

30 November - 6 December 2001

Editorial: Just another Third World war CK Lal: A state in dire straits Gopal Siwakoti 'Chintan': In times like these 6 Puskar Bhusal: Peace pretence

From the Nepali press 15-16

Let's get this over with

et us be perfectly clear about this: the Maoists brought this on themselves. They willfully took the "people's war to the next phase to bring down this country's constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. While there may ave been a few other options, it is clear why the elected government decided declare a state of national emergency

By breaking the truce and the talks to attack the Royal Nepal Army last Friday, th Maoists knew exactly what they were getting into. They must have foreseen how the government would respond, the must have known it would plunge the country into civil war. And vet they went

It was either an exaggerated sense of their own strength and a complete misreading of regional geopolitics. Or, it indicates a deep-seated division in the leadership in which the hardliners now hav the upper hand, and the cadre have run

Either way, the country is now in it for the long haul, and the long-awaited (and feared) clash between insurgents and soldiers is a reality. All indications from the first week of army action are that after Dang, where the RNA was caught napping, the Maoist rankThis campaign must be brought to a swift and effective conclusion with the least amount of Nepali blood shed

and-file is now taking a heavy beating. they went for armed struggle, the Maoists' is As repeated often, the killing of Nepalis still in essence a political cause. A defanged ov Nepalis cannot be a victory for anyone. Maoist movement is the best bet that the doing these past years, and now the tables may turn. The Royal Nepal Army, which has held its fire for so long, now has the difficult job of bringing this campaign to a swift effective and conclusive end with the least amount of Nepali blood shed. The focus of this campaign must clearly be to

ideology in the parliamentary arena. Impatient for power, the Maoists took a violent short-cut rather than go the longdistance marathon of political organisation They decided on a re-run of the Shining Path in the Himalaya. During the past four disarm the rebels and get them to surrender months of truce, they also realised that rather than to eliminate them. The army there is a lot else that comes out of the can only neutralise the Maoists, it cannot barrel of a gun: criminalisation of a oncesolve the "Maoist problem". Even though valid struggle, erosion of discipline, lack of command and control, and a serious dange of internecine violence Emergencies are not pretty. In 1975-77

party will enter the political mainstream, as it ndian democracy suffered one as Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay used it to try should. There has always been space for their and rid the country of all its ills: the Naxalites were mowed down in West Bengal, trains ran on time, and there were forced vasectomies. It is important to understand that unlike the socialist ayaprakash Narayan and others who Indira had it in for, Sher Bahadur Deuba's emergency is directed solely at the Maoists. It must also be said that Indian democracy has still not recovered

20 pages

Rs 20

Here in Nepal civil society media human rights organisations and the intelligenstia must understand this if they are to be true monitors of the Nepali Emergency just begun: they can guard against its possible misuse. This is a test for our institutions: parliament. government, monarchy, iudiciary. bureaucracy, army and police. It will be the alertness of media and civil society that will ensure democracy emerges stronger from this test so it can at last deliver socio-economic development to

Times nepalgews.com

IIPS for PCs



CAS CAS Trading House Pvt. Lt.

1949 (2006 BS): Pushpalal Pradhan formed the Nepal Communist Party NCP). Ideology was closer to the then Soviet Union than Mao's China.

BINOD BHATTARAI

1971 (2028): Mohan Bikarm Singh (MBS) ned "Central Nucleus" patterned after the Chinese communists.

1974 (2031): MBS organises the Fourth Convention and formalised the NCP solit The Maoists are latter-day offshoots of

1983 (2040): Singh's NCP (Masal) split l ama. Hardliners solit again. Mohan. Baidya (who now goes by the nom de querre Kiran in the Maoist ranks) walked way with those believing in Mao-style revolution and formed the NCP (Mashal).

1989 (2046): Pushpa Kamal Dahal, Comrade Prachanda, took over as general secretary of the Mohan Baidya stream.

1990 (2047): NCP (Mashal), Nirmal Lama's faction and other smaller groups (Unity Centre). Masal, decided to boycott general elections, so Baburam Bhattarai oined Unity Centre which won nine seats the 1991 (2048) polls to become the third largest party in parliament. The United General Conference which convened the same year approved Prachanda's plan to launch a "people's war" and out-voted Nirmal Lama's "mass

1992 (2049): The Unity Centre fared badly in local government elections, and the party formally had a name change:

A blow-by-blow account of the emergence of the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) from its inception, through the splits in the communist movemen its brief honeymoon with parliamentary democracy, the start of the bloody "people's war" to the present state of national emergency. 1994: The NCP (Mashal) split again. The by Krishna Prasad Bhattarai won the

Election Commission did not recognise the faction led by Baburam Bhattarai and the Maoists, instead approving the United People's Front. The "optionless" Maoists boycotted the 1994 mid-term polls. Some years later the court ruled that Bhattarai's was the legitimate party, but it was too

February 13, 1996: The United People's Front of Baburam Bhattarai submitted a list of 40 demands to prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba that it wanted met by 17 February. But the Maoists went on the offensive four days before the deadline attacking the police post in Rukum. Rolna Gorkha and Sindhuli

November 1994-May 1999: Political disarray, coalition government with every political alliance of Right and Left, and an epidemic of corruption favoured the rapid spread of Maoist activities. The government tried to crack down the Maoist activities twice. "Operation Romeo" Manists Operation Kilo Sierra (1998/99) was a search-and-arrest campaign in the midwest. Police atrocities peaked. The Lokendra B Chand government set up the Dhami Commission to find ways to resolve last time anyone heard about the report.

majority in parliamentary elections.

Bhattarai appointed Deuba to find a way out of the Maoist crisis, and he held informal talks. Deb Gurung and Suresh Ale Magar, senior Maoist leaders, were

freed in the give-and-take.

March 2000: Girija Prasad Koirala ousts KP Bhattarai, accusing him of failing to maintain law and order. Koirala takes over, promising to even use the army to fight the Maoists. There is a debate about who controls the army: the prime minister or the king.

25 September 2000: In the biggest and most audacious attack of its kind, about 1,000 Maoists raid Dunai, headquarters of Doloo district in which 14 policemen army in hot pursuit, but the brass balked. resigned in protest four days later.

27 October 2000: In the first ever one-toone between government and Maoists, Deputy Prime Minister Ram Chandra Poudel met Manist central committee member. Rabindra Shrestha.

high-profile Maoists including Dinesh Sharma. The rebels denounced the insurgency only to retract their statement.

trated street riots sparked off by rumours

22 January 2001: Knirala not royal approval for ordinances to set up a paramilitary force and appoint regional administrators. The bill failed to be ratified by parliament.

February 25, 2001: After their conven-"Prachanda Path"-a combination Marxism-Leninism-Maoism advocating a dual strategy of simultaneous armed conflict and urban mass uprising. The 'mass uprising' was spearheaded by frontal organisations of student, women farmers and labour unions, which come with the "revolutionary" suffix.

March 6, 2001: Reading Prachanda Path to mean the Maoists were softening, government met a long-standing rebel pre-condition for dialogue and announced the whereabouts of those in custody.

2-7 April 2001: Maoists gunned down over 70 policemen in separate attacks in Pradeep Sumsher Rana admitted he could not fight Maoists anymore. Opposition UMI stepped up street protests against Koirala, while Deuba stepped up campaign to unseat him

JUST ANOTHER THIRD WORLD WAR

his is just what most of us felt should never have happened. A prolonged, messy conflict with uncertain outcome, more death and misery for long-suffering Nepalis. The birthplace of the Buddha, a land known for tolerance and harmony, is now going to be better known as just another Third World war. Yet another hot spot competing for the brief attention span of the world's media.

How could things have gone so wrong? It is futile looking too fa back to the roots of this conflict. After all, you can go as far back as you want. The 12 years of democratic decay, the Panchayat years that stifled dissent and let social pressures build up, a hundred years of Rana rule, or the socio-cultural substrate of anathy and belief in the

We know the roots of the problem. It is the prolonged neglect and indifference of the Kathmandu elite and political class to the needs and aspirations of the majority of Nepalis. This did not change with the People's Movement and the mandate our leaders got from a newly sovereign people. Maybe it was too much to expect democracy to start delivering development overnight, and maybe we underestimated the role of the anti-democratic forces to prove the failure of the new order. But it doesn't excuse the way most elected leaders showed disdain for the peoples' welfare, exhibited a singular lack of leadership, squabbled incessantly, squandered away their chance.

Adding fuel to the fire were the Manists with their twisted vision of

an outdated utopia. They cashed in on the people's silent rage at persistent injustice and inequality, the frustration that political freedom didn't translate into even the hope of economic wellbeing.

After faring hadly in the first post-1990 elections the comrades fication to wage an armed struggle even though the political space existed for them to make their mark. It still exists. On the ground armed struggle translated into wanton mayhem. (See chronology, p.1). This culture of killing off anyone who does not agree with you is so corrosive and irreversible, it will have a profound impact on the Nepali polity for decades to come, and long after the Maoists themselves have

What is surprising to many is the acceleration of the Maoist revolution, and its rapid spread in the past six years. You could say the straw was tinder dry, but it is also true that the rehels faced no real proper understanding of what was fuelling the rural revolution. All we had was institutional failure and a governance crisis.

Early attention to genuine grassroots development, and giving the self-novernance act real teeth (as Krishna Prasad Sankota advocates on p. 3) would have pulled the rug from under the feet of the Maoists. And the 1998 Kilo Sierra Two search and destroy offensive in the midwest played right into Magist hands by alienating the civilian population and fuelling the revolution. Just as Mao predicted (see p 17 for excerpts

After that, again following Mao's tenets, the rebels picked off police stations one by one, first in their base areas and later all over the country. When the slaughter of policeman started resembling a duck shoot, the government got ready to set up a paramilitary and pass a public security ordinance. This brought down the Koirala government in July, and the Maoists declared a truce and started

It may have been naïve of us to believe that the talks would get anywhere, but we hoped it would work out because the alternative was so horrific. The alternative was what we began to witness

It is clear now that the Maoists took another of the Great Helmsman's helpful hints to regroup, re-arm and train during periods of rest. And when they did resume fire last Friday, it was with decisive and vicious force, exposing the vulnerability of the government and the total failure of intelligence.

The emergency is not going to resolve the crisis. It depends on how well we demonstrate that we have learnt the lessons about the past lapses that got us to this stage, and begin to correct them. Like improving intelligence and undercover work, not alienating civilians. And, of course, restoring the peoples' confidence that there is a government that cares about its people, and not just about



A state in dire straits

country has once again beer sucked into the vortex of violence. The Maoists' withdrawal from negotiations was so sudden, and resumption of attacks on clearly identified targets so swift, that it is now clear they were just buying

They used the truce for open extortion, clandestine recruitment and training of fresh recruits. The vernment meanwhile carried on with no fall back options. It slumbered through Dasain and Tihar while the Maoists were busy filling retrospect, it appears that the government, civil society and, ves the media, were all taken for a ride by these cunning strategists.

