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बालेनको विरोध
किन भइरहेछ ?

एउटा मेयरले गर्ने को हो ? मेरिको कार्बोनेट्र
र अंकिकार के को हो ? यो सीमामा बरेर
काठमाडौं महानगरका राखेन बालेन काम
गरारहेका छन् भने उनको बिरोधमा
प्रधानमन्त्रीमस्त उत्तरकृति जायज हो ? स्वयम
प्रधानमन्त्रीले बुझ पाएर विरोध गर्दा बालेनको ओज जहान बन्न्होरे ?
यहाँ सब सहन गर्न नक्कर र क्षेत्रीय मूल्यको बाग गर्न प्राप्तीशील
कर्मप्रदर्शन बालेनवरुद्ध तेली, मध्यसे जस्ता अपशब्द बोलेखें छन् । दुला दल
फोर गर्नी गर्नेछन् । ५ हजार बागमाडीभन्न भूम्यलो भएका जुन सम्बद्धार पारवार
जम्म भए पनि नेपाली हुन भन्ने यी लोकतन्त्रवादीले तिन विसेका ?

भैरहवा र पोखरामा चिनियाँ जहाज

क्रान्तिको सावधान्या तिन नसकिने भयो, अनुदानमा परिवर्तन गरिएकिन नेपालले
ओपराइक आप्रह गरेपछि जवाकमा चीनले भैरहवा र पोखरा उडान गर्न चाइना
साउनलाई खालीको छ । चाइना साउनलाई एयर छिटी नियमित उडान गर्न तैयार



रहेको जानकारी चाइना साउनलाई एयरका प्रतिनिधित्वे पर्वटन मन्त्री वीरा पाउडेलाई
भेदैर शिक्षण छन् । काठमाडौं खालीको उडान गरिएको चाइना साउनलाई अब
भैरहवा र पोखरावाट उडान गर्न एरपोर्टलाई जिवत्त पार्न र नेपालको पर्वटन
उडानमा समेत ट्रेवा पुचान चाहेको बताएको छ । मन्त्री पाउडेल बुढ जम्मस्थान
लुम्बिनी र पर्वटन नगरी पोखराले महान् पार्न बेने जानकारी दिएका छन् ।
समर्पण छ, बुढाई सुनका विधयमा नेपाल एप्रेले लापा पान बिन सम्भव्य ।

नेपालको विधय र हालै पराइट्रूमनी आरन्जु राखको भारत प्रमाणमा समेत
भारतलाई वय दुई बालूँ रुपूटे माग गद्वासेत चुप्पी साथिहाले को भारतका लाग्नि
भारतीय सिमानामा रहेको भैरहवा एयरपोर्टमा चाइना साउनलाई उडानले थप ताउको
दुखाई थाएको अनुहित विश्वरुद्ध तेली अब भारतले को गर्ने ।

जसरी पनि नेपाललाई मनार बीराहाराईलाई कार्यान्वयनमा लानका लाग्नि चीन
प्रधारम भएको छ । चीनले अब योजनामा पान लागानी बडाउन थालेको छ ।

भीमदत्तको खोजी हुनथाल्यो

राजनीती अपराधिकरण हुई गएपछि र शासकहरू भीमदत्तजस्ता योद्धाको खोजी गर्न थालेका छन् ।



काठमाडौंको मेरेव बालेन्द्र साह, धरानका हर्क सामाङ, भ्रगवीका गोपी
हमारलाई नेता चाहिन्दै भएको नाराहल्लाई रोलमोडेको स्पूमा
स्पूमीकर नंग थालेका छन् । शूना साना पार्टीका कर्ने पान तेलाउड खीकार गर्न
चाहेको नारेखारा विलेपेहरू भीमदत्तजस्ताको खोजी भएको अर्थ निकाल्न्हैन ।

नेपाललाई बगलादेश बोचाइन्दै, हिमावा बढाउनेस्ता खीकारे भद्रहरूको यो
परिस्थितमा युवाहरू स्तरानुसार खीकारा निर्खेका छन् । केही सचेत भद्रहरू
माटो बचें, नेपाली योद्धाको भीमदत्त जस्तै प्रश्न बेदानका साथ
लो समर्पणको प्रतिका गरिएको छ । देशमाझै देशभित्रका साथ र विदेशी गोमनले
झस्को थोरी भयो, देशलाई स्वानिनात दिन भीमदत्त भएर कोही त जन्म ?

