CHAPTER - III

PEASANT ORGANIZATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Understanding of an organization is a complex phenomenon. The growth and functioning of an organization largely depends upon the situations prevailing in a society. The organization is considered the instrument of change as well as the resistor of change. Thus organizations are central to the understanding and analysing society.

The study of organizations include such aspects as the impact of organizations on their members and the wider society, interaction between organizations and effects of such interactions on the organization and the society and the conditions in which the organizations develop. The sociology of organizations is concerned with these broader issues (Hall, 1972: 3).

Three foci of analysis may be mentioned in the study of organizations. These are (1) role analysis takes in to account the individual in his specific role; (2) structural analysis focuses upon the structure of social relations among individuals in the various groups; and (3) organizational analysis considers the system of interrelated elements. The attributes of role analysis are seniority, professional expertise, socio-economic status, commitment to an organization and political preference of the individual members. The structural analysis focuses upon the variables such as the strength of cohesive bonds and the
extent of differentiation of status that emerge among them. Organizational analysis centres attention on the division of labour among various groups, the degree of centralization of control in an organization, the age of the organization and its size (Blau, 1970: 175-186).

The current focus of interest is to study the organization as a whole, not its component parts. It has been stated, regarding the analysis of organization, that "thus for both theoretical and methodological strategies in organizational research, must be directed at the interrelationship between the parts, characteristics of the functioning whole and relationship between the whole and its environment (Haas and Drabek, 1973: 11)."

The analysis of peasant organization at national level contains some elements of role analysis such as the caste composition of leaders, their political preferences and their attitudes and behaviour to the functions of organization. Relationship between different groups exhibits the characteristics of structural analysis. The organization shows the central control at national level. The organization born in 1962 and continued to function till 1976. The membership of the organization was more than two lakhs. These are the elements of organizational analysis. In this frame the working of peasant organization has been seen.

Before proceeding to the analysis it will be helpful to know in brief the historical development in the country. Prior
to 1960, when the late king Mahendra scrapped the parliamentary system, there were only two main forces in the kingdom. These were Nepali congress and the communist party. The new system envisaged by the king had made provisions for class organizations. These organizations were given representation in Rashtriya panchayat. Four members represented peasant organization in Rashtriya panchayat. Ban on political parties and organization provided an opportunity to ex-political workers to reach the Rashtriya panchayat through these organizations and express their opposition within the system. Many of the ex-political leaders joined these organizations. But they were being from different ideological origins. Prominent among them were the members of banned Nepali congress and communist party. With in the communist party, there were two groups - radical and moderate. Moderate faction of communist party supported the panchayat system and in turn its members were accommodated in the peasants organization and administration. The radical faction of the communist party and some leaders of Nepali congress fled to India, remained in exile and launched arm struggle against the action taken by the King in 1960.

Aims of the peasant organization were defined as follows:

1. To safeguard the interest of peasantry;
2. to develop conciousness among people about their duties to the king and nation, so that they may work collectively in the national development;
3. to arrange such activities which promote the overall interest of its respective class;

4. to make efforts to strengthen the principles of partyless democracy, panchayatiraj and class cooperation;

5. to cooperate with all other classes and occupational organizations in the programmes of country. In sum it may be inferred that the organization aimed at the development in the country.

This provides a situation to evaluate as to what extent these declarations were turned into action:

In Nepal the meeting of Rashtriya Panchayat were being held in Company. So the interests articulation of peasantry in the house was not possible to know. The only source known through which the demands were articulated, the meeting of organization and the press. The analysis is largely based upon the news reported in the different news papers.

Since the government abolished the representation of peasant organization in 1976. The official records could not be traced out. It became difficult to know about the office bearers of the organization and thereby leading to the difficulty to maintain the contacts with its leaders. But through secondary sources i.e. mainly press reports, some facts were coming into lime light.

The leadership at national level came from among the High Castes. As it is obvious from the caste composition of 19 leaders
at national level. There were 7 Brahmins, 7 Chhetris, 2 Newars, each (Newar, limbu and yadav). They belonged to the well off strata of the society and some of them were highly educated. For instance Rishikesh Shah is a noted scholar and has contributed many books and articles. Another member and a former prime minister of Nepal, Nagendra Prasad Risal is a industrialist and owned large area of land in Terai. Since the means of production in Nepali society is land which is controlled by rich farmers, the leadership directly or indirectly had been related to the land. The break-up of socio-economic back-ground of all elected member of Rashtriya Panchayat by an author indicate the similar trend.

The break up is as follows:

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<th>Occupational patterns of Rashtriya Panchayat Leadership</th>
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Let us take a view, with the high socio-economic background, how the leaders of peasants organization had worked in the country. This had been tried to understand through the issues raised by them, suggestion made to the government, stand they had taken in case these measures had not been care off.