However, the government's complacency may not be as disastro as it looks during this week of gloom and doom. By their stubbornness and by retreating from talks without that they are not dependable players in national politics.

the short term, the dramatic escalation of violence couldn't have

noment. In addition to social taken unaware. In Salleri, they unrest, the country is in the grips of were better prepared and inflicted heavy losses on the guerrillas. an economic crisis. Revenue collection is at an all time low, the But it is extremely unlikely that fate of the automatic renewal of the

rade treaty with India hangs in balance, tourism is in shambles, and that has ensued all other industries are apprehensive about what is going to happen next The only saving grace appears to be agriculture, where, ironically, we have another year of bumper rice harvests. This is sure to create dinning for the third year in a row But that's another story. Sure, Maoists staged a tactical

coup of sorts by hitting the government when it hurt the society ost. The country could have done without a messy war at this point. t is clear the Maoists don't care much about what happens to the economy, so focussed are they on the revolutionary goal. Even then it's baffling why the Maoists have take on the Royal Nepal Army head. on. Not expecting a frontal attack soldiers in Gorahi barracks wen

the insurgents can prevail over the security forces in the conflict

Despite all its shortcomings, our emocracy hasn't lost its legitimacy. Everyone may not respect the government, but very few aside from the Maoist cadre, question its authority. The interests of a very almost all of the middle-class_ar tied with the present system. When oush comes to shove, they will defend it. Now that the interest of the army and the political class has ome to coalesce, the Manists ma find that they shall have to deal with

nore than they had bargained for. On the face of it. Maoists' sadventures look nothing less than suicidal. The question that remains then: why did they decide to take choice Hardline Manist rank-and file have begun to feel threatened b the politicians among their ranks

So they killed two birds with one stone—challenged the government, and showed that their figure-head leaders do not call all the shots Bigoted they may be, but it's

nlikely that the Maoist leadership harbours any illusions about defeating the security forces of the government in the present geopolitical situation. No insurgence ever succeeds without the intervention of outside forces and recent events in Afghanistan will sympathisers of Maoists from openly apporting them. The Maoist cause es not have a significant support hase either inside the country or utside it. Or, is there more to he insurgency in Nepal than we

knowabout? Bewildered by the enormity of e crisis and immobilised by the complexity of its causes, it's empting to grab a theory of onspiracy and blame others for all our problems. A conspiracy theory may be a sign of intellectual laziness—it requires neither

response to violent rebellion carefully calibrated, and avoid "collateral nuances—but it offers solace in the anter-insurgency operation. face of challenges too complex to State of emergency is an extrem

comprehend. The problem with any

onenimes theory is that it's too

about a "foreign hand" you can do

On the other hand, rational

often fail to offer full explanation of

the causes, but what it does is give

have been useful to know the reason

that made Maoists back out of the

important now to effectively deal

with the crisis and free the country

Declaring a state of emergency to

rebellion is seldom a matter of choice

for any democratic government—it's a

compulsion created by circumstances

that seems to go out of control and

threaten the very integrity of the country. The choice then is not whether

negotiation process, it's more

from a prolonged period of

deal with the problem of armed

debilitating instability.

us the options to deal with the

analysis of socio-political events

step, and the only thing that justifies s the result that it is supposed to deliver. In military jargon, it's called SHARP (Search operations to identify rebel hideouts. Hot pursuit to nab terrorists, Annihilation of terror network Rehabilitation of victims of insurgency, and Propaganda to isolate urgents). The quicker an emerge runs its course and achieves its

The press the political parties and the army of urban intelligentsia besieged by the political correctness of opposing every move of government as a matter of faith will do well to remember that this time it's nothing less than the very future of the freedo they cherish so much that is at stake It's important that the fashionable 'lef and closet 'right'—more often than not, they are one and the same—hold their fire for the moment. To paraphrase Marx, if bourgeois democracy can hold its internal contradiction, nothing else can ever

"Where decentralisation has brought development, you don't see Maoists."



Is self-governance just a slogan, or is it really working?

ment for self-governance. The prerequisite is that the central government has to b positive about decentralisation. It isn't. At the grassroots we are convinced that self-governance cannot move forward without decentralisation. Kathmandu still wants to hold on to power and a lot of problems at the local level

How can things be changed

We think provisions have to be made in the Constitution first. We have a good Constitution, it lays out in the preamble that people should be allowed to participate in governing themselves through decentralisation. The Constitution should go a little beyond that and lay out the norms for facilitating that process. All political parties now realise that was an oversight while writing the Constitution, so if we can incorporate those provisions we can ensure that existing criteria for ocal governance cannot be changed by changing law and rules by the central government. Then v laws to implement decentralisation

But already have a decentralisation law Yes, there is a decentralisation act, but other law

Last year you organised a rally against forest regulations, did it get any result? After that the government called off the ban on local bodies selling timber from community forests, but they are still plotting to take over forests that communities have nurtured and managed.

Convince us that decentralisation is the only way to go. Without decentralisation, the people cannot

For example, which ones? The laws relating to community forests, water resources and mines are all contradictory. This has nade it very difficult for local bodies to function On forests, for instance, there are many pending law suits between the district forest offices and the DDCs, even at the Supreme Court. We want the older laws to be repealed, but this is not happening because of the lack of political will. Then there is the vexing question of administrative autonomy. Even civil servants in local

government institutions are sent by the central overnment. The secretary at the DDC or the Local Development Officer, for example, is hired by the Local Development Ministry, Decentralisation has been working in some places, mainly because the staff and elected officials are committed. But that is notalwaysthecase

change only 10-11 laws that affect

decentralisation not all. The laws that are

actually creating problems in decentralisation

So what is holding things up?

People talk about need for decentralisation only they are out of power. When they are in Kathmandu, wherethey can actually make it happen, they do nothing. It's all about power, and now to keep it. On one hand we don't have authority to fix the tay rates and on the other the

grants from the state are minimal, which is why cannot happen in the absence of decenocal units have to depend on others for

participate in self-governance. They cannot participate in decision-making. We say people are sovereign, but that power is no about only being able to vote once in five years and be ruled the way the rulers like The citizen's role is reduced to just carrying party flags. I believe it is more important to involve citizens in planning, decisionmaking, building and maintaining projects which are important for their lives. Unless there is genuine decentralisation, I don't see the VDC or DDC being empowered to carry out local development. And until they have full authority, people at the grassroots will not have a say in governance, and will not feel an ownership towards activities designed

to make their lives beter This may seem like I am spouting ianyon, but democracy, decentralisation eople's participation and sustainable development complement each other. Until about autonomy, without autonomy people won't get their powers, and will not projects. Speedy and sustainable development districts

How is grassroots development going

t is full of contradictions. School enrolmen

is low and we want to raise that through

formal education-this year we even ran an

school but there was not enough classroom space for them. The BPEP (Basic and

Primary Education Project) has money for

construction, but we don't get the money on

time. So we plan projects and they are not

delivery? It will just turn young people into

Now there are other players like NGOs

and how do you rate their performance

In a democracy, both people and people's organisations have to be strengthened. If

dictatorial tendencies, if neonle are too

balancing the two is critical. So it is not a

DDC or supporting an NGO. It is civil society as a whole that has to be strength-

ned, because NGOs come from there. I

believe that many of today's NGOs do not

represent civil society, and their activities

canable either, so canacity building, nower

and resources should come together. The

decentralising projects, but devolving power

monitoring systems also have to be

to local units. That is when strong and

improved. We shouldn't only be

are not sustainable. All DDCs are not

question of either/or between supporting the

isations are strong then there could be

and donor efforts to support them?

funded. What happens when the people's

expectations are raised and there is no

enrolment campaign. Many students came to

Your district is said to be among the ones where some decentralisation is working how is it with the other

the districts is good, as regards taking forward the process of decentralisation. Another good side of decentralisation is transparency Millions may leak out of the system in the centre, but people may never get to know of that But even small leakages in the villages and districts cannot be hidden because peopl know how much money is there and what it is to be spent on. This makes local officials much more accountable, and combining this with democracy means inefficient or comuni politicians who do not deliver development don't get re-elected. Pressure from the people increases the chances of correcting the

How is the Maoist insurgency affecting development in Kavre?

We have some problems, nothing major. It one VDC, the Maoists looted Rs 125,000 allocated to the Village Development Program The people opposed it, and similar acts have not been repeated. They are said to have formed some "people's governments" in some villages but the VDCs there are still working The situation here is not as bad as we hear about in other districts.

Could true decentralisation also be the antidote to the violence?

Where there is effective development, I don't think there can be Maoist supporters. The demand for regional and ethnic autonomy of the Manists can be met through local autonomy. We cannot yield to regional and ethnic autonomy at this stage because that would weaken national unity. I repeat: decentralisation as the only way to ensure that people feel they are a part of the political process and actually participating in making their own lives and the lives o their children better. When people are involved in determining their own development, there are fewer people who are dissatisfied by what is not happening.

whether it is really true. I would

be glad if you could clarify the

(unda Dixit's humour is becom

ventions" (#68) he has made

un of a school kid. It was the

resentation of the newspaper

oung boy. Then in "Bijuli ko

ar, tar, tar..." he has tried to

nake fun of popular folk songs

knowledge in other fields than

readers making fun of our folk

ing a farce. In "Mother of all

Pramod Gautam

LETTERS

\$70,000,000

corruption.

the army base in Dang should answer Binod Bhattarai's guery in "\$70.000.000" (#69) about why the army needs the new weapons. \$70 million may seem like a lot but it is nothing to save the country and it is innocent people from the Maoists. Of course, the purchasing process has to be nitored to avoid any

United States

How long is it going to take for the government to realise that the Maoists are not our enemy. poverty is. We might be able to fight the Manists and defeat

we want. We want victory over neglect and poverty. It might take decades, but at least we have to start working for it. The army does not ensure peace and security. If you ask me, you wil win my heart and mind if you open a good hospital in my ometown Urlabari in Morang and appoint few more doctors the district hospital in Biratnaga

> Sameer Khatiwada Indiana, USA

The government lost its opportu nity to solve the Maoist problem lack of negotiating skills and poor representation on both sides. The Maoists lost their opportunity to prove themselve



devoted to national development by just showing hastiness to attack the army in Dang. The peace talks failed, but the people's perception towards them was slowly changing in their favour. This is one of thei bloodiest suicidal mistakes. It will be their ruin.

Rajeeb L Satyal Baluwata Re: Binod Bhattarai's

"\$70,000,000". The police was ncapable of solving the Maoist crisis because they were neve rained to fight a guerrilla war. The army's role is not only to enemies, but also from the enemies within, who try to disrupt democracy. It is there fore high time to deploy the army to counter the insurgency and bring back economic confidence so that investments can start agair

Praiwal Joshu Loyola College, Madras

The latest escalation of Maoist violence can be attributed to the overnment's intrasigence during the recent rounds of gue. It failed to understand that negotiations involve give

and take. For Manists to drop their demands for a republic and the formation of an interim government was tantamount to shooting themselves in the foot. If our government was expecting the Maoists to surren der their arms without receiving even nominal concessions, ther it is living in a fool's paradise and jeopardising our collective

> Saradchandrika Sharma PK Campus, Kathmandu

TERRORISM AND THE STATE I find Daniel Lak's assertion US foreign policy is all right because the makers of such policy are accountable is natently ridiculous. I'd he ven interested to know who in the United States has ever been brought to account for the victims of US sponsored terrorism

Thumbs up to Daniel Lak for the splendid article about America's war on terrorism. He rightly nts out that American though not "angels", are "accountable" for their actions Nobody has a right to kill name of Allah or in the name of politics. If fanatics like the Taliban and so-called holy warriors could understand this the world will be a safer place.

Sajju Pennsvlvania, USA

that published the original NABOB OF NEGATIVISM article about his missile that The comments and observations was objectionable, not the of Kunda Dixit in "Under My Hat" are best left under his hat. I was reading his "Mother of all inventions" (#68) and I was of Nenal It is better for Divit to struck by how one person can use his wealth of English Many other Nepalis agree with translating folk songs. We don't me on this. I would like to want non-Nepali English request the readers of Divit's column to not get infected by his

defeating analysis of Nepal and

heard through the grapevine

that a Nepali eight-grader has

designed a missile. Is this a fact

or is this another leg-puller from

Kunda Dixit? As I am in the LIK I

am not in a position to know

Nepali society. Thank you. THE BEST Prachanda Prajanati

Ohio, USA

our paper and what it stands or. It is very reliable and for us people far away from home, a vonderful source for accurate information from Nenal Keen it up, you are simply the best

his is to convey my support to Rinod KC

Once a "foreign disease", AIDS



For urban Nepali youth, the lure of injectable drugs is increasing, and needles are hard to come by.