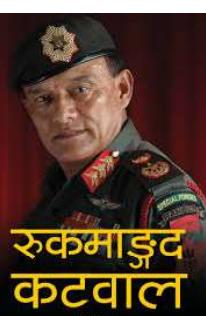
कहाँ के गईछन्- रुकमांगद कटवाल ?

रुकमांगद, कटवाल : पूर्व
प्रधानसेनापति । जसले गिरिजाप्रासादसम्म
सहकारी गरे, प्राचिडजस्ता डाइपोर्नाक,
आगो नेतृत्वसंघ मूकवीला गरे । पदमा
हद्वा वा अवकाशिती र्थि रुकमांगदका
निकै बेनान द्वारे जोखिमा भायागरे ।

ती रुकमांगद, कटवाल रुकमांगद कटवाल
कहाँ के गईछन् अहिले, उनी पूर्वद्वारावाट हराएका
छन् । अस्त्रकथामा सिमिहारूको छन् ।

राजनेत्राले हुक्काएका कटवाल
प्रधानसेनापति थिए, राजतत्र कटवाल
सध्ये, बचाउन रुकमांगद कटवाल
किन गुम्फामा छ ।

सोन्नेट रुकमांगद कटवाल
कौजी रमेन २०१३-१५ वा जर्मन
निर्झूल शासक द्वितीयको द्वितीयको
सम्फना आउँदै । हिटलरको अन्त्य १९४५ वा भयो । रमेलाउड जसरी जुदै मेरोको
प्रचार भएको थियो, ज्यौदी बाध्यस्ता रुकमांगद कटवाल किन मौन छैँ ।



माटोवादीहरूको साभा पत्रिका

नेपालमाथि मोदीले भाँजो हाले

नेपालमाथि मोदीले भाँजो हाले



माथिल्लो अरुण बिरह्द मोदीको बाहुबली

निव वैष्णवी समसामित नै भ्रमसको

विधयमा भारतले यसरी भाँजो तालिको

विधयमा नेपाल समाको बोलेको छैन ।

विधय वैष्णवी अरुणलाई भारतले

मोदीले अर्थात लिपुलेको छैन ।

भारतले अर्थात लिपुलेको गरेको छैन ।

भ्रष्टचारविरुद्धको म्यूजिक भिडियो आउँदै

फाउन्डेशनका प्रमुख संस्कारक हेम सरिता पाठक फाउन्डेशनका प्रमुख संस्कारक हेम पाठकले रचना गर्नु भएको छ। फाउन्डेशन नेपाल शासक राजनीति राजेवालाम लेकावालाका अनुवान चारित गायिका कृन्ती मोक्तान र अन्य चारित गायिका शिखियाले योगीले सो गीत गाउन भएको हो भने चारित शिखियाले गायिका अनुगीत सही गर्नु भएको हो। यस म्यूजिक भिडियोमा कलाकारहरू क्रियाको सीधा, वायाको रूपमा श्रेष्ठ, राजनुभूति र आकर्षक निरूपणका अभियन्त्र छ। म्यूजिक भिडियोको निरूपणका सुन्दर क्षेत्र की, र सहायता चढ़ बाट्टारी रहेको छ। भ्रष्टचारको चर्चेटामा लेकावो गीतको परिवर्तन छ। भ्रष्टचारको चर्चेटामा लेकावो गीतको परिवर्तन छ।

