

**COALITION FOR ENVIRONMENT AND  
DEVELOPMENT**  
**Sustainable Cultures – Cultures of Sustainability**

**BACKGROUND PAPER 23**

by

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**THE VISION OF THE JANA ANDOLAN II  
FOR A FUTURE OF NEPAL**

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As the political situation in Nepal has been in turmoil for a long time, some scholars used to say that Nepal is in a permanent transition. Even 55 years after the end of the Rana hereditary prime ministerial system in 1951, the political situation has neither stable nor improved. Prior to the Rana regime, Nepal was isolated from the rest of the world. The 1951 movement brought some change in the political sphere but this could not continue. Just two years later, the king started violating the constitutional provision and denied to hold the election. There was no election for almost a decade between 1951 to 1959, but the power struggle between the king and the political parties. Even after a paramount pressure of the political parties the king denied to hold the election of Constituent Assembly (CA) which was promised earlier but declared the election for parliament later in 1959. The election paved the way for formation of the first elected government in the country. The king, however, dismissed the government in December 15, 1960 after one and half years of its formation.

After two years of the coup d'état in 1960, the then king Mahendra proclaimed a constitution as well as a new political system claiming that he is the source of the constitution and sovereignty also belonged to him. Panchayat was the given name of new system terming it as "suitable to the Nepali soil." During 30 years of Panchayat, the king ruled the country either by him or through his nominees. The system ended in 1990 when people launched a Mass Movement with the demands to restore the multi-party democracy in the country and to end the king's autocratic regime. The movement has been popularly called as Janaandolan I.

Nepal tried to enter in to new political era and improve the political system after the Janaandolan I; A new constitution was drafted and promulgated though it was a negotiated document of the major political forces, the Nepali Congress, the United Left Front and the monarchy; General and local elections were held, which helped democracy to take root at the grassroots level. However, the "pseudo" democracy did not perform well in the country. The mid-term election in 1994 in which no party got majority resulted not only the political instability but also gave a bad image in term of governance. Such weaknesses witnessed under the democratic

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system led people's frustration at large and gave a pretext to those who were unhappy by the political change brought by 1990s Jana Andolan as well. In other words, such shortcomings become a strong weapon to those who are in search of opportunity to attack on the multiparty democracy to weaken and defame it.

Basically two political forces—ultra left groups led the Nepali Maoists and the ultra rights groups led by some royalists were the forces which were not satisfied by the 1990s' political change. The first had a dream to achieve a 'radical change' and the latter was angry due to the fact that the then king had to compromise with the political forces for electoral democracy, rule of law and human freedom. That is why several attempts along with non-cooperation activities started coming against 1990s' political change from the very first day. The then king Birendra to whom most of Nepalese have a respect as democrat king also became an instrument to make the achievement of Janaandolan I weaken though the Maoists were in a leading position to disturb the system. As all know, the Maoists "people's war" which was begun in 1996 had the stated motto to defame 'bourgeois democracy.' Along with the Maoists movement, brutal killing from the state and the Maoists became rampant; torture, extortion, violation of human rights and destructive activities saw enormous increase; displacement rate from the villages went up to very high position. Ultimately, the political situation of the country became more fragile.

Talking about the Maoists movement and its impact on Nepal, it had not confined in the rural areas; the movement was able to draw the attention of the major political forces in the country. It was the Maoists movement which had a strong impact to define and redefine the intra and inter party relationship. There were several and serious debates inside the parties and between the parties about the question of dealing the Maoist movement. Again, a new conflict had emerged between the king and the Prime Minister when the first became obstacle to implement the then Koirala government's decision to deploy the army against the Maoists in July 2000. These conflicts obviously disturbed the government which had to be busy to deliver much things to solve people's problem related to livelihood. What was interestingly was that the Maoists was the single beneficiary from all instabilities; conflicts and frustrations.

In between the royal massacre happened in June 2000 which helped to emerge more ambitious but undemocratic man, the then crown prince Gyanendra as the king of the country. As Gyanendra had negative opinion about 1990s' political change from the beginning, he accelerated the conspiracy against the on going multi-party democracy when he received the crown formally. Though he was, according to the 1990's constitution, a constitutional head of the country, his initial attempts were to destroy the elected bodies formed under the constitution and to weaken the main parties. He got a great success when the parliament was dissolved in May 22, 2002 and Nepali Congress split in June 2002. It is said that there was king's strong backing to the then Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba for making both the incidents a success.

Having said that what I argue is that the conspiracy against the democracy was formally started by 22 May 2002 (Please see the annex to find the chronology of events of Jana Andolan II ), when the king, "on the recommendation of prime minister," dissolved the parliament. The next step against the democratization process was the postponement of the elections of local bodies, which had to be held by July 2002. As there was lack of constitutionally elected institutions at the local as well as at the central level, there was political vacuum which helped king Gyanendra to interrupt the remaining democratic institutions. Then, he dismissed the then Deuba government on 4 October 2002. The charge against the Deuba government was its incompetence in not holding elections.

The move of the king to discharge Deuba government gave a birth of a new era of struggle. We can term it as the turning point from which Nepal shifted from two-party conflict--the mainstream vs. the rebellions--to three-party struggle between the Maoists, the monarchy backed by the security forces and the political parties. Arbitrary arrests, an increasing number of disappearances, violent activities, random searches all of which had a negative impact on the local communities. The daily killing reached from 2.43 before the king's take over to 6.26 (INSEC report 2005).

After dismissing the elected Prime Minister, the king made a distance with the major political parties which had more than 90 per cent seats in the dissolved parliaments and appointed two successive governments, the first under Lokendra Bahadur Chand (11 October, 2002) and the second under Surya Bahadur Thapa (4 June, 2003). They both were brought there as they both

had Panchayat background and loyal to the monarchy. However, both the governments were sacked by the king himself on 30 May 2003 and 7 May 2004 respectively. The king charged the governments of incompetence to get the support from major political parties.