KUNDA DIXIT

or those still sceptical that AIDS
is a major crisis for Nepal. consider the following facts: There are nearly 40,000 Nepalis living with HIV or AIDS, six times the total number of

- hospital beds in the country 3,000 Nepalis will die of AIDS
- 14 Nepalis are infected with HIV every day, at this rate the

HERE AND THERE

- number of infected people will grow to 200,000 in the next 8 years AIDS will soon be the leading

There's more

There are 6,000 injecting drug isers in Kathmandu Valley alone, this number is expected to double in the next three years

More than half the drug users are HIV-positive

Nearly all injecting drug users are sexually active, and almost half

Three-quarters of all injecting drug users have multiple partners and 64 percent of them do not use

cause of death in the 15-49 age group. One in every six sex workers i

Kathmandu is positive Ten percent of male migrant orkers returning to Doti from Bombay are HIV-positive Are you thinking AIDS is a problem of

Nepali sex workers in India and njecting drug users, and that the eneral population is not vulnerable You're wrong. Ninety percent of Nepali women who are HIV-positi ve had only one sex partner in thei lifetime. They have been infected by their male partners

Male migrant workers are also eturning from Indian cities with the virus, it is not just Nepali women who work in brothels. Drug isers are not just street children any are from the upper middle

public health specialists, donor

class in Kathmandu. AIDS is not a "foreign disease" nd there is no such thing as a high risk group for HIV in Nepal nymore, AIDS is a Nepali epiden ınd all Nepalis are at high-risk. As AIDS spreads across the and, alarm bells are ringing amon

There is no such thing as a high-risk group for HIV in Nepal anymore. Everyone is at risk.

agencies and activists working with It is clear that at the present rate of growth, our health care system. already grossly inadequate, will just not be able to cope with this onslaught of new AIDS nationts Nepal is moving from what epidemiologists call a "concentra pidemic" to a "generalised" one, which means the disease is spreading from virulent pockets in rulnerable groups to the general population. And it is doing so exponentially, driven by the rapid spread of injecting drug use among rban youth and the expansion o Nepal's highway network, which is giving people from the hinterland

The urban areas of Pokhara, Kathmandu and Dharan are the mai areas where the deadly combination of rostitution and injecting drug use is ncubating the virus, which then spreads through Nepal's widening highway network to all parts of th xuntry. Along the highway, there ha been a dramatic increase in drive-by commercial sex. Brothels serviced b young village women and client and sex worker alike help spread the virus o the general popul

And this is why, although HIV is still entering Nepal from men and women working in Indian cities, it would be mistake to believe it can be checked by closing the border, or carrying out mandatory tests on rant workers. Says Michael Hahn, of UNAIDS in Kathmandu: "Even if you close the border omorrow, the epidemic is still ng to spread domestically."

A recent survey by the research

group New Era showed that half of all truckers along Nepal's highways and 15 percent of all migrant workers visit prostitutes. Awareness among them about condoms has increased from 33 percent in 1997 to 51 percent now, but more than half of all sex workers along the highways said their clients did not wear condoms. "There is a big gap between awareness and behavious savs Hahn, "Condoms have to be easily available and affordable. And then there are taboos, it is still very difficult for women to go to a shop

Poverty, peer pressure and frustration are the major push-factors here, forcing young women into prostitution along the highways, and driving middle and upper-middle class youth to drug abuse, and its dangerous concom tant, needle-sharing. A sample survey of Nepali teenagers by UNICEF in April showed that more than one in ten people surveyed said they had tried drugs, and of those between 5 percent in Kathmandu and 13 percent in Pokhara said they had injected Even Nepalis abroad are infected, one AIDS treatment charity in Sydney says among the foreigners it is treating with free anti-retrovirals, there are as many as 50 Nepalis.

and ask for a condom

Most drug users in Kathmandu do not use the more expensive "brown sugar" anymore, but a morphine-based compound called tidigesic, codeine, or benzodizapom, which are usually available over the counter in mos harmacies. The tidigesic comes is 2 ml ampoules, and drug users share is now a Nepali epidemic



Highways bring mobility, and a greater demand for drive-by sex.

it, as well as the needle to shoot it with, because one ampoule is too much for a single user. The curb or sale of new disposable hypodermic needles (which cost Rs 12) by pharmacists to suspected drug addicts, and the scaling-down activities in the past year by LALS, needle-exchange, has led to an increase in transmission among

HIV, and the danger of this spreading into the general popula-tion. In 1993, only two percent of injecting drug users in Kathmandu were HIV-positive. By 1999 it had

back of needle-exchange pro-

oared to 49 percent. Rajiv Kafle, former drug user who went public last year by disclosing he had HIV ys the proportion today could be anywhere up to 70 percent. (See also p. 7) He blames the scaling

offering safe needles—called "harm reduction"—is the only way to bring down the infection rate

The best way to stop the spread of HIV is to ensure that needles are not shared. Yet our mentality is still to try to use the olice method," says Kafle. Sharan Chhetri is another

person living with HIV who has gone public with his infection, and s with the help group, Prerana. Two years ago, Sharan married Asha, who also has HIV and the story of their lives got wide publicity in the Nepali media. Sharan told us: "The most impor tant thing is to generate awarenes in schools for 10-11 graders. We see so many of these boys sharing needles, and getting infected. It is tragic." He says the most effective trategy to arrest the spread of AIDS is to tell young people about drug abuse and safe behaviour Drug users are often treated lik

outcasts, due to the public's perception that they are devian criminals. Needle-exchange programmes ae not widely sup ported, because society thinks they encourage addiction. The police take the same view, even as many o them continue to be in cahoots with pushers on the streets. Advocates of needle-exchange

programmes say their first priority is make addicts kick the habit. But this is not easy, so as they work on it they also try to get them to switch to they still inject, addicts are persuaded to stop sharing needles. If they share needles, they are told how to disinfect needles before re-use.

Whatever the method of harn eduction, says Hahn, the main goa is to allow young people access to rotection from HIV. "You have to nake it acceptable that they rotect themselves," he adds. And ere, awareness through media alone is not enough, there has to b

education, peer pressure, family support and accessible counselling niecting drug users are young Deny them access to safer habits and you only hasten the jump of the virus from vulnerable groups to the general population. HIV/AIDS

is not simply about drug use or

migrant labour or commercial sex

After being in denial for many years, the government seems to have finally woken up to the crisis ahead. Nepal is still ahead of the curve, and with a strong awarenes nd prevention campaign like the one Thailand launched in the late-1980s, the epidemic could still be checked. On a visit to Nepal earlier this year, the architect of Thailand's dramatically successful anti AIDS campaign, Meechai Varavidya, advised: "This is a wa The more you do today, the less of a problem AIDS will be in the ture. The less you do today the

over the problem in future." Health Minister Sarad Singh Bhandari is lobbying to get the prim inister to chair a National AIDS Council which, when it is set up, will e the first in South Asia that is led by a head of government. A National AIDS Prevention Strategy is in the anvil and due to be released in April, the National Planning Commission is also addressing the problem, and planning to make HIV/AIDS a ross-cutting" issue in the 10th Plan.

There is reason for the overnment to panic. One just eeds to look at African countries like Botswana and Malawi (with nearly 40 percent of their pulation HIV-positive) to see which way we are headed if omething is not done urgently This is going to be not just a health crisis, but an economic emergency for the nation, with a arger and larger portion of the ductive labour force infected.

One who did Nepal proud

The 1960s through to the midacv. when a few but able oureaucrats, led by redoubtable ndividuals such as Yadu Nath Khanal and Padam Bahadur Khatr ture that has kept the country going until now. One of the best of worldly-wise civil servants was Ram Chandra Malhotra, who assed away at his home in eswor on the night of 22 ember at the age of 73.

Malhotra was born in Jamal on 8 October 1928 to the family of Gokul Chan ho came from Lahore at the invitation of the Rana rulers of the da to teach at the Durbar High School and later at the Tri Chandra College. The son, Ram Chandra, himself studied at Durbar High School, finishing in 1945. After that, Malhotra completed his IA and then his BA at Tri Chandra College, and went on to earn a master's

legree at Punjab University.

He started off in the civil service as deputy secretary in the finistry of Transport, and in the following two decades held senior positions in a number of ministries. He was also variously head of the National Trading Corporation and Royal Nepal Airlines, and ber-secretary of the National Planning Commission

Malhotra retired in 1974 and was immediately picked up by what was then ECAFE (now Escap), the UN office for Asia based in ricultural Development (IFAD), where he served as Director of nitoring and Evaluation, becoming one of the first Nepalis in senic

ostitions in the international bureaucracy.

In February 1988, in his last year at IFAD, Malhotra suffered a leart attack after which he had open-heart surgery in the United States. He returned home with his wife Rai to their Baneswor eights home in Kathmandu. In retirement, Malhotra headed the Arya aj society in Kathmandu. Besides his wife Raj, Malhotra leaves

pehind four daughters and a son, all settled abroad.

Prayag Dutt Tewari, a long-time friend and colleague of Malhotra Rome, said "Ram Chandraji was one of Nepal's best bureaucrats n the international arena also he did the country proud as a straigh alking, mild-mannered, extremely competent official. Those who know what he stood for will miss him dearly.

Short on passports

Those hoping to go abroad in the near future are in trouble if they don't have their assports yet. An official at Kathmandu's Central District Office confirmed that the distribution of passports here and in most parts of the country had been stopped due to the shortage at the oreign Ministry. The new stock of Nepali passports, which are printed in France, has been delayed for two months, supposedly because the Finance Ministry did not have the funds for it. They will take another two

months to arrive here. The Foreign Ministry distributed passports until two years ago, when they handed the job to the Central ration under the Home Ministry office to make the process quicker, Officials at the Foreign, Home and Finance Ministries are said to be blaming each other for the current situation.

Culture of preservation

Cultural conservationists have cause to celebrate. They hope the endorsement of the Kathmandu Declaration, adopted by the Ministry for Culture. Tourism and Civil Aviation in August at an international symposium on illicit traffic in cultural property, will allow existing mechanisms to function better. The 12-point declaration includes establishing a commission of representatives from the Departments of Archaeology and Customs, and the Nepal Police to coordinate protective actions, customs control and recovery of cultural propert establishing a comprehensive record of ownership of all monuments and cultural properties in Nepal, strengthening the Department of Archaeology, and updating and effectively implementing relevant legislation. "But the most essential issue is local ownership," says Dr Yoshiaki Kitamura, UNESCO representative to Nepal, "We can pour millions of dollars into protecting local heritage but if the community does not feel responsible that is useless". A good way to foster a sense of ownership, says Kitamura "would be to release a small part

Purposeful PAC

For once, someone appears to be taking the Public Accounts Committee seriously. After the PAC issued a notice in August threatening to make public a list of former ministers, bureaucrats, and parliamentarians using government vehicles they were not entitled to, 106 vehicles have been returned. That leaves 46 vehicles, including a couple of motorcycles, still at large, and PAC officials say if they are not brought back soon, they will have to take legal measures

The bastards of war



The lessons of war and everyday life are often simple and similar; equal rights. equal development. For women and men.

many of us, the case for women's equality in all walks of life has been self-evident for a long time. But it is a fight that must never cease and extolling the dividends of victory is one way to keep fighting, ceaselessly and in our own self interest as men.

Put quite simply, Afghanistan is in the state it is in today because of the vast ulf between the social position of men and women. And before we start nodding ur heads and muttering good riddance to the Taleban, let's be clear: the Islamis students militia that is on the verse of extinction is soundly traditional on the question of women. Burqas and confinement to home are widespread Afghan ustoms not an aberration by Taleban diktat

The exception was Kabul, where the television cameras showed a once relatively liberated female populace clapped into irons—doctors, lawyers, scientis and civil servants forced from their jobs into maximum prisons called home.

Afghan history is a litany of crimes against women, the belittling and enslavement of half the population. And it was always done in the name of a religion that actually guarantees a form of equality by insisting on education and careers for the female of the species. The Holy Prophet's first wife, Khadija, was a successful businesswoman who funded his religious activities with the revenues of her camel caravans. He fought long and hard against the practise of polygamy, and eventually settled for a compromise-a maximum of four wives but only if all could be treated with equal dignity and each approved of new marital unions. My learned friends tell that was supposed to be a way of guaranteeing that polygamy, widespread and horrific in pre-Islamic Arab culture, would eventually disappea

It is true that the Prophet himself married nine women in total. But the next seven after Khadija were poor widows, and by marrying them he put them under his protection and gave them a safe and sheltered existence. Before that, they egged on the street or were prostitutes—the fate of widows in all patriarchal

Nor does Islam justify the ill treatment of women who refuse to hide behind closed doors and veils. Covering the hair and wearing loose clothing is a way of deterring rape, again something all too hideously common at the Prophet's time. He fought against it. The inference by conservative clerics that somehow women were to blame if they showed an elbow or a forelock is a latter day perversion of what Mohammed intended, again so my liberal Muslim friends assure me. The grafting of Islam onto the fiercely patriarchal society of what is now Afghanistan saw the faith assaulted and diminished by tribal custom. There's no mention of the burqa in the Qur'an.

