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Original publication:

Ingemar Grandin, “To change the face of this country”: Nepalese progressive songs under pancayat democracy, 1996, *Journal of South Asian Literature*, (29), 1, 175-189.

Postprint available free at:

Linköping University E-Press: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-10582>

“To change the face of this country” Nepalese progressive songs under pancayat democracy

by Ingemar Grandin, Linköping University, Sweden

This is a study of a contemporary Nepalese artistic genre. But it is also an analysis of political rhetorics and of one of the means by which the political parties were able to build up mass support during the time they were legally banned. During the three decades of partyless Pancayat Democracy, the parties were confined to working underground, undercover in the guise of student unions, and – as they did from its very inception (Rose 1965: 360, 365) – within the pancayat system itself. How, then, to capture, convince and convert the masses? Progressive songs – *pragatiśīl gīt* – were part of the “cultural front” specifically aimed to reach beyond the dedicated party workers and to “the people”. This cultural work – conceived as the first step in the enlightenment of the people – included street dramas; the street poetry revolution (Hutt 1991:142); and the musical performances and cultural programs (with a mix of dramas, dances, and songs) of which progressive songs were the most important component.

A RHETORICAL UNIVERSE

Musically, progressive songs – which were sung also at, for instance, picnics, political mass-meetings, at home – are branches of the same genres that are heard from Radio Nepal: modern songs and folk songs. But while the radio song typically presents poetical – and sometimes philosophical – reflections upon one person’s love affair, her or his beloved, or life in general, the progressive song – as sung by local and national artists and as printed in booklets – has other things to say:

gāū gāūbāṭa uṭha bastī bastībāṭa
uṭha

Rise from every village, rise from every settlement

yo deśko muhār phernalāi uṭha

To change the face of this country, rise

hātmā kalam huneharu kalam liera uṭha

*Those who have a pen in hand, bring the pen and
rise*

bājā bajāune jānneharu bājā liera uṭha

*Those who can play an instrument, bring the
instrument and rise*

hātmā aujār huneharu aujār liera uṭha
sāthma kehī nahuneharu āvāj liera uṭha

*Those who have a tool in hand, bring the tool and
rise
Those who have nothing at all, bring the voice and
rise*

(Shyam Tamot, “Gāū gāūbāṭa uṭha” (1978), JG 1:7, LL 100ff, NL 179ff)

Each song tells its own tale. But it is when these tales are put together – like they would be in a performance or in a booklet – that the full story emerges. In this rhetorical universe Nepal appears complete with people, culture and nature. And in descriptions and metaphors, in key notions and arguments, these progressive songs give an idea of the world-view disseminated by the opposition during the pancayat era, and of what ideals, aspirations, and sentiments may have attracted ordinary men and women – farmers, carpenters, government servants and so on – and mobilized them for the cause of political change.

This rhetorical universe is better captured by merging together quotes and paraphrases from different songs than by discussing a few individual songs. My analysis in this essay is based on 69 progressive songs. To give a representative picture of what would be heard in a pancayat-era cultural program or progressive musical performance, I have included well-known, often-sung songs while also trying to cover different types of song and a number of artists. I have taken many songs from the booklets *Janatāka gītharu* (JG; people’s songs) vol I–IV. Others have been transcribed from recordings. In addition, still others have been taken from the recent collections *Light of Life* (LL) and *Name of Life* (NL) where several songs that were sung well before 1990 are included. In all, these songs cover the work of some thirty poets and songwriters. These include the pioneer leftist singer Gokul Joshi and the celebrated writers Gopal Prasad Rimal, Parijat, and *mahākavi* Lakshmi Prasad Devkota. Some of the songs belong to the “folk” repertoire and hence the their creators remain anonymous. Most songs, however, are by recent or contemporary Nepalese songwriters and poets: Agyat, Anil, Bam Devan, Bikram Subba, Bishnu Prabhat, Chandra Bhandari, Dilli Rai, Durga Lal Shrestha, Govinda Bikal, Hemraj Rai, Manjul, Modhnath Prashrit, Narayan Parishram, Pralhad Subedi, Pramod Hamal, Prem Bahadur Kisan, Raamesh, Rajib, Raju Tuladhar, Ram Krishna Duwal, Rayan, Rupan Rai, Shyam Das, Shyam Tamot, and Sundar Joshi.¹

PEOPLE OF NEPAL

The basic categories of people of Nepal according to progressive rhetorics are workers, farmers, women, intellectuals, and the avant-garde.