The tripartite conflict got increased when major political parties announced their peaceful protest programs in the end of October 2002 against the king's move. On the one hand, the violent conflict got further worsened and human rights abuse increased during these days. The per day killing has touched the ratio of 8.91 in August 2003 which the highest during a year long violent conflict witnessed by Nepal. On the other hand, the peaceful protest organized by parliamentary parties also got a new height when the civil society members, professional organizations, student organizations etc. also involved in organizing several street protests against the 'autocratic' King with the demanded for the restoration of democracy. Then, the king King Gyanendra attempted to get political parties' support by the reappointment of Sher Bahadur Deuba as Prime Minister in June 2, 2004. Deuba tried to make 'all party' government as instructed by the king, but was able to get only the support of the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN-UML), the second largest party which was the part of the Five Parties Alliance (FPA) protesting against the king move in the street. Other major political parties, including the mainstream Nepali Congress (NC) decided not to join the government but to continued their protest on the streets for restoration of democracy. They termed the government as another conspiracy and the continuation of regressive action and argued that the government was another attempt to continue and to strength king's autocratic regime.

Deuba government was given the task to have negotiation with the parties and the Maoists to settle the existing conflict. The government, as per the guidance, set mid-January 2005 as a deadline for the Maoists for the truce and negotiation. However, the Maoist declined Deuba's offer raising a question on the status government. The Maoists were of the view to negotiate with the king as they believed that the real power was vested with the king. Here, some people raised the question about the intension of the Maoists; they had a question whether the Maoists wanted to accept king's active role. One can have debate on this issue also. However the conclusion we can draw here is that all three attempts of the king to appoint poppet Prime Ministers and rule the country as de facto king got failed when political parties did not recognized the Prime Ministers as executive Prime Minister as per constitution. In fact, neither of the governments were able to convince the parliamentary political parties which were in the peaceful protest against king's October 4, 2002 move nor succeed to end/weaken the on going Maoists Movement.

When the king achieved only disappointment from his one and another attempts, and he was exposed more as violator of the 1990s constitutional provisions, king Gyanendra finally dismissed the Deuba government and declared the state of emergency in the country by a proclamation on 1 February 2005. It was king's second dismissal of Deuba from the post of the prime minister within 28 months. By the proclamation, the king declared that he would assume power for three years. He formed a Council of Ministers under his chairmanship. All the ministers appointed were the supporters of the previous autocratic Panchayat system. He suspended all democratic rights and 'installed military rule' in the country. Immediately after this announcement, the army occupied the streets of Kathmandu; political leaders were put under house arrest or detention; media was strongly censored; telephone and Internet services were disconnected and the international airport was shut down. Fundamental rights such as freedom of speech and assembly were abrogated under the proclaimed state of emergency. However, the king defended himself by saying he was forced to take this step to defend multiparty democracy.

The king's move on February 1, 2005, again gave a new shape of political polarization; the situation can be termed as king vs. all other people. The move not only affected the parliamentary parties but also the civil society, professional organizations and even the common people. Within 11 months of king's direct rule (from February 1, 2005 to November 27, 2005), about 6112 political activists and human rights defenders were arrested. At least 1,000 journalists and media personnel became jobless because of the restriction on broadcasting news from all of the 47 FM radio stations. Thousands of political activists and human rights defenders were re-arrested by security forces and a total of 40 persons were restricted from leaving Kathmandu valley (INSEC 2005). Analyzing the severe situation of the country's democracy, all major political parties including those who were together with king until February 1, 2005 assembled together, formed an alliance called the Seven Parties Alliance (SPA) and decided to begin the

nation-wide protest against “the king’s autocratic regime.” The SPA was new formation of the earlier mentioned Five Parties Alliance (FPA), Deuba headed Nepali Congress (democratic) and the United Left Front were the new comers, and the UML had rejoined the alliance. When mainstream political parties showed their unity to go against the king’s move, civil society especially the lawyers, journalists, university teachers and students also gave a boost to their peaceful protest to restore the democratic system in the country. The SPA, after it got positive response from civil society and other professional organizations, also announced a nationwide peaceful protest program calling it as Janaandolan. The joint movement was started from May 22, 2005. After this, there were hardly days when there was no protest rally, protest and arrest until the April 2006 though the volume of the participants would be up and down.

In between, the SPA had held several discussions with the Maoists when they were positive about the SPA’s protest program. It should not be forgotten that there was strong but internal debate in the Maoist party after the king’s coup d’état; the topic of debate was on whether the Maoists support the king to sideline the political parties. Initially majority members of the Maoist party along with Prachanda were of the view to alienate the political parties and share the power under the king’s regime. Baburam Bhattarai, his wife and central committee member Hisila Yami and another central committee member Dina Nath Sharma were the opponents of the idea saying that it would be suicidal decision. But the party had taken action against them. Reports say that Bhattarai was put under the Maoists’ custody and other two were suspended from party’s membership<sup>2</sup>. Later in April 2005, the Maoists corrected the decision by its Rolpa Plenum and decided to support the SPA and request them to organize a joint movement against the king’s regime. Then, there were several bilateral and multilateral meeting with the Maoists and other political parties. As a result, the parties accepted to go for the election of the Constituent Assembly (CA), and the Maoists decided to accept competitive democracy. The outcome of the discussion was disclosed through the twelve-point agreement which was signed by the both the parties only in November 2005. The main points of the agreement were to put forth common front with a view to end the king’s autocracy; to go for CA election; to allow SPA to mobilize the people in the rural area without hindrance; to return the confiscated property to the real owner etc. Both the parties expressed that there was no alternative expect the peaceful Mass Movement to defeat the autocratic regime.

As the SPA and their cadres were the main sufferers by the Maoists movement, there was rivalry and suspicion in both sides especially at the cadre level. Such antagonism in some ways started decreasing after the leadership signed a 12-point agreement. Again, both the parties sat together and renewed their earlier commitments in March 2006 which helped to make an understanding to each other till the grassroots level. The SPA announced a four-day general strike from April 6, 2005. The general strike came at the time when the Maoists had already announced a nationwide program to blockade district headquarters and major highways. However, once the parties declared their general strike program and requested Maoists to withdraw their announcement, the Maoists announced that they would support it and withdraw their unilateral action.