Afrikan leaders of the 18th and 19th centuries were a blood thirsty, cynical countable collection of robber barons. They married what they believed was their allotted total of four wives, then sought concubines by the dozen. Naturally, they fathered far too many children, and sons and bastards fought over the succession to power, squandering resources and ignoring the development of any institutions save armies and treasuries. It is not a far cry from Afohanistan toda It's as if the attempted reforms of King Amanullah in the 1920's, Zahir Shah in the 60's, and the Moscow-backed Afghan regimes of the 70's never existed.

Medieval robber barons, whether you call them Taleban or Northern Alliance. use the values of the countryside to accumulate wealth and power, and to ceaselessly fight against fellow warlords—today's bastard sons squabbling for a scrap from the king's table.

Nepal of course is not a Muslim state, and its laws forbid polygamy and guarantee rights to women. The reforms of King Mahendra in 1963 were a good start towards erasing patriarchy. The women's property bill should build on that. But there are still too many obstacles to the progress of women here.

Politicians and feudal landlords who marry more than one wife need to be taken to task for their behaviour is an offence to all. Denying property rights to women in any way is to deny them their humanity. Rane and sexual assault need to be addressed on a war footing. And so on. No, Nepal is not Afghanistan, but any place that condones inequality needs to change and quickly. Once men realis onomic benefits, they'll stand aside and let women, and society, flourish.

Equal rights equal development, it's that simple.



propared to delight your palate. Unwind in the lush-gene Nijayanta Carleen Restaurant or the Poolside and aswour the delectable cuitine at your own leisurely pace. You could also watch Chef Prem Baniya showcase his outstanding cooking abyle and pick up cultural yells from him.

Enjoy a complimentary glass of wine or beer for adults and soft drink for children. Prior reservations are recommended to avoid disappointment.

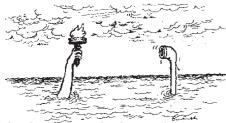
Rate: Rs. 650/- + tax per person.



Amarabati, Toukhel, Godavari, Tel: 560675, 560775, Fax: 977-1-560777. E-mail: godavari@godavari.wlink.com.np ~ Website: www.goda

In times like these





Perhaps the emergency was the only way out of the present impasse. But civil society should now ensure it is implemented without contravening national laws and international covenants.

year old Maoist "People's War" provided sufficient constitutional background for th government and the king to declare a tate of emergency. This situation was in a sense expected—we have been living in an environment of "trial and terror" in recent years, rathe than the "trial and error" a new democracy expects.

What this new development doe not mean, however, is that we will come upon an appropriate solution

here is no question that the six- immediately. Indeed, it is possible that • 13(1) relating to pre-censorship. we will see the conflict escalate in an even more barbaric manner.

Whatever the pros and cons, 17 (right to property), noped-for results and unvoiced fears, a 22 (right to privacy), and state of emergency is now in force. · 23 (right to constitutional remedia And with it, comes the challenge to except habeas corpus).

• 15 (preventive detention).

16 (right to information).

The government and the king

must now consider this: the UN International Covenant on Civil and

Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by

Nepal on 14 May, 1991, prohibits th

spension of rights relating to

justify it in legal and political terms. Briefly, an emergency allows for the suspension of the following articles: 12(2)(a), (b) and (d), (relating to freedom of speech and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly withou arms, and freedom of movement).

prohibits any act on the part of the overnment that violates the right to freedom from torture of any kind and the right to a fair and speedy trial in a regular court.

One can argue that Nepal has nothing to do with such international obligations in a situation of emergency. However, we made no such reservation or declaration while ratifying this internationally binding legal treaty. Further, this treaty has supreme status over oth domestic laws in Nepal, including the Constitution, under article of the 1991 Nepal Treaty Act. The governments of George W Bush and Tony Blair are recent examples for those who believe we should not care about such standards or obligations.

Another legal challenge is the sue of compliance with similarly binding obligations under article 3 common to all the Four Geneva Conventions on the Laws of Armes Conflict (1949), which Nepal ratified in 1964 without reserva tions. As a minimum, this article prohibits the act of violence to life and murder (including murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture) and the taking of hostages, outrages upon perso

dignity (such as humiliating and

hibits the passing of sentences and carrying out of executions vithout trial by a regular court that affords all judicial guaranees, and discusses the protection and care of the captured, the rounded and the sick

In addition, there are absolut feguards for the protection of the ilian population and places of vilian use such as hospitals, electric power plant, sources of drinking water etc, even in times of serious armed conflict and during a state of emergency. The same standards also apply to the legality and the validity of most of the provisions of the government's ng-awaited Terrorist and ruptive Activities (Prevention and Control) Ordinance that came into effect together with the declaration of emergency. It is nov the responsibility of the governmen ecurity forces as well as the Maoist

guerrillas to uphold these. As for the Maoists being called rorists, there is really no universal standard or definition always depends on the opinion of a ernment, political group (nonstate), criminal group or person(s). Terrorism can be classified as criminal terrorism, political terrorism, state terrorism and substate terrorism, among others.

justify taking action against them in violation of existing laws, international human rights standards and the principles of international nitarian law (IHI.), or the Geneva Conventions

30 NOVEMBER - 6 DECEMBER 2001 NEPALI TIMES

Times are grave for the country and the people, and we must act together to find a permanent solution to the conflict, and a return to normalcy from the stat of emergency. But until this happens, it is the primary duty of ll human rights groups, the media and citizens to closely monitor the situation and establish the accountability of violators of the legal and human rights provisions nd the international humanita ian laws principles. And one can presume that the violations

sual work of human rights NGOs And for the media it is a far cry from the usual churning out of rhetoric to please the political elite or ensure monetary gain. For even as we are alert, we must be sure that we are not capitalising on the suffering of others. ♦

All this is different from the

('Chintan' is a lecturer at the Nepal Law Campus, and practices human rights law.)

SOMEWHERE IN NEPAL

Peace pretence

Maoist semantics has clearly been misunderstood.

fter a drawn-out debate heavily drafted by their true representatives skewed in favour of why Nepalis didn't need a constitutional assembly, the Manists last week began presenting their case in immediately followed by a deadly trail of devastation.

among men, deriving their just powers om the consent of the governedwhenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness

This is not a legalistic translation of Maoist ideologue Dr Baburam Bhattarai's latest exegesis on why Nepalis need a genuine constitution

Next Milennium

sing Stock and

g Forward

their care and love

that puts you at risk.

It's a quote from the Declaration of Independence the Americans adopted in 1776. At that time Nepal had just emerged as a unified country, and od on the threshold of its first wa with Tiber

If the rhetoric of Nepali Maoists onates with the conviction of the Continental Congress, it is because those white men assembled in Philadelphia were also revolutionarie who inspired the creation of the world's first written constituti unless you count Cromwell's 1653 nstrument of Government as one.

With almost every Nepali political sarty working within the multiparty stem evidently in favour of amending the Constitution of the Kingdon of Nepal 1990, it was believed the Maoists (or at least the top leadership would inevitably be drawn into the political mainstream once they were

Who will look after us...

an elected government. But Comrade Prachanda's ombshell last week convulsed a

nation that was still digesting Dr hattarai's argument in a newspape article that morning why Nepalis couldn't expect to move ahead as long s the "we" in the constitution's preamble did not refer to the people less than 50 hours, it became clear what the Maoists actually meant when they decided to withhold their demand n declaring Nepal a republic during the third round of peace talks. Government negotiators simply failed o grasp the substance of Maoist emantics, and were as startled as yone else by the scale of the violence

he rebels unleashed to shatter the our-month-old truce. The roots of the current crisis lie in the monumental misjudgement the agents of the 1990 change made by

people's movement as the inspiration for the constitution. This had the virulent effect of sanctioning violence as the catalyst for political change. There pointed interim cabinet exercisin the legislative powers of a dissolved unicameral partyless chamber endorse a text prepared by a panel of judge/ oliticians/lawyers in which one of the king's nominees was too ill to participate. The first session of the diament elected in 1991 squandered major opportunity to plug the loophole by failing to endorse the nev

Over the years, leaders of the striya Prajatantra Party, the Nepal Sadbbayana Party and other political groups could afford to wear that don't ne-us smirk every time the onstitution was castigated because the veren't on the drafting panel. Many of those who make up today's Maoist leadership feel they have a greater claim because they had already rejected it in 1990. (Don't even try contemplat ing a Maoist-RPP-Sadbhavana coalition government under these circumstances.) As a result, the

by RAJIV KAFLE

call and write to me. I tell them what they need to do, about the retroviral

treatment available. They now know more about the disease, the ways in which a

person can get infected, what to do to safeguard yourself, and the importance of

giving infected people care and support.

Nepal is facing an enormous challenge. Every day 14 people are setting

organisations working in prevention. Millions of dollars are being put into

fferent projects. Seminars, international conferences take place every now and

situation is getting worse. This does not make much difference to those who an

not infected, since they have many years to come to make things better, but for

every day counts. We don't want to just wait to die. I have been one of the lucky HIV-positive people to work on advocacy and

reness both within Nepal and outside. I have a big responsibility on my

shoulders and have been able to contribute to an extent. The imny is that my

own country is one of the hardest hit and I am powerless since there are not

many who are willing to listen to me. Without care and support for people

living with HIV, no matter how much money or effort is put in, the problem

will get worse. At present, very few organisations are providing care to infected

people. Around 100 Nepalis with HIV are being provided direct support. What, I wonder, are the other 39,900 Nepalis going through?

because home-based care is not suitable for Nepal. There are many young

men with HIV right here in Kathmandu who have nowhere to go. There is

also an urgent need to find injecting drug users access to life-saving tools

such as clean needles and methadone. Our government must recognise that

Some of the most important and immediate measures that the governmen

and concerned individuals and organisations should take are very basic—such as

support programs to those who have no place to on, laws to protect the rights of

ted people, empowerment and skill development programs, projects to

As people with HIV and AIDS, we do not want sympathy, we do not wan

ve to be treatment in the most technologically advanced environment with the

latest anti-retrovirals. It could be the most basic of needs a home to live and die

rehabilitate them in the community. If they cannot do that, they should stop

tokenism and we certainly don't want prejudice. All across the region, we see

people dying every day. Care for people living with HIV and AIDS may not

(Rajiv Kafle is a board member representing the Asia-Pacific in

the Netherlands-based Global Network of People Living with

using our misfortune for their own selfish ends.

providing access to proper medical services, access to medication, care and

There is an urgent need to set up hospices for care of it

infected by the virus. There are many government and non-government

then followed by cocktail receptions. A lot of reports are written, but the

this recapitulation of contemporar political history may have been reduced to little more than academi "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and

transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evil are sufferable, than to right themselve by abolishing the forms to which the are accustomed," the American olutionaries said. The Maoist leadership would probably tell you that their favourite sentence in the Jeffersonian affirmation is the one that comes next: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces: design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is [the people's] right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security

inclusive alternative to multiparty democracy will be discussed more energetically in the days ahead. The ate over whether the country requires a constitutional assembly wil refuse to go away with greater лиbbomness. Exercising my persona share of popular sovereignty, I submit my case against such an assembly: why waste time and money on electing the same sample of people who have barel shown a capacity to follow the constitution let alone deaft a new one Since a panel of experts with perceptible political allegiances would be doing the writing anyway, why force ourselves into the quagmire of having to deaft a new constitution every tim there is a demonstrable shift in the

Whether Nepalis have reached th

oint where they should be killing

each other in the quest for a more

balance of power? After the latest carnage, the itical discourse will be defined by an additional element: the profound sense of betraval felt by those who wanted to give the peace process a chance and thought they had almost



Nepali Congress, the UML and all the other parties were left voicing platitudes on the irrelevance of onstitutional assembly while the Maoists were providing specifics on how this constitution blocked their vision for Nepal.