The draft manifesto prepared in the central committee meeting held in Kathmandu from Aug. 16 to 18 stated that land reform would be impossible untill "the tillers of the soil are not given their rightful share in landownership rights". The meeting demanded the reduction of rent to one third of the production, registration of cultivators, the formation of mobile courts to dispose off land disputes in course of the cadastral survey, operation and supply of cooperative credit.

There were some of the problems which required immediate solution. But the government did not take serious note of these problems. Kisan organ of the Nepal peasants organisation complained in this connection that "co-ordination was lacking between the organization and the government. Agrarian policies were being out obtaining the views of the organisation. Therefore, the central committee demanded the formation of a central commission including representatives of peasants to supervise the implementation of land reform programme all over the country" (Kisan, July 6, 10 and Aug. 21, 1963).

The organization held seminars and rallies to propagate the government policies in different zones. For instance peasants
rallies in all the zones were decided to held to assist in the grow more campaign as well as compulsory saving scheme (Gorkhapatra Dec. 19, 1966). Similarly under a programme jointly sponsored by the Home and panchayat ministry and Nepal peasants organization a countrywide programme for training of peasants was scheduled to be started at Rampur, Chitauon soon. The programme provided for training 150 peasants workers from 75 districts on such subjects as panchayat, class organization, cooperative societies, form management, administrative deconcentration and new monetary policy (Gorkhapatra Dec. 20, 1966).

The beginning of 1967 marked some dissatisfaction among the leaders of peasants organization regarding the government cooperation. On several occasions the leaders of peasants organization complained about the lack of coordination between the organization and the government. On Jan. 6, R.P. Acharya, chairman of the organization told a press conference at Kathmandu that greater coordination was needed between His Majesty's Government and the organization. He called on H.M.G. to pay full attention to the plans, programmes and suggestions of the organization and work in collaboration. He disclosed on the occasion that the organization had decided to take measures for the re-settlement of landless peasants and it was devising a modus-vivendi for the solution of Kipat land tenure (Gorkhapatra Jan. 7, 1967).

The organization did not confine its dissatisfaction
over the cooperation of H.M.G. But it also expressed its unhappiness over the numbers of its representatives in National panchayat. Speaking at a session of Central Council of Nepal peasants organization on May 6, 1967 at Ghairhawa, the president R.P. Acharpa declared that the Nepal peasants organization was not adequately represented in the national panchayat having only 4 seats there (Nepali May 7, 1967).

Although several measures were advised and suggested by the peasants organization for the welfare of peasants but the government hardly took note of these measures. A central meeting of peasants organization concluded on May 30, 1967 had passed a resolution calling on the government to consult it before formulating programmes and policies affecting peasants. The meeting stressed the need for implementing minor irrigation schemes all over the country, establishing the veterinary hospitals in every district and opening peasants workers training centres in all the districts (Jana Awaz, May 29, 1967). A number of plans were formulated regarding to organization's matters, development of agriculture, resettlement of peasants and land reforms. It requested H.M.G. to provide necessary facilities to the peasants in order to improve their living standard and make arrangements to enable peasant workers to travel agriculturally advanced countries to study the agricultural techniques adopted by them (Gorkhapatra July 27, 1967). But the programmes formulated by the organization never being attached any significance by the government and the programmes formulated by H.M.G.
were only worked out. Describing this the president of Nepal Peasants Organization, R.P. Acharya expressed his view that the programmes formulated by H.M.G. had not benefited the peasants to the extent they ought to have and called on delegates to cooperate with peasants and strengthen the national economy.

A similar press note appeared in a paper read that "government neither in the formulation nor in the implementation of policies affecting the interests of the peasants had consulted the peasant organization. This had led to deep discontent among the representatives of the peasants" (Jana Awan Aug. 19, 1967).

A movement under the name Go Back to the Village National Campaign was launched by the government in 1967. The peasants organization formed a 95 members committee for the implementation of GVNC which it maintained would bring revolutionary changes in the life of peasants. To make the coordination effective a 13 member high level committee headed by Home and panchayat minister O.B. Rajbhandari was formed. The committee took the task to promote co-ordination among class and professional organizations and bring about uniformity in their programmes at all levels as well as to assist and advise H.M.G. in solving problems and difficulties faced by these organizations and making them active and self reliant. The committee included the chairman of all the class organizations (Gorkhapatra Dec. 4, 1967). But the organizations remained inactive.

The government tried further to activate the organizations.
It amended the constitution in 1967. The amended constitution laid down the qualifications for the candidature of national panchayat. One of the qualifications was stated that every candidate must be a member in any of the class organizations in the country. Following this many ambitious politicians joined the organizations. For example S.P. Upadhyay Home Minister in the dismissed Nepali Congress government joined the Nepal peasants organization. He stated that “this organization not only represented nearly the whole of the Nepali people, but also play an important role in the successful implementation of national campaign” (Gorkhapatra, June 8, 1968).