Actually Kathmandu became tensed from many days before the formally announced days of general strikes. Prohibition order against the peaceful protests, unlawful arrests, repression etc. were like continue phenomenon after the first joint protest of SPA started by May 22, 2005. The situation was more severe after January 2006 when people started protesting to oppose the proposed Municipal Election. The government had issued a curfew order by April 4, 2006 to stop people who were coming from outside the Kathmandu valley to take part the peaceful street protest announced by the SPA. But such attempts of the royal regime did not stop the people to participate the peaceful rally. Though the declared shutdown was only for four days, the general strike continued for 19 days and compelled the king to give up power. Millions of people from cities and countryside of Nepal took part in the movement. The movement was totally peaceful although the king’s regime tried to infiltrate its vigilantes in the movement with the motive of making the movement violent. Twenty-five people were killed who later have declared “martyrs”, 6,000 protestors were injured,

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<sup>2</sup> Prachanda in a press statement issued on 12 April 2005 accepted that the party had taken action against Dr. Bhattarai. He, in a several live interviews, argued that they had tacit understanding with the king.

fifteen lost their eyesight, sixteen received serious head injuries and 150 in Kathmandu suffered broken arms and legs<sup>3</sup>. The government imposed “a shoot-on-sight 18-hour curfew” to diffuse the movement but people defied the curfew and protested peacefully. It was because of patience of the SPA leaders who were very much committed to peaceful protests. They knew that if the movement took a violent mode, it would be difficult to get national and international support. When the SPA had publicly ruled out the violent nature of the movement and told that “any formal relationship with the insurgents, unless and until the Maoists firmly renounce violence, put down their weapons, and commit to supporting the democratic process,” India, the United States and others countries ‘formally’ welcomed the 12-points agreement which they said was “attempt by Nepal’s political parties to convince the insurgents to rejoin the political mainstream”<sup>4</sup>. The SPA leaders did not care but dismisses the royal governments’ threatens to treat them like the Maoists terrorists.<sup>5</sup>

People from every walk of life participated in the movement. Not only the lawyers, journalists, doctors, poets, writers, teachers and other politically aware section of people but also the generally apolitical people such as the laborers, farmers, rickshaw pullers, footpath traders, small hoteliers etc. participated the movement. Even taxi drivers and transport workers, normally the first to complain about a shutdown which affects their earnings, were universally supportive. The movement gained further momentum when government employs started to participate; the first were employees of critical government corporations, such as the Nepal Telecommunications Corporation and Nepal Electricity Authority, and staff who shut down the national bank almost completely. Local administration officers in the districts stopped work; some palace-appointed regional and zonal administrators, as well as nominated District Development Committee chairmen, resigned in support of the Jana Andolan. The families of security forces joined very public demonstrations, as did retired soldiers and police officers. Security forces also distributed pamphlets in support of the movement in some places. Even senior civil servants in the home ministry went on strike to protest the state violence for which they were theoretically responsible. The number of participants increased when the Maoists facilitated and some times compelled people from the rural areas to join the movement. Prior to the 12-point understanding, the Maoists used to bar people to take part in activities announced by other political parties especially the SPA.

Why did the so many ordinary people join the movement? The answer was simple: they hoped the movement if successful would end the conflict which had adversely impacted their life for a decade. In rural area, people were victimized by both the security forces and the Maoists during the “people’s war”; People were forced to provide food and shelter to both the sides, but were then victimized by each side for helping their enemies. The security forces killed, raped, arrested, and tortured the villagers with the blame of feeding and sheltering the Maoists, and the Maoists killed, extorted, kidnapped and compelled the people to leave their home for the same charge. Villagers had lost their confidence to speak with strangers about polity and society due to fear created by the both side. On the other hand, people residing in the urban areas had relatively low impact from the Maoists conflict but they especially transport worker, hoteliers and petty businessman in the highway had also faced hindrances due to the frequent and indefinite type of blockades, bandhs, extortion, coercion etc. during the Maoists conflict.

But the moment when political parties came in the street after October 2002, there was no one remained who was not affected or disturbed by either of the movement; even those urban elites had to face traffic jam, inconvenience etc. due to the often strikes, protest rally etc. called by the SPA. As mentioned earlier, there were only a few days when parliamentary political parties did not have their protest demonstration, Dharna, general strikes etc. in the urban area specially in Kathmandu and headquarters of the districts between October 2002 and April 2006,. People who were facing a severe impact of the political conflict spontaneously and indefinitely came out in the street when they believed that the SPA and the Maoists reached in a 12-point agreement to bring peace and to get complete

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<sup>3</sup> “House passes motion on probe commission”, The Kathmandu Post, 5 May 2006.

<sup>4</sup> “U.S. ambassador to Nepal, James F. Moriarty’s statement to media in New Delhi”, *American Embassy News Advisory*, Kathmandu, 17 November 2005; also see “US, India welcome new political development”, *The Kathmandu Post*, 24 November 2005

<sup>5</sup> “Govt rejects constituent assembly; insists on holding election,” [www.nepalnews.com](http://www.nepalnews.com), 25 November 2005.

democracy in the country. During the movement the people spoke out from the peaceful protest rally that they were ready to contribute more days to the movement if it would be able to end the entire conflict.

The second reason of the wide participation in the movement was the popular discontent caused by the repeated failures of the king's direct rule. In fact the king's coup also helped to bring some positive outcomes to make Jana Andolan II a success. Main of which are:

- The king's repressive actions against all political forces helped to understand the king's ultimate interest. The parties realized to have an united front to fight not only for restoration of democracy in the country but also for their existence. The all party meeting and the formation of SPA in May 8, 2005 was one of the outcomes of king's coup. Otherwise there would have no unity but competition to deal with the king to be in the power as they did earlier after king's October move.
- The unity between the SPA and the Maoists is another outcome of the king's takeover. Earlier there was strong rivalry between the parties and the Maoists as the main target of the Maoists were the local cadres of the parliamentary political parties. Parties and its leaders used to claim that the Maoists and palace were together to make the democracy failed. Maoists leaders also had accepted that they had a 'tacit understanding' with the king (Kantipur June 6, 2001; Nepal Samachar Patra, June 15, 2001, Singh 2003). But when king took over the power, the Maoists must have realized the king's intension and decided "to opt competitive democracy" on August 2005 by its Party Plenum in Rolpa. When the Maoists came with the decision, then only the 12-points agreement became possible which gave many hopes to end the conflict and to restore democracy in the country.
- The king's February 1, 2005 move helped people mainly the elites to realize the importance of freedom and democracy. Earlier they were quite critical and reluctant about democracy, political parties etc. However, they knew the importance of freedom and democracy only after the king seized and censored all the means of communication, like telephone, mobile, print and electronic media including movement of the people. Then, they also directly and indirectly supported the Janaandolan II.
- Before February 1, 2005, the king used to blame the political parties as corrupt, self-centered etc. which somehow helped the people's frustration against the political parties. But the charges became not only blunt but also setback to the king himself after he assumed the power. People changed their negative mindset on political parties and its leaders when they found more notorious, corrupt culprit persons in the king's cabinet and advisory boards

