

मैले देखेको १७६ औं विश्व पर्यटकीय स्थल स्वीटजरलैण्ड बेलिन्जोनाको दरबार क्षेत्र

सुरेन्द्र ढकाल



ग्राण्ड क्यासल परबाट हेर्दा



इटालीको मिलानतर्फ लाग्ने क्रममा दिदी मीना, सुरेन्द्र र राजन विक बेलिन्जोना रेल्वे स्टेशनमा



ग्राण्ड क्यासलको भित्री भाग



माथिबाट हेर्दा सास्सो कोर्वारो दरबार



बाहिरबाट हेर्दा मोन्तेवेल्लो दरबार



दरबार क्षेत्रमा पर्यटकहरू



दरबार क्षेत्रमा दिदी मीना र राजन विक



दिदी मीना, राजन विक दाता एदभिजेका साथ र पृष्ठभूमिमा दरबार क्षेत्रबाट देखिने बेलिन्जोना उपत्यका

जून ४ तारिखका दिन हामी दाता संस्था आर्कोवालेनोका पदाधिकारीहरूसँग भेटघाट र दिवाखाना खाँदै बेलुकासम्म औपचारिक अनौपचारिक बैठक र कुराकानी गरेर वितायौं। भोलिपल्ट ५ तारिख विहानको ब्रेकफास्ट गरेपछि एदभिजेले हामीलाई स्वीस महासंघको संघीय प्रदेश तिचिनोको राजधानी बेलिन्जोनास्थित ऐतिहासिक दरबार र किल्ला अवलोकन गराउन त्यतातिर लगिन्। दरबार (ग्राण्ड क्यासल) को प्रवेशद्वारसम्म हामी एदभिजेको जिपमा गएका थियौं।

दरबार क्षेत्र यो एक किल्लाहरूको समूहसहितको दरबार (Castle) रहेछ। स्वीस आल्प्स हिमालयको काखमा अवस्थित यो दरबार क्षेत्रमा कास्तेल्लो ग्रान्दे, मोन्तेवेल्लो र सास्सो कोर्वारो गरी तीनवटा दरबारहरू रहेछन्। कास्तेल्लो ग्रान्दे एक ठूलो चट्टानको टुप्पोमा बनाइएको रहेछ, जहाँबाट बेलिन्जोना उपत्यकाको मनोरम दृश्य अवलोकन गर्न सकिँदो रहेछ।

यस दरबारलाई चारैतिरबाट पर्खालले अड्याइएको रहेछ। तीन दरबारमध्ये सबैभन्दा उच्च स्थानमा सास्सो कोर्वारो अवस्थित रहेछ। सन २००० देखि नै यी दरबार समूह र किल्ला युनेस्कोको विश्व सम्पदामा सूचिकृत भएका रहेछन्।

ऐतिहासिक कालदेखि नै उत्तरी युरोपलाई दक्षिण युरोपसँग जोड्ने महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक भन्ज्याङको रूपमा यो स्थानको विकास भएको रहेछ। इशापूर्व पहिलो शताब्दीको नियोलिथिक युरोपेली कालमा नै यहाँको विकास शुरु भएको रहेछ। दरबार र किल्ला निर्माण कार्य रोमन वादशाह आगुस्टसले सुरु गरेका रहेछन्। पछि चारौं शताब्दीमा डिओक्लेटियानद्वारा यस दरबार क्षेत्रको पुनर्निर्माण भएको रहेछ र पछि कन्स्टान्टिन महानले कास्तेल्लो ग्रान्देसहित दरबारको थुंखला, घण्टाघर र सैनिक रहने ब्यारेक निर्माण गरेका रहेछन् जसको मुख्य उद्देश्य उत्तरी इटलीलाई शत्रुहरूको आक्रमणबाट सुरक्षित गर्नु

रहेछ।

युद्ध रणनीतिक महत्व भएको यो अग्लो स्थानको ब्यारेकमा रहेका थोरै सैनिकहरूले कुनै बेला ९०० जर्मन सिपाहीहरूलाई परास्त गरेको बताईदो रहेछ। पछि रोमन साम्राज्यको पतनसँगै उदाएको विजान्टाइन साम्राज्यले छैठौं शताब्दीमा यस दरबार क्षेत्रसहित उत्तरी युरोप जोड्ने गोर्थाडसहित सबै भन्ज्याङहरूलाई आफ्नो नियन्त्रणमा लिएको रहेछ।