The key argument with which the readbadic hoped to score over the Maobadis in the court of public poinion—that a constitutional sembly might help the monarchy ge back the powers it lost in 1990ntradicted from the outset by their assertion the palace had witnessed an osion of authority and influence after the tragedy of 1 June, 2001. Amid the

Koshi Tappu Wildlife Camp 24 Bedded Safari Tented Camp Special Winter Offer

rtunity to discover Koshi Tappu Wildlife Camp during this ster. An excellent alternative to Chitwan and Bardia for nature and wildlife lovers. Unique possibility to experience and view imost 400 species of birdille and some of the most rare and indangered wild games on the most peaceful and relaxing setting in eastern Nepal.

Give yourself and your family a stimulating & meaningful break

Your visit will help to protect the habitat of all kinds of flora & una, as the camp is deeply involved in conservation 6 preservation gether with local villagers. The local children can learn more orn you about the importance of nature in their life, please do visit the schools which are supported by the Camp and share knowledge with the teachers and children.

The camp with 12 deluxe safari tents with rustic but mod nenities including bot and cold shower, fully stocked bar and staurant that serves both Negali and Continental cuising escorter by trained Naturalist will ensure your visit will be memorable one

Special offer to introduce you 'Koshi Tappu Wildlife Reserve



proceste negal pvi. Ltd.

Kamaladi, Kathmandu Voice: 223488/ 248942, Fax: 240992

The last 12 months

12 April 2001: Ordinances for setting up paramilitary and regional adminis trators re-promulgated. Maoists attacks on police bases continue.

1 June 2001: Royal massacre. Maoists say they had a "working understandng" with King Birendra, the massacre was masterminded by India. They infiltrate street protests following massacre. Government declares curfew

4 June 2001: Government issues the Public Security Regulations amidst widespread protest from the Left and civil society.

15 June 2001: Maoist women declare Chitwan a dry zone, student wing steps up attacks on private schools.

29 June 2001: Baburam Bhattarai says in a newspaper article that the Republic of Nepal was born after the royal massacre.

6-13 July 2001: Manists attack notice nosts in Lamiung Nuwakot Ramechhap, Gulmi, Dailekh and Holeri. They abduct 69 police from Holeri Army heliconters intercent Manists, there is a shootout, but the army is called back. Maoists also form a regional alliance called the Confederation of Communist and Manist Parties of South Asia (CCOMPOSA)

22 July 2001: Deuba replaces Koirala on 19 July. The next night. Maoists attack police post in Bajura killing 17. Deuba strikes a truce with Maoists on 23. July and says talks will henir

14 August 2001: Top communist leaders including Madhay Nepal of the

UML and Bamdey Gautam of M-L speak to Siliguri India for an audience with Prachanda. The two, and other communist leaders, disagree with the Maoist plan for a joint struggle for a republic.

30 August, 2001: Round I of peace talks were held in Godavari, Three oists and five government negotiators agreed to keep on talking.

14-15 Santambar 2001: Pound II Maniete tabled their wieh-liet, had three core political demands: an interim government, a constituent assembly, a new constitution and the institutionalisation of a republic.

13 November 2001: Round III of peace talks. Government scraps Public Security Regulation and frees 68 prisoners before talks. Maoists give up demand for a republic but stick to constituent assembly, all political parties

21 November 2001: Maoist leader Prachanda sees no point in keeping on talking. Maoists set up a 37-member Joint Revolutionary People's Council headed by Baburam Bhattarai

23 November 2001: Maoists launch attacks in Surkhet, Dang, Syangja and other parts of the country, for the first time attacking the Royal Nepal Army, killing 14 soldiers in the Gorahi base 23 policemen are also killed. Manistr loot Rs 225 million from banks over the week

25 November 2001: Maoists attack army again at Salleri. They kill 27 policemen, a chief district officer and four soldiers. But this time, Maoist casualties are heavy—over 60 said to be killed, although only 15 bodies are recovered

26 November 2001: King Gyanendra declares a National State of Emergency. Government declares Maoists terrorists, and deploys the Royal Nepal Army to fight the insurgency.

Workshop on KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

Land, Labor, Capital & Technology can only take your husiness up to a point. After that WHAT? To do better, your company needs to manage knowledge

Nepal German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in cooperation with GTZ/PSPP has invited Mr Mohan Dhamotharan & Mr Vivek Rana welrespected figures in the field of Knowledge Management to give a presentation

- Knowledge Creation
- Knowledge Acquisition Knowledge Distribution
- Exploiting intellectual capital for breakthrough results

5th December 2001 (Wednesday) For details and resostration contact Venue: Hotel Yak & Yeti, Durbar Marg NGCCI Secretariat Time: 2 Pm onwards

NPrs. 1000/- (per participant) Phone: 226101, 226099, Lax. 244415 E-Mail: NGCCI'a wlink.com np (Workshop will be followed by Hi tea)



"Best Resort in the best location at Royal Bardia National Park" · Seminar hall with 65 Pax capacity

HIV/AIDS GNP+)



It is not who you are, but what you do

ave been living with HIV for the last five years. I went public with this

exactly one year ago, on 1 December 2000, World AIDS Day. It was a difficult decision, but I decided that by coming out in the open I could help

spread the message about this disease much more effectively, and also prove that infected people are not sick people on the verge of death.

Today, I have a viral load of 2,600 and a 300 CD4 cell count. This is no

don't get much sleep usually, because my advocacy work requires me to be on the

uet a lot, and since I don't have money for an email connection, a friendly

Since I came out. I have been able to help friends, and even people I didn't

know, with advice and counselling. I went to Accham to train volunteers to spread awareness about HIV. Because there are so many people who have returned from

India who are positive, AIDS is popularly called a "Bombay disease". And here in

In my experience, the impression that people with HIV are discriminated

against by the Nepali public is exaggerated. Personally, I have found nothing but

A few days after I got the results of my blood test in 1998, I got accepted:

Now that I have appeared on radio, television and in the media, there are a lot

sympathy from relatives, friends and even total strangers here and abroad, with

Kathmandu I have seen so many children of well-off parents who are getting

infected. It is not who you are, but what you do that puts you at risk.

study in Denmark. While there, they made a television film about me

adjusted to my life as a Nepali person with HIV in a co-ed school

under a ribbon, which will soon be shown on Danish TV-it shows how I

too bad, but it does get worse when I am stressed and don't get any sleep. But I

cybercafé allows me to get on the Internet there after ten at night.

We specialize in

. Innale Walk . Wildlife Rafting · Bird Watching · Culture Dance

• Flenhant Safari • Dolphin Tour

"We offer promotional rate"

Nepal Wildlife Resort: Thakurdwara-6, Royal Bardia National Park.
Kathmandu Office: Thamel, Kathmandu, Nepal G.P.O. 1044, Fax: 419237, Tel: 258492 E-mail: mwr@mox.com.r.
Japan Office: Tokyo to Somida Ku 3-40-6 Kyoqijima. Japan E-mail: tourist@syd.odn.ne.jp Tel/Fax: 03-52473585



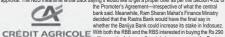
Indosuez shares

Nepal Indosuez Bank's efforts to offload its shares and pull out of Nepal have hit another snag-petitions by board members and shareholders for anti corruption investigations, which at best would delay the process and weaken the bank, its clients and shareholders further. Two netitions have been made by Rastriya Beema Sansthan shareholders (including a director) at parliament's Public Accounts Committee and the Comm



for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA). Here's a chronology of what has happened so fa Indosuez (owned by Credit Agricole Indosuez, France) has been trying to divest and leave Nepal since July. (See "The scramble for Indosuez," #56) At that time, it wrote to the central bank seeking clarification on if it could sell its holdings to its promoter partners, the Rastriva Baniiva Bank (RBB) and the Rastriva Beema Sansthan (RBS). Indosuez's concern was that both these have held 15 percent shares each since 1985, against a 1993 central bank directive limiting individual or institutional ownership of banks to 10 percent. The public owns 20 percent of Indosuez. The Nepal Rastra Bank wrote back saying the promoters could not

In August, Indosuez wrote to the RBB and the RBS as per the Promoter's Agreement and notified them about the NRB opinion. The Banijya Bank wrote back saying it would like to buy, but would need governmen approval. The NBS meantime wrote back saying it would like to get a proper offer as per the Section 4.02 of



million worth of shares offered. Indosuez wrote to the Rastra Bank again asking if it could go ahead with the deal in early November. The central bank said "no", following which Indosuez made an offer to a private group, which was followed by the anti-corruption petitions.

BPC bids

The government has extended the deadline for submission of bids for the Butwal Power Company up to 5 December. The bids should have come in by 20 November but did not. Three previous attempts to privatise the company have been bungled over one technicality or another—on 20 August the government rejected the only qualifying bid in the third round saving the price offered was lesser than what it had expected—in dollar terms. (See "BPC's privatisation saga," #57, and "BPC on the block again," #60) The government has not gone through such a major privatisation process since the Nepal Tea Development Corporation (NTDC) was handed over to the private sector last year. Even that handover has not been completed yet.

Deloitte Touche gets RBB

The Banking Reform Project inched a step forward with the selection of Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu as the The Banking Retorm (project inched a strips provided with in 8 selection of Leletothe incurse I commissu as time management (project inched) and turning around the Rastriya Banki, Tohmatsu representatives have been invited over for expositations. There has also been some progress in the bid evaluation of companies wanting to manage Nepal Bank I mitted, with the central bank now in the process of evaluating the financial wanting to manage Nepal Bank I mitted, with the central bank now in the process of evaluating the financial projects of the central project inched in the selection of the central project of the project of the central project of the centr bids of the four qualifying companies. (See "Bailing out the banks," #62)

Look north



The newest agreement in tourism cannot remain just a paper tiger.

especially bleak moments as if it is

becoming a bit of a national pastime

tea, just as a wonderful opportunity

Past experience, which ye olde

columnist has in abundance, suggests we might not make the most of such an

big hue and cry the number of weekly

airline seats was increased between

remained stagnant Private operators

flag carriers have not increased their

airline agreements with many countries

and theoretically we have over 60,000

seats a week. But what part of this do we

Perhaps, the Nepal Tourism Board and

other travel associations should start

lands in our lans.

he Beed is not in a mood for sarcasm and sly beginnings this week. So here goes. It is widely believed that the reement signed between Nepal and Thina this week will end our over eliance on visitors from south of the border. That relation is, of course, important, but affected by such a mut of some hizame and some not oizarre factors, that it is wise to finally have a back-up. China has

listed Nepal as an outbound lestination for its citizens. This means Nepal will get more Chinese ourists all right, but it also allows Nepal to develop into a transit lestination for tourists from third ountries visiting China. nent was no

doubt greeted with semi-hysterical whoops of joy and relief by the demoralised Nepali tourism industry. Surely, the whisper goes onders will now happen.

China is a large emerging market that from the 12 million now this number will increase to 50 million in 2010, and as much as 100 million in 2020. Over the years, many venerable experts predict, China will surpass all untries, emerging as the largest source of outbound tourists. The purchasing power of many Chinese is Potentially, China could spend billions of dollars on tourism And yes, there is great potential

for Nepal but this Beed, gimlet-eyed as planning right away how they will take always, sees room for bungling.

Indeed, it sometimes seems to one in advantage of this new arrangement We need to examine what the

Chinese tourists really want and what can Nepal offer compared with other to get up, vawning, for another cup of mountains, religious pilgrimage is passé, and as for adventure sports. there are plenty of options even in China. So why would they come to Nepal? A young bourgeoisie group, agreement. For instance, in 1996, after a for the kind of exoticism that stems from a cosmopolitan lifestyle that they Nepal and India, but since then this has cannot enjoy in China The United States is still a dream destination, and have opted out of India and the national with its ever-effective branding, no doubt the west will continue to be a frequency. Similarly, Nepal has bilateral premium option. Why would a young Chinese who can fly to Australia as essily come to Nepal? We need to work and work hard to provide a really use? The China agreement should not die down with the initial euphoria. wonder product

Once again, we come to the issu of understanding the market and providing quality service. The Beed will repeat his rhetoric: open up the travel trade to foreign operators, if we continue to protect Nepal's travel industry, we will lose out. It is better to have a handful of travel companie of international repute providing nuality services than hundreds o local ones that exist to perish swifth The China Agreement cannot b allowed to remain a paper tiger. ♦

Readers can post their views a arthabeed@vahoo.com



Seattle and other places like it last week kicked off an annual anti-consumerism campaign to deal with "affluenza".