National campaign central committee of Nepal peasants organization held a meeting on Jan. 13, 1968, decided to open peasants volunteers committee in every village and district in order to ensure the greater participation of peasants in the implementation of national campaign.

Problems related to the peasants were raised and discussed in every central session of the organization, resolutions were passed and the demands were put forward to H.M.G. to solve these problems. A central committee session of the Nepal peasants organization was held at Bhadrapur in Jhapa district in the month of June, 1968. It passed a resolution demanding that cases relating to eviction of tenants should be prosecuted by the State. Its, session further suggested that 50 per cent of all development expenditure should be utilized for the uplifment of peasantry
(Jana Awaz, June 14, 1968). It had expressed the views that the peasantry has not been benefited from compulsory savings scheme to the desired extent. The committee pointed out that since proper arrangements had not been made for storing different varieties of food grains separately, it was difficult to determine the prices of food grains collected under the scheme. Moreover it was becoming increasingly difficult to compensate for the damage caused by rats, birds, rains and fire to food grains stored in godowns. It demanded the Nepal peasants organization should be represented in all important commissions and boards formed for the welfare of peasants as well as in national planning commission. The committee regretted that H.M.G. was not only ignoring the suggestions made by Nepal peasants organizations, but also its constitutional status by not consulting it while taking decisions on matters relating to the interests of peasants. It, therefore, demanded the formation of a separate constitutional organ as in order to conduct the activities of Nepal peasants organization (Jana Awaz June 23, 1968).

Different issues were tried to be highlighted to the H.M.G. by peasants organization. Again a central council meeting of the organisation was held at Bharatpur in chitwan district from Oct. 16 to Oct. 18, 1968. The meeting demanded the enforcement of the second amendment to the Guthi corporation act by mid Dec. 1968. It threatened to take necessary steps in case this was not done. The committee also requested H.M.G. to implement
suggestions given from time to time by Nepal peasants organizations in respect to the proper use of compulsory savings, resettlement and agricultural development. It regretted that
land reform programme was not being implemented as actively as it should have been and therefore demanded that peasant workers should be associated with its implementation according to policies laid down by organization (Jana Awaz Oct. 29, 1968).

The organization held seminars on various agrarian problems. A seminar was held from Feb. 21, 1969 for three days in Kathmandu. At this occasion national panchayat member Hari Bahadur Thapa complained that the hopes which peasants had entertained from the land reform programme had not been fulfilled and that compulsory savings were not being utilized properly.

Some issues were raised in another central council meeting of the organization. The meeting concluded on March 16, 1969. It demanded that 50 per cent of the total development budget should be spent on the development of agriculture. It suggested that in view of the lack of markets for the sale of food produce, arrangement should be made to grow cash crops according to different climatic conditions. It stated that compulsory savings should be utilized for implementing district level irrigation projects as well as animal husbandry and agriculture based projects and that district level banks should be open in every districts with representatives of the organization in their managing boards. Other suggestions included that saving
corporation, the agriculture supply corporation and the co-operative bank should be merged into the agriculture bank and that branches of this bank should be opened in every district. The 1964 land act should be amended since it had proved inadequate to promote institutional changes in the land system. Land in excess of the prescribed ceilings on holdings which landowners had retained on the pretext of opening agriculture farms or industrial concerns should be taken away from them in case they were not actually being utilized in this manner. The newly formed central land reform board should be re-organized. Workers of the peasants organization who had been arrested in different districts as a result of conspiracies done by landowners should be released immediately. National level meetings and conferences of class organizations should be convened only in consultation with the central office bearers of the appropriate organizations (Gorkhapatra March 18, 1969).

There had been some violent agitations in Rupandehi and Kapilvastu against the large scale evictions of peasants. The police had to restore the firing to control the violent mob of peasants. The central committee of peasants organization passed a resolution demanding compensation for peasants who had suffered from the firings. In addition to the committee advised H.M.G. to resume the collection of compulsory savings and make necessary arrangements to ensure remunerative prices to peasants for their produce. It deplored the lack of progress in implementation of
minor irrigation projects and asked H.M.G. to take concrete measures in this regard (Motherland June 27, 1969).

Short comings in the land reform programme and compulsory savings scheme was not only discussed by the members of peasants organization, but it had also attracted the attention of H.M.G. Addressing a meeting of agriculture and land reform committee of the national panchayat in Kathmandu, Minister Khadga Bahadur Singh on Sept. 9, 1969 said "the objective with which the land reform programme launched in 1964, have not yet been fulfilled because of certain short comings and lack of experience. The redistribution of surplus land has not yet been completed and there are a number of defects in the procedure of such redistribution. The objective of the compulsory savings too have not fulfilled. The assurances that savings collected from peasants would be spent for their welfare in a systematic manner have not been fulfilled. Peasants do not get loan easily from such agencies as the agriculture development bank. Scientific methods of cultivation have not yet been introduced" (Gorkhapatra Sept. 10, 1969).