Or more specifically: factory workers, construction workers, builders of houses, builders of roads, drivers of buses and lorries, peons, kullis, workers-in-general.

Shepherds, fishermen, tea plantation workers, landless, gardeners, tenants, farmers-in-general. Mothers, daughters, women working in the fields, women gathering fuelwood, women who clean the school and take care of the children. Office-workers, students, teachers, doctors, poets, writers, singers, musicians, painters, sculptors. Revolutionaries, heroes, martyrs, political prisoners.

There are old people and young people. Ancestors, grandparents, mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, sisters, brothers, orphans. There are people in trouble, people who are ill and who have to be taken to the hospital, people who have lost their agricultural land to the landlord or to a landslide, people whose harvest has been appropriated by the landlord, people who are in debt, there are children who come to school with empty bellies, beggars, innocent prisoners, and women who are raped.

The poor people of Nepal travel on foot, wear tattered clothes, have no house at all, and die far from the hospital. But there are also those who have – those who travel by airplane, wear gold-embroidered clothes, have wealth stacked in piles in their house, and have the doctor waiting upon them. There are the rich, the oppressor, the exploiter, the landlord, the moneylender, and the contractor.

Social groups are accorded their particular attributes. Landlords are cruel and belong to the darkness. Contractors earn big money. The rich drown in luxuries. Writers tell the real truth. Teachers help eradicate ignorance. Singers sing songs to raise consciousness. Poets and artists build the base of civilization. And the people is brave, hard-working, suffering, down-trodden, poor.

People are met with not only collectively, but also as individual characters: The hungry baby crying in its cradle. The woman who gives birth at the worksite and then carries her baby while she goes on labouring with road construction. The starving poet. The weak old mother fading away on her bed. The shepherd boy playing his flute in the countryside. The young boy who out of love for his country and poor countrymen shares the dream of the political prisoners. The highlander grazing his yaks. The village girl whose school is the cow shed and whose blackboard is dung. The beggar-boy singing at the Bhimsensthan temple. The low-caste Gaine singer with his sarangi fiddle and his tattered clothes. The farmer who ploughs his field with dry lips, tired red eyes, and an empty belly. The white-haired old fisherman with his small boat and his net.

CULTURE & NATURE

These people work in factories and offices, go to school, travel along roads and on small footpaths winding up-and-down, dig their fields, live in thatched huts, in villages, in hilltop bazaar towns, in the Kathmandu Valley cities, or are locked up in jail. They plant tea, sow the seeds, and work on their paddy and maize fields. They lead their yaks up to the highland pastures and look after their cattle. They build roads using dynamite to blast the rocks and hammers to break down the stone. They participate in religious

festivals, sing their evening *ārati*, give food to the wandering jogi. They wear *syāgu* and *bhoṭo* clothes and a *ṭopi* on their heads, and carry a *ḍoko* basket on their back, a *jhampal* crow-bar on their shoulder, or hoe and spade in their hands. The temple bells ring. There is blue smoke from the small cattle's shed. The wandering Gaine singer comes to the courtyard to sing his songs. The *sāraṅgī* fiddle weeps, the *mādal* drum gives the rhythm. People sing folk songs. The children go to school to learn to write and read, and to dance and sing. The women collect firewood, they have red *sindur* in their hair as a marriage sign, and visit their parents' home on the *Tij* festival. The grandmother looks after the small children. The fisherman throws his net from his small boat carved out from the wood of a tree trunk. When the letter comes to the village, everybody understands from the piece of string tied round the envelope that it contains bad news. On return from a journey, brothers give gifts to their sisters and fathers give their daughters golden bracelets. Sisters give their younger brothers the *bhāi ṭikā* blessing at the *Tihār* festival.

But there is nature as well as culture. A large number of progressive songs invoke the Nepalese nature and landscape and make use of metaphors drawn from Nepalese geography, botany, and zoology. Thus, there are rivers, streams, ponds, *dobhāns* (river confluences). There are hills, valleys, the snow-covered himalayan mountains, there are chains of mountains, ridges, deep river gorges, steep cliffs, mountain tops. There is rain and sunshine, there are hailstorms, there is mist, there are clouds and blue skies. There is golden sunshine that warms you in the winter morning and blazing hot sunshine during the summer day. There is rain that makes you shiver and rain that clears the air and makes everything fresh. There are gentle breezes and terrifying storms. There are large dense dark forests, small woods, trees, bushes. There are rhododendron flowers, orchids, wild roses, *tori* and *paiyū* flowers. There are meadows. There are trees giving shadow, trees on the riverside, pine trees, green-leaved trees, red-leaved trees. Morning cockelicoos awake the village, wild birds sing in the forest.