यो अति चारित राम र रामायण बहानाले गर्नु भएको छ। यस म्यूजिक भिडियोमा कलाकारहरू द्वारा गीतको छ। गोलाकृति सिद्धार्थी, शरिता पाठक, अधिकारीकर्मी डा. गोलाकृति सिद्धार्थी,

प्रवक्तार शिव गाउँडले, समाजसेवीहरू ओम उपेन्द्री, गोपाल सामिया भेटवाल, प्रकाश भेटवाल, सन्द्या सिंहोला, पोखरेल, पूजा सुवेदी, रञ्जन निरौली, नविन भेटवाल, दिनेश बर्नेल, अनु थापा, गणेश बर्नेल, मेरेन कैराम महत, बाल बाल र अनुगीतको छ। म्यूजिक भिडियोको प्रतिष्ठान सर्वैरेण छ।

हेम सरिता पाठक फाउन्डेशनले एक लाखको भ्रष्टचार विकल्पको अन्तर्निर्दिष्ट क्रियालय पुरस्कार, एस लाखले राजनुभूति भएका पाठक अन्तर्निर्दिष्ट पुरस्कार दुई लाखको टक्का साप्ताहित अन्तर्निर्दिष्ट प्रकारिता पुरस्कारालाई गर्न आएको छ। यसले प्रतिष्ठानले नेपालमा यसले संचालन लाग्ने ताका रहन निर्माण र आयमुलक कार्यको लाग्ने रसम अनुठान बाहरा र काफा जिल्लालाई अशक र असाधारित पठनाठान बराइरहेको छ।



हेम सरिता पाठक फाउन्डेशनका प्रमुख संस्कारक हेम पाठकले रचना गर्नु भएको छ। चर्चेटामा देश गीतको म्यूजिक भिडियोको छ।

केही उदीयमान कविहरूद्वारा मुक्तक लेख्ने प्रयासहरू



हृदयको बर्गैचामा ढकमक फूलहरू फुलेसारि भभराहरू खुशी खुशी फलवारीमा भुलेसारि कहिले लान्छ यो जिन्दगी छारिएको बतासम्भै संसार हैनै रहर बोकी मनै मनले डुलेसारि ।



विक्रीमा थिइन म चुनावमा बेचिन सिकायौ रक्सी र दुर्द चोक्टा मासुमा बेचिन सिकायौ पेटले अन्न माघा पटुकी कसेर वस्नु पर्नेभो भोतेचेर अलिकति नोटामा बेचिन सिकायौ ।



यहाँ राजनीति गर्नेले देश लुटेका छन् जन्मकैहीरू दिनकै जेल छुटेका छन् मेरो देश भन्न पनि लाजमर्दै छ हजर गरिबलाई हाँडीको मकै जस्तै भुटेका छन् ।



- देवी काफ्ले

धन मान कमाउन सधै यन्त गरेउ उत्तेसुल्तो पाप धर्म सबै यन्त गरेउ तर मैले सोचेजस्तो हुन नसकानाले पातलो हालतमा बाँच्ने यन्त गरेउ ।



दाका टोपी ढल्काएर के पायी र खे मेरा आँखा पढ्काएर के पायी र खे आविरी तरिपरको फरक रछ बाटो दिलमा आगो सल्काएर के पायी र खे ?



- मुक्तिनाथ शर्मा

आज तिमीसङ्ग खुलेर बोल्न मन लागेको छ हाम्रा मनका तालालाई खोल्न मन लागेको छ हामीले पालेका भए भरका रहन र इच्छाहरूलाई सङ्झाहै मिसाई वेस्सरी खोल्न मन लागेको छ ।



चस्स दुखा मुँ किन बोल्न सकेन नयनको अश्वुत्ते पिरोलन सकेन यो दिल किन कोमल हुन्छ यति अधरको मुस्कान वियोलन सकेन ।