Having said that, it can be argued that the success of the Jana Andolan is in real a victory of Nepali people at large, rather than purely party- or the Maoist. Here, it is right to quote some portions of the ICG report which rightly pointed out the pro-democracy movement as a victory for the Nepali people on four fronts. These are:

- ❑ Over the king. Nepal witnessed changes in mood during the several weeks of protests and strikes in April but there had long been widespread discontent with the king and his direct rule. The mass defiance of curfews to march against the monarchy following the king's misjudged first offer on 21 April was a decisive popular verdict which – even in the face of the massed ranks of loyal security forces – left the king with no option but surrender.
- ❑ Over the parties. People remained suspicious of the parties, both on the basis of their mixed record in government and their perceived willingness to do a deal with the king against the country's best interests. Nevertheless, most hoped sustained pressure would force the parties to provide representative political leadership in tune with public sentiment – an approach that has so far yielded concrete results.
- ❑ Over the Maoists. Maoist support, much as mainstream democrats are loath to admit it, was crucial to the movement's success. But people did not rally under the Maoist flag, even in rural areas where the insurgents had directly urged their participation. While most endorsed elements of the Maoist agenda they did not heed calls for a revolutionary insurrection and sent a strong signal that people power is a constraint on the actions of the rebels as well as the palace and parties.
- ❑ Over the international community. Nepal is particularly exposed to external influence. Sandwiched between regional superpowers and long dependent on foreign aid, its leaders and people have often looked to outsiders

at times of crisis. This time India, the U.S. and some European powers did help to create the environment for a democracy movement but were brushed off when they appeared to press for an unpopular solution to end the crisis (*ICG report*, 10 May 2006).

Talking of the vision of the Jana Andolan II for a future Nepal, one has to go through the reasons and causes which facilitated or somehow compelled the people to take part the movement in wide number. As discussed earlier it was mainly due to two reasons; 1) the high hope for peace, democracy and prosperity in the country which came after the SPA and the Maoists signed 12-points agreements for the purpose; 2) popular discontent caused by the repeated failure of the king's direct and indirect rules. If we go along with the slogans raised in the street during the Jana Andolan, we can not hide the people's aspiration to have secular and federal republic with equitable and inclusive democratic system in the country. Obviously the election of CA to write a new constitution was one of the prominent demands came out from the street protest through which people had a hope to write suitable constitution for them. People especially the marginalized communities i.e. Dalits, Janajatis, women and those who are from deprived region and religion had a hope to influence the decision making process and compel the concerned authority to make pro-people policies and programs if there was inclusive state structure so that they also heavily took part the street protest.

Today, Nepal has already passed almost 32 months after the success of Jana Andolan II. It has achieved an amazing social and political transformation during the period; it is no more Hindu state now after the House Proclamation 2006 declared it as secular state; it is no more the kingdom with any form of monarchy after the overwhelming majority of the first meeting of elected CA passed the republican motion in May 28, 2008. By then, Nepal has "entered into a new age" as the then Prime Minister Koirala rightly said while tabling the motion in the CA. Again, it has become the first country in South Asia and eighth country in the world which assured at least 33 per cent representations of the women at all level of the state mechanism. The constitution also provisioned the reservation to the Dalits, Janajatis and Madhesis as per their proportional strength. Such progressive steps can not be overlooked.

However, if we follow the implementation part, it is not so encouraging. Yes, there is 8.3 per cent representation of Dalits, 33.39 per cent of Janajatis and 34.09 per cent of Madhesis in the elected CA which is an amazing increment than the past. But after observing the recent formation of the cabinet under the leadership of Prachanda, one can draw a conclusion that the parties forgotten not only their earlier commitments but also the constitutional provision about the inclusive state. . There is not even a single Dalit in the cabinet though Dalits occupy 15-20 per cent of total population of Nepal; there are hardly 17 per cent women in the cabinet though the constitution secures 33 percent share for women in each and every structure. Talking about Janajatis' representation in the new cabinet, there is also a problem. There is nil Representation from Tamang community in the cabinet which is the second largest ethnic group with almost six per cent share of Nepal's population, and is considered as one of the most suppressed groups among the main ethnic groups in Nepal. If analyze the background of those who are in the cabinet from the marginalized communities, it seems that they are also taken not on basis of constitutional provision but on the basis of there their 'merits,' the past experience in the cabinet (Pyakurel 2008). Either of the coalition partners of the present government remembers about the meaning of inclusive representation before sending their representatives in the cabinet. Again, if follow the newly formulated team of the National Planning Commission and other political appoints one finds it more ridiculous as it gives the best example of nepotism and approach rather than the respect of the concept of inclusion of the deprived community.

Observing the realities, all the marginalized communities are heavily critical about the government. They term that it is a real betrayal for the Dalits, women, Janajatis and regional and religious minorities. It seems that they had a hope that the Maoists may not do so. The reason behind the hopes was due to the fact that the Maoists become the single largest party by the Constituent Assembly for which, despite coercion and intimidation, marginalized communities also contributed a lot; Dalits, Janajatis and regional minorities were in the forefront during the Maoists's "people's war" as they were dreaming to be liberated or have a better life under the

Maoists leadership. It was the Maoists which divided Nepal into 11 autonomous states and threw some agenda to radicalize the marginalized section of the society.

Talking about the constitution making process, it seems that the parties have not taken it seriously. Though the CA has already completed its seven-months, it spent whole time to finalize its rules and procedures. Before go to the debate of the new constitution, political parties have to settle many controversial issues like the integration and rehabilitation of the Maoists' Peoples Liberation Army, issue of reinstate the displaced civilians in their homes; issue to return all land, houses and property seized unjustly etc. But none of the major political parties are taking initiatives to move these issues forward. Rather they are now busy in blame politics though the situation tells that no one is in a position not to go further unless there is all party unity in the CA. However, even allies of coalition government have their own but different views regarding the army, federal setup etc. They promised to have federal setup along with the restructured mechanism in the new constitution but the debate about it yet to be started. Even a commission to study the probable federal setup has yet to be announced despite it is one of the constitutional provision.