There are songs whose entire text describes only nature: A shaft of light arrives to free streams and trees from the strangling grip of the frost in a tormented, landslide-wounded, high altitude Nepalese landscape. Here, the whole song lends itself to metaphorical interpretation. But in most songs, metaphors from culture and nature – sometimes juxtaposed – are employed less comprehensively, to clarify or emphasize an argument or maybe to give life and beauty to the text. Human life can be pictured as the stone and mud out of which a house is built or as a river which flows crossing many barriers. The cow took the rice, the landlord took the village. Daughters are like orchid flowers that bloom in the mountain. The bees are caught in the spider's web and what the hard-working ants have collected is eaten by the grasshopper. But the vulture will be hit with a stone.

OUR COUNTRY NEPAL

There are a few progressive songs where only the Nepali language tell us that this is a Nepalese song and not one from, say, Chile, South Africa, Belgium or North Korea. But mostly, and certainly in progressive rhetorics as a whole, it is established that what we are talking about is “this country”, Nepal. This is made clear in a number of different ways. The descriptions and metaphors from culture and, even more, from nature help to put the songs on Nepalese ground. Moreover, many songs explicitly talk about “my country”, “our country”, “your own country”, “our motherland”.

Others work more implicitly, by means of expressions like “himālcūli ubheko desh”, “the land we live in”, “all mountain villages” and the like. Still others let us meet a particular Nepalese locality: the snow-covered Solu, villages such as Olangcunggola and Chyalsa and their countryside, the Kali Gandaki area, Baglung bazaar. This – like the descriptions and metaphors from nature – is invariably mountain Nepal (and not the Tarai flatland). Nepal is the country where:

bādalule uḍū bhancha, pakherāmā guḍū bhancha	<i>The clouds say: let us fly high and roll in the mountains</i>
ākāsle aḍū bhandā, parbatle baḍhū bhancha	<i>And when the sky says stop, the mountains say: let us grow still higher</i>
dāphecārī māthi māthi himālmā caḍhū bhancha	<i>The daphe bird [a colourful pheasant] says: let me fly high in the himal</i>

(From Manjul, “Mero sāno muralimā”, JG 3:10)

Progressive songs explicitly tell us that the land *is* its people. The tears of a suffering hard-working woman do not only tell her story, they also narrate the history of this country. According to progressive rhetorics, we should embrace and love our motherland, Nepal, and make it smile. We should stay here in our own country (and if you have left it to join a foreign army, you had better come back!). It is misery to live in exile separated from one’s homeland. We should all make our own contribution to our country. We should tear down what is old and ready to collapse. We should build it. We should work to uplift it and make it free. We should rise for it. If needed we should make weapons for it. And we should be ready to die for it.

CONSCIOUSNESS, WORK, UNITY, UPRISING, STRUGGLE

But this devotion to the motherland does not at all imply that the songs agree that everything is fine in Nepal. Quite to the contrary. By means of metaphors, descriptions, elaborations, and recurrent key notions, the songs nail down that what prevails is a situation of injustice, oppression, exploitation, slavery and bonded labour, inequality,

and discrimination. People are trapped in nets and put in chains, freedom is nowhere to be found. The Nepalese people is troubled by poverty, hardship and suffering. Farmers work their fields with empty bellies and tattered clothes, porters walk the slippery trails in the pouring rain, the road-labourers risk their lives. And all of them get very little out of it. Landlords and other exploiters appropriate most of the produce. Moreover, domination and discrimination is upheld among the Nepalese people itself: men keep their wives and daughters down; girls are denied education; people might rob and exploit their own kin; the people at the bottom end of the social ladder – handicapped, people of low caste, people with menial jobs – are disdained. And young Nepali men leave their country to go and kill innocent people in foreign lands.