- पवनकुमार बुढाथोकी

हेर त पहेलो सारी लकाएर करि कुरुँ सानु यी औलाहरू आफै मकाएर करि कुरुँ सानु आउने भए छिँडै आउ प्यासी आँखा बुझाउ यो छातीको मायो चर्काएर करि कुरुँ सानु ।



- मिना कोइराला



अनुरोध

मुझमा फले आलु यो समैमा चल्ने आलु यो

फूलमा खींची भयरो भुम्नानयो यो मन भयरो सुरमा गुन्नानयो उनले गरालमा लेखेका छन् । नमल्न देखे गुच्छा भइन्दू हाँडी पुच्छा उनले गरालमा लेखेका छन् । मरर कै नै लाञ्छ नम्नन देखे गुच्छा भइन्दू हाँडी उनको गरालमा लेखिएको छ । व्यासी साठी भयरोसमा लानी भिरीपापा खाउंता है यसपाली उनले भाइबहिनीलाई गराल बालाको भनेका छन् । भोकालाई खाना देउँ बोकालाई खाना नाम देउँन । यस सङ्गयामिकको परिलक्षी गरालमा भेसेन इच्छाही गरी आयो हामी है है भनेको छ । नाडेका भलादी बाटा पालेवाइ तति मींका कुरा छन् टाटा पालेवाइ तुले गरालमा लेखेका छन् । मैले पान पहान जाने रामो गुरु ख्कुल छाने पुरुरले गरालमा लेखेका छन् । पेरो मेरो भन्ने कुरुने यसेको काया हो जिन्दालाई उन्ने गरालमा लेखेका छन् ।

मेजीकाली बनेकालाई

यौदा न्यानो छाना देउँ

सावारामै पाल्दा नि वाल अधिकार खाए उनले लेखेका छन् । ओराटी उकाली चहाउँ चहाउँ वरी नैवे मिलेको खाउंता है यसपाली उनको भाइबहिनीलाई गराल बालाको भनेका छन् । भोकालाई खाना देउँ बोकालाई खाना नाम देउँन । यस सङ्गयामिकको परिलक्षी गरालमा भेसेन इच्छाही गरी आयो हामी है है भनेको छ ।

सावारामै पाल्दा नि वाल अधिकार खाए उनले लेखेका छन् । ओराटी उकाली चहाउँ चहाउँ वरी नैवे मिलेको खाउंता है यसपाली उनको भाइबहिनीलाई गराल बालाको भनेका छन् ।

यस अनुरोधको चित्र

अर्यज सङ्घाहरूलाई चिनाउने प्रयास

गरेको छ । बिनका गरालालाई चित्र

सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, आर्थिक एवं

सांस्कृतिक विकासको सरकार प्रतिविवरण

मारी बालबालिकाहरूको चाहाना, खेलप्रतिक्रिया

मन्त्रालयमा बालबालिकाहरूको चाहाना, खेलप्रतिक्रिया

मुस्लिम राष्ट्र पाकिस्तानमा बौद्ध सम्मेलन



पाकिस्तानमा बौद्ध सम्पद संरक्षणबाट अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्मेलनको महत्व दर्शाएको छ। बौद्ध विदान एवम् बौद्ध परम्परावाहीहरूले दुखार्थ जोडिएका साथा सम्पदको संरक्षण र सानित र सम्बृद्धिका लागि नयाँ पुस्ताना जान हस्तान्तर गर्नुपर्नेगा पाकिस्तानका प्रशान्तनीतीर्ण आज गरेको छ। पाकिस्तानको परराष्ट्र मन्त्रालयद्वारा 'गान्धारा दृढ व वर्ल्ड' विषयक अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्मेलन सम्पन्न भएको छ। बौद्ध सम्पदका अध्येताहरूले बौद्ध परम्पराको विस्तारमा सानित र सम्बृद्धिको नयाँ आवास बैज्ञानिक परिवर्तनमा जारी दिक्षित कावडान्त। प्राचीन रेखामा भारी र शिरेली र परम्पराको बौद्ध भूमिका गान्धाराको विसेषता रहेको छ। यसी लेखामा गौतम बुद्धको पहिलो मूर्ति कृषिको र बौद्ध मूर्ति परम्पराको विकास भएको पनि मनिन्छ। सुनिलम राष्ट्र पाकिस्तानमा बौद्ध सम्पदका विषयमा यसेते महत्वपूर्ण बैज्ञानिक परिवर्तनमा दुखार्थ दुखार्थ दर्शाएको छ।