Taking in to consideration the insistence demands regarding the defects in land reforms act, the government introduced certain amendments in land act. It created controversy regarding the interpretation of the act. Rudra Prasad Acharya, president of Nepal peasants organization regretted that "the pace of implementation of the land reform programme had again slackened in
recent days. Unrest is growing among peasants. The recent amendment in the land act further complicated the issue. The uncertainties raising around the issue of interpretation of main crop have created a serious problem. Large areas of surplus land have been concealed by landowners in the eastern region of the country. He demanded that the task of redistribution surplus land should be entrusted to a committee including people's representatives (Naya Pailo Jan. 11, 1970).

Citizen certificate issue was raised in meeting of Nepal peasants organization held from Feb. 24, to March 2, 1970. The meeting demanded that village panchayat should be empowered to issue citizen certificates to peasants, that land taxes should be collected on the basis of cadastral survey records, and that such surveys be completed all over the country soon. In addition the meeting demanded the expeditious construction of minor irrigation projects and allotment of 4 bighas of land each of 15 bonafide peasant families who had settled down in different parts of the country in a haphazard manner and the representation of Nepal peasants organization in the central and districts level resettlement boards formed recently (Jagiriti April 14, 1970).

On many occasion the leaders of peasants organization invite the attention of H.M.G. to the problems of peasants, but the H.M.G. did not pay attention to the demands. Stating this the chairman of the organization complained that H.M.G. was not taking necessary action to meet the demands made by the organis-
tion. As a result the faith of peasantry in the organisation was declining. He added "we have submitted many programmes to H.M.G. for making the organisation effective. The organisation should be associated at different levels with measures launched by H.M.G. to achieve the welfare of the peasantry ...." (Asiail Awaz, July 10, 1970). Not only the activities related to the peasants interests were carried out by the organisation, it also participated in religious ceremonies in the kingdom. On such occasions too peasants problems were tried to be highlighted. On Sept. 22, 1970 Ram Hari Sharma, Chairman of Rashtriya panchayat addressed a religious function held under the joint auspices of the Nepal peasants organisation and the Nepal women organisation at Bishal Nagar in Kathmandu. Ram Hari Sharma on the occasion called for special attention to the question of increasing production in order to improve the economic conditions of the peasantry. He added that legislation relating to Guthi land should be enforced soon. He also drew the attention of H.M.G. to the fact that peasants, which constituted the majority of the population of Nepal had not been adequately represented in the National panchayat (Gorkhapatra Sept. 23, 1970).

Various demands were made from H.M.G. on many occasions, but with no results. In an interview with a correspondent of Jana Awaz, R.P. Acharya of Nepel peasants organisation called on H.M.G. to extend co-operation to the organisation in implementing
the resolutions which it had passed with the objective of contributing in the task of national reconstruction. He added “H.M.G. should adopt the policy of implementing programmes related to agricultural development and the establishment of agricultural industries through the medium of the Nepal Peasants Organizations. H.M.G. should also provide the organization with regular sources of income, so that it may become more active ……” (Jana Awaz, May 18, 1971).

Other problems like food scarcity were taken in to consideration by the organization in its central committee meeting, held in Nepal ganj in November asked H.M.G. to supply food grains from terai to hilly districts which were suffering from food scarcity because of heavy rains, hail storms etc. It deplored the recent riots in Baga and Rautahat districts, called on H.M.G. not permit such incidents to recur and appealed to the local people to live in amity. It included that lands should be registered in the name of peasants who had actually reclaimed them (Gorkhapatra Nov. 25, 1971).

In 1972 elections for the representatives of the peasants organization in Rashtriya panchayat took place. K.R. Upadhaya was elected the chairman of central committee, Tilak Banadur Basnet, Kailash Kumar Hamal and Laxmi Prasad Shah as Vice-President, secretary and treasurer, respectively. Nagendra Prasad Rizal, Lal Banadur Khadkat, Ganesh Banadur Khatri and Nain Banadur
Summer were elected to national panchayat. Newly elected members of peasants organization had critical attitude towards the H.M.G. There developed a new phase of demands to liberate the system. A central committee session of Nepal peasants organization was reported to have passed a resolution deploring the groupism and regional and communal feelings which were bedevilling different tiers of panchayat. Even though the panchayat system itself was a partyless one. The resolution added "since the panchayat system is democratic and dynamic freedom should be granted for opposition demonstrations and debates in addition to freedom of speech and expression". In Aug. 1972 national panchayat chairman gave a banquet in honour of members of peasants organization elected to national panchayat. On this occasion chairman K.R. Upadhyaya of Nepal peasants organization declared that the organization would always devote itself to the cause of the welfare of the peasantry (Gorkhapatra Aug. 5, 1972). He also said that "the peasants organization is not a rubber stamp of the government. It would always oppose government actions which go against the interests of peasantry". At the same time national panchayat member G.B. Khatri demanded that proceedings of the national panchayat should be open and that the Prime Minister should be elected by the national panchayat (Danik Nepal Aug. 4, 1972). In continuation a letter was written to Prime Minister K.N. Bisht by K.R. Upadhyaya. It was regretted that H.M.G. had not given due importance to Nepal
Peasants Organization as institutional body. In particular he regretted that the ministry of food and agriculture had not sought the advice of the organization while undertaking measures to solve the problems of food scarcity and starvation. He pointed out that the policy of providing cash assistance for solving the problem of food scarcity had only led to an increase in food grains prices and encouraged black marketeers (Samaj, Aug. 4, 1972).