With all this, the progressive songs have well prepared the ground for arguing that something has to be done:

cetanāko jyotile gāṁvai ujjālo pāraum
samājko ādhyārolāi hāmī milī phālaum

*Let us brighten the country with the rays of consciousness
Let us overcome the darkness of society with our unity*

(From Hemraj Rai, “Cetanāko jyoti”, JG 4:5)

The first part of the progressive remedy is *consciousness*. We need consciousness about this situation, and about what should be done. To achieve this, we have to tell the truth and speak it out boldly from the stage, sing it out in courageous songs. Wisdom, science and education must be respected. People must be awakened and enlightened, they have to open their eyes. The light of truth should penetrate the darkest corner. The nature of the oppressive, unjust and exploitive system should come to the light. And people should be made aware that they have to throw out all rotten traditions they may maintain themselves.

And we have to *work*. Work is what makes one’s life pure and clear, your deeds will remain when you are dead. Indeed life *is* work, life should be devoted to good work, work helping those in need, doing service to the people. Using whatever capabilities and skills we have, we must all take part in tearing down the old and work together to build the new.

Then, we should *unite*, *rise*, and *fight*. If we unite, we may break the big mountain, but alone and quarreling you may be cheated even by the fool. United, the farmers may get rid of those pests that eat the harvest. We must rise, peasants and workers, from all villages, from north, south, east, and west. To rise in the struggle needs courage, but the martyrs have shown us the way. Life *is* struggle, there are no excuses for not taking part.

THE DAY OF CHANGE

Let me now give the central argument in progressive rhetorics in condensed form:

This is our own country Nepal. It is a beautiful land. But it is a country of suffering and unhappiness where the people, though brave and hard-working, is poor and downtrodden. We have to work. We have to enlighten people and bring about consciousness. We have to unite. We have to rise. We have to struggle. We will fight corruption, injustice, exploitation. The oppressor will go. The day of change will arrive.

Some songs sketch most of this argument, others elaborate upon a few parts, but the whole argument emerges very clearly when the individual songs are put together. In this argument, consciousness, work, unity, uprising, and struggle are all means to an end: *change*. And the argument is presented in such a way that fundamental and radical change appears as the logical conclusion.

To reinforce that change is indeed necessary, the songs give specific and elaborated descriptions of injustices, of exploitation, of the hardships suffered by the people. But change is also where progressive rhetorics comes to a full stop. Compared to the detailed description of the present, the future after change is suggested in very general and often metaphorical terms like a golden morning, a beautiful world, a new society, a new air, a happy life, a new house where we all are safe. More specific suggestions are given only in the negative: the evils of the present situation will disperse with the day of change. There will be no more oppression, no more exploitation, there will be justice instead of injustice, equality instead of inequality. The exploiters, money-lenders, landlords will be driven away. We will have what we need. Free from the chains, we will sing and dance. The poet languishing in jail will be released and will write beautiful poems and sweet songs.

The songs show a certain determinism about the inevitability of change. Who can stop the new ideas? Nothing can prevent consciousness and truth. The revolution will come, we will reach our goal. The strength of united people cannot be resisted very long: it is like trying to stop a river from flowing. The final victory is ours. However, change will not come by itself: we have to work for it. But this work will not be in vain. If we do not obey the exploiter, if we do not tolerate this nonsense, we will certainly win.

WE, THE PEOPLE, AND THE AVANT-GARDE

Who, then, are “we” who, according to progressive rhetorics, are to bring about change in our country Nepal? A number of distinct denotations are suggested by the songs. In a few songs, “we” is autobiographical, and refers to the group of singers: Playing the

sarangi and singing our songs we have arrived here to share your troubles. In other songs, “we” apparently refers to intellectuals, martyrs and the like (including the progressive artists): We have to unite and fight to help the oppressed. “We” is also used in a role-taking way to present a fictional group (obviously distinct from the songwriter and group of artists, but who may well be the targeted or actual listeners): We women (farmers, bonded labourers, kullis, etc) will no longer tolerate this nonsense but will stand up and fight. “We” is often used ambiguously (it is not clear to whom “we” refers) and expansively where the initial boundary between “we” and “you” gives way to “we”-form imperatives that obviously include the listeners: You face these troubles, you must see the light; let us all unite, let us all rise in the struggle!