राष्ट्रिय राजनीतिक संकट निकासको लागि बौद्धिक मञ्च नेपालले तयार गरेको मार्गचित्र

प्रा. डा. विज्ञु दाहाल, गोविंद बोहरा 'ब्राह्मण'

अ) मल भास्तुस्थाहरूः -

१. सबैयानिक वाचा
२. बहुलाल भास्तुकार र वेतनि
३. बहुला प्रभी-गरिगर विकासो खाली !

४. नारायाको चाहाना सुनाउन तर राज्यको चित्रित सत्ता अत्रजकाता र प्रभाताचार

५. सुखासनको अधार !

६. अलाकाको प्रमुख राजनीतिक शर्कारामध्ये जनताको बढाए अतिवास !

आ) अन्तर्कात कम्पोनी :-

१. देशप्रती भरेका कायम गर्न नवमन्त्र
२. गर्निर्वात निवारणका अपेक्षल प्रयोग

३. न्युनतम जीवन गुणार्थ विदेश जानपने बायत्रा अनि गुणस्तरीय विकासो लागि

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७. न्युनतम जीवन गुणार्थ विदेश जानपने बायत्रा अनि गुणस्तरीय विकासो लागि

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In the context of introducing life profile of the Senior Citizen of Nepal Respective Senior Citizen Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar

My memories as I perceived him as my senior friend

(Part one)

By Uttam Karmacharya

1. Introductory Preface

It was very lucky to meet Respective Shreeman Ghana Shyam Dai around 25 years back in Banepa Janagal Janajwoti School in a literary symposium program amid group of literary distinguished personalities led by Mr. Mohan Duwal of Banepa Literary Society. Late Ram Bhakta Kokh-shrestha, Mayor of Banepa Municipality and me attended the program from the side of Banepa Municipality. Since then we often met him time to time in several literary societies in different location of Kathmandu valley.

By the way, I was so fortunate to meet him during the marriage ceremony procession of Mr. Nil Krishna Tamrakar. Mr. Nil Tamrakar got married with the eldest daughter of Ghana Shyam Dai and Madam Shanta Rajkarnikar Miss Rina Rajkarnikar. Ever since we I got chance to meet him and his family members during the family invitation and ceremonial events and function in both the families of Tamrakar family and Ghana Shayam Dai Rajkarnikar family time to time. During our several meeting we used to exchange our books and booklets. I have good collection of his write ups and books out of his more than 15 books published from 2035 BS upto 2080 BS. List of the collection of his books.

1. Kehi Chintan Kehi Manthan (Collection of different articles), 1979

2. Videsh ko Yatra Swadeshi ko Samjhana (Travelogue) 1981

3. Desh Pradesh ko Bharmana (Travelogue), 1986

4. Pabitra Samjhana Aamako (Reminiscence), 1986

5. Samjhana ko Laharma Laharindai Janda (Reminiscence), 1996

6. Baudha Tirtha Yatra: Nalanda Dekhi Lumbini Samma (Travelogue), 2003

7. Gajaraj Rajkarnikar ko Bansawali (Research), 2004

8. Anubhab Ra Abhibhyakti Maa Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar (Interview collection), 2005

9. Buddha Jyoti Kaa Kehi Rashmi (Essay), 2007

10. Yatra America Ko : Maya Nepal Ko (Travelogue), 2012

11. Yatra Ko Laharma Hiunphool Ki Rani (Travelogue), 2017

12. Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar Ka Pratinidhi Yatra, 2019