The buyological urge

shoppers, but there were sign

that six years after it began, the

event was starting to take on a

there are these spontaneous

outhursts of street theatre, of

mall invasions, of pranks and

shenanigans of all kinds," said

Lasn. "And this is nothing we're

ttered reports of Buy Nothing

pushing heavily; it's happening

ontaneously." There were

Day posters, downloadable from

the Media Foundation's website,

cropping up on college campuses

und the US, and of related

ingalongs, in a dozen spots, Lasn

In Vermont, Chapin Spencer

part-time carpenter, said he had

ot heard of Buy Nothing Day

until he recently saw a public

affluenza," the spiritual and

American-style over-consump-

tion. Spencer and a college

nvironmental ills brought on by

professor friend cobbled together

elevision program about

dozen other countries put on

vents. from seminars to

similar events, he said.

life of its own. "All I know is that

ot was rejected by major net-Thanksgiving weekend in the United States. Tradiworks "We don't want to take any tionally one of the biggest weekadvertising that's inimical to our ends for retailers. Kalle Lasn and his Adbusters group have for the last Richard Gitter, vice president of five years been calling the day after advertising standards at General the festival Buy Nothing Day. The message? Well, buy nothing. That, at Electric's CBS, in a letter rejectin least, is what the former advertising the commercial, went as far as to say that Buy Nothing Day is "in executive turned anticonsumerism This year, Buy Nothing Day licy in the United States." Not

do so. "At least the networks make it clear who butters their bread," said Laurence Tribe, a Harvard Law School professor, But he added: "The networks seem to have a short-sighted lack of wit."

nmercialism is Adbusters and Lasn's way of reaching the masses. In 1989, Lasn founded the Media Foundation in Vancouver, British Columbia. The group—which he

had a somewhat different tw The Adbusters were saying "Buy efused Lasn's repeated requests to Nothing—For Peace". The new run his 30-second spot encouraging slogan was a response, the group iewers to participate in "TV Turnoff Week. aid, to "George W and Tony Blair saying shopping is the best way to protect First World freedoms and "I came from Estonia where yo were not allowed to speak up

support the new war. Adbusters, or "culture iammers" as they call themselves plan to take on Christmas shopping one day at a time, beginning with malls in the US and Canada. The biggest Buy-Nothing celebration was in Seattle, where organisers cu up their credit-cards outside a

BUY NOTHING DAY

major downtown mall. But what perhaps generated more debate than any of these measures was the Adbusters TV commercial. This year it features an animated pig superimposed on a map of North America that smacks its lips and says: "The average North American consumes fi times more than a Mexican, 10 times more than a Chinese person and 30 times more than a person from India... Give it a rest. 24

November is Buy Nothing Day.

How to decide

How many do I already have?

How much will I use it?

How long will it last?

Can I do without it?

Will I be able to repair it?

Do I need it?

our public airways." But some viewers did get to see the commercial. For the third year in a row, CNN Headline News agreed to air it, with Lasn paying \$10,000 for a slot-far lower than standard network ad rates. "We should make our commercial space available to debate issues of our day," said Steven Haworth, a spokesman for Time Warner, which

to the west in advance of the

the sponsor. There's something

owns CNN. That other networks refuse to broadcast the swinish swipe doesn't bother most constitutional-law

The Buy Nothing Day campaign in Seattle distributed this checklist to

let shoppers evaluate things they were thinking of buying.

Could I borrow it from a friend or family member?

How will I dispose of it when I'm done using it?

Am I able to clean, lubricate and/or maintain it myself?

Have I researched it to get the best quality for the best price?

Is there anything that I already own that I could substitute for it?

Are the resources that went into it renewable or nonren

Is it made or recycled materials, and is it recyclable?

year and has five full-time mplovees—produces alternativ advertising for student and nvironmental groups, including an anti-automobile commercial for Greenpeace. The foundation dso publishes a quarterly maga-55-year-old Lasn, whose family fled ine called Adbusters that sells for \$5,75 a copy and, according to Russian takeover in 1944. "Here I Lasn, has 40,000 subscribers. The was in North America, and suddenly I realised you can't speak up against effect on popular culture and includes lampoons of famous ads One parody of Camel cigarettes called "Ioe Chemo": a jab at Calvin Klein's Obsession cam paign shows a slender model vomiting: and a "Big Mac Attack ad displays a man on an operating table, hooked up to a heart nonitor aglow with the Mc

Donald's Golden Arches.

Buy Nothing Day action was rgely limited to utopia-tinted laces like Vermont and Seattle and the handfuls of quixotic counterpropagandists were utnumbered nationwide perhap.



SHOPPING MAKES YOU A BETTER PERSON

BUY ROTHING DRY " OF SAFET

UNITED KINGDOM

a group and manned table tside the famous Burlington Vermont, malls passing out "gift of time" certificates that offered the recipient a block of the giver's time instead of a material gift "The message is positive, not confrontational," Spencer said We're not telling people we shouldn't buy what we need, but we need to look at what we're buying and what the effect of that is personally, socially and ronmentally."

Among passers-by who stopped to take in the Buy Nothing tableaux in Burlington and Seattle, virtually none had ever heard of the holiday in-the-making. While a few grumbled, most caught its gist quickly and seemed to agree. "Ads just try to get you on a guilt trip to come in and start running up your credit card,' said Paul Byron Crane, an envi mental planner in Seattle

Buy Nothing Day was a guiltinducer as well, and that retailer provide the economy millions of income. "It doesn't make an sense." said Allen Parker, a dishwasher in Burlington. "People should be able to buy whatever they want without being made to feel guilty about it. To do for

others, you have to spend money

Still, many would like to spend less. The Center for a New American Dream, a Vermont group that advocates "sustainable consumption," recently commi sioned a survey that found that most Americans would welcome ower spending and less emphasis on gifts during the holidays. The survey, conducted last month, found that 15 percent of its 800 their 1996 holiday bills.

Should the Maoists be required to disarm before further talks?

Definitely they should be disarmed before further talks. If they really want to solve the problem peacefully why do they need arms and ammunition

The only people still to be trusted in Nepal are the Manists. They must remain strong. It is only because of their arms that the government tried to negotiate with them. When they put out their 40-point demands at the start of their war, the government tried to crush them. Many Maoists were killed before they attacked police. People are fed up of constitutional parties. If the Maoist leaders are genuine, they must fight and turn this country into a republic. Of course, they shouldn't be dictators. They must be able to tolerate different ideas, allow them to flourish with Mao's doctrine

Deshbhakta Nepali

Our Australian organisation has always promoted Nepal as a country of vever seem to be changing rapidly, and if this sens violence continues it will have devastating consequences for all Nepalis. We urge the Maoists to work within the system to change Nepal's govern ment and constitution. There is a framework in place that, with the support of a majority, can bring about the changes the Maoist are asking for

A concerned Australian Maoists are against the present so-called leaders who amass wealth at the peoples' expense. The solution is to stop these corrupt leaders. The Maoist objective is not to create trouble but to eliminate corruption. Talking with such corrunt leaders is worthless

Anonymous

In light of the recent attacks by Maoists, your poll question is beginning to sound like a cruel joke. In the past, it was only ill-equipped policemen and poor villagers who could not afford to bribe the "brave" Maoist revolutionar ies who were killed. Now that some of our "brave" Royal Nepal Army soldiers have also been killed, is the RNA brass still going to insist that it does not want to get involved? Remember the massacre in Dunai, when the RNA stood by as the policemen were butchered? The millions of gods residing in the high Himalaya have truly foresaken this land.

The Manists are growing due to social injustice and suppression. Let us not the army forget how we are treating fellow countrymen. The Maoists are an expression of the social frustration. It is sad it came out in this way. The police

aren't saints either, their "Flush Out" operation made the Maoists tougher Killings will not solve any problems. Negalis should open their eyes. support only those who are fair and honest. Students, wake up, and unite

Meen Guruna Aren't we victims of our own actions? The majority is lazy, cynical, jealous of others' progress, always at each other's throats. Every one is racing to become rich overnight and the same people blame the government for being corrupt. And who is most worried and knowledgeable about Nepal' The diaspora. The people who didn't think Nepal was worth living in and left the country for greener pastures. Get real. There is a social problem in

Nepal. Whether the Maoists drop their guns or not, whether the govern ment is decent or not, as long as the bulk of Nepalis are what they are. wise only after the event, Nepal will not see a better day. Dochhhakta

What is happening reflects the people's anger, suppressed grievances, dissatisfaction and frustration. No party met their expectations. If the government brings out sophisticated weapons in the false belief that will flush the Maoists out, they are inviting the current situation of Afghani-

Hum Guruna

No one is stupid enough to lay down weapons before coming to the negotiating table. No one will engage in peace talks with hands tied behind their back. It is natural that we listen to those who have power otherwise we could have resolved the Maoist issue six years. But without disarming them there cannot be a true peace. So we should find a midway that can lead to a peaceful outcome without any kind of violence

One of the main reasons the young generation is following these bands of terrorists is that they have been let down by their leaders. Being poor and vulnerable, living in rural areas, they cannot disagree with these terrorists and subsequently are being forced to fight by their cowardly leaders.

Not a question of disarming, they need to be finished as soon as possible There was no doubt these guys were terrorists. But to avoid bloodshed and widespread damage to the nation the government took the right step giving peace a chance through talks. Now we must realise that these terrorists were using the talks as an opportunity to strengthen their military position and they have shown their terrorist nature. Police brothers, you have suffered a lot in fighting these terrorists and while you were dying political parties claimed Maoists were a "political problem". They are

Bhurtel There is no chance of peace dialogue with Maoists. They are waiting for

G Gurung This question is irrelevant in the present context. Talks should be dropped and the Maoists must be silenced by searching them out. They invited a bloodbath, they will get it. Peace was given a chance and they shunned it. It was Deuba's and Bhattarai's policy which allowed them to grow. The opposition UML, the RPP and human rights groups are also responsible. In order to halt more bloodshed, it is necessary to activate the army.

The Maoists are a political problem and should be taken in that sense The NC, UML, and other political parties wasted the past 12 years. This is what we get. The Maoists are raising the core issues to develop the nation for the prosperity of the people. They should be disarmed, but how?

The government must use the army and finish off the Maoists. They only understand violence, they don't deserve peace talks.

There is annosition in every country in the world. But the way the Manists are expressing their opposition is extremely costly in terms of lives and livelihoods. Does revolutionary progress mean destroying everything? In that case, the government should be stubborn and resist.

Let us be clear: Manists are terrorists who don't want a peaceful Nepal Nirendra Shresth

Congratulations to Prachanda for declaring a people's government. Most Nepalis are behind you, and hope you succeed one day. Just make sure the people do not suffer. There is no question of disarming.

Can't your pollsters come up with something better than this stupid question? It's not "should the Maoists be required to disarm...", but "Can they be disarmed?" There would have been no need for talks if they could be disarmed. Because they can't be overpowered, the governmen was forced to sit and talk to them. The Maoists would never disarm until their demands are met. This is their bargaining chip, and no one else their demands are met. This is their using army, and, and knows it better than those guys who are holding the country hostage.

Subodh

The Maoists should indeed be disarmed before negotiations with the government continue. We don't want them to start killing innocent ivilians and cops again do we?

Arnit Chapgair We are the people of Nepal, nation of peace in the world, birtholace of the Buddha. Let us stop killing each other.