सन ७७४ तिर कारोलिन्जियन साम्राज्यको फ्रान्क्स अधिराज्यले बेलिन्जोनासहित पूरै तिचिनो उपत्यकालाई आफ्नो नियन्त्रणमा लिएपछि कास्तेल्लो ग्रान्देमा गजुर (Chapel), टावर र ब्यारेकहरू आमरूपमा निर्माण गरिएको रहेछ भने त्यहाँ रहेका पुराना भवनहरूको जिर्णोद्धार गरिएको रहेछ। तर सन ८०० मा भएको आगलागीको कारण दरबारको दक्षिणी भागमा क्षति पुगेको रहेछ।

मध्यकालिन समय याने दुई शताब्दिपछि गएर पवित्र रोमन साम्राज्यले आफ्नो पुरानो गौरवमयकाल पुनर्प्राप्त गर्ने भन्दै रोमन साम्राज्य विस्तार गर्ने क्रममा यस क्षेत्रलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा लिई यस क्षेत्र इटलीको मिलानको अधिनबाट निकालेर कोमोको विशपलाई उपहारस्वरूप जिम्मा दिएका रहेछ र यस दरबार विशपको निवाश बन्न पुगेको रहेछ। पछि सन १३९५ मा यो दरबार क्षेत्र भिसकोन्तीको रुस्का परिवार (House) वा Visconti Rusca Family) को नियन्त्रणमा गएपछि दरबारलाई विस्तार गरिएको रहेछ।

यही समयमा मोन्तेवेल्लो नामक अर्को दरबार निर्माण गरिएको रहेछ र सास्सो कोर्वारो दरबार ठडिने ठाउँमा टावर निर्माण गरिएको रहेछ। पछि १३४० मा पुन मिलानको प्रशासनले बेलिन्जोनालाई आफ्नो अधिनामा लिएपछि पनि रुस्का परिवारलाई त्यहाँ बस्न दिइएको रहेछ। यही समयमा मिलान प्रशासनले बेलिन्जोना शहरको व्यापक विस्तार गरेको रहेछ। पछिल्ला समयमा

युरोपका विभिन्न शक्तिशाली वंशहरूले यस शहर र दरबार क्षेत्रलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा लिँदै छोड्दै गरेका रहेछन्। पछि भिसकोन्ती परिवारभित्र भएको अंश र उत्तराधिकारीसम्बन्धी किचलोको कारण हुन गएको युद्धमा स्वीस फौजले मिलानको फौजलाई हराएपछि टावरको छेउमा तेस्रो दरबार सास्सो कोर्वारोको निर्माण भएको रहेछ।

सन १८०३ मा बेलिन्जोना स्वीस महासंघको तिचिनो प्रदेश (क्यान्टोन) अन्तर्गत आएपछि यस दरबार क्षेत्र स्वीस संघीय सम्पत्तिभित्र पर्न गएको रहेछ। यसै समयमा किल्लाका पर्खालहरू मर्मत गर्ने कार्य शुरु भएको रहेछ। सन १९५३ मा तिचिनो शहर स्थापना भएको १५० वर्षगाँठ सँगसँगै दरबार र किल्लाहरूलाई आमरूपमा पुनः मर्मत र सम्भार गर्ने कार्य थालिएको रहेछ जुन १९९० मा पुनदा सम्पन्न भएको रहेछ र कास्तेल्लो ग्रान्देको मुख्य हललाई म्युजियममा रूपान्तरण गरिएको रहेछ भने मोन्तेवेल्लो दरबारलाई पुरातात्विक संग्रहालय मुजेओ चिभिको (Civil Museum) मा रूपान्तरण गरिएको रहेछ। सास्सो कोर्वारो दरबारलाई चाहिँ होटल र रेष्टुराँमा परिणत गरिएको रहेछ।