13. Ghamaai Pyara Aamai Pyaro (Children Travelogue), 2019

14. The Buddha - Great and Grandeur (Essay) Translated) 2022

15. Mother Who Taught Me How to Live (Reminiscence) (Translated) 2021



16. Samjhana Mera Purkha' (In Memory of My Ancestors) 2023

2. Sudden Meeting at Bhaktapur

As we used to talk through Viber, Messenger and Landline phone last week we decided meet either in his resident Kamalpokhari Kathmandu or in Bhaktapur in my office of Iwamura College of Health Sciences and Hospital. Suddenly, I got a call by Respective Shreeman Ghana Shyam Dai regarding his visit to my office soon and while he was on the way to Bhaktapur to confirm my availability in my office. It was my great opportunity to meet him on time no traffic Jaam on the way on Thursday 22 August 2024. We got chance to discuss for around two hrs. I was so lucky to welcome him and fortunate to get a set of his books that I have not yet. Last year, by the way as usual I got an invitation by my friend Mr. Nil Tamrakar and his father-in-law Mr. Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar.

Regarding the opening/unveiling of new book entitled/called research-based memoir 'Samjhana Mera Purkha' (In Memory of My Ancestors written by Ghana Shyam Dai function organized by Nepal Creative writers' Society Kathmandu chaired by Shree Om Krishna Rodat at Bhatbarani party palace

3. From Krishna Pauroti Bhandar Pvt. Ltd. to Renowned Book Writer Literatures

Krishna Pauroti (also called Krishna Breads) is a Nepali bakery. It was founded in 1948 by Krishna Bahadur Rajkarnikar in Kamal Pokhari, Kathmandu, Nepal. Currently it operates from four locations within Kathmandu valley i.e. Kamal Pokhari, Khumaltar, Hatti Ban and Mahalaxmi. Kai Weise, a correspondent of The Himalayan Times, labelled Krishna Pauroti "the first bakery in Nepal. Certainly people must have been baking things in the country before that not necessarily as they are today. But when it comes to a commercial operation or establishment of baking

profession no other businesses than Krishna Pauroti can be found recorded before it.

After returning to Nepal from his foreign visit to Krishna Bahadur Rajkarnikar thought of starting a business in his own country what he saw in the country he visited. Eventually establishing Krishna Pauroti in 1948. It had been a synonymous for breads and bakery in Nepal for long time ever since it's beginning until establishment of other bakeries and matching its level of production.

4. His Short Life Profile

As I came to know through his Biodata Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar has been a very successful Entrepreneur & Writer and was born 16th January 1942 Kamal Pokhari, Kathmandu, Nepal. He did his M.A. (Economics) in 1968. He got his first training on Job Method and Relation Training in 1959. He was so lucky to get Course of German Language, Goethe Institution, Arolsen (Germany) in 1972/ He was so fortunate to get the Professional Education and Advanced Training (Germany) in 1973.

It was so good to know that he received Industrial Study Tour to Japan, Hong Kong and South Korea sponsored by APO (Asian Productivity Organization) in 1977.

He had well-travelled in more than 18 countries. They are: India, United States of America, Germany, United Kingdom, Holland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Japan, Thailand, Hong Kong, South Korea, Dubai, Italy, Singapur, Denmark.

Respective Ghana Shyam Rajkarnikar was the first youngest son of Late Krishna Bahadur Rajkarnikar and Late Ms. Pran Maya Rajkarnikar born in 16th January 1942. He was four years senior to me. He was blessed with five daughters. The first daughter Mrs. Reena married to Mr. Nil Krishna Tamrakar.