The demand to enforce the guthi corporation (Amend Act) was again raised in the year. The peasants organization threatened to take appropriate measures within 4 days if the government did not enforce the act (Nabin Khabar Aug. 6, 1972).

Opposition of the panchayat reached on the peak in 1972. Many members of the national panchayat opposed the government in the house. Consequently 12 members of the Rashtriya Panchayat were suspended. Several central level leaders of peasant organization reacted sharply to the action of the government. In a statement they condemned the manner in which H.M.G. was creating an atmosphere of fear and terror and trying to hang on to power through the use of force. They declared that 12 members of the national panchayat had been suspended only because they had sought to describe the real situation prevailing in the country at the house. The peasant leaders concluded with a demand for the release of all political workers, panchayat members and the implementation of decisions taken by class organizations (Nepal...
Compulsory savings scheme and land reform had been the constant features in the demands by peasants organization in the kingdom. K.R. Upadhyaya of Nepal peasants organization suggested that tenants should be provided with the right to sell their tenancy right in the same manner as land owner could sell their ownership rights. He said "the Nepal peasants organization is launching a struggle for creating a society free from exploitation as envisioned by the panchayat system. It is a matter of great satisfaction that necessary steps are being taken to protect tenancy rights. Compulsory savings should be utilized in the interest of peasantry. The Nepal peasants organization has played an important role in the implementation of the land reform, Birta abolition and other agrarian problems". He suggested the formation of a permanent committee at the official level to make arrangements for the supply of seeds and fertilizer, construction of irrigation facilities and relief operations in the events of natural calamities. He also stressed the need to provide class organizations with independent financial resources (Gorkhapatra Oct. 19, 1973).

He expressed his views about the land reform and compulsory savings schemes. He stated in Kathmandu on Nov. 13, 1973 that "through the land reform programme had safeguarded the interests of peasants, the compulsory savings had not benefited them to
the desired extent". He remarked "there is no evidence that any major change is occurring in the field of agriculture. Eviction of peasants has become a serious problem. It can not be solved only through the efforts of workers of peasant organization. Peasants have been put to great hardship because peasants right can not be sold". He demanded early arrangements should be made to sell their tenancy rights (Gorkhapatra Nov. 18, 1973). At the same time he suggested marketing facilities should be provided through government agencies so as to enable peasants to get fair prices of their produce. He pointed out that small peasants were not deriving any benefit from the agricultural development bank. He suggested that cooperative farming should be introduced to mechanize agriculture and raise agricultural production.

On the same day in a press interview in the kingdom he stated that "the activities of Nepal peasant organization are now mainly concentrated towards arousing social, political and economic consciousness among the peasantry, workers of the organization at all levels are trying to arouse the interests of peasants in modern methods of cultivation. The organization is also operating the literacy campaign in most districts of the country (Gorkhapatra Nov. 18, 1973).

On Feb. 9, 1975 H.M.G. principal secretariat announced the formation of constitutional reform committee. A three day symposium on constitutional reform organized by the panchayat
analysis centre, commenced in Kathmandu, on March 8, 1975, speaking at the symposium K.R. Upadhya chairmain of Nepal peasants organization stressed that "reforms should be introduced with the objective of making panchayat workers more active, without undermining the fundamental principles of the panchayat system". He also expressed the view that "the evaluation system introduced under the national campaign would make class and professional organizations more active" (Gorkhapatra March 9, 1975).

Many times the chairman K.R. Upadhya accused the Government for the inactiveness of the peasant organization. He said "no financial resources have been made available to these organizations nor are their constitutional privileges protected. These organizations, therefore, depend on Government subsidies and favour. Since such a situation is harmful for everybody, the constitution reform commission should recommend the abolition of Nepal peasants organization and conferment of the right to organize an independent peasant organization" (Matrabhumi, May 13, 1975).

Receiving the report of constitutional reform commission the government abolished the representation of peasants organization in Rastriya panchayat along with other class organization in 1976. On November 16, 1976 the back to the Village National Campaign Central board announced the formation of a central level advisory committee for class organizations. The committee consisted of 24 members. Each of the class organizations being
represented by one member from each zone 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 class organizations central advisory committee by rotation by the national campaign central board. The posts were made remunera-
tive.