हामीले करिब २ घण्टाजति दरबार क्षेत्रमा वितायौं र तल बेलिन्जोना नगर ओर्ली तरकारीहरू किनी एदभिजेको घर फर्कदा करिब एक बजेको थियो। त्यहाँ आफैले नेपाली पाराले खाना बनाइ खायौं। यसप्रकार तेस्रो दिन पनि बित्यो। जून ६ तारिखका दिन गोत्तो पाउदेशोको एक स्वीस महिलाले राजन विकसँग मितिनी लाउन चाहेअनुरूप विहान १० बजे हामी उनीकहाँ गयौं। मितिनी लगाउने कार्य सम्पन्न भएपछि एदभिजेले हामीलाई बेलिन्जोना रेलवे स्टेशन लगेर १ बजे छोडिदिइन्।

त्यहाँबाट हामी रेल चढी करिब ११० किलोमिटर पार गरी मिलानको मालपेन्सा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय विमानस्थल पुगी त्यसै रातको प्लेनद्वारा दोहा आई दोहाबाट भोलिपल्ट ७ जूनको दिन काठमाडौं उत्रियौं।

विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनको आरोह अवरोह



विष्णु भट्टराई

१० को दशकमा सोभियत समाजवादको पतन भएपछि विश्वमा कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनले अपूर्णाय क्षति भोग्दै आएको छ। पूर्वी युरोपमा एकपछि अर्को गर्दै कम्युनिस्ट शासनसत्ता तासको महलभै ढल्दै गए। अहिले पनि विश्वमा कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनले गति लिन सकिरहेको छैन। यस्तो अवस्थामा एकाइसौं शताब्दीमा कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनलाई कसरी अगाडि बढाउने भन्ने प्रश्न अहं बनेको छ। पुँजीवादको पतन अवश्यभावी रहेकाले कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन अघि बढ्नेमा कुनै शंका छैन। विश्व इतिहासलाई फर्केर हेर्दा हामीले आदिम साम्यवादी युग, दासयुग, सामन्तवादी युगलाई परास्त गरिसकेका छौं। तसर्थ पनि पुँजीवादी व्यवस्थाको विकल्पमा साम्यवादी व्यवस्थाले यो विश्वमा विजय हासिल गर्नेछ, भन्ने कुरामा कम्युनिस्टहरू एक मत छन्।

वर्तमान समयमा विश्वमा समाजवादी व्यवस्था भएको देश एउटा पनि नभए पनि विश्वका विभिन्न देशहरूमा समाजवादी व्यवस्था प्राप्तीका निमित्त संघर्ष भइरहेका छन्। विश्वमा समाजवादीहरूको कमि छैन। विश्वका कम्युनिस्टहरूले मार्क्सवादलाई २१औं शताब्दी अनुकूल प्रयोग गरिरहेका छन्। हामीले समयसापेक्ष मार्क्सवादलाई

२१औं शताब्दी अनुकूल प्रयोग गर्नुपर्दछ। वर्तमान शताब्दीमा पुँजीवाद जसरी मौलाएको देखिन्छ, त्यसरी नै पुँजीवादले संकट पनि बेहोरिरहेको छ। आर्थिक मन्दीले विश्व पुँजीवाद छटपटाइरहेको देखिन्छ, भने मार्क्सवादी अर्थतन्त्रप्रति मानिसहरूको आकर्षक बढेको पाइन्छ। कुनै पनि व्यवस्थाले सधैं आफ्नो अधिपत्य राख्न सक्दैन तसर्थ पनि यो विश्वमा साम्यवाद अपरिहार्य छ। २०औं शताब्दीमा विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनले अत्यन्तै ठूला उपलब्धीहरू प्राप्त गरेको थियो। त्यही कालमा नै सर्वहारा वर्गका लेनिन, स्टालिन र माओजस्ता महान नेताहरू विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनमा पैदा भएका थिए। संसारभरी ऐतिहासिक महत्वका ठूलाठूला क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन भएका थिए र रुस, चीनसहित पूर्वी युरोप, दक्षिण-पूर्वी एसिया र लेटिन अमेरिकाका कैयौं देशहरूमा समाजवादी क्रान्ति सफल भएको थियो। विश्व साम्यवादतिर उन्मुख थियो।

