigenous nationalities to be participated in the mainstream of overall national development of the country by maintaining a good relation, good will and harmony between different indigenous nationalities, caste, tribes and communities.
- e. To provide assistance in building an equitable society by making social, economic, religious and cultural development and upliftment of indigenous nationalities.

Table 18: The Annual budget of National foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN).

Fiscal year	Allocation of budget	Sanction of budget
1996/97	2,300,000	All total
1997/98	4,000,000	2,500,000
1998/99	7,000,000	All total
1999/2000	15,000,000	14,355,000
2000/2001	15,000,000	14,121,000
2001/02	15,000,000	10,212,000
2002/03	15,000,000	5,082,000
2003/04	23,250,000	All total
2004/05	29,750,000	All total
Total	126,300,000	

Source: National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN)

National Dalit Commission

His Majesty's Government established National Dalit Commission in 2002 March 19 (2058/12/6) as an autonomous, independent and authoritative body to protect the human rights of Dalits and Marzinalized and to frame a policy for their upliftment. The following are the functions, duties and powers of the National Dalit Commission (NDC).

- a. To do essential work to create a favorable environment for the enjoyment of Dalit's right and weal without any restriction.
- b. To recommend for timely amendment in the current law, required for doing these works and in the rules and regulations of His Majesty's Government.
- c. To prepare the essential policy and strategy for the implementation of international document against the caste discrimination and human right that are Pro Nepal and to recommend it for the implementation on the behalf of His Majesty's Government.
- d. To monitor and evaluate the management/action of NGO those are working for the upliftment and development of the Dalit class.
- e. To eradicate social discrimination, untouchable and traditional culture for the upliftment and development of the Dalit class by the care of NGO with social awakening programmes.
- f. To do or cause to be done action against any discriminatory illegal treatment meted out for Dalit by hearing the complaint/petition.
- g. To prepare the essential bill to manage adequate legal system related to National Dalit Commission.

Table 19: Annual budget of the National Dalit Commission

Fiscal year	Allocation of budget	Remarks
2001/02	2,369,000	-
2002/03	10,000,000	Remain 3,000,000(can't expend)
2003/04	12,500,000	Remain 5,000,000(can't expend)
2004/05	12,500,000	
Total	37,369,000	

Source: National Dalit Federation

Dalit Development Committee

Dalit Development Committee was established in 1997 under the Ministry of Local Development under the mandate to uplift socio-economic aspects of the Dalit community. The committee consists of Local Development Minister as a chairman, a member of the National Planning Commission and secretaries at the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. All of them are the ex-officio members. The executive director is a political appointee. This committee is providing a scholarship for Dalit students who are studying in a higher level. Apart from this, the committee is conducting income generation, skill development training and seminars on other contemporary subjects. However, its impact on targeted group is not found as desired due to its formation procedure and political fluctuation. The committee consists of twenty-

three members in which twelve employees are non-Dalit. All the three quotas of officers' level are occupied by the non-Dalit candidates. By this we can easily assume the government motive towards this committee.

Table 20: Annual budget of the Dalit Development Committee

Fiscal year	Allocated budget
1997/98	6,000,000
1998/99	12,500,000
1999/2000	12,500,000
2000/01	12,500,000
2001/02	12,500,000
2002/03	12,500,000
2003/04	11,250,000
2004/05	21,250,000
Total	99,750,000

Source; National Dalit Federation (NDF)

Policy and programmes for Dalit in Tenth five year plan (2002/07) of the Nation

Like the ninth plan, the tenth plan has also given priority in a elaborated form under the targeted programme of "*Dalit and secluded community*" for the upliftment of Dalit community. It has been discussed as below:

In the forefront of this chapter, it is realized the bitter truth of failing in restoring the social dignity of this class, who are bearing the brunt of years long poverty and social exclusion, and deprivation in socio-economic along with political sectors. In fact, the identified causes are:

- a. the targeted programmes couldn't be effective,
- b. lagging behind in the level of education and knowledge, and
- c. fail to walk arm-in-arm in the mainstream of the development.

Long-term concept, objective and strategy

In the tenth plan, the objective is to increase the access of the Dalit community vis a vis other castes, making them resourceful and prosperous in the development endeavor with dignity. For the fulfillment of the objective the four strategies are adopted viz. Socio-economic development, empowerment, modernization in traditional skill, and increment in social dignity. Various programmes have been managed in the area of social, educational, health, economic, research and in institutional sector for the upliftment and development of the Dalit community. The excerpts are as follows:

- **Social Programme**
 - 1. Religious and social orthodoxy within non Dalit and inferiority complex of Dalit will be discouraged.
 - 2. End of violence and oppression against Dalit women. Decision making capacity and leadership quality will be developed.
- **Educational Programme**
 - 1. Free education will be provided for the children of all Dalit communities up to the secondary level.
 - 2. The access to the higher education particularly in vocational and technical education will be made accessible.