Ever since I know him , he is looking always so green : ever green as I know you for the last 30 years . I

wish to express my heartfelt and long left congratulations to him for his exemplary service in Krishna Pauroti Bhandar (KPB) and literature . I highly appreciate his very balanced personality, gentleness, intellect mental makeup , faith in Buddhist philosophy and man of Naanglo brain. Buddhism had been classifying man with two types of Brains: one with Naanglo type of Brain and one with Chalaani types of

B r a i n s . I highly appreciate his ever ready help and cooperation extended to needy people and organizations where and when needed. He is blessed with five daughters and supporting him for the continued KPB Pvt. Ltd. and provided valuable free time to contribute in writing books and working in other social services and activities keeping their very smart and active at the elderly aging of around 82 years older and eldest in the Rajkarnikar Family. I highly appreciate valuable support and help extended to their father. I highly appreciate equally to express my gratitude to Madam Bhaiju for her outstanding exemplary life time support and marital life. I am very happy to now thay he had already celebrated first and second Rathorhan according to Newari culture and traditional values. Con gratulations and all the best wishes for celebrating five level of Rathorhan :

There are five Rathorahans as the Newar people celebrate in their life time: Surya / Bhima Rathaa Rohan; Chandra Rathaa rohan ; Deva Rathaa rohan; Shiva Rathaa rohan and Shakti Rathaa rohan.

It is to be noted that I am drafting second part of this article continuing with reference to his other aspect of academic and social asset of life.

Professor Dr. Uttam K. Karmacharya presently has been working as a Board of Director, Dr. Iwamura Hospital Memorial Hospital and Iwamura College of Health Science Prof. Karmacharya of Tribhuvan University was a former Resource Person for China (Unesco Nanjing), Denmark, World Education , Banepa Municipality and LRCS of Indonesia, Iran, Myanmar, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand , Unesco Bangkok).Former Secretary General, National Resources Center for NFE (NRC-NFE) and Director, Center for Education for All (CEFA) Nepal.

The 2 July session too fell through. It was to be convened the next day, and Bajpai had 30 Sikkim Congressmen taken to India House for a final briefing on tactics. They were advised to stand firm in their opposition to the Chogyal's presence in the assembly but not to boycott the meeting; instead, they were to refuse even to hear what he had to say. The bill was to be adopted as if the Chogyal had not spoken. The PO then considerably informed the Chogyal that his appearance in the chamber would provoke a walk-out and that India could not permit such an insult to the throne: it would, therefore, save embarrassment all round if he were to let Das who, after all, represented him, read out his comments on the draft.

Kalzang Gyatso and Tasa Tengay were still missing when the chief executive initiated the proceedings by reading out the-Chogyal's 542-word statement on "the sacred task of framing a constitution for the country which will have far-reaching effects on Sikkim, her people and her very close relationship with India, our protecting power". There was no indication of grief or betrayal; nor any recrimination. After candidly admitting differences "which is inevitable in a democratic process" the Chogyal stressed: "Our duty is to ensure that these differences do not ultimately bring unhappiness and suffering to the people at large." It was a dignified exposition of his reasons for interceding with Mrs. Gandhi, on a measure that endangered the kingdom's "separate identity" and suffered from "important lacuna and anomalies". The Chogyal repeated the three points, to which he remained "irrevocably committed". He sought no reservation for himself; nor was he inclined to interfere with the assembly. "My viewpoints have been laid-before the hon'ble house for considering the bill in the larger interests of Sikkim, her people and Indo-Sikkim relations."

They were spelt out in fuller, if cumbersome, detail in a 28-page annexure titled "Detailed Comments on the & Draft Government of Sikkim Bill 1974". Though something of a heavy lawyer's note, it was a clause-by-clause demolition of a document that violated the treaty and the relationship of protector and protektorate to vest all executive and legislative authority in an Indian civil servant who was "a head of state, governor and chief minister rolled into one". It explained that elected leaders gained nothing from the anomalous position in which the kingdom was being placed, or from its throne's demotion. New Delhi would permanently rule the kingdom through an authoritarian functionary. "The council of ministers are reduced to the position of merely echoing his decisions and direction."