वर्तमानमा विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन अत्यन्तै कमजोर अवस्थामा अघिबढिरहेको छ। त्यसो त वर्तमानमा पनि विश्वमा कम्युनिस्टहरू क्रियाशील नभएका होइनन् तथापि यतिले मात्र विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन सफल हुने प्रयाप्त आधार छैन। सन् १९७६ को वर्ष विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनका लागि दुर्भाग्यपूर्णसावित हुन पुग्यो। त्यसै वर्ष सेप्टेम्बरमा विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनका महान नेता माओवादका प्रवर्तक क.माओको निधन भयो। माओको कार्यकालमा चिनियाँ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीले विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनको नेतृत्व गरिरहेको थियो र समाजवादी चीनले विश्व क्रान्तिको आधार इलाकाको भूमिका खेल्नसकेको थियो।

वर्तमान अवस्थामा विश्व कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (साइनिङ पाथ) का अध्यक्ष गोन्गलोको गिरफ्तारी तथा निधनपछि त साँचो कम्युनिस्ट नेताको विश्वमा खडेरी नै पैदा भयो। विश्व कम्युनिस्ट



आन्दोलन कमजोर हुनुमा कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीभित्र दक्षिण पन्थी संशोधनवाद हावी हुनु एक प्रमुख कारण हो। रुसमा खुशचेवले पुँजीवादी लाइन समाउनु र चीनमा तेङ्गले सुधारवादी लाइन लिन यसको उदाहरण हो। रुस र पूर्वी युरोपका पहिलेका समाजवादी देशहरू, चीन, भियतनाम, उत्तर कोरिया, क्यूबा, पूर्वी युरोप, दक्षिण एसिया, दक्षिण-पूर्वी एसिया, पश्चिम, लेटिन अमेरिकाका कतिपय देशहरूमा आफूलाई कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी विश्व स्तरमा भन्ने हो भने विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनमा त्यसप्रकारका पार्टीहरू नै बढी छन्। वर्तमान विश्वमा सक्कली साम्यवादीहरूको पनि कमी छैन। अब तिनै सच्चा मार्क्सवादी, साम्यवादीहरूले विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनलाई अगाडि बढाउनेछन्।

वर्तमानमा पनि विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनमा क्रान्ति सम्पन्न गर्न सक्ने मुख्य आधार भनेकै मालेमावाद (मार्क्सवाद, लेनिनवाद र माओवाद/माओविचार) हो। मालेमावादको अचुक हतियारबाट नै



अहिलेको विश्व परिस्थितिमा क्रान्ति सम्पन्न गर्न सकिन्छ। वर्तमान विश्वमा क्रान्ति सफल गर्न अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय परिस्थिति अनुकूल छैन भनिन्छ। के यो साँचो हो त? यस विषयमा सही मालेमावाद विश्व दृष्टिकोण के हो भने समर्थन भएमा क्रान्ति सम्पन्न गर्न अपेक्षाकृत रूपमा सजिलो हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा सही हो तर अन्यत्र समाजवादी नभएको अवस्थामा क्रान्ति सम्पन्न हुन सक्दैन भन्ने कुरा गलत हो। यदि त्यही कुरा सही हुन्थ्यो भने महान लेनिनले नेतृत्व गर्नुभएको बोल्शेविक पार्टीको नेतृत्वमा रुसमा विश्वको पहिलो सफल समाजवादी क्रान्ति सम्पन्न हुन सक्ने थिएन। साँचो अर्थमा भन्ने हो भने वर्तमानमा पनि विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन सफल हुन सक्ने आशाका किरणहरू पलाएका छन्। आज पनि विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनमा सच्चा क्रान्तिकारी नभएका होइनन्। तिनै सच्चा क्रान्तिकारीहरूले विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलनलाई विजयको पगरी गुथाउनेछन् भनेर विश्वभरका क्रान्तिकारी कम्युनिस्टहरू विश्वस्त छन्।

विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन सत्ता प्राप्तिको लागि संघर्षमा रहेको र विश्व