Other pronouns are used in the same open way. “I” may apparently refer to the singer/songwriter (a seventh-grade young boy asked me to sing a song about the political prisoners); or, role-takingly, it may be used to depict a fictional character (I am Jamunis daughter and live in the Jyamire village). Similarly, “you” may be used to portray a fictional person (all your life you have worked so hard, but what did you get in the end?), but also to directly seize the listener: You, children, who are listening to our song, isn’t it time that you start thinking of what you will become?

The ways pronouns are used in progressive songs raise a – probably unintended – boundary between “we” and “the people”. If *we* have to unite to help the people, if *we* should bring enlightenment and consciousness to the people – well, then it is made clear that *we* are *not* the people. Progressive songs emphatically argue for the recognition of the poor and oppressed, that people with manual work and people with low social standing are worthy of love and respect. But still, it is the avant-garde – singers, martyrs, writers, intellectuals and so on – that appears as the crucial agent for social reform. The avant-garde is from where truth and consciousness radiates, the avant-garde are those who lead the way in the struggle. The people have to be enlightened, and the avant-garde – including, presumably, “we” as progressive song-writers and artists – are those who give the light.

PROGRESSIVE PATRIOTISM AND THE NEPALI SUPERCULTURE

In progressive rhetorics as a whole, stock-in-trade leftist notions of a generalized proletariat and internationalist solidarity are replaced by descriptions and metaphors firmly rooted in Nepalese nature and culture, and an overtly patriotic devotion to the motherland. It is indeed the face of *this country* that is at stake.

Nationalism in Nepal means maintaining the distinction to India.² The Nepalese left early had an apprehensive attitude towards this neighbouring superpower (Rose 1965: 344, 361) and criticized the B.P. Koirala government – just like, more recently, G.P. Koirala government – for being too accommodating towards India (*ibid.*: 354). This progressive patriotism may be the reason why the Tarai, the southern flatland along the

Indian border where in fact the left has strong support, is strikingly absent in the songs' imagery and descriptions. India, to the Nepalese, is the plains. Hence, imagery from the Tarai would look suspiciously Indian in Nepalese eyes, while pictures of mountain Nepal are well suited to assert the distinction to India. Such patriotism is a common feature of progressive rhetorics and pancayat ideology. Recently, this could be seen when the veteran leftist Padmaratna Tuladhar and former *panca* and home minister Jog Meher Shrestha appeared on the same stage to denounce the latest instance of Indian big-brotherism (armed Indian police raiding in Kathmandu) and advocate Nepali nationalism³.

The progressive songs categorize the people of Nepal as farmers, workers, landlords and so on, but never in ethnic terms as for instance Rais, Gurungs or Chetris. This ethnical silence underlines the progressive agreement with pancayat objectives also in another sense: in the creation and support of the Nepali "national culture". Though based on the Nepali language, this superculture, as Hutt (1994:84) has pointed out, is not only an instrument of the Nepali-speaking Bahun-Chetri hegemony. The superculture provides a nation-wide stage for public discourse which – as the progressive songs vividly testify – can be used for purposes quite distinct from pancayat ideology. But whatever the objectives, progressive songs (including those by, say, a Newar or Rai song-writer not likely to support the sake of Bahun-Chetri domination) contribute to the pan-Nepalese national culture.

THE DISTINCTION: PROGRESSIVE RHETORICS, PANCHAYAT RHETORICS

The overlap between progressive rhetorics and pancayat ideology is, in fact, even larger. As Borgström (1980, 1982) makes clear, pancayat rhetorics emphasised notions such as equality, justice, and "a society free of exploitation", talked about civil rights, awakening, consciousness, "getting rid of poverty", to "march ahead unitedly", and "service to the people", and expressed concerns with peasants, tillers, and landless. (There are even poems by the late King Mahendra that look very much like a progressive song!⁴) This was two-way traffic of ideological elements. Notions traditionally belonging to the left – including, it seems, the Maoist ideas of rural-driven cultural revolution as translated into the "Back to the village national campaign" – were annexed by pancayat ideology, while the progressives on their hand, beside their overt patriotism, made extensive use of the key pancayat concept of nation-building⁵.