Ramesh Kumar Maharian The government might be pressing the Maoists to do it, but I hope the Maoists are smart enough to see the trap. When has the government ever responded to the people's needs? When has it ever honestly worked for the hetterment of Nenalis? Never If the Manists give up their gun power the elite will stop listening to them. It is sad, but that's the way it is

Anonymous I believe in peace. Our nation can develop only when there is peace. First of all there should be peace, and for that, the Maoists should

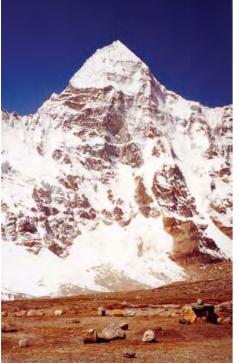
No one in the world should negotiate with guns in hand. We all know that netas are bad, but at least they are voted by the Nepali people. So if Maobadis are really "people power" as they claim, let them face the election and we can support them. It is time for the government to be strong and demand disarmament of the Maobadis, or face the conse quences. The army is better equipped to do it than the corrupt police

Amit. Dharar

Raiendra Joshi, Malaysia



Mero vyaro Kangchenjunga







lithic peak, like Dhaulagiri or Mt

Everest, but a 10 km long ridge

over 8,000 m high which makes

its one of the largest mountain masses on earth. Kangchenjunga

is tucked away in the northeast

rainshadow. It has the same fee

as Manang Valley, although the

and nearer and crowd the sky

along the crumbling lateral

The upper stretch of the trek is

and can be treacherous in places because of rockfall. The trail

the valley, Jansang Pass to Tibet

This is a photogenic land, the

villages even on the upper reaches

are more prosperous, the terraces

are meticulously carved out of the

slopes, and although the area is

leads up to the farther end of

at 6.100 m.

aines of retreating glaciers,

ern corner of Nepal and is in the

fter you have done all the after you have seen Kala Patar and done Annapurna Sancutary there is another

Kangchenjunga. First off, Kangchenjunga is located in the easternmost par of Nepal, which gets triple the amount of annual rainfall compared to western Nepal these mountains on the foothills of the world's third highest mountain get upwards of 3,500 mm of rain a year. The effect is most visible in the vegetation: thick, verdant forests with heavy undergrowth. Even at the height of the dry season, the jungle trails are moist and fresh. The rhododendron in eastern Nepal is some of the most spectacular especially the Milke Danda range north of Taplejung which has been declared a sanctuary for Nepal's national flower. The whole trek through the moist forests is also an orchid enthusi

This is a trek like no other; wilder, wetter, and wondrous,

ast's delight. If orchids are actually parasites, then you could call the Tamur River basin a Parasite Paradise

on the fellows and they will

If there is another conserva tion area to be declared in Nepal, them at a safe distance. then it must be a Leech Sanctuary in the upper Tamur Valley where in the lush undergrowth of the forests on either side of the river is a diversity of leeches probably found nowhere else on earth. There at least 20 different types of blood-suckers: striped and black, spotted like leopards, small black ones, fat and brown ones that look like slugs, slender long ones that seem like they haven't had a good drink lately, and then the common leeches that flail their snouts at you from the bushes and rocks. There are environment-friendly ways to dea Tamur Valley. with these creatures, and the traditional method is to rub salt

promptly drop off. However, to revent from getting at your skin in the first place you can use the tobacco juice that porters prefer and rub it like a balm. It'll keen

Because of the higher rainfall armers are more prosperous, and there is more food. Eastern Nepal also borders India's Darjeeling district, where Nepalis have traditionally gone to work. They have brought back new ideas from he tourist and education centres of that hill station. This has broadened their outlook, and made the people of eastern Nepa more affluent and worldy-wise. Added exposure has come from Gurkha veterans, who spend the retirement in their ancestral mes in the villages of the

And for trekkers, the greates thing about the Kangchenjunga trek is that you see very few other foreigners here. The area is now a | Kangchenjunga is not a mono-National Park, and there are ACAP-type restrictions on ravelling. There is no extra royalty to go in, but you have to pay the park fee. Individual ravel discouraged, but this rule can be sidestepped if you pretend our porter guides are your

The trek is a challenge in other ways: although there is plenty of food, the villages are few and far between and you have to lepend on your own provision The distances are also long from the road-head at Basantapur, Gopetar or the airport at Γumlingtar.

The views during the walk in are not as spectacular as in some of the other treks in Nepal, but once you get to the glaciers draining the north and south flanks of Kangchenjunga, the

underdeveloped than other,

A recommended 15-17 day trek would entail flying to Tanleiung and taking the ride route to Kangchenjunga sout base camp, backtracking to Tseram and crossing over to the northern side. Taplejung is not so private airlines began service.

Day 1: After arriving in Taplejung on the early morning flight start walking to Lali Kharka past picturesque multi-ethnic village Day 2: Keswa. From the ridge there are good views of Jann (also known as Kumbhakarna Himal), the mountain looms at the head of the valley and has a striking presence.

Day 3: Mamankhe is a Rai and

Limbu village the houses surrounded by barley, millet and ornfields. The local tea-shops have great tongba where you can



English-speaking elderly ex-

Day 4: Yamptudin is probably the only Gurung village this far east. Unlike their Rai or Limbu neighbours, they speak Nepali. Day 5: Lamite Bhanjyang does not offer much of a view pecause of the thick forest of tall trees. Reyond here, there are only herders and shenherds to be seen taking livestock to

Day 6: Tseram at 3.770m is the junction from where you branch off to the Yalung

Day 7: Ramche at 4 800m is a vak shelter from where it is two-and-half-hours to the bas camp for Kangchenjunga south face Further up there is a broad glacier field at Oktang, a don't have altitude symptoms

Day 9: Rapka Kharka is a long day from Tseram, crossing two 4,800 m passes. From the exotically named Sinion La is a view to rival Poon Hill. Kangchenjunga and Jannu dominate the eastern horizon, the west is the jagged ridge of Ialiale Himal which separates the Tamur and Arun watersheds and far in the distance are Makalu and Everest. On a clear

day, you see down to the Indian Day 10: Ghunsa, site of a Tibetan Refugee Camp, is fourand-a-half hours down to the valley and you can reach in time

plains to the south

Day 11: Rampuk Kharka, The day starts with a forest trail and slowly gets into moraine country with narrow trails and rock falls. Day 12: Lhonak is like reaching

north face of Kangchenjunga is visible with its three stacked acier shelves from which seracs reak off from time to time and rumble down in billowing cloud of ice. There are views of Kirat Chuli, Nepal Peak, and The Twins at the head of the valle The valley itself goes on and on Day 13: Pangpema, even better iews of the north face. Stay for two days if you have time, attain nirvana and soak in the silence

and tranquillity. Day 14: Can get right back down to Ghunsa in one day. Day 15: Amjilasa. Day 16: By Chirwa you are back

n the low mid-hills with Bahun Chhetri villages Day 17: Climb up to the ridge get back to Taplejung for the



Trekking in the time of Maobadi

Behind closed doors we sipped our dusty bottles of Pepsi in the village of Chiruwa, away from prying eyes on the street and Maoists who might be lurking in the shadows, ready to pounce on hot, thirsty, hapless trekkers, or more likely, take retribution retaliate against the hotel owner.

This is in no way intended to take away from the seriousness of the atrocities and violence that have beset this country over the last few days. It is an example to illustrate that tourists are not unaffected anymore in the

sparsely-trekked Kangchenjunga region.

Undertaking a 40-day exploratory trek in the region with three other tourists, two western guides and a crew of about 16 produced plenty of evidence that despite reassurances that tourists are not Maoist targets, this may no longer necessarily be the case. I have literally just finished washing my trekking clothes, so the examples I highlight are current and relevant, though I hasten to add that in none of the incidents I was told about or

regulars are content and celevati, inserting inserting the data that into the time insuffice. It was 100 about of experienced was there evidence of violence or coercitat, for the most part, the places we would be visiting were "dry." What beer we did manage to find had to be drunk behind outrains or closed doors, certainly never if

front of a window looking onto the street.

From Taplejung up into the trekking area police have abandoned their posts and their buildings are boarded up. The airfield at Suketar, into which many trekkers fly, is visited by policemen when flights are

expected, but they always sleep in Taplejung. During the early part of the trek there was news of several incidents of people being stopped by Maoists on the south side route of Kangchenjunga in particular. One sirdar who had been asked for money allegedly offered a day's wages. The Maoists were after something on the order of Rs 10,000 although it is unclear how this situation was resolved. Subsequently we decided that our sirdar would not carry a large amount of cash

Our group witnessed a training camp in Mamangkhe on the south side, with several participants checking the loads and condi-tions of our porters. The following day while camped in Lali Kharka, our sirdar spent an hour conducting delicate negotiations with a group of Maoists asking for cash donations, binoculars and cameras. He politely

They claimed these were tools that would help in their training and surveillance work. About two weeks ago a group of English trekkers was stopped in the Makalu Barun National Park by Maoists with guns, asking for the same things. In this case also the sirdar negotiated his way out of the situation

None of the trekkers I spoke to on the trail expressed fear or apprehension about being in the area, but it will be interesting to see to what happens next, to what extent the Maobadi will affect Kangchenjunga's fledgling

Wanda Vivequin is a New Zealand journalist who has just finished a 40-day trek in the Kangchenjunga





are at a moment of history As our notion of what life is all equivalent to when human about is immersed in sexuality and the ings first discovered fire, biological attraction of male and for before us lies the very imminent female, much of the history of prospect of the cloning of a human civilisation has as a result been played being. We have already cloned an animal and it has just been claimed out along sexual lines; think of you family, think of the royal family. All o that the first-ever cloned baby will this will change, reproductive be born next year. The impact of this technology will marginalise and eventually make redundant most of reproductive technology and the issues it raises for all our lives are hese social patterns and norms. The quite staggering. Welcome to the age of biology. biological attraction of male and femal will be abandoned, superseded by the

We have always made changes to workings of technicians in labs our environment, we need to grow food And what do we get in return, but and build shelters merely to live. This hopping and not just shopping at impact has progressively grown as our methods of control over the physical that, but the ultimate shopping experience. Design your children in world have improved and magnified. advance and get them produced to For example, electricity generated by your specification, remove those enerative genes, give them a go Nepal, road building has and still is body of hair, strong arms, make them a boy or girl, whichever takes your doing the same, and on a quieter level wed accessing of health services i fancy or need and pick them up fron also slowly transforming the fabric of the Himalayan kingdom. Dramatic the local store. Let's go shopping, hopping, shopping, and shopping physical and social changes are all Your child will not be ugly, phy arising from the application and or mentally impaired, they will have implementation of these new technolo whatever colour skin you wish, and gies. Some people will make dramatic maybe one day soon, you can buy amounts of money from the changes, them genes for bravery, intelligence many will make little or nothing, bu charm and honesty. You can have a the underlying ideology which holds baby that never cries. all these changes together, is that An Italian couple has already

improved technology and improved nnounced that they plan to have a baby that was a clone of the "father" services-development, no less, is of benefit to a majority of the people and the maverick doctors Severino The so-called Developed World is Antinori and Panaviotis Zavos claimo at this moment embarking upon a new recently that the first cloned baby will process of "reproductive development" be born next year. Many people are that will change its fabric as fundamen however, offended by the prospect of tally as development is changing ours. people looking exactly the sam With the feat of cloning they play god magine going round to a friend's to see their new baby boy. "Ah," you say with our evolutionary destiny. Is this the dawn of a bright new age or are we "he looks just like you." "What about his eyes," the mothe risking ominous consequences for the

ays, "aren't they a bit like mine?" "No," you say, "the eyes, the ears, well everything really, they're all his, all

clones or not, reproductive technology will become so sophisticated that th Your friend looks on proudly biological imperative will recede. One day, procreation will not take place in vhile you stand petrified, you like bedrooms all around the world, won't your friend, he's a nice dude, but not s even take place between a man and a much that you want a smaller version of woman, instead, you'll order the him tagging along: "Yet," your friend says, "he may have the same genetic makeup as me but he will grow and

Whether we like the thought of

Shopping for humans

The new breed, coming to a pasal near you.



develop differently because the social which his life unfolds will not be the ame as mine." "The same, but not th The Roslin Institute at Edinburgh

ve already cloned two sheep, Dolly and Polly. Whereas Dolly was a straight carbon copy, for Polly a sheep cell and then the sheep was cloned, making it the first "designe animal". Using the clone as a standard rustomised variations for their clients The same can go for your friend: you friend with white skin, your friend with the threat of cancer removed, you iend with no inherited diseases Is there anything wrong with all

this? We may mock Western women ho have plastic surgery to improv their looks, but if this is what make nem happy, and happiness is one of the higher if not the highest goal to attain in the good life, then really, our nocking is misplaced. If a prospective parent knew they were likely to pass o a genetic predisposition for heart ease, wouldn't they feel obliged to spare their child by eliminating those genes in the donor cell or embryo? And further, if an infertile couple desires to pass on their genetic inheritance by oducing clones of one or both partne shouldn't they be able to exercise their right of choice? We have fertility clinics not doning dinics?