पुँजीवादमा संकट देखापरेको वर्तमान स्थितिमा आजको युगको सबैभन्दा ठूलो प्रश्न बनेको छ: समाजवाद र पुँजीवादका बीचको यो संघर्षमा को विजयी हुनेछ? इतिहासको अहिले सम्मको विकासको अनुभवले बताउँदै आएको छ कि इतिहासको कुनै चरणमा पुरानो प्रकारको सामाजिक व्यवस्था वा नयाँ उत्पादक शक्तिहरूका कारणले उत्पन्न आर्थिक वा भौतिक परिस्थितिका बीचमा हुने संघर्षका सधैं पछिल्लोको विजय हुन्छ, नयाँ उत्पादकका साधनहरूमाथि आधारित विचार र मानिसहरूको नै विजय हुन्छ। त्यस अनुसार आज उत्पादनको सामाजिक स्वरूप र उत्पादनका साधनहरूमाथिको व्यक्तिगत स्वामित्व वा व्यक्तिगत नाफाका बीचमा भएको अन्तर विरोधमा, समाजको ऐतिहासिक भौतिकवादी नियमअनुसार पहिलो पक्षको अर्थात् उत्पादनको सामाजिक रूपको नै विजय अवश्यम्भावी छ। त्यसको अर्थ हो अन्तमा उत्पादनको सामाजिक स्वरूपसित मेल खाने व्यवस्था अर्थात् सामाजवादी व्यवस्थाको विजय हुन अनिवार्य छ। वर्तमानमा

विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन रक्षात्मक अवस्था देखिए पनि विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन विजयी हुनेमा कुनै शंका छैन।

विश्व क्रान्तिको विषयमा चर्चा गरिरहँदा केही समयदेखि ल्याटिन देशहरूमा बोलिभारियन समाजवादी आन्दोलन जसरी अघि बढिरहेको छ, त्यसको भूमिका उल्लेखनीय महत्वको हुनेछ। भेनेजुएला, ब्राजिल आदि ल्याटिन अमेरिकी देशहरूमा समाजवादी आन्दोलनको नाममा जुन आन्दोलन चलिरहेका छन्, तिनको आफ्नो ठाउँमा अहिलेको विश्व परिस्थितिमा ठूलो महत्व छ। मार्क्सवाद तथा मार्क्सद्वारा प्रतिपादित साम्यवादी व्यवस्थाको जित अवश्यम्भावी छ। मार्क्सवाद कहिल्यै पनि पराजित हुन सक्दैन। वर्तमान समयमा विश्वमा समाजवादी व्यवस्था भएको देश एउटा पनि नभए पनि विश्वका विभिन्न देशहरूमा समाजवादी व्यवस्था प्राप्तीका निमित्त संघर्ष भइरहेका छन्। विश्वमा समाजवादीहरूको कमि छैन। विश्वका कम्युनिस्टहरूले मार्क्सवादलाई २१औं शताब्दी अनुकूल प्रयोग गरिरहेका छन्।

How America Supported the Tibetan Khampa Resistance Against China Inside Mustang



BY TRAILOKYA RAJ ARYAL

On April 17, 1978 the then Prime Minister of India, Morarji Desai, confessed in the lower house of the Indian Parliament, Lok Sabha, that India and the United States of America had collaborated at the highest political level in covert operations aimed at challenging the authority and territorial integrity of China. The announcement not only shocked the Indian parliamentarians, but the entire world. In addition to the damage caused to the revered memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, this also exposed the degree of U.S. involvement in South Asia (See, Ali, S. Mahmud, Cold war in the high Himalayas: the U.S.A., China and South Asia in the 1950s (Richmond [England]: Curzon Press) 1999). The damage done by this revelation to the image of Nehru's political personality and to India's supposedly "neutral" foreign policy are beyond my scope here; I wish briefly to examine the effects of the joint Indo-U.S.A. actions on Nepal.

Indo-U.S.A. Alliance:

India's own border issues with China and some tinge in the Indian leadership's fear of "Communism" (a trade-marked U.S. cold war export), was enough to turn India into a hidden U.S. ally. After the Chinese revolution, India became wary of China though no overt cause existed. The rulers of the United States took the success of the Chinese revolution as the defeat of their friends and clients, and in the ensuing Korean War suffered a direct military setback at the hands of the Chinese PLA. For a generation "Red China" was the devil in U.S. political theology. In the cold war days of the late '50s, India's irrational fear of Red China grew when China reiterated its long-standing and previously universally accepted claim on Tibet, and later sent troops into Tibet to secure its borders. During the period of

imperialist intervention in China the rulers of India had come to consider Tibet as a buffer state between India and China. And the U.S. had been supporting the governing group around the Dalai Lama since 1942, when some members of "Wild Bill" Donovan's OSS, predecessor to the CIA, entered Tibet and fulfilled the Tibetan leadership's request to supply it with the latest radio communication equipment. The U.S. lost no time in claiming that China's reassertion of its claim on Tibet was part of an aggressive policy of expansionism, in which India was to be a target. Leading elements in India, despite the nonsensical notion of a Chinese military move across the Himalaya, took a forward and provocative military posture and border clashes took place. In this context, a destabilized China was desired by the rulers of both India and the U.S.A.