Thus it is apparent from the above facts that the peasants organization covered a wide range of interests of peasants. The organization highlighted every issue which were directly or indirectly related to peasants. Starting from the land reform, compulsory savings, eviction of peasants by landlords, financial aids to peasants, food scarcity and more arrangements of money in the budget for the development of agriculture etc. Besides these the organization demanded to issue the citizenship certificates to peasants, resettlement, to provide the right to sell the tenancy rights and representation at every level in the board of management such as agriculture development bank, cooperative societies and planning commission. The organization had participated in literacy programme and back to the village national campaign. Along with these issues the organization, at many times, opposed the government actions and demanded to liberate the panchayat system. Opposition to the panchayat system gradually increased since its inception and till its disenfranchisement in 1976. The H.M.G. never allowed the
organization to develop into an independent body and it depended upon the H.M.G. in every respect. Moreover the composition of organization as such that it always remained a divided body.

Historical developments were such in the country that the organization was having the person of divergent views in its central level committees. This became complicated by the presence of two members in the central body, secretary and treasurer, nominated by the government. This lead to a permanent struggle between the supporter of panchayat system and others. Indication of this was the expulsion of minister Dr. Nageshwar Prasad Shani and from the central committee of the Nepal peasants organization for allegedly having absented himself from its meeting on three consecutive meetings (Kisan May 14, 1963). Similarly disciplinary action was taken against P.N. Upreti in 1966.

The central committee was composed of such persons who were not peasants. Composition and internal conflict affected the working of the organization. Highlighting the fact a paper wrote that "the Nepal peasants organization was being rendered ineffective because of internal conflict, as well as because its leaders were unfamiliar with the language, traditions and customs of the peasantry" (Samaj July 14, 1963).

While the national guidance council expressed his satisfaction over the activities of class organizations, on the
otherhand many papers in the kingdom had expressed discontent over their functioning. *Danik Nepal* asserted that most of the organisations were still inactive and that the leading members of their central committees were just busy issuing statements and merely seeking opportunity for travel to foreign countries. The paper added "although the organisations have done nothing for the welfare of the people, they continue receiving subsidy from H.M.G. . . . . . what is the value of these organisations if they are left to function in the way they are doing now" (*Danik Nepal Jan 1, 1966*). Other paper wrote that "peasants organisation had completely forgotten the objectives with which it had been formed and was concentrating its energies only on internal conflict (Nepali Jan 16, 1966).

A weekly paper observed that these organisations were serving few person to reach to the Rashtriya panchayat. The paper wrote "In spite of incessant Radio and press propaganda class organisations present a disheartening picture. Large sum of money are spent on seminar and conferences of these organisations but they are still inactive. They have not been able to extend any co-operation in the land reform programme. The paper therefore, doubted the utility of the organisations which are merely utilized by a few persons to again membership of the national panchayat (Himachali March 18, 1966).

It was observed that the class organisations became active only at the time of elections. At other times they seem
totally inactive. Such type of comment published in newspapers. One of the paper noted "It would be disturbing thing if class organizations are active only during election time, while neglecting their duties on other occasions" (Danik Nepal Nov. 1, 1966).

Same types of results were reported by a 12 members team deputed by the political science department of the Tribhuvan University in Banke district. The team found that except during national occasions, class organizations remained inactive throughout the year and their offices were not functioning properly. It was analysed if they have provided with adequate funds and were represented adequately in appropriate tiers of panchayats, they could be made more active (Gorkhapatra Jan. 2, 1967).

The amended constitution in the year 1967 imposed further checks on the behaviour of the peasants organizations as the system was declared 'partyless panchayat system. Further more the government amended the code of conduct for its members. These new restrictions had effects on the behaviour of its leaders. Some of them change their behaviour as desired by the constitution. This inspired a paper to write "the experience of last five years has shown that class organizations have become merely an agent and blind supporter of the government. It will therefore, not be surprising if the people regard them as nothing but government agencies". The paper further wrote the
organization lacked strong leadership because they were financially dependent on H.M.G. and because they enjoyed limited freedom of action (Nepal Times May 10, 1967).

The peasants organization remained inactive at different levels, most of the time, is apparent from the fact that a high level committee was formed by the government to promote co-ordination among different class organizations and bring about uniformity in their programmes at all levels and making them self-reliant (Gorkhapatra Dec. 8, 1967). But the peasants organization in the same year started opposing some of the policies of the government. The government increased the land taxes. On this issue the organization threatened to start a movement against the increased land taxes. In response to this the government suspended financial grants to Nepal peasants organization. This compel the organization to reconsider its attitude towards the government.