How, then, were the progressives to make the distinction when their own concepts – clearly essential to their aims – were part of pancayat rhetorics? If the progressive songs were interpreted as only another form of pancayat rhetorics, they would fail. So some way of maintaining the boundaries and making clear that their ideology was not just to be encompassed by the pancayat umbrella, but an alternative, was necessary. Progressive rhetorics adopted a four-part solution. First, to establish that the present is

really *bad*, that what prevails is the exact opposite of what should be (injustice instead of justice, etc), and – as we have seen – to give this concretion in much detail. Second, to connect this to *change*, not piecemeal change, but the fundamental change visualised in the metaphors of golden morning and the like. Third, to name the *adversary*. As Borgström (1980:39–41) points out, this was where pancayat rhetorics was particularly vague. Since the idea of harmonious integration of different social groups was at the heart of pancayat ideology, it had to seek its enemy outside the present Nepalese society – the past Rana rulers were well suited as villains – or leave him undefined and faceless. But nothing prevented progressive rhetorics from saying where the enemy was to be found – among landowners, contractors, money-lenders, the rich, but even in the “rotten traditions” upheld by the people itself. And fourth, to substitute harmonious integration between social groups with conflict and elevate the notion of *struggle*.

The partial congruence between progressive and pancayat notions was not only an obstacle. The similarities might have helped a progressive song, whether it was to be sung from the stage or printed in a booklet, to pass the censure. The censor could hardly reject a song on the grounds that it stressed equality or condemned exploitation when these were things the King himself had stressed as essential parts of Pancayat Democracy and necessary to Nepal’s development and prosperity. More importantly, since also pancayat ideology emphasised equality, non-exploitation, and justice, the progressives needed only to make clear that Nepal certainly was not such a society and that struggle was the only way to achieve it.

Borgström (1980) analyses at some length the reasons for the pancayat annexation of ideological elements, and he suggests that it was a conscious pancayat strategy to make “potentially dangerous concepts ... ‘tamed’ and ... innocuous” (ibid.:49). Maybe this was how the pancas laid the seed to their own destruction. For these annexed notions were re-annexed by the progressives, and in their original framework their subversive qualities were once again brought out, now however amplified by pancayat acceptance. Compared to the pancas, the progressive front was able to fit the notions into a coherent framework, to present a more consistent world view, with fundamental change as the logical conclusion. The pancas in their use of the same concepts had to live with contradictions – between, for instance, the insistence on an exploitation-free society and saying that classes such as landowners and tenants are equally necessary in the harmonious whole (ibid.: 40). The risk, of course, was that people might draw progressive conclusions also from the premises given by pancayat rhetorics. It seems somehow easier to argue, as in progressive rhetorics, that grave misconditions need thorough remedies than, as did the pancas, they will just disappear.

“TO CHANGE THE FACE OF THIS COUNTRY...”

The political face of Nepal has changed. Now, the progressives, just like the *pancas* before them, have to face their own rhetorics. Their rhetorics may well backfire, considering that it reduces the reasons for the poverty of the Nepalese masses chiefly to the uneven distribution of power and wealth upheld by a few bad guys. And while the songs hardly provide any blueprints for a good society, they do make clear that the conditions after change should not be the same as they have been...

But progressive song-writers were not just party propagandists. In fact, after the 1990 *jana andolan* several well-known progressive artists – including people who took great risks supporting the opposition throughout the *pancayat* years – have declared their independence. There are progressive songs whose only possible use is as propagandistic slogans. But it is evident that most of the songs I have analysed for this essay spring from artistic aims as much as from political objectives. The dialectics between art and ideology in these songs has given us a both elaborate and effective depiction of natural beauty and human hardship in *pancayat*-time Nepal.

NOTES

This research has been sponsored by SAREC (the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries), HSFR (the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences) and SI (the Swedish Institute). I am thankful to Mr M.R. Sharma who in 1987 translated a large number of the songs into English (my analysis here is based on both the Nepali text and English translations); to Bengt-Göran Martinsson for methodological inspiration; to Bengt-Erik Borgström and Gudrun Dahl for inviting me to their seminar on “Development as ideology and rhetorics” at the Dept. of Social Anthropology, Stockholm, where the first sketch for this article was presented in May, 1990; and to Kosta Economou, Eva Haettner Aurelius, Manjul, Kenneth Peterson, Sverre Sjölander, and Hans Weisethaunet for constructive comments on subsequent versions. I also am indebted to Michael Hutt for his enduring interest in this article which has indeed been a long-term project. Of the many things that have been left unexplored in this essay, I have treated some elsewhere. The use of progressive songs in a local setting is a major topic in Grandin (1989), while portraits of a few progressive artists, and discussion of the musical side of progressive songs (and Nepalese contemporary songs in general) have been given in Grandin (1989, 1994, *fc.a*, *fc.b*).