In the '50s and '60s, India and the U.S. engaged in a series of covert operations directed against China. Some were independent operations and some joint Indo-U.S. operations. India and the U.S. collaborated in installing a Plutonium based detecting device in the Nandadevi Mountains to monitor the Chinese activities in Tibet, however this mission resulted in failure. The covert operations against China started to take weird bizarre twists and turns - including an assassination attempt on the then Chinese PM, Chou En Lai, in 1955. This bizarre operation remains obscure and of course no firm evidence exists to tie either the nation (nor a likely third nation) to this event.

The CIA, after a series of failures with the aging remnants of Chang Kai Shek forces on the Burma border, started to look for a base to carry out a more aggressive operation aimed at destabilizing China. The CIA "assisted" the 1959 armed actions in Tibet and the concurrent flight of the Dalai Lama into India, where he

was to receive a CIA pension. In 1960 the CIA started its operations in the Mustang district of Nepal, based on a group of insurgents from the southern Tibetan province of Kham ("Khampas") gathered around a small core of men previously trained by the CIA and then parachuted into Tibet.

Nepal as a battle-ground:

Mustang is a section of the Tibetan plateau north of the high Himalaya that was historically a semi-autonomous district of Nepal, inhabited by Tibetan speakers following the Lamaist religion. It lies astride a trans-Himalayan trade route, but is difficult of access from the central parts of Nepal. The geographical proximity of Mustang to Tibet and its remoteness from the power center Kathmandu, both politically and physically, made it a perfect venue for the U.S. supported Khampa rebel group headed by Baba Yeshe to carry out their clandestine operations.

The CIA trained guerrillas shifted their base from Kalimpong, India to Mustang, Nepal. The CIA provided them with advanced weapons, radio equipment and training. It is believed that the CIA provided training for at least 24 of these Khampa guerrillas in Colorado.

Baba Yeshe and his team of 3,000 Khampa rebels soon started to create problems in Mustang and Tibet. The Chinese authorities promptly pointed out this problem to King Mahendra. But King Mahendra decided to wait before taking any action against the Khampa rebels who were now openly operating from Nepal. The wait on King Mahendra's part was possibly to let the matter intensify, then demand something from China in return for curbing the Khampa operation. But, most crucially, without the Indian support the Royal Nepalese Army was far from sure of a quick and easy success against a force supplied by the CIA. And Indian support was not to be had. Repeated Chinese requests to take actions against the Khampas

were not addressed by King Mahendra. When King Birendra ascended the throne in 1974, the Chinese made the same request and King Birendra acted promptly on the Chinese request. By then the Khampas had become a menace to not only China but also to Nepal, and they had lost their CIA backing.

Starting in the early '70s, the CIA had pulled itself out of the whole Khampa operation because of the changing dynamics in Sino-U.S. relations. It is certain that the 1972 Kissinger-Nixon initiative included the promise of an end to this CIA operation, and no doubt others. However the Khampas were still in Nepal creating problems for both Nepal and China. And the Army operation against them was the only option Nepal had after the rebel leader Gyato Wangdu's refusal to disarm; indeed after his repeated brazen denials of having any weapons or having ever been engaged in anti-China activities. The weapons seized by the Royal Nepal Army during its successful Mustang Operation against the Khampa rebellion were manufactured in the U.S. So as not to sour the relations between Kathmandu and Washington everyone in Nepal played dumb as to the source of those advanced weapons and equipment. However, the revelation of the Indian Prime Minister Desai, which came 4 years after the Mustang operation, provided solid evidence of U.S.A. involvement in Nepal and proved to be the missing piece of the puzzle. Today when the world in general and South Asia in particular are going through difficult times, some scholars see the seeds of a revival of the Cold War. We should be cautious, recalling that Nepal has recently been a victim of India and the US in the global Cold War for reason of a geopolitical fear of Chinese "expansionism" that had no basis whatsoever in reality.