But the science is uncertain: the perience of Dolly and Dolly and Dolly has taught us that some defects do not show themselves until after the first few months of life. Aside from that terrible thought, there is also the will still be a human being? For example, in Iowa, in the US, cows nov e birth not to calves, but to gaurs he ox-like South Asian animal. More specifically, Bessie the cow was the rogate mother of the world's first doned endangered species. The animal e carried was cloned from a single cell of a dead gaur and implanted for a

n the supermarkets of England are still bananas even though we all know ananas don't grow in England. Thi is simple import/export, a travelling o goods. When those tourists roam the reets of Thamel and especially when they venture further to Chhetrapati o san Tol many of them are quit plainly peculiar. The way they act and dress makes us laugh, smile, or even novs us, sometimes offends us, bu we know that they are all human rings like us regardless of their colour, where they live, their language or their clothes. So when we ask arselves is a gaur from Iowa still a raur? We must say yes, though, if a little different. But is a gaur born to and raised by a cow, still a gaur? This is fundamentally different, will a done

orn to and raised by a human become a human or some clone/ Human cloning also opens the door to the dawn of a commercial eugenics civilisation, a brave new



orld where new technologies speed the process of "improving" our moletely discredited eugenics and th offspring. We can all become gods as well idea of "improving the race". It has been nts to our children. This is the decades before any one thought about it perfect realisation of the driving dynami again, but we have Imagine a society where more and capitalism is all about, this is where it

takes us—shopping for humans.

the spectre of a new kind of immortal

stomise their model (themselves,

upgrading with new genetic traits. It

would be naive to think that there

aren't plenty of people who would

ump at such an opportunity. Clone a

king, managing director, top scientist

or political leader and that way insure

against their death or an assassinatio

attempt, or an accident. Tata trucks.

why not Tata kids? Clone your own

workforce Mind you there are certain

personalities I would not wish to be

In fact, all this would have happened

much sooner if it hadn't been for the

plicated, Hitler being one of them

ity. Each generation can continually

their 'genotype') playing and

ore people clone and customise their genotype to design specifications and ngineering standards, how will its ople regard the child who isn't cloned ustomised? What about the child born with a "disability"? Will the rest of society come to see the child as an error in the genetic code, as a defective product? Covernments might even su parents for not removing degenerative genes and thereby making an unnece ary drain on health services. Future generations might become far less tolerant of those who are not engineero and who deviate from the genetic standards and norms adhered to in the "best practices" of the bio-industrial market place. Will the human ability fo empathy survive this? Will the human being survive this?

MERCANTILE

Mercantile Communications Pvt. Ltd. GPO Box 876, Durbar Mara, Kathmandu, Nepal Ph: 240920, Fax: +977-1-225407, F-mail: sales@mas.com.pp. URI http://www.mas.com.pp.

The end of geography

force in human history and world

olitics is not cultural plurality, bu

nodernisation, whose institutional

expressions are liberal democracy and

surrent conflict is not a clash of

equal standing. Rather, it is a

by modernisation, and its moral

rearguard action by those threatened

Any right that is or has been

erted historically relies on god

man, or nature. The original source of

rejected in the west since the Enlight

Discourse on Government begins

a polemic against the argument for

rings' divine rights. The secularism o

Today, this seems to be the maje

dividing line between Islam and the

cular state. But we should consider

why modern secular liberalism arose

west, as many Muslims reject the

rights, god or religion, has been

enment, John Locke's Second

root of the liberal tradition.

nponent, respect for human rights



This conflict is no clash of civilisations.

Huntington argued that the fault lines of world post-Cold War politics are mainly cultural—a six major cultural zones that can sometimes co-exist but will never overse, because they lack shared values. One implication of this is that 11 September, and the US-led response, should be viewed as part of a civilisational struggle between Islam and the west. Another is that what in the west are considered universal. numan rights are an outgrowth of European culture, inapplicable to those outside this tradition.

I believe Huntington is wrong Nobel laureate Sir VS Naipaul onc wrote an article "Our Universal Civilisation," arguing that "western values are applicable across cultures and that he owes his literary achieve ments to precisely that universalit afforded by crossing Huntington's putative civilisational boundarie

Universality is possible in broader

Christian sects in Europe exposed the ssibility of political rule based on religious consensus. Montesquie Hobbes and Locke reacted to horrors such as the Thirty-Year War by arguing religion and politics must be separated to ensure civil peace. Islam confronts a similar dilemma. Efforts to unite politics and

bloody sectarian struggles between

religion are dividing Muslims. Our noliticians are right to insist that the extremely heterogeneous faith that recognises no authoritative source of octrinal interpretation. Intolerance and fundamentalism are one choice for Muslims, but Islam has always had to contend with questions of secularism and religious tolerance, as s evident from the ongoing reformist ferment in theoceatic Iran

The second source of rights—the sitivist view that whatever a societ declares by constitutional means to b right becomes one—also provides o guarantee for liberalising endencies, for it leads to cultural elativism. If, as Huntington implies, the rights we claim in the west emerged uniquely from the political crisis of European Christianity after the Protestan Reformation, what is to stop other societies from appealing to their ocal traditions to deny these ights? The Chinese government lept at wielding this question.

The final source of rights is nature. The language of natural ights—advanced most emphatically 18th century America-cor to shape our moral discourse. When we say race, ethnicity, wealth, and

tics, this implies belief in a substrate f "humanness" which entitles us to equal protection against certain types of behaviour by other groups or states, cultural arguments notwithstanding. The spread of democratic institutions in non-Furonean context in the late 20th century suggests the west is not alone in this belief.

But if human rights are

iversal, should we demand their

nplementation everywhere, always Aristotle argues that natural rules of ustice exist, but that their application demands flexibility and prudence. theoretical belief in the universality of iuman rights and the actual practice of supporting human rights around the world, as our shared "humanness is shaped in varying social environ nents, such that our perception of rights differs. In many traditional ocieties where choices and proportunities are limited, the estern, individualistic view of rights is jarring, because it cannot be abstracted from the larger process of modernisation. The notion of universal human rights i one part of the complex context of a versal civilisation, from which an understanding of the other

elements of modern societies-

economic justice, democracy-

cannot be excluded.

Francis Fukuyama, author of The End of History and the Last Man, is professor of politics international political economy at Johns Hopkins

Growth in an age of anxiety

remains an imperative in developing countries because populations are expanding, so jobs must be found for new workers. Real wages for many are pitifully low and can only be addressed through the higher productivity tha wth usually entails. Governments need the ext tackle social deficits in health, education and social security.

Latin America's growth experience has been a play in two acts. Until the early 1980s, economic growth in most of its countries was driven by an import-substituting industrialisation supported by high tariffs, quotas, licenses and, at times, outrigh prohibitions on imports. Only three Latin American countries joined the GATT in 1947. Currency controls created a strong bias against exports. Moves before the 1980s, but many failed. Latin America's share of world trade collapsed in the three decades 5 percent a year from 1950-1980 with Bearil oriefly enjoying growth over 10 percent after 1967. Income per head more than doubled, and Latin America-with a few exceptions-was seen as one of the world's fastest growing regions.

The import substitution model be exhausted long before the 1980s, and it took the 1982 debt crisis to kill it off. Latin America struggled in the 80's to adjust to a new economic model, which imposed a heavy toll on growth. This model emphasise trade liberalisation, markets, and foreign investment. All Latir American and Caribbean countries (except the Bahamas) joined the WTO (GATT's successor). Most also participate in regional integration schemes such as NAFTA and MERCOSUR. The share of world trade began to increase Yet only a few countries—notably Chile—achieved growth rates in the 1990s as

In comparison, Asia's growth in the 1950s was disappointing, save for Japan. Import substitution did not deliver the same benefits as in Latin America In the 1960s some countries began to emphasise exports and generated rapid export-led growth. South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore became odels for Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. Two years afte Mao's death in 1976, economic reform in China liberalised rural and urban markets, encouraged foreign investment in export enclaves and permitted a great degree of income inequality. The result was a spectacular spurt of growth, rivalling if not exceeding Japan between 1950 and the mid-1980s

Latin America and Asia urgently need to put their economic house in order.

Growth in many Asian countries—barring China and to some extent Taiwan—was stopped cold by the 1997 financial crisis. Growth in Latin America has often suffered from a shortage of domestic savings, leading to the need for foreign capital to sustain an adequate rate of

investment. Foreign capital inflows led to an accumula tion of debt, which on nume provoked financial crises. The key to sustainable long-run growth in Latin America is higher domestic savings. Some steps have been taken in this direction.

Fiscal deficits are much smaller now inflation is under control Pensions systems have been privatised, at least partially. Loss-making state wned enterprises have been closed or sold to the private sector. However, extreme income juality in the region has not produced high rates of savings by wealthy households, as their liquid assets are often held abroad.

Asia's problems are the opposite. High domestic savings encouraged financial institution to lend beyond prudent limits. Non-performing loans slowed growth, or required adjustment measu that incite recession. For sustainable long-run growth in Asia lower domestic savings are needed, or a greater
willingness among banks to lend to the rest of the world. But

financial system reform has been timid, bank portfolios still contain a large number of non-performing loans. Close ties between business and government-crony capitalism at worst-linger, and there is a reluctance to let large irms go bust or be taken over by foreign companies. It is hard to channel domestic savings where most needed.

As Latin America and Asia became more open, their vulnerability to external shocks increased. Slow or no growth in Japan is a negative factor across Asia. Today's difficulties in the US have exacted a heavy toll on growth in Latin America. Mexico, with most of its exports destined for North America, is now in recession • (Project Syndicate)

(Victor Bulmer-Thomas is director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.)

One more UN office

UNITED NATIONS - UN Secretary General Kofi Annan is creating a new high-ranking post whose functions include overseeing the plight of the 49 least developed countries (LDCs), the poorest of the world's poor. The UN Conference on LDCs, held in Brussels last May, recommended creating this post for a UN High Representative, Besides LDCs, the High Representative will also oversee the world's landlocked developing countries and small-island developing states. There is some overlap among the three categories of country. The High Representative will carry the rank of Under-Secretary-General, a standing below that of Deputy Secretary General in the UN hierarchy and the representative's office will be at the UN headquarters in New York, Currently, all matters relating to LDCs come under the purview of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva. The first High Representative is very likely to be from one of the LDCs although though several Western countries have staked claims on the job, which comes with an annual salary of over \$151,000. Annan, in a report to the General Assembly said the High Representative would be responsible only for coordination and reporting as well as advocacy and fundraising to implement the LDC action plan adopted at the Brussels conference. All analytical and technical cooperation functions would continue to be carried out by other organisations in the UN system, including UNCTAD, in accordance

Shackling the Internet

BRUSSELS - The European Commission is expected to adopt rules in the coming weeks that would bind the 15 EU members to outlaw racism and xenophobia on the Internet and offline. A draft proposal lays out what it terms "effective. proportionate and dissuasive" criminal penalties for racist offences and provides a common definition of racism but grants member states leeway in ensuring compliance. The draft defines racism and xenophobia as "the belief in race, colour, descent, religion or belief, national or ethnic origin as a factor determining aversions to individuals or groups." It lists six race-related offences, which must be made punish able as a criminal offence throughout the EU. Vera Egenberger, director of the non-governmental European Network Against Racism, said: "At the moment, EU legal provisions on racist crime are very different, especially concerning people who put racist propaganda on the Internet." The proposