CHAPTER II

Class Organizations in Nepalese Politics and Constitution

Stzioni has written that an organization may be defined as "a social group that has been deliberately and conciously created in order to achieve certain specific goals" (1964:3). An organization has the following basic characteristics:

1. A division of labour and power that is designed to make the group a more efficient agent for achieving the organizational goals;

2. A concentration of power in the hands of leaders or executives who use that power to control the activities of the organizations and direct them towards the organizational goals;

3. A membership that is routinely changed rather than fixed. New members may be added when necessary and old one are, who proves unsatisfactory may be changed.

Caplow stated that "an organization is a social system that has an unequivocal collective identity, an exact roster of members, a programme of activity and procedures" (1964:1).

Definitions of the term voluntary associations as it applies to organizations in modern societies, differ widely, but contained three key elements. A voluntary association is an organized group of persons. These three elements are:
(i) that is formed in order to further some common
interests of its members;

(ii) in which membership is voluntary, and

(iii) that it exists independent of state.

Further it is stated that (i) Major activity of an
organization is not related to the business of making a
living that to the economic activities of its members; (2) the
volunteers ( non-salaried ) members constitute a majority of
the participants ( as they, do not in universities foundations
and corporations etc); (3) these are sparetime participatory

Voluntary associations are considered a type of formal
organization and exhibit some of the same characteristics as
other organization. But all elements mentioned above are not
necessarily contained in all organizations. For instance
membership in some associations is by virtue of the profession
like trade Unions. Similarly there may be organizations which
are not independent of state.

In Nepal the class organizations were sponsored and
financed by the state although they were provided autonomy in
their respective spheres. But were asked to refrain from such
activities which are supposed to be political. In the present
study word organization and association convey the same meaning.
Historical development of organizations in Nepal:

In order to understand the relation between organizations and polity, it is important to know the growth and working of these organizations in the country in historical settings. Then it will be possible to analyse the present development of polity in the country.

Organizations retaining characteristics of political parties are of recent origin in Nepal. Almost the entire 19th century politics in Nepal was based on family and communal considerations. The masses among the population hardly took part in nineteenth century Nepali politics. This was considered the business of few selected groups: the land owning nobility, Brahman priests and land owners and the Newari commercial community. There were no institutions through which political issues could be discussed. The result being the development of a palace oriented politics.

Early period of Rana rule, marked the politics of conspiracies. The members of royal family and non-Rana nobility indulged in such conspiracies. By 1895 with the rise of the Shamsher wing of Rana family to power, most of the old noble families were suppressed. The period from 1885 to 1930 was marked with increasing dissension in Rana family, but posed no serious challenge to the regime from outside the family. This period had some effects of some development in India in the form of social and religious reforms. A branch
of Arya Samaj was established in Kathmandu. This receive a
good response from the public in Kathmandu. But the Ranas
determined to suppress any sort of organization, and worried
by increasing tensions within the family, banned the Arya
Samaj and its founder was expelled from Nepal. Later many
young Samajists who had the influence of Gandhi started
Charkha movement (spinning wheel) as a mark of self-sufficiency.
But this too was banned.

By the 1930 organizations of different kinds began to
emerge in Kathmandu. With the help of Indian terrorists a secret
society, Prachanda Gorkha was formed. This decided the destruc-
tion of whole Rana family. But the society failed in his
mission and its members were send to jail. Another organization,
the Nepali Nagarik Adhikar Samiti (Nepali people’s Rights
Committee) was founded focussing attention upon social and
religious reform, but having political character. This was
also banned. A most effective organization was started in 1935
by several Kathmandu intellectuals including Tanka Prasad
Acharya. The organization hoped to provide the platform for
mass anti-Rana movement. The organization was un-officially
affiliated to King Tribhuvan and happened to be a most serious
threat ever faced by the Rana regime in more than half a century.

Anti Rana activity got momentum among the Nepali’s
resident in India. Many of them joined the Indian National
Congress and received their political education. With the end
of second world war the fall of British regime was seen imminence. This gave additional force to anti Rana movement. For the first time, Nepali political organizations appeared in India. These were having revolutionary goals and broader political vision. The most important of these organizations was the Nepal National Congress. It was founded by B.P. Koirala and other young Nepalis in January 1947.

Another party The Nepali Democratic Congress was founded in 1948 with several government official living in exile in India. It was least popular among Nepali residents in India and financed by two C class Ranas who had big investment in India, Subrana Shamsher and Mahabir Shamsher. These two parties were merged in to the Nepali Congress in April, 1950.

Meanwhile a anti-Rana movement had emerged in October 1948. This was Nepal Praja Panchayat. This planned to work under the constitution of 1948. The party's insistence to implement the 1948 constitution lead to the arrest and imprisonment of its leaders. The 1950 revolution led by Nepali congress obtained the support of all existing organization with the exception of Nepali Communist Party and a splinter group of Nepali National Congress headed by D.R. Regmi.

The Nepali Communist Party was organized in India, under the patronage of Indian Communist Party, in 1949. Man Mohan Adhikari, earlier a member of Nepali National Congress, was appointed secretary of the party. From its very inception the
Nepal communist party was opposed to the democratic nationalist forces. The draft programme of the pilot bureau of the party prepared for the second party congress stated "It is quite clear that in absence of industrial labourers at present, the development of our nation depends upon the revolutionary role of the majority of peasants .......... Therefore, we have to take both into consideration; the class struggle of the peasants and the formation of a broad based joint front for achievement of democracy .......... The joint front for intellectuals, the commercial classes and reformist small land owners ........ the peasants" (Chatterji, 1967: 159 ). The bulk of the communist party's rank and file came from among the peasantry especially from the landless and lower middle class peasants" (Gupta, 1966: 210).

Nonparty Political Organizations:

A number of social and political organizations were established during the Rana rule. But their life was short and insignificant. But the attitude developed in that period affected the political participation after the introduction of democracy in 1951. Many organizations were established, some related with social reform, educational expansion and economic reorganization, while others were related to the protection of group interests. Every major component of Nepali society was represented through these organizations. Few of these organizations obtained popular support.
Most of these organizations took a direct interest in politics. In April 1951, a ban was imposed on the organizations. These following organisations or associations were existing in country in 1952. These were Nepali Congress, Akhil Nepal Trade Union, Akhil Nepal Kisan Sangh, Nepal Peace Committee, Nepal Progressive Writers Association, Himachal Chhatri Sangh (Calcutta) Nepali Chhatri Sangh (BHU), Nepal Mahila Sangh (1952), Nepal Drivers Union, Young Communist League (1951), and Akhil Nepal Nispaksha Jan jagriti Sangh a splinter group from Nepal Praja Parishad. In 1955 more than one hundred social and educational organizations participated in a political conference called by King Mahendra. Two years later, one of the most important social organizations in Kathmandu valley, The Shanti Raksha Swayam Sevak Kendra (central organization of volunteers for the preservation of peace) organized a strike against the food policy of the Government, that forced to resign Tanka Prasad's Cabinet.

Thus the line between political and non-political activity was never drawn. Social and economic organizations were affiliated with political parties. They were usually either attached with Nepali Congress or the Communist Party. The most important organizations among students, women, peasants and labour had been attached with either of these two parties. The only labour union of any importance (Mill workers union in Birat Nagar) was related to Nepali Congress. On the other
hand the most effective peasant organization (Kisan Sangh) was dominated by communists.

Previously there was only one peasant organization called All Nepal Peasant Union. But by the end of 1954 there were several peasant organizations. A new organization came into existence: Nepal purification union a splinter group of All Nepal Peasant Union Controlled by Communist Party. Nepal purification union put forward following demands: (1) abolition of 4 per cent land revenue in kind; (2) taking cash at the rate of commodities including non-state trust; (3) abolition of extra custom duties imposed upon revenues; (4) bringing about the practice of fixed revenue; (5) bringing about equality in revenue and (6) abolition of landlordship (Bulletin No.4, Jan.1, 1955).

A movement was launched under the peasant purification union. A similar procession was being organized under the All Nepal Peasants Union. There was another peasant organization called Nepal peasants party. A leaflet circulated by the party on May 23, 1956 stated that "the peasant organizations are being controlled by feudal communists elements who are all devoid of all principles". The party submitted following demands before His Majesty the King for immediate fulfilment:

1. Occupancy rights should be provided to the peasants of the teral areas;
2. all holdings of Birta land in excess of 25 Ropanies or 25 Bigha should be abolished;

3. revenue assessed on the basis of Abal, Doyam, Sin or Chaba grade of the land;

4. the abolition to pay four per cent of the land revenue in paddy inside the valley of Kathmandu should be removed;

5. government land revenue be raised at mail office rates; and

6. Class of No. II customs offices should be abolished.

(Manifesto of the Peasants Party, Kathmandu; Nepal Press, 1956).

In December, 1960 the king dismissed the parliamentary system and many of the leaders of different political parties were arrested, all the powers were resumed by the king. The constitution was suspended. Political parties and political activities were banned in the country. The attitude and action by various political parties towards the dismissal of parliament had been different. Soft peddling adopted by the minor political parties, unity and struggle tactics of communist party and armed struggle by Nepali Congress (Chauhan, 1977: 202).

Since the advent of King Mahendra to power in 1956 the communist party was divided on the issue to be adopted towards the new king. There was a radical faction led by Puspa Lal Shrestha and moderate faction by K.I. Raimajhi. The party
splited in 1962, and the moderate supported the king. By
doing this they had been able to infiltrate in to the Government
and administration. The Nepali Congress party started armed
struggle. Soon this struggle got momentum. But the party had
to suspend the movement on the eve of China invasion to India.

To device the New 'Political system' he appointed an
un-official adhoc committee, consisting of four official of
the central secretariate. The committee was asked to study
the political institutions in Yugoslavia, Egypt, Pakistan and
Indonesia. Approximately after a year, another committee was
appointed to draft a new constitution. A new constitution was
bestowed on the country by the King on December, 16, 1962. The
new constitution adopted the "National guidance" system in
Egypt and Indonesia, the "Basic democracy" system in Pakistan,
the "Class organization" system in Egypt and Yugoslavia and
the panchayat system in India.

In 1962 new constitution was framed. The constitution
provided three basic and interdependent institutions. These
were Rashtriya Panchayat, National guidance council and class
organizations. Six organizations were established in the
country. The policy towards the political parties and organiza-
tion is more indicative of spirit of 1962 constitution then are
the legal provisions. A ban on political parties was embodied
as an essential feature of the panchayati raj.
Class organizations:

It was not stated initially whether the ban imposed on political parties will also apply to voluntary organizations and to the “non-political” affiliates of the parties. It was made clear in March 1961, with the announcement of government that six government sponsored class and professional organizations will be established. These were peasants, labour, students, youth children and women. Later, the exservicemen’s association was added in this test. The intention was perhaps to use them to rechannel and diffuse the political energies which had formerly found an outlet in parties. In Feb. 1963 national panchayat (Zonal Assembly ) and panchayat act (class and professional organizations ) were gazetted regulating elections to the national panchayat from the zonal assemblies and central committees of the class organization (Joshi and Rose, 1966:403).

The class organizations have been given monopoly in their respective fields, as the government banned the formation of parallel organizations. Many of the independent organizations were brought under government controlled organizations. The formation of commercial organization was prohibited without the prior permission of the National guidance ministry. Businessmen, civil servants and teachers have been put under labourer category as far as class organizations were concerned.

Government pronouncement on the purposes and functions of these organization have been specific protecting the class
interests. They were expected to serve as direct link with popular sentiments than the panchayat could provide. It was hoped to mobilise "voluntary labour" through these organisations in support of projects for economic development and other nation building activities.

Various functions had been assigned to these organisations. But the primary emphasis was laid on the development of "class consciousness" and protection of class interests. These organisations were also intended to serve as instruments for educating the people on political, economic and social questions. For instance, peasant organisation was assigned to explain the land reform programme to the peasants and the students organization had taken to publicize the new legal and social code in the country.

The class and professional organizations had a four tier structure which was parallel to the panchayat system. At the local level (village panchayat and town panchayat) there were class committees elected by all eligible members within the jurisdiction of the panchayat. To establish a unit at local level i.e. town and village, 100 and 50 members were required. There were 11 members in the executive committee in which five were office bearers, president, vice-president, secretary, joint secretary and treasurer. Every primary unit send a member to district council. District council elected a five member district executive committee from among its members. District
committee delegated a member to zonal council, which again elected a zonal committee. The central committee was composed of 18 members, in which president and fourteen members were elected by a national congress. The national congress included the members of district and zonal committees of the class organizations. The secretary and treasurer of the central committees were appointed by the government, and two other members are nominated by the president. The national congress of peasant organization was 75×11 = 825 + 14 members from zones and 18 members of central executive committee = 857.

The class and professional organizations play a subsidiary but important role. As has been noted earlier prior to 1960, all the organizations in the country were associated, directly or indirectly, with the political parties. The ban on political parties had to a new approach towards affiliated organizations. Direct supervision of these organizations was taken to be the most suitable remedy. Special emphasis was laid on attracting the former political workers. But the Nepali congress and a faction of communist party were exception to this.

Many of the erst-while political leaders immediately joined these organizations. Under the shelter of their non-political colour they had been able to maintain old organizations. Prior to 1960 most of the organizations were attached to Nepali congress and communist party. Workers in these organizations
felt safe to join newly created organizations and as well as
to some extent express their grievances through these organi-
sations. It was stated "that there is reason to believe that
the leadership of many organizations merely transferred to the
official bodies, as is known to be true of student organizations
committees. Cadres of the Kisan Sangh are reported to have
infiltrated the peasant organisation, while retaining under-
ground the structure of their own organisation" (Rose and

Representation of class organizations in Rashtriya
Panchayat enhanced the value of membership among ambitious
politicians. Through these organizations one was able to find
a birth in Rashtriya panchayat. But the Government kept strict
watch on these organizations and tried to check the infiltration
of undesirable elements in to the organizations. The government
further promulgated the National guidance act for regulating
the formation of class organizations and empowering the
government to guide their activities. The act provided that
"no order issued by the Government under it was to be questioned
in any court of law". Thus the organisations were supposed
under National guidance council. Moreover the Government
provided a code of conduct of members of panchayat and class
organizations. This stated -

67(c): (1) Members of different levels of panchayat and class
organizations and professional organizations shall
conduct themselves in a manner befitting their office.
(2) The conduct referred to in clause (1) shall be regulated as follows:

(a) In the case of members of Rashtriya Panchayat by the rules made by His Majesty in consultation with Raj Sabha.

(b) In the case of members of central executive committee of class and professional organizations by the rules made by His Majesty in consultation with Raj Sabha.

(c) In the case of members of class organizations and professional organizations other than the members of the central executive committee by the rules made by His Majesty's Government in consultation with the Central Executive Committee of the organization concerned.

(3) Any contravention of the rules made under clause (II) by a member of Rashtriya Panchayat shall be dealt in accordance of clause (II) of Article 38 and in case of contravention by other such persons shall be liable for expulsion in the prescribed manner from the membership of concerned panchayat or organization ( Kaphley, 1967 ).

By the end of April 1962 adhoc committees in 72 districts were formed. Elections to replace these adhoc committees by
permanent one held in Aug. 1962. The administration helped
those persons who were supposed to be pro-panchayat system
or loyal to the King. Reports of this kind were published in
the press. Commenting on the involvement of the Government
officials one of the paper wrote "elections for permanent
committees of several organizations in Mahattari district had
been vitiated official high-handedness. The Beda Hakim and
other officials had succeeded in imposing their own nominees
on the organizations, with the result that the workers were
feeling highly dissatisfied" (Samiksha Aug. 10, 1962).

To have the close watch on the functioning of the
organizations, secretary and treasurer were appointed by the
Government. They were Government paid servant. Since the
inception of permanent committees, persons with divergent
interests and ideologies were being elected to the committees.
Persons loyal to the King were helped to reach in Rashtriya
panchayat while the others were tried to be checked. This
created a situation where there had been a permanent and
continuous conflict between these two groups.

Working of these organization heavily depended on
administration. There had been lack of co-ordination between
administration and organizations. Complaints about the inter-
ference by the administration in the affairs of organizations
made several times. As it is observed by the central committee
of peasant organization at its four days meeting at Janakpur.
The meeting deplored the undue pressure exercised by the administration on the organization (Gorkhapatra Dec. 22, 1963). In Nov. 1966 the Government curtailed the functions of organizations. Thus the Government limited the sphere of working of the class organizations.

Elections to the Rashtriya panchayat for members from class organizations took place in 1966. This time again the Government tried to keep away those persons which were not of its liking. A meeting of peasant organization in Kathmandu reported to have expressed the view that elections, which were being held under the supervision of His Majesty's Government's nominated election officer had been vitiated by partiality and factionalism. The meeting held that "His Majesty's Government had tried to unnecessary interference in the internal affairs of class organizations" (Janma Bhumi, 4 March, 1966 ). The committee further deplored that "the panchayat ministry had not yet made the regular financial grant available to it, and thus hampered the election preparations. On the other hand, unconstitutional membership receipts are issued from unauthorised quarters and election preparations are made on the basis of such receipts" (Naya Samaj, March 10, 1966).

In spite of the government efforts to check the infiltration of such persons, not loyal to the regime, many of them infiltrated in the organizations. Country to the wishes of His Majesty's Government they tried to assert their independent
working. Some of them had been able to reach in central committees and demanded certain rights and made suggestions for their respective classes. But the government, determined not to make any concession, never obliged them. Purturbed with the assertive nature of the leaders from these organizations the government amended the constitution in 1967. A 'partyless panchayati system' was envisaged by the constitution. A ban on organization was further imposed. More powers were given to the ministers, thereby curtailing whatever freedom was given to these organizations. Elections for different tiers of panchayat and class organizations were delayed. Moreover to harass the people to participate in elections, the election commission asked for several particulars of members which had not been collected at the time of their enrolment. In 1967 National guidance council was dissolved.

A code of conduct for class organizations was formulated on 24th Oct., 1967. Again after a year Nepal peasants organization act was issued by the ministry of law and justice. Not satisfied with the provisions already made for the code of conduct for the members of class organizations, His Majesty's principal Secretariate announced on Aug. 10, 1969 that the King Mahendra in consultation with the council of State, had amended the code of conduct for members of central committees of class organizations. Accordingly "in case every member of the central committees of class organizations, failed to comply
with the provisions of the code, complaints against him would be disposed off according to the same procedure as had been prescribed for hearing complaints against members of the National panchayat by the commission appointed for this purpose. In case the commission was convinced that the member had actually violated the code, it would submit a report to that effect to His Majesty. In case this report was approved by His Majesty the accused members would be regarded as having been expelled from the appropriate central committee" (Gorkhapatra Aug. 11, 1969).

Thus once again the government maintained that any voice against the system would not be tolerated. To create a sense of fear among the people the government amended the organizations and associations (control and amendment). The act received Royal assent on Sept. 4, 1969. The act contained the following provisions "No person shall establish or instigate the establishment of or direct or instigate the operation of any political party or any group, organizations or association motivated by political party objective or maintain contacts or instigate others to maintain contact with it with political objectives. No person shall issue statements, shout slogans, hold demonstrations take out processions, organise publicity and broadcasting or act otherwise advocating the establishment of any political party or group, organizations or associations motivated by political party objectives or instigate others to do. The
zonal commissioners may forthwith stop the activities of any party, group, organizations or association linked with any offense punishable under this act, and seize documents and publicity and broadcasting materials and equipment connected with such offense, but every such action shall be subject to the decision made when the case is finally disposed off. His Majesty, Government shall prosecute all cases of contravention of the provisions of this Law. Such cases shall not be filed without the approval of His Majesty Government. Persons who contravene any these provisions shall be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding 3 years or with a fine not exceeding 1,500 rupees or with both” (Nepal Gazette Sept. 4, 1969).

Through these provisions the Government scrapped whatever freedom the organizations were having. To have a good say in the organizations the government amended the constitution of peasants organization. It prescribed that “not only persons engaged in agriculture but also those having faith in the objectives of organization could be some members of the Nepal peasants organization in case they had attained the age of 16 years”. The act also “extended the term of office bearers of all tiers of all class organizations who were elected after Sept. 4, 1969 from two years to four years”( Constitution of peasant organization, Gazette Oct 10, 1969 ). Besides this the Government discontinued the subsidy of Rs. 75,000/- per year which His Majesty’s Government was providing to each class
organization from the fiscal year 1970-71. Because His Majesty's Government felt that it had only encouraged class organizations to behave like pampered children and to depend upon it for assistance in every situation.

To check the independent working of the class organizations His Majesty's government did not enact any legislation to enable class organizations to represent the demands and the aspirations of the people in an independent manner. Ministers expected blind support for every measure initiated by them. Furthermore to weaken the base of central committees the government decided to provide the grants to district level units of different class organizations. But all these measures could not mend the behaviour of the members of class organizations.

His Majesty’s Government introduced a further amendment in the constitution of Nepal Youth, Peasants and Ex-servicemen organizations to prescribe the working procedure, duties and functions of conferences held at different levels. Nomination of office bearers of class organizations by His Majesty’s Government was abolished (Nepal Gazette Dec. 27, 1971).

Fresh elections were held in May 1972. A joint conference of Central committees of class organizations was held in Lalitpur from May 18 to May 21, 1972. The conference unanimously approved a report regretting that the influence of class organizations was progressively declining. It requested His Majesty’s Government to constitute a separate ministry of class organizations.
in order to activate them. The report added "every body including His Majesty's government should realize that class organizations bear a heavy political responsibility in realizing the main spring of progress. The frustrating atmosphere prevailing in the country at present can be dispelled only if class organization's train cadres hold seminars, conferences etc at district level with the help of active workers so as to arouse political conciousness appropriate to panchayat system" (Gorkhapatra May 21, 1972).

Working of the class organizations in 1972 had been similar to the opposition political parties. The government made every effort to win over the members of class organizations, but failed to do so. The leaders of class organizations demanded, freedom for opposition, demonstration and debates in addition to freedom of speech and expression inside and outside the Rashtriya panchayat. Subsequently 12 members of Rashtriya panchayat were suspended. Many workers and political workers were arrested.

The increasing potential strength of the organizations worried the government. In August 1974 panchayat minister Damodar Shemsher Rena said "Serious consideration is underway as to what policy His Majesty's government should pursue in order to engage class organizations too in development activities, with the activating class and professional organizations, a special subsidy of Rs.25,000/- had been granted to all class
and professional organizations who convene their central council sessions" (Gorkhapatra Aug, 1974).

Having failed to bring about any change in the attitude and behaviour of the class organizations, the principal secretariat announced the formation of constitutional reform committee on Feb. 9, 1975. The commission toured the country to know the views of people from different sectors. The commission found after touring the country, following things common desired by the people:

1. Direct elections to the national panchayat through adult franchise;
2. Open session of National panchayat;
3. A council of ministers responsible to the people;
4. Unrestricted fundamental right; and
5. Election of the Prime Minister by National Panchayat.

Opposite views were also expressed to the reform commission, and it was said that the development could not be achieved only by amending the constitution or introduction of adult franchise. Suggestion was made to abolish graduate constituency and class organizations for election to the national panchayat. These views were expressed by supporters of panchayati system. Several members opposed the abolition of class organizations and graduate constituencies in the National panchayat. In reply the minister for home and panchayat affairs said: "His Majesty's
Government fully realizes the importance of class organizations and desire to further activate them. However it can not deny anyone the right to offer suggestions to the constitution reform commission. Nor has it tried to influence the nature of these suggestions and encroach upon the fundamental rights of any person. His Majesty's Government is a panchayat Government it can never encourage anti-panchayat propaganda (Gorkhapatra July 19, 1975).

However the apprehension of dissolving the representations of class organization in Rashtriya panchayat, disturbed the members of Nepal peasants organizations, Nepal ex-servicemen and the Secretary of Nepal youth organization and they issued the following statements "For some time past, a conspiracy is being hatched by reactionary elements to concentrate political and other powers in their hands. The move to abolish class organizations and graduate constituencies form part of that conspiracy. Class organizations have been established under the constitution with the aim attaining such objectives of the panchayat system as creation of a dynamic and democratic society, promoting class co-ordination, safeguarding class interests and ensuring social and political mobilization. The graduate constituency is a barometer for understanding the real feelings and aspirations of society. We strongly condemn the elements trying to abolish class organizations and graduate constituency and demanded that class organizations should be allowed to play an
influencial role in political mobilization and be made people oriented, effective and powerful .......... Reactionary elements should not try to obstruct meaningful reforms by creating a confusion and an artificial atmosphere. We challenge these elements to a public debate on these issues if they have the courage to appear in public, rather than working behind the scenes". (Nepal Times July 28, 1975).

Although the leaders of class organizations tried their hard to prevent His Majesty’s Government from abolishing the class representation in Rashtriya panchayat. But the behaviour of these leaders in Rashtriya panchayat was considered as motivated by political spirits. In spite of the efforts of the Government, the leadership of these organizations was held by such persons who were dissatisfied with the existing arrangements. Code of conduct prepared for these leaders by the Government did not bring about any change in the manner of their working. The only alternative left with the Government, was the abolition of their representations in Rashtriya panchayat. The Government did not oblige the leaders of the class organizations and turned down their demand to continue the representation. Through constitution amendment their representation in Rashtriya panchayat was eventually dissolved in December, 1975.

**Main features of the amendments**

(1) **National panchayat**: The separate representation of class organizations and graduate constituencies in the national panchayat
was abolished. The number of elected seats increased from 90 to 112 and nominated members from 15 to 20 percent. Total number for national panchayat raised from 125 to 135.

(2) Elections.

(3) Council of ministers.

(4) **Class organizations**: "The objective of class organizations of panchayat shall be to mobilize the organized energies of different classes and provide assistance to local panchayats in the mobilization of man power. Active membership of anyone of these organizations shall be made compulsory for being elected as a member of any tier of panchayats".

**Class organizations ordinance**: This ordinance provided for the formation of separate organizations of peasants, youths (persons of less than 40 years old) women with the objective of (A) making members of the appropriate class conscious of their duties and responsibilities towards the nation and the crown, and organizing their energies in the task of national reconstruction; (B) organizing the people for successful execution of development programmes undertaken by local panchayats; (C) organizing class efforts for strengthening the partyless democratic panchayat system and the principles of class co-ordination, and cooperation; (D) utilizing the collective energies of the class for achieving co-ordination and harmony with the programmes of other organizations; and (E) working for the all round welfare and the development of the appropriate class organization shall
be formed at the primary and district levels, with an advisory committee at centre headed by a member of the National Campaign Central Board. No person shall be elected as a member of any panchayat unless he is an active member of a class organization, that is, a member who has worked for at least two years as an ordinary member and has been certified fit to be an active member by the class organizations membership committee to be formed at the primary level in different areas as has otherwise been so certified by the national campaign district board.

An important feature of the class organizations ordinance was that the term peasant was so defined as to mean "Persons who cultivate the land through their physical labour" and the term workers "persons who do physical labour in any mill, factory or means of transport on payment of wages or remunerations, as well as porters who transport goods on payment of wages" (Nepal Gazette, Dec. 2, 1975).

The ordinance thus put an end to the situation in which 'absentee landlords' could become members of the peasants organization and could become members of the Nepal workers organizations.

Back to the Village National Campaign control board announced the formation of a central level advisory committee for class organizations on November 20, 1976. The committee consisted of 24 members, each of the six organizations being represented by one member from each of the four development regions. The six organizations belonged to peasants, youth, women, adults, workers
and ex-servicemen. According to the provision six members were nominated every six months to the class organizations central advisory committee by rotation. The members of advisory committee were paid for their services.

It may be inferred from above given facts that the entire 19th century was marked with the family and communal rule. The organizations development in Nepal had some impact of the development in India. Few organizations were founded for social and religious reforms. But these organizations were banned. The Rana rule discouraged the organizations and their founders were arrested and imprisoned. It was in the fifth decade of 20th Century political parties founded in India with the help of Nepali Congress and the people Rana Rule was overthrown in 1950.

End of Rana rule provided a new era in the country. A number of political and non-political organisations emerged in Nepal. During the period beginning from 1950 to the end of the parliamentary system the tendency towards over-organisations was noted. Two most important parties in this period were Nepali Congress and Communist party.

Two type of trends were observable regarding the happenings in the country. Firstly the king and political parties together thrown away the feudal Rana rule. In the second phase, the king and the feudal and traditional forces joined hand to oppose any change in the system. Scrapping of parliamentary system indicate the later trend in the history of Nepal.
Although six organizations were established in the country to fill up the vacuum created after banning the political parties. But the functions of these organizations never spell out clearly. They were supposed to be non-political in their character. In spite of their non-political image, most of these organization played some sort of oppositional role from the beginning in 1963, they started working.

On the one hand they were supposed to oppose the government without indulging in to politics and were allowed to articulate the specific interests of their respective classes. On the other hand the Government restricted them to be an active substitute for political parties. Government framed the code of conduct for the members of class organizations and strict watch was kept on the infiltration of the non-conformist elements. But the members of class organizations did not hesitate to oppose the government. This tendency increased over the years. Subsequently the government amended the constitution in 1967 marking the system 'partyless panchayat system'. The freedom of the working of these organization further curtailed. The government once again amended the organization and associations act in 1969.

While the Government was determined to maintain the system intact bringing no change in the existing system the members of class organization demanded more and more liberty in the system. These demands were intensified with the beginning of 1970 in the elections from the graduate constituencies. Death of King
Mahendra in 1972 further complicated the situation. Demands to liberate the system voiced heavily, but with no effect. Failed to check the anti-system attitudes of class organizations, the government announced the formation of constitutional reform commission.

The commission found the desire of the people towards the liberal political system. But the government finally decided to abolish the class representation in 1975 and did not take into account the aspirations expressed by the people. The government further concentrated the power in his hands. To make the existing system viable and to check the infiltration of undesirable elements, G.V.N.C. was given the constitutional status. The government empowered this body to screen the candidature of a candidate seeking election to the village panchayats and other tiers of panchayat. Thus the government envisaged a mechanism to check the entry of anti-establishment elements right from the bottom to the top.

In sum it can be said that the government gradually concentrated the power in her hands. On the other hand the members of class organization demanded, outside and inside the Rashtriya panchayat, liberation of the system. These demands were intensified over a period of time. Secondly the pro-establishment elements, removed all opposition from national panchayat, through constitution reform.