Internal dissension in the peasants organizations was a constant feature at all levels. As it was reported in a paper that progressive peasants youths in Bhaktapur town were organizing as agitation against corrupt peasants leaders who were being supported extortionist elements. The report added "the movement is directed particularly against the former peasant leaders including such elements as had previously been regarded on progressive and renowned communists. The organizers of this movement have been waging a frank and relentless fight against
eviction, insecurity of tenancy rights and corruption in the local offices of H.M.G., panchayat and co-operative societies, as well as against elements who are opposed to the interests of peasants and progressive elements but are working in the guise of well wishers of peasantry" (Matrabhumi Aug. 6, 1968).

Differences between H.M.G. and peasant organisation had been apparent at many times. Subsequently H.M.G. discontinued the amount of subsidy to the organization. A decision of this sort was taken by H.M.G. in 1969. It discontinued the per annum subsidy grant from the fiscal year 1970-71, to peasant organisation. In this connection Nepal Times wrote that organizations were formed as a medium for building up a sound public opinion and mobilizing the public energies in the task of national reconstruction so as to fill up the vacuum created by the ban on political parties. In actual fact they have not been able to play any political role, while H.M.G. has not enacted any legislation to enable class organization to represent the demands and aspirations of the people in an independent manner, ministers only expect blind support for every measure initiated by them.

The leaders and workers of class organizations on their part try to reach the national panchayat or other positions of profit. All these factors have continued to defeat the political philosophy represented by class organizations. Naturally, the people feel that class organizations have now only become the agency of H.M.G. which is out of touch with the main stream of
Main opposition to the H.M.G. came from the central leadership of the peasants' organization. To make the central leadership weak the H.M.G. took another initiative. It decided to provide grants to district level units of the organization for the implementation of programmes formulated by them. These grants previously used to be given to central committee of the organization. This again provided an occasion to the leader of peasants organization to oppose the government. Sometimes it was observed that the peasants organization had played the role similar to a opposition party. This was noted that "Nepal peasants organization had started playing a role which resembled that of the opposition under a party system" (Naya Samaj, March 3, 1971).

In 1972 elections were held for the central leadership of Nepal peasants organization. New elected leaders had taken strong stand against the H.M.G. On Sept. 3, 1972 the Nepal peasants organization was prevented from holding a public meeting of peasants at Tebahal in Kathmandu. The police dispersed the audience and demolished the ideas. The secretary and a member of central committee were taken to police station, who were released in evening (Nepal Times Sept. 4, 1972).

Taking note of the attitude of the peasants organization H.M.G. again discontinued the subsidy to the organization. It was reported that some money had been paid to the vice-president
of the organization who was a well known supporter of the Bish	
government and it had been informed that the amount would be	
adjusted against the annual subsidy (Motherland Sept. 12, 1972).

The president, vice-president and the secretary of the Nepal peasants organization resigned from their posts in Sept. 1975. According to Naya Samaj they have been forced to resign because the organization had failed to do anything in the interests of peasantry and had actually become a forum for supporters of the party system (Naya Samaj Sept. 7, 1975).

The functioning of peasants organization can be divided in to three phases first from 63 to 66, second from 67 to 71 and finally from 72 to 75.

The period starting from 63 had passed without much difficulty to the government and more or less the peasants organization worked within the frame work provided by the government. There might be two reasons for it, firstly it was through beginning that the panchayat system introduced in the country was a stop gap arrangement and within few years the ban on political parties will be uplifted, secondly in the formation of central committee of the peasants organization strict measures were taken to check the infiltration of anti system elements, particularly the leaders of Nepali Congress and a faction of communist party. Precautions were taken on their filtration through election;

But the beginning of 1967 posed some problem to the
government. The king made it clear that the system is suitable for the country and there was no need to change it. Second election for the central committee took place in 1966 and many of the political leaders joined the peasant organisation. In spite of the government efforts many of leaders were elected to the central committee whose attitude was not pro-government. In 1967 the organization threatened to launch a movement against the government on the issue of increased land taxes. Opposition of the government gradually increased during this period. There might have been some internal factors influencing the organization. Internal factors include elections for graduate constituencies and youth organization. These have influenced the working of the peasants organisation.

In the election of graduate constituencies, in addition to the revival of political parties, following demands were made: (1) adult franchise; (2) relaxation in fundamental rights; (3) release of political prisoners; (4) grant of amnesty to the exiled party leaders; and (5) freedom of the press. Similarly youth organization passed a resolution at its central committee meeting held in Palpa in 1966, demanding freedom for the organisation in its operation, election to the national panchayat from the village panchayat level and more democratization in the panchayat system (Nepal Press Digest Vol. 12, No.12, 1968).

This trend continued up to 1971.

Soon after the death of King Mahendra in 1972, a significant change was apparent in the orientation of peasants organis-
tion along with other class organizations. The class organizations passed a unanimous resolution in a meeting held at Patan in the same year. They demanded (1) election of the prime minister from among the members of the national panchayat; (2) autonomy of class organizations; (3) broadening of the election base; (4) freedom of the press; (5) relaxation in the public security act; and (6) open session of the national panchayat (Baral 1970: 114).