Again, the Maoists could not control its cadres' involvement in the killing, extortion, coercion etc. even after it is leading the government; still Maoist cadres, either in the name of Young Communist League or combatants or kangaroo court--have been found guilty in various controversial/criminal activities. Observing various activities of the Maoists in the rural areas, both the main allies of the government—the UML and the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF)—started speaking that they might quit the government in any time if the Maoists continue its modus operandi. Going beyond that MK Nepal, a senior leader of the UML which is the coalition partner of the government spoke out that 'parallel administration by Maoists was still continuing'.<sup>6</sup>

Another saddest part is that there is not even a talk or initiative to talk about alternative or relatively better development model than the World Bank, IMF accelerated development model. All parties including the Maoists are very much interested to have foreign direct investment for operating mega projects and big dams instead of having small and medium projects for sustainability. For months after they are in the government, the Maoists leaders Prachanda and Dr. Baburam Bhattarai have been making it clear to business leaders and foreign governments that a Maoist-led government would guarantee private property and welcome foreign investment. In his first live TV speech on August 23, 2008 Prachanda pledged: "We will work to bring about a modern industrial economy for which the private-public partnership model will be followed..."

The other day, Finance Minister and the Maoists ideologue Dr. Bhattarai was pleading the WB and IMF for more financial assistance. In an live interview with BBC Nepali Sewa, he said, "you can not believe what kind of good relationship we have with the World Bank and IMF". Those efforts of the Maoists were to have more financial assistance from World Bank and IMF as they have declared their intention of turning Nepal into a "Singapore"—in other words, a regional investment hub and cheap labour platform. They also claimed that their government will deliver 20 per cent annual growth and \$US3,000 per capita incomes by 2020. But it is witnessed from the experiences that such a World Bank and IMF model of growth does not necessarily help the upliftment of marginalized community; rather it decrease the disparity of rich and poor.

In conclusion, though Nepal witnessed a historical political transformation, there are still challenges ahead before ending the ongoing political transit by drafting a new constitution. It is open secret that the peace process began when the Maoists decided to adopt the competitive or multi party democracy. But after becoming the largest party in the CA and after leading the government, the Maoists leaders have been busy in advocating for the "People's Democracy" rather speaking against the parliamentary democracy which they accepted by their Rolpa plenum in 2005. If we follow the proposal of Kiran and Prachanda which was presented before their recent central committee meeting and National Cadres' Conference which began from November 21, 2008, they both proposed to go to the "people's republic". The only difference between those proposals is Kiran wanted to declare the People's Republic right away and Prachanda want it later

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<sup>6</sup> For details, see <http://www.nepalnews.com/archive/2008/nov/nov14/news02.php>.



after consolidating present achievements. The earlier SPA and international community which helped to bring the Maoists in the mainstream seem very serious about the new move of the Maoists party. They are of the view that both the proposals of the Maoists leaders are against the spirit of all the agreements signed by the Maoists and the SPA in the past which are the part of the ongoing peace process. Many Nepalese are now of the view that the Maoists may not be interested to work with other political parties to draft and declare a new constitution. But they may be interested to derail the constitution making process with a hope that they can prepare for the People's Republic.

The post- election government led by Prachanda is not very old but it has been facing a remarkable criticism not only from its cadres, sympathizers and frontier organizations but also from common people today. The women wing of the Maoists party decided not to join the cabinet with state minister portfolio; the YCL which has been staying in commune denied leaving commune life and go back home; local party committees denied returning the confiscate land to the real owners. Dalits are preparing to protest against their exclusion in the cabinet; Janajatis are also not so happy by the 'narrow natured and not representative cabinet'; common people have been facing suffocation from price hike, scarcity etc. It was due to the fact that the as the deliberation part from the government is very weak. The cadres started warning the leadership not to sink into the nepotism, personal interest and consumerism. It seems that they are getting frustrated when they witness the changed life style of the leadership which is so sophisticated and expansive that than of the leaders from other parties.

Having said that what I want to argue is that the best way to respect and honor the huge numbers of Nepalese who came out in the street and even sacrificed their lives to make the Jana Andolan a great success is to follow the mandate of the Jana Andolan; and the mandate, as discussed earlier, is 'peace, prosperity and democracy' in Nepal. It is mandatory for all the political parties in Nepal to work together to fulfill the mentioned mandate which come into a success only if they are able to announce a new, democratic and inclusive constitution within the given timeframe, and deliver good governance during the transitional phase. Otherwise, what we have learnt from the past experiences of many underdeveloped countries is that the leadership loses its morale; commoners start to disassociate with the political leadership which leads to an automatic vacuum between the leaders and general public. In this situation, there is a strong possibility to emerge any kind of dictator to rule the country claiming that he/she represents the frustrated mass in which there will be neither a peace nor the democracy. That will be totally against the spirit of the Jana Andolan II.

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## Annex

### Chronology of the Jana Andolan II

- May 22, 2002-----the king, “on the recommendation of prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba” dissolved the parliament
- June 19-----Nepal's oldest political party Nepali Congress spit into two factions after rebel Nepali Congress organize a special general convention of the party and elect Sher Bahadur Deuba as new president in the capital.
- June 4-----the King dismisses the then Deuba government
- October 11-----The king appoints Lokendra Bahadur Chand as Prime Minister
- October 28-----The major political parties announce that they were launching a nationwide movement
- April /May 2003-----Major parliamentary parties except Nepali Congress (democratic) and United Left Front forms Five Party Alliance to protest against the king’s October move
- May 8-----FPA began their previously announced protest programmes against the October 4 royal takeover, staging a 20-minute long silent demonstration at various major points in the capital and across the nation.
- May 9-----the Nepali Congress (Democratic), which is not in the five-party alliance, organize its own protest programme throughout the country against the king’s move
- June 4-----The king appoints Surya Bahadur Thapa as Prime Minister
- June 2-----The king appoints Sher Bahadur Deuba as Prime Minister
- February 1, 2005-----The king again sacks the Deuba government, declares state of emergency and assumes state power
- April 14-----The king announced to have municipal election within the year
- April 17-----King and Prachanda’s interview in Times Magazine where they both try to rationalize their move
- May 8-----Deputy Speaker, former minister barred from leaving Kathmandu; Seven opposition parties collaborated and set a common agenda; demand restoration of parliament; G.P.Koirala urged Nepal’s friendly countries not to resume military aid unless civil rights are restored in the country.
- May 13-----100 days of the king’s coup; parties say that government is complete failure
- May 16-----MK Nepal rules out possibility of reconciliation with King
- May 19-----Ian Martim meets Koirala
- May 20 -----Students take out protest rally in Kathmandu
- May 21-----FNJ announces fresh protests
- May 22-----The SPA began their protest program and given the name of Janaandolan. Govt. announces main city as restricted area to assemble and protest. A good number of people take part the really. It was the largest protest after kings’ coup in which thousands of people took part.
- May 26-----G.P. Koirala left for Delhi for political consultation; Maoist victims protested, detained, released in the capital
- May 27----- King’s speech in a facilitation program organized by TU in which he says, “it can not be possible to win peoples’ will by violating or promoting to violate the constitution in democracy”; SPA’s protest rally from seven different places
- May 29-----First Bomb blast in Kathmandu after king’s coup
- June 1-----Protest against govt ban on FM newscasts
- June 8-----Police intervene in Federation of Nepali Journalists (FNJ) rally, arrest 50
- June 13-----Four dozen journalists arrested in Kathmandu
- June 14-----Journalists, professional groups stage sit-in against journalist’s arrests
- June 17-----SPA’s peaceful demonstrations in major towns and district headquarters of the country. Police intervene into peaceful demonstrators; dozens arrested