3. Teachers were appointed in school if possible from Dalit women, if not possible, other members from that community will be appointed.
4. Scholarship received by the Dalit students will be increased.
5. By preparing curriculum, that develops and promotes the skills of Dalit communities, arrangement will be made to provide technical and vocational education.
6. I/NGO will be encouraged to use Dalit class by recruiting them in the posts to the possible extent.

- **Health Programme**

1. Social and Non-Governmental organization will be mobilized to improve the life style, balanced diet and sanitation condition of the Dalit community.
2. The access in primary and basic health services will be increased.
3. Priority will be given to Dalit women in selection of female health workers or volunteers.
4. Family planning programme will be launched because infant mortality, child mortality and maternal mortality rate are quite high in the Dalit community.

- **Economic Programme**

1. Priority will be given for the land less Dalit in land distribution.
2. Training will be provided while providing foreign employment to them.

3. Loan in easy term will be made available to run their traditional business with modernizing their traditional skills.

- **Study and Research**

People will be encouraged to conduct studies and carry out research work to identify the population of Dalit community and different aspects of their life.

- **Institutional management**

1. The District Development Committee (DDC) will be asked to formulate the programme for the socio-economic development of Dalit community of the district at the time of district development plan preparation.
2. Coordinating all the governmental and non-governmental programme in district the responsible person and focal point will be created.
3. The process of organized the committee at local level to look after the status of Dalit will be initiated.
4. The National Dalit Commission and the Dalit Development Committee, which are separated at present, will be merged for the preparation of appropriate policy and programme in order to implement all the programmes in a approved manner.

The amount used in the name of removal of untouchability;

Many donors tend to believe that whoever has a Dalit tag is a "depressed one" and so they start pouring dollars. Then the politics begins in the name of Dalit. Thousand of dollars is spent on the behalf of Dalit since the restoration of democracy in Nepal. However the plight of the Dalit

remained in situ though such huge amount of money has been spent on their upliftment. The below data speaks the amount used for Dalit.

Organization	In NRs.
Dannida	
Dalit NGO federation	13,935,710 (For three years)
Feminist women organization	6,900,000 (For two and half years)
Dalit welfare organization	9,000,000 (For three years)
Action aid Nepal (for 2003)	
Saraswoti community development forum (Saptari)	2,761,000
Sustainable livelihood forum (Parbat and Baglung)	2,600,000
For Badis	2,200,000
Social Activists (Saptari)	1,900,000
Kathmandu based national organization	4,600,000
Nepal National social welfare association	2,555,620
The Lutheran world federation	
Nepal national Dalit social welfare organization	2,900,000
Janattuthan partisthan	1,438,000
Feminist Dalit organization	6,35,000
Dalit welfare organization	1,446,000

Source; Good governance (July-August 2003)

So much amount of money spent for eradicating the worst form of untouchability to uplift their economic condition whether by the state or the development agencies, the result is nothing more than the shadow boxing. Where the money has gone then? The question might linger in everybody's mind. The poor state mechanism and bad governance are the solely responsible for the predicament of the Ethnic and Dalit issues. So, without radical change in society, the just and balanced milieu couldn't be achieved. Political parties and other related organizations raised the issues of the Ethnic and Dalit for their active participation in national politics that ultimately uplift their social capillarity but they failed to address the way of its achievement. They have no any structural strata for mainstreaming the depressed, secluded and oppressed class of the society.

In essence, for mainstreaming the ethnic and Dalit following interventions are recommended:

1. Transformation of society where qualitative opportunities are possible.
 - Democratization of the state
 - Decentralization
 - Massive industrialization
2. Affordable prices in educational institution and in essential commodities.
3. Awareness rising activities
4. Program to raise the literacy level.
5. Training on employment oriented professional skills.
6. Generating a feeling of we instead of I.
7. Program for leadership development and capability building
8. Sensitive towards their rituals.

Our concern should be to create an egalitarian society by making all-round development of the people who are oppressed and marginalized. All human being are equal on

the ground of humanity. All people should have the right to enjoy the fruit of the development. The oppression from the elite class (Elite class might be Khasa or any section of the society) to the downtrodden class should be stopped if well-being of the society is anticipated then, we can find a healthy, prosperous and democratic society.

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