To take one example, ministers could advise the throne only through the chief executive. But he was at liberty to refuse to forward their views or to "require the council of ministers to modify the advice" to suit his own ideas. The assembly could not thwart him. If it adopted any measure affecting the chief executive, the Chogyal would have to submit it for New Delhi's consideration.

The Sikkim assembly was, in fact, a permanently hamstrung body, institutionally subordinate to the Indian government, allowed only to voice those views and take those actions that had already been dictated by New Delhi's interests. Its charter allowed it no scope for independent initiative. If the chief executive chose to merge Sikkim with India, the assembly would have no option but to ratify the decision.

"This is tantamount to reducing the council [of ministers] to less than that of an advisory body", wrote V. Gopakumar in the Far Eastern Economic Review. "This would also mean that the advice tendered by the chief executive could be his own, rather than that of the council. Therefore, the chief executive is in a position to persuade the council members to take decisions acceptable to him and the Indian government. Indeed, his sweeping powers make a mockery of democratic traditions." Gopakumar also remarked on the irony of Das taking over ecclesiastical affairs which formed part of the establishment portfolio: "It is paradoxical that a police official-turned-administrator, whose primary task is to ensure law and order in the kingdom, now has to preside over the arcane Maha yana Buddhist order."

But true to the instructions he had been given, Kazi rose to say that there was no need to bother with the Chogyal's note, and that the bill should at once be adopted. Some Sikkim Congressmen may have been carried away by their vendetta against the durbar : many more had little comprehension of what was happening and could not make head or tail of the note's legal language; others had been promised ministerial or public sector appointments. They looked forward to handsome salaries, official bungalows and cars, police escorts, flags, ceremonial receptions, and rich pickings from lavish Indian aid. During the first six months of his tenure, Das spent Rs 2.5 million more than the whole year's total sanctioned expenditure. Though the money was meant for development projects, much of it lined private pockets. Everyone knew there was plenty more where it came from: a windfall was in store for anyone among the 200,000 Sikkimese who displayed ingenuity.

So Chatur Singh Roy, dreaming of his deputy speakership, rose to give the Chogyal "another three hours either to assent to the said bill... or he has to quit the Sikkimese political scene for good." Amidst giggles, Roy repeated Kazini's ancient joke about royal divinity: "In the ultimate analysis t is the people of Sikkim that count and not the Chogyal who claims to be half-divine." He also recalled that the half-divine monarch had "slipped out of Gangtok in the dead of night rather than face his people."

The assembly voted for its constitution amidst this puerile jeering. Having discharged that duty, members trooped up to India House for a pat on the back from the beaming PO. Bajpai boasted to reporters that he had succeeded in averting a major crisis.

The last scene was enacted in the palace shortly after one o'clock in the afternoon of 4 July. Kewal Singh had arrived from New Delhi to sit with Bajpai, Das, and the 2 legislators as the Chogyal signed the bill and announced : "I hereby approve the Government of Sikkim Bill 1974 for promulgation with my formal assent and under my seal and signature." Congratulatory speeches followed, and Kewal Singh entertained the company to a victory celebration at India House. It was an appropriate enough setting, for the Sikkim Congress and Chogyal had both lost out. The latter's fears were expressed in yet another letter to Mrs. Gandhi :

The events of the recent weeks have been disastrous to all of us. After much agony the Government of Sikkim Bill 1974 has received my assent since your Excellency had advised me to give it a try, after my constitutional right of formally placing my views before the assembly had been completed.

I still have fears over clause 30 of the act which I pray, under your protection, will never be invoked to destroy our separate identity which has been given us under the treaty and has been reassured to us. contd.....

Smash And Grab

By Sunanda Datta Ray

CHAPTER 13 Death Warrant

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