June 15-----SPA unanimously decide to boycott municipal polls proposed by the king; They urge the Maoists to support their peaceful movement

June 19-----NC's protest in Saptary district, dozens arrested

June 23-----A regional level mass meeting organized by SPA's movement coordination committee, Kaski; Leaders demand return to democracy; warn alliance with republican forces

June 29-----the SPA has announced nationwide fresh demonstrations program against the February 1 royal takeover.

June 30-----Journalists' whistle blew rally in the capital, Kathmandu, demanding 'total press freedom'.

July 10-----The SPA organize nationwide protests, demanding restoration of democracy and end to 'royal autocracy'; at least 33 pro-democracy protesters were arrested from a peaceful demonstration in Dailekh district..

July 18-----The SPA has renewed its appeal to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to create an environment of trust before they could sit for negotiations.

July 22-----Journalists took to the streets in Kathmandu demanding freedom of press and freedom of expression under the banner of Press Chautari Nepal.

July 24-----FNJ- umbrella organization of the Nepali journalists- has announced a third phase of protests countrywide

July 25-----Civil Society formed Citizen's Movement for Peace and Democracy (CMPD) and have rally followed by a mass meeting in support of the democracy struggle accelerate by SPA; Police arrested nearly two dozen prominent professionals and members of civil society as they were taking part in a peaceful demonstration at Bhotahity; Professors, lawyers, doctors, artistes, writers, journalists, youths and student take part the rally carrying placards that read: 'Down with Autocracy'.

July 26-----SPA organize a 'mock session' of the dissolved House of Representatives and the National Assembly calling it as a special session of the dissolved House of Representatives and the National Assembly

July 27-----Eight student organizations announce a fresh protest programmes.

July 29-----Nepali Congress (Democratic) announced to launch nationwide protests

July 30-----The agitating SPA have announced nationwide protests against the verdict of Royal Commission on Corruption Control (RCCC) to arrest former Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and five others; they also express concern over 'repressive move' against civil servants as well as the proposed 'nationalist education'.

July 31-----US envoy urges King, parties to reconcile

August 5-----Thousands of people took part in a peaceful pro-democracy mass meeting organized by Citizen's Movement for Peace and Democracy at New Baneshwor; G. P. Koirala, Madhuv Nepal and other senior leaders took part the program as audiences.

Aug 13-----Over two dozen student activists detained from a protest program; Indian Prime Minister urges to restore democracy in Nepal

Sept 4-----Over 60 SPA leaders arrested, dozens injured in protest rally in Kathmandu

Sept 5-----Protest rally continue in Kathmandu, arrest of dozens

Sept 6-----Seven-party protests continue; dozens arrested

Sept 7-----Seven-party demonstrations continue; scores injured

Sept 8-----Indian ambassador meets Koirala; Dozens arrested from seven-party protests in Kathmandu

Sept 9-----Hundreds of writers took to the streets in expressing solidarity to the SPA agitations in a restricted zone; Over three-dozen writers arrested

Sept 13-----SPA condemns police action, vow to intensify stir; Over 500 arrested from seven-party protests in Kathmandu

Sept 13-----Doctors, engineers, teachers, professors, lawyers and journalists participated in the rally that started from New Baneshwor and ended at Maitighar in a corner meeting; SPA also continue its protest rally

Sept 16-----Police detained at least 80 journalists in peaceful demonstration

Sept 20-----Nepal University Teachers Association (NUTA) defy the so-called ‘prohibitive order’ by staging a demonstration in front of Royal Palace

Sept 27 -----CMDP’s mass meeting in Kirtipur, urge SPA to intensify stir; SPA also organized pro-democracy demonstrations in several parts of the country.

October 10-----King promulgates media ordinance; Parties and FNJ denounced it

October 22-----Nationwide protest against new Media ordinance

November 22-----The SPA disclose that they reach into the 12-point understanding with the Maoists.

November 25-----CPN-UML’s rally in Pokhara; Defying ban imposed by the local administration, some 30,000 people took part in a rally and mass meeting

November 26-----CMDP’s mass meeting in Bhaktapur; urges political parties to work cautiously while dealing with Maoists.

November 28-----Prachanda speaks to BBC Nepali Service; Maoists ready to rethink on monarchy

November 30-----NC’s mass meeting in Chitwan, Koirala address the meeting

December 2-----UML organized a huge protest rally In Kathmandu

January 5, 2006-----Maoists attack all over the country; it was the first attack after four months unilateral ceasefire

January 6, 2006-----Maoists attack in Rupandehi

January 10-----Nepal Majdur Kisan party organize a protest rally in capital

January 12-----The SPA organize a mass meeting in Janakpur; some five hundred thousand people took part the meeting even if the government’s attempt to disturb the program

January 14-----Maoists attack Thankot, the entry point of Kathmandu valley in which one inspector including 11 police personals lost their lives.

January 16-----72 political parties registered under the Election commission decided to boycott the municipal election. Only 28 new parties decided to contest the election; curfew order to most of the municipalities to dilute the program of January 20 proposed by SPA.

January 17-----SPA condemns the move and decided to violate the government’s order against the peaceful protest; organize a motorcycle rally in Baneswar and torch rally in Asan Chock to defy the prohibition order.

January 19-----Government stops mobile including phone service; protest continue from early morning in Kathmandu; more than 200 including Krishna Pahadi, Shyam Shrestha and Dr. Devendra Raj Pandey arrested

January 20-----Government declared a whole day curfew to stop protest scheduled by the SPA; witness several but small protest in the valley

January 24-----relief of restriction order inside Katmandu, a protest rally in New Road

January 30-----Nepalese organize a protest rally in Wasington DC, USA

February 1-----King celebrate the first anniversary of his coup d’état; parties continue protesting against the one’s year of king’s move; more suppression against the peaceful protestors; protest rally in Ohayo, USA also.