The demands for liberal values were intensified with the span of time. The more a candidate became radical more he was likely to be popular. Ganesha Banadur Khatri, a national panchayat member, while seeking election from peasants organization in 1972, circulated a pamphlet emphasizing following demands

(1) election of prime minister on the recommendation of the national panchayat; (2) recognition of opposition bench within the legislature; (3) release of all political prisoners; (4) grant of amnesty, all leaders living in exile in India; (5) universal adult franchise for the election to the national panchayat; and (6) territorial election on the basis of population. Thus he was successful to win the election.

He made similar demands in 1975. Addressing a session he maintained that "present election system does not constitute a fundamental feature of the panchayat system. The absence of a fully responsible government, and of direct contacts between people and representative institutions, constitutes the reason
for the unsatisfactory economic performance of the panchayat system. As such, the prime minister should be elected by national panchayat members, secrecy of national panchayat proceedings should be abolished and members of village assemblies should comprise the electorate for national panchayat elections" (Nepal Times June 9, 1975).

These are the indications how the leaders of peasants' organization continued to oppose the government at various occasions. Probably taking note of anti-government attitude of the organization, the government abolished the representation of peasants' organization, along with other organizations, in Rashtriya Panchayat in 1976.

The class organization were set up to function as an integral part of the panchayat system. They were designed to fill up the vacuum created by the ban on political activities and even to oppose the government without indulging in to politics. Peasants' organization played some short of oppositional role from the very beginning of 1963, the year it went into operation.

The peasants' organization went against its intended purposes and could serve the peasantry even within the limited frame as devised by the authorities. It not only went against the objectives laid down in the constitution, but also opposed the government on specific policies of the government in regard to land reforms and other economic measures. There were several
factors which may be counted for the failure of the peasants' organization: These were (1) lack of well defined aims and functions (2) unfighting among the members of central committee; (3) lack of effective leadership; (4) dependency upon the government for financial aids; and (5) dominance of party feelings ( Chauhan, 1979: 24 ).

The government never laid down clearly what would be the functions of peasants' organization. On the one hand the peasants' organization was expected to be an alternative to the party for articulation of the interests of peasantry. On the other hand the government restricted the role of peasants' organization by not allowing its independent working. In the absence of clearcut functions there was role conflict among the various agencies of the government.

All the time there had been two factions in the central committee of the peasants' organization, pro-establishment and anti-establishment. The organization only served the purpose of some handful persons in the country who had lost the platform to express their grievances. Where the group activity was considered illegal, it was considered safe to join such organizations. It was, therefore, not surprising if some ex-political leaders were attracted to join peasants' organization to be a reckonable political force. It was easy to get a berth in the organisation. The expulsion of Nageshwar Prasad Shahi from the central committee and the nomination of Rishikesh Shah in to this body by its
chairman showed the internal rivalries in the central committee. Shah was in search of a platform to express his grievances against the system and he found peasants organization useful for the purpose. First time though the organization he demanded that the meeting of national panchayat should be open.

These internal differences increased further. Under the constitution of the organization, power available to the president of central committee, he was empowered to expel any member of central committee and nomination of certain members to its central committee. Many of the central committee members, who had been nominated by its chairman, were former political leaders. They were bent on opposing the government for its unwillingness to release political prisoners and lift restrictions on fundamental rights.

Thus there were an unending tussle between the conformists and non-conformists. The central leaders showed their resentment either by expulsions of ministers from the membership of the organization or by nominating anti-government persons in to it for symbolic opposition.

This phenomenon made the central leadership weak. The organization could not brought much pressure on the government. The organization depended on the government for financial aids. It was unable to exist without the government aids. Moreover the programmes it prepared for implementation failed because of lack of funds. It could not run even a single programme independently.
Another important factor was the influence of the former political parties on the peasants organizations. It became a political front of different politicians having different political ideologies. The central committee of the peasants organization dominated by former Praja Parishad leaders. Although the political parties were banned in the country but the people could not forget their party affiliations. This was the main cause of infighting and opposing the government.

One of the author observed that "Despite their in-built constraints, leaders of some of these organizations were determined to play an active and crucial political role, much similar to what was the usual feature in the pre - 1960 politics. Though apparently isolated and fragmented, strikingly at times by political expediencies, their role significantly demonstrated the contradictions embedded in the system. It is in this situation that to the extent their role became functional to the cause of opposition. It became 'dysfunctional' to the growth of the panchayat system" (Baral, 1977: 115).

It is obvious from the above analysis that role of the peasant organization had not been compatible with the government policies and it had been opposing the government policies at many times. Neither it could deliver the goods for peasantry nor could gain the sympathy of the government. It was probably due to the formation of class organizations as a handmaid to the government as well as the defective mechanism of conflict management.