The DPRK: How Does the World See This Country ?

September 9 this year marks the 73rd founding anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Over the past seven decades of its development the country has demonstrated its dignity and honour, overcoming all sorts of challenges and difficulties.

We look back on its history through the names it was called in each period.

"Democratic Korea"

On August 15, 1945, Korea was liberated from Japan's military occupation. It was a task of the times confronting the Korean people to decide which road the new Korea should take. Korea adopted the road of Korean-style democracy, progressive democracy, not the road of Soviet-style democracy nor the US-style democracy. On the basis of the founding of the people's government and the implementation of democratic reforms such as the agrarian reform, nationalization of key industries and gender equality, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the people's country with the working masses as its masters, was founded on September 9, 1948. The world people called the new Korea democratic Korea.

"Heroic Korea"

The Korean war (1950-1953) waged by the imperialist allied forces led by the US that boasted of being the "strongest" in the world to stifle the DPRK, which was only two years old since its founding, was literally a "confrontation between an A-bomb and a rifle."

Few thought that Korea would win the war. But the Korean people repulsed the imperialist aggressors and defended the country. Many people in the world praised the DPRK as heroic Korea as it created a myth of bringing to its knees the imperialist power.

"ChollimaKorea"

The appearance of post-war Korea was such that it could not be expressed otherwise than "ashes." The US claimed that Korea could not rise again even in one hundred years.

However, the Korean people have turned out in the struggle to create a new life. After completing reconstruction in less than three years, it carried out the centuries-old task of socialist industrialization in 14 years, running in the spirit of legendary Chollima, a horse that can run 400 kilometres a day. The word ChollimaKorea widely spread in the world.

"Land of Juche"

The whole course covered by the DPRK can be called the process of applying the Juche idea. After its founding, the country has achieved remarkable successes in socialist construction by thoroughly applying the Juche idea and dealing with everything in conformity with its specific conditions and the interests of its people. Universal free medical care and free education were enforced and a heyday of socialism was opened in all fields of society.

The Juche idea has been widely disseminated to the

world; more than 1 100 research and dissemination organizations in over 100 countries have been formed with the International Institute of Juche Idea and regional organizations as the centres.

The country has become widely known as the land of Juche.

"Socialist Fortress"

The collapse of socialism in one country after another at the end of the last century weakened the faith in socialism among many people of the world. At that time, Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK made public important works, including Socialism Is a Science, which proved the scientific accuracy and truthfulness of socialism and the inevitability of its victory. The country smashed by dint of the treasured sword of Songun politics the general offensive the imperialist allied forces had launched to stifle it availing themselves of the collapse of the world socialist camp, firmly defended its socialist system and ushered in a new era of building a powerful socialist country. The DPRK has become recognized by the international community as a socialist fortress which no one can destroy with anything.

"Country of Single-hearted Unity"

Many people in the world are surprised to see the DPRK advancing along the road of independence without the slightest vacillation in the face of severe trials and challenges of history.

The dangerous military pressure by the hostile forces and the hideous economic blockade which could not be otherwise described as being aimed at "annihilating a nation" could not bring the Korean people to their knees.

How could the DPRK, which is not so large in terms of population and territory, overcome such tremendous challenges? The secret was the single-hearted unity in which the national leader and the people share the intention and destiny. This single-minded unity is unique to the DPRK, which no country can imitate nor possess and is the most powerful political weapon that cannot be destroyed even by a nuclear bomb. The country of single-hearted unity is the most correct name characterizing the DPRK.

Kim Il Sung and Non-aligned Movement

Sixty years have elapsed since the Non-aligned Movement made its official appearance on the international arena. The First Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations was held in September 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, with the participation of representatives of 25 official member states and three observer states, signalling the start of the movement.

This was an event of great significance in making the 20th century an era of the cause of anti-imperialist independence.

Although the Democratic People's Republic of Korea



was not a member state of the movement (it became a member state in August 1975), President Kim Il Sung (1912-1994) paid close attention to the movement which was opposed to military blocs and aspiring to build an independent and peaceful world from its outset.