February 3-----Police disturb the mass meeting of SPA in Baneswar

February 5-----Journalists celebrated a first year of coup as “black day” and organize a protest rally in Kathmandu

February 8-----Municipal election, less than 20% vote caste; Umesh Thapa, a UML activist of Dang was killed in the police firing.

February 9-----A big protest in Kathmandu against the killing of Umesh Thapa; USA and Japan followed by UK and India condemn the municipal election saying that it is not the election which held without people’s participation.

February 12-----Nepalese organized a huge protest in Delhi

February 13-----Prachanda’s interview in BBC; again restate that the kingship may continue if people want him; SC ordered to dissolve the Royal commission for Corruption Control; Deuba along with others freed; Bomb blast in Ratnapark, 400 meter far from royal palace

February 15-----US ambassador J. Moriarty claim that the coup d’état is totally unsuccessful

February 19-----Seven party’s condolence meeting in Baneswar

February 24-----CMPD organize a Dharna program; warned political leaders not to shake their legs.

March 4-----Central Jalaandolan Coordination committee meeting; announce mass movement program while celebrating Janaandolan day in April 9; urge Maoists to withdraw their blockade program announced earlier.

March 19-----SPA announce a four-days long general strike starting from April 6, Maoists decides to withdraw its all protest programs scheduled for April

March 21-----Maoists attack in Kavre, near by Kathmandu valley

March 23-----International Mission of the Journalists express solidarity to Nepali democracy struggle taking part the protest rally in Maitighar Mandala

March 24-----Government says it won't allow two person in a motorcycle

March 26-----Home ministry issued a concern about infiltration of the Maoists in the peaceful protest; Nepalese organized a protest in Paris in front of crown Paras

March 28-----Home ministry after the decision of the king's cabinet suggeste people of Nepal not to come to Kathmandu during the scheduled SPA's protest and general strike

March 29-----Janajatis/Adivasis organize a protest rally against the authoritarian monarchy and for democracy

March 30-----SPA appealed people to take part the protest program; Govt. ordered to broadcast a notice not to attend the SPA's program

April 2-----The SPA seeks support from professional alliances

April 3-----Maoists announced ceasefire inside Kahmandu valley; Ian Martin says that people have right to carry out peaceful protests

April 4-----Police arrest 15 leaders from protest rally; Civil society leaders appeal to take part in general strike; student organizations burn coffin of regression and autocracy in various campuses; 24 students arrested from Sankar Dev Campus; Govt. again release prohibition order not to have any peaceful assembly and protest inside Ring Road.

April 5-----ICJ calls for immediate lifting of ban on public gatherings; Hundreds arrested in Kathmandu ahead of 7-party general strike; U.S. condemns Nepal arrests; Govt announces curfew in the capital; Police arrest 37 professionals; raid leaders' residence; Buses barred from entering the capital; University teachers, journalists organize pen down strike

April 6-----Maoist attack in Sarlahi district headquarter; Nepalese protest in Japan; General strike affects normal life; Over 400 protesters arrested; dozens injured in 7-party protests; Dozens of journalists arrested around the country; Students, police clash in Kirtipur; UN Secy General concerned over Nepal situation

April 7-----Protest rally in Kirtipur, Chhetra pati, Asan, Balaju, Patan Dhoka, defy curfew, more than 100 arrested; police fire in front of Patan campus, Kalanki and Kirtipur; All sector of the society including Doctors, Bank, Corporation employees join pro-democracy movement; Amnesty condemns arrest of political activists; International communities express concern over government crackdown

April 8-----Government stop telephone services; announce 13 hours long curfew order starting from 7.00 am to 8.00 pm, but defied all over the country; encounter with police in Kalanki, Kirtipur, Galkopakha and Samakoshi; dozens get injured; a big demonstration in Palpa, Dang, Pokhara, Jhapa, Ilam, Dhading etc.; Women's protest rally in Humla; Janakpur, Narayanghat, Bhaktapur were controlled by protesters whole the day; Police firing in many places; Bhemsan Dahal in Pokhara killed by security force.

April 9-----Another protestor Shivahari Kunwar killed by police in Banepa, Kavre, in which some four are injured, city is in tension; Tulasi Chhetry who was injured by police firing on April 8passed a way in Chitwan; Police firing in many places of the Kathmandu valley especially in Gongabu and Kalanki, 16 protestors got injured in Gongabu encounter; Beni, Myagdi continued to be the restricted area for police, put signboard from Nepal Government instead of His Majesty Government of Nepal; Firing in Chitwan; Panauti, Kavre declared the democratic city by the protestors; Maoist Leaders Bauram and Prachanda issued the