¹ A bibliographical list of the sixty-nine songs – which would take too much of the Bulletin’s space to include here – has been submitted to the Editors, and can be obtained from the author.

- ² See, e.g., Gaige 1975; Shaha 1978, 1982; Burghart 1984:20–21; or Grandin 1989:202–209.
- ³ Reported in *New People's Review*, 3: 35, 14 April 1994.
- ⁴ Compare the M.B.B. Shah poem in *Modern Nepali poems*, p. 251, with Hāmro Nepālmā, JG 1:79.
- ⁵ On this pancayat notion, see Burghart 1984:120, 1994:2ff.

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- Janatākā gītharu, bhāg – 3*. Kāṭhmāḍau: Lālimā prakāśan, 2042 V.S. (=A.D. 1985–86) (second print).

- Janatākā gītharu, bhāg – 4.* Kāthmāḍau: Lālimā prakāśan, 2040 V.S. (=A.D. 1983–84).
Light of Life. Ujyaalo jivana lyaaunuchha [sic.]. *A musical journey with Aasthaa Pariwaar.* Kathmandu (?), Bangkok (?): Wayang, Aasthaa Pariwaar, 1991.
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APPENDIX – TO THE EDITORS.

This is a list of the sixty-nine songs on which this essay is based. For each song, the title given in a printed source as well as the opening line (the normal way of referring to a song and often also used as the title) are indicated. Then I give the name of the songwriter; and then composer (if not the same person). Finally, the source of each song is given where JG = Janataka githaru; LL = Light of Life; NL = Name of Life; Transcr 87 = a song transcribed from tape in 1987 by M.R. Sharma. Those songs which have been added later are given with the source NL or LL first; other songs with the JG first.

Andha nabhana (chainan akha) (Manjul; Shambhu Rai) JG 2: 12.
Antim bijaya hamrai ho (Chandra Bhandari). LL 110, NL 172, JG 1:46
Aphno kamai aphai khane (Kina kehi bhok bhokai) (Gokul Joshi; Pramod Hamal). JG 3:13.
Asu hoina yi akhabata (Asuko akshar) (Parijat; Rayan) Transcr 87
Au hami sangai basau (Ekaima thuki ni) (Bikram Subba, Raamesh, Ram Krishna Duwal (?); trad.) Transcr 87; NL 156.
Au milau hamra hatharu (Timi deu timra hatharu) (Pramod Hamal). JG 2:26; NL 48.
Babale bhanthe (Bhadako sipai janmaune desh nepallai napara) (Manjul; Raamesh). JG 1: 57.
Balla bujhe (Kalle bhancha choriko) (Modhnath Prashrit; Raju Tuladhar) JG 2:36; LL 51
Bhiktor Hara [=Victor Jara] (Manjul; Raamesh). Transcr 87.
Budho majhiko abhibyakti (Koshi cheu ubheko simal) (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 2:9; LL 56.
Cetanako jyoti (Hemraj Rai) JG 4:5
Choriko (yo) junilai (Rupan Rai [Himal Rai]). JG 1: 18; LL 73.
Chyalsa (Uttari bhegama) Manjul; Raamesh) JG 4:37

Ciyako buta muniko jivan (Paurakhi timra hatharule) (Chandra Bhandari). JG 4:34; NL 100

Dada kati gayau ni (Raju Tuladhar). JG 1: 60.

Deshko nimti uthchau (Cattan jastai dridha) (Mutthi ucali ladchau) (Chandra Bhandari) JG 4:6; NL 140.

Dhanai khayo (trad.). JG 1: 74

Draibhar dai (Manjul; samuhik [group]) JG 2:54

Dukhako khabar (chitti ayo dhagule) (Dilli Rai; Dilli Rai & Hem Raj Rai). JG 4:28.

Duldai ayo (Gaine daju) (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 1:21

Ek jugma ek din (Gopal Prasad Rimal; Ram Krishna Duwal). NL 88, JG 3:1

Ek laskar bhariyahu (Asarko urlado bhela) (Shyam Tamot; Raamesh). LL 46, JG 1:88.

Gaiti belca ucalera (anon?). Transcr 87.