He made great efforts to realize the consolidation and development of the movement and unity and solidarity of its member states with an understanding that the mission of the movement was to oppose all forms of domination, subjugation, aggression and intervention, defend peace and security, realize the independence of countries and nations and achieve free social and economic development.

In many of his talks and other works including *The Non-aligned Movements Is a Mighty Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Force of Our Times* published in December 1975 in the inaugural issue of *Guidebook to the Third World*, a periodical published in Argentina, he gave a scientific definition that the movement embodying the lofty ideal of anti-imperialist independence was a powerful one opposed to imperialist and colonialist aggression and plunder, and that the member states constitute a strong force standing in confrontation with the imperialist reactionary forces; and he gave answers to many theoretical and practical problems arising in consolidating and developing the movement—that the member states should confront the schemes of the imperialists for division and alienation with the strategy of unity, that they should maintain the principle of non-interference in the one another's internal affairs, that they should settle their disagreements and disputes by means of negotiation, and so on.

He also led his country to fulfil its mission and role as a member state of the movement.

The complicated international situation created in the end of 1980s and early 1990s exerted a harmful influence on the Non-aligned Movement as well as on the socialist forces.

Taking advantage of the disappearance of the cold war



structure and the destruction of the balance of forces on the international arena, imperialists attempted to emasculate and obliterate the fundamental ideals and character of the movement which had fought for anti-imperialist independence, peace against war and progress.

In the end of August 1992 the chief editor of the Indonesian newspaper *Media Indonesia* asked Kim Il Sung to give answers to the questions regarding the orientation of the development of the Non-aligned Movement.

It was just before Indonesia was to host the 10th Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations.

The conference was supposed to make an accurate evaluation of the prevailing situation and achieve a consensus of opinion on the important issues related to the road the Non-aligned Movement should take. By that time, however, the member states failed to reach a consensus on some matters or even take a clear-cut stand.

Kim Il Sung replied: The end of the cold war on no account means that the Non-aligned Movement has forfeited its position and role; since the imperialist forces of domination remain, and since the ideal of non-alignment has yet to be realized, the Non-aligned Movement must continue to exist and to strengthen and develop; there is no change in the world people's aspiration to build a free, peaceful new world, and advancing towards independence and peace is the fundamental historical tide that cannot be turned back; the movement, which regards independence as its lifeblood, must invariably uphold its fundamental ideal and principles.

And he illustrated the direc-



tion for further consolidating and developing the movement.

His opinions became the spirit of the 10th Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Nations, and the conference marked an important occasion in maintaining the mission and role of the movement aspiring after independence.

Kim Il Sung also concerned himself with the information work of the Non-aligned Movement.

Kim Il Sung met the heads and representatives of foreign delegations to the Fourth Conference of the Ministers of Information of the Non-aligned Countries held in Pyongyang in June 1993.

In his speech *Non-aligned Information Services Must Contribute to the People's Cause of Independence* given to the participants of the conference, he said: The Non-aligned Movement is, in essence, a movement to make the whole world democratic and independent; as long as there exists on the globe a force that seeks domination and intervention, aggression and plunder, the Non-aligned Movement must be continuously developed and further expanded and strengthened as the leading force in the building of an independent new world.

It is noteworthy that the DPRK proposed to set Sep-

tember 1 as the day of Non-aligned Movement and that all the member states celebrate it every year. The proposal reflected the far-reaching intention and will of Kim Il Sung who wanted to make the day of the start of the movement an important occasion and a driving force for the continuous development and advance of the movement. This proposal by the DPRK delegation to a meeting of foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries held in February 1981 in New Delhi, India, was welcomed by all the participants.

A former foreign minister of Indonesia, who had watched the process of development of the Non-alignment Movement, had this to say: The DPRK is playing an independent role on the international arena and a definitely leading role in the Non-aligned Movement in particular; it was the DPRK that saved the organic body, called Non-aligned Movement, by giving it vaccine in time when it was suffering from the political fever of "liberalization" and "multi-party system" after the end of the cold war; it was also the DPRK that made the movement come to its sense when it was knocked out in a ring by the heavy strike of the Western forces; it is entirely the exploit of President Kim Il Sung that the DPRK saved the movement and is leading it.