- statement in support of the Janaandolan; SPA announced a torch rally soon after the relief of curfew at 8.15 for 15 minute; Rally in Mahendra Nagar, Kusma, Nuwakot, Kavre in which there was police firing in many places
- 10 April----- Nationwide protest continue; Over 200 protestors arrested in Dailekh District; Solidarity rallies organised in Indian cities; Night-time curfew extended in Kathmandu; Editorials suggested the government not to suppress popular movement; police firing in Chabhil, Gongabu; protestors declare Gongabu Choak as Janaandolan Chock and region as democratic region; NC affiliated student wing, NSU organize a nationwide torch rally in evening; protestors burnt Gyanendra's coffin; a big protest in Jhapa; protestors change the name of Hridayendra Marg, Birtamod to Bhinsen Dahal Marg; Dry port area of Birjung, Simra of Bara district are under the control of protestors; Firing in Dhangadi, Pokhara etc. Signboard changing campaign continue in Pyuthan and Beni; Kuchho (brush) rally in Nawalparasi; SPA's request to all local representatives to resign from the post and take part the movement
- 11 April----- Protest continue; Police become more suppressive, protestors are also more aggressively chanting slogan.
- 12 April----- Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested; a severe encounter of the protestors with police in Gongabu, more than 100 got wounded in police firing; foreigners, doctors etc. were abused, beaten by the security forces; Another protestor Bishnu Poudel killed and 12 others wounded in Nawalparashi firing; Thahity, Chabhil also tensed; Journalists and lawyers organized a separate protests rally; Women's rally in Beni, Myagdi; Some IGNOs also took part the protest rally
- April 13----- Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested; Nepal Bar Association's huge demonstration, police firing in the rally, many wounded more than five dozen lawyers arrested; 36 wounded in police firing in Dolakha district; police firing in Sunsari and other places; Mass meeting by SPA in Gongabu; Government issued an order to the cable operators not to broadcast Kantipur television through their networks.
- April 14----- King's new year speech, invited parties to talk; he said that he is open for dialogue; NC reacted on it saying an attempt to deluge the Andolan; UML told that there is nothing new in king's remarks; Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested ; SPA valley committee decided to appeal those concerned people to close all the factories, and vehicles to make the protest more effective.
- April 15----- Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested; Over 20,000 march in Dhangadhi; Over 100 arrested in Hetauda; over 100,000 people participated in the funeral procession of late Tulsi Chhetri in Chitwan; over 15,000 people took to the street In sunsari protesting the government suppression over peaceful demonstrations; Police firing in Sanepa, Teku etc; Protest by journalists, police firing and numbers of them wounded; Hundreds of thousand people assembled in Gongabu and moved towards Balkhu, another part of Ring Road; Demonstrators were stopped in Teku while going to Ratnapark.
- April 16----- SPA appealed people not to pay tax, non resident Nepalese not to send remittances to Nepal and donors not to give money in the name of loan, donation and help to Nepal govt., told that all fine will be waved by the new government. They also appealed the government employs, teachers, professionals and family members of security forces to take part the protest rally. They also announced to boycott the goods produced from the factories invested by the king; Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested; King met ambassador of India, USA and China; Local News took part the protest in huge number; Government announced Ring Road and around 200 meter as prohibited area to assemble more than five people together.
- April 17----- Nationwide protest continue; hundreds were arrested; another protestor killed in Bara, huge protest in Chabhil, Chitwan; Women's rally in Beni, Myagdi with

black ribbon; King gave audience to two ex PMs- K P Bhattarai and Surya Bahadur Thapa

- April 18-----Farmers rally in Surya Binayak; Newars continue to protest in the valley; rallies in other parts of the city and all over the country; police firing in Budhanagar, Kathmandu, Udaypur and Nepaljung; Setu BK was killed in a police firing in Nepaljung; More than 700000 people took part protest rally in Pokhara; some 32 civil servants who were in Dharna for democracy got arrested, Nepal Rastra Bank suspended some of its staffs who supported peaceful movement; tourism professionals join the protest; prisoners also protested inside jail.
- April 19-----Nationwide protest continue; Hundreds of thousand took part the protest rally in Kathmandu; hundreds were arrested; SPA appealed all people to out at 7.00 pm from home and raise slogan for democracy for 10 minutes; Some 250 university teachers arrested while protesting; Government declared 18 hours curfew from very early in the morning to late evening; SPA appealed to continue the peaceful protest and requested people to come closer to the Ring Road Gherao program; Indian PM's special envoy Karan Singh came to Kathmandu with Shyam Saran; Police used more than 500 round bullets and shot more than four protestors in Jhapa;
- April 20-----King grants audience to Indian special envoy; Nationwide protest continue; 18 hours long curfew in the history, protestors started dying if from very early morning in Kathmandu; Government did not issue curfew pass even to international media; People from neighboring districts like Kavre and Dhading also came to take part the Ring Road Gherao program; People from Jorpati, Majhankal, Saibu, Thankot, Kirtipur, Godawari, Sitapaila, Ichangu, Budanilkantha, Sundarijal, Nagarkot reached to Ring Road; Ring Road controlled by the protestors; Police firing in Kalanki, Khumaltar, Banasthali etc; three people killed in Kalanki in which some 500 got injured; Curfew continued till 25 hours; A huge protest in Pokhara, Chitwan, Myagdi, Bardiya etc.
- April 21-----Nationwide protest continues; Curfew continue till 12 in the midnights in Kathmandu; more people came in the street; Newars' protest continue inside the kathmandu; Historical demonstration in Kathmadu; 12 kilometers area out of 27 kilometer of Ring Road was full from the protestors, more than ten lacks people were predicted; one wounded passed away in Bardiya; King's address to the people in which he asked seven parties to recommend the name of the PM; he told that he returned people's power to the people, defended his coup as compulsory move and thanked to security forces for their good job; India welcomed the royal proclamation first then the same followed by US, EU, Canada, UN; Protestors in Butwal refused royal proclamations as betrayal and move to dilute people's movement; NC 'dissatisfied,' protests against royal proclamation, Sushil Koirala has claimed that royal proclamation won't solve the problem; Civil society leaders call for unconditional 'constituent assembly'; Domestic and International flights cancelled
- April 22-----Nationwide protest continues; hundreds were arrested; SPA formally denounced king's proclamation; they urged the king to reinstate the Parliament within 24 hours; They also appealed people to continue the protest. And also announced the new programs for 25th of April in which seven top most leaders were given the responsibility to lead rallies from different places; Government again stopped the mobile service; More people are in the street, Gongabu, Chabhil, Kalanki got again tensioned, Ring Road witnessed like Human sea; Pokhara, Chitwan, Bhairawaha including all small cities were under protesters control.
- April 23-----Nationwide protest continues; Kalanki remains still restive; firing in Koteswar; India issued another statement and said that it is with Nepali people; [Over](#) 300,000 march in Dang calling for 'total democracy', Maoists attacked the district headquarter of Sindhupalchock; Security personals of Surkhet district distributed some Pamphlets in support of the peaceful protest; Farmers with plough and oxes took part the protest rally in Banke.



April 24----- Nationwide protest continues; Protest continues in Kathmandu along with the next day's preparation; Firing in Basundhara, dozens injured; Pro Democracy protests in Bangkok; King's proclamation in which he acknowledge the spirit of the people's movement, accepted popular sovereignty, reinstated parliament, summoned the session of the reinstated House of the representatives at the Samsad Bhawan at 1 P.M. on Friday, April 28, 2006; and invited the mainstream seven-party alliance to implement its roadmap – including election of a constituent assembly to rewrite the constitution in line with the parties' five-month-old agreement with the Maoists; Victory rallies organized nationwide; Maoists reject it; Mobile phones start ringing once again.

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Sustainable Cultures - Cultures of Sustainability is a study conducted by the Coalition for Environment and Development, Finland and funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. For more information see [http://www.ymparistojakehitys.fi/sustainable\\_societies.html](http://www.ymparistojakehitys.fi/sustainable_societies.html)