Gau gau bata utha (Shyam Tamot). JG 1:7; LL 100; NL 178

Hamile gaune git (Manjul; Raamesh). JG 1:6.

Hami ta uthnechau (Ragatko tika lagaudai) (Govinda Bikal; Ramesh [sic] Shrestha). NL 136, JG 1:33

Hamra githaru (Bhokai marne mahakabika) (Manjul; Raamesh). JG 1:82

Hamro Nepalma (Kohi ta bhane jahajma harara) (trad.). JG 1:79.

Han matyangrale hajur (sati ghate bajaraima) (trad.). JG 2: 70.

He barai (Babale sodhlan ni khai chora bhanlan) (trad.) JG 1:56.

Hida mera dai ho (Shyam Tamot). LL89, NL 70, JG 1:83

Hiule chopeko Solu (Setai hiule chopeko cha) (Sundar Joshi; Pramod Hamal). NL 106, JG 2:34

Hiule tachidieko cha (Mero dhupi salla) (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 2:72

Jamuniko chori (Mero gau jyamire) (Rajib; Raamesh). LL 84, JG 4:61

Jana hridayka jiuda shalik (shatrule hamro) (Manjul; Raamesh). JG 3:14

Kamila ra roti (Durga Lal Shrestha; Ram Krishna Duwal). JG 1: 45.

Kapila hu phul bhai (Durga Lal Shrestha; Raamesh). JG 4:60

Karyashil jindagi (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 1:17; LL 79.

Khana khana dilko khet (Jindagiko mausam rahadai) (L P Devkota; Raamesh). JG 3:11.

Khet hidyo kisan (Bishnu Prabhat; Raamesh). LL 63, JG 2:68.

Madal mero (Chandraman?). Transcr 87.

Majdurko bhannu (Rayan?). Transcr 87.

Man yo cancal (trad). Transcr 87

Mero desh (Pralhad Subedi) JG 3:3

Mero sano muralima (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 3: 10

Mero desh khojdai jada (Bam Devan; Raamesh). JG 1:14

Nacu nacu lagthyo hajur (Hajar jivan hajar maran) (L P Devkota; Raamesh) JG 4:38; NL 161

Nahepa narilai (Anil; Hemraj Rai). LL 95, JG 3:24
Najau angreji paltanma (*Garibko suskerama runcha*) (Gokul Joshi; Raamesh). JG 1:53
Naya sansarko janma (*Duniyaka shramikharu ek jut bhae*) (Bikram Subba; Hem Raj Rai) JG 2:19
Olangcunggola (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 1:30
Padhnu bhaneko ke ho (Durga Lal Shrestha; Ram Krishna Duwal) JG 4:54
Pani paryo hariyo pariyo (Rayan). Transcr 87.
Pyaro kavi (*Nepaliko sarangile*) (Manjul; Ram Krishna Duwal, Raamesh) JG 3:67
Ramailo skul (*Basuriko dhunsanga nacna*) (Ram Krishna Duwal). JG 4:59
Ramro naramro (*ka kha ga gha*) (Agyat; Raamesh). JG 4:62.
Rokne ko ho? (Gokul Joshi; Raamesh). JG 3:2; NL 83 (the text differs in these two sources).
Sangarsha ho jivan (Shyam Tamot, Govinda Bikal; Raamesh). JG 1:20; NL 64.
Sarangi bajaudai (Manjul; Shambhu Rai). JG 1: 41.
Sathi jivan badlincha (*Nepali bhai, nepali baini*) (Prem Bahadur Kisan; trad.) JG 4:89.
Shubhakamana (Rayan). Transcr 87.
Simle mathi ban (trad). Transcr 87.
Sunko bihana (*Sunko din ek udaucha re*) (L P Devkota; Raamesh). JG 2:1; NL 38
Tijko git (*Tijko belama sabai janchan maita*) (Narayan Parishram; trad.) JG 1: 29.
Timi kali gandaki hau (??). Transcr 87.
Timi ke ke hune ho? (*Hamro git sunira 'ne*) (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 1:66
Usko anurodh (*Sat kakshako sanubhaile*) (Manjul; Raamesh) JG 4:13
Yi agla hoca (Shyam Das?) Transcr 87
Yo jindagi kher najaos (*Adhi batassanga jujhera*) (Shyam Tamot; Raju Tuladhar) JG 2:52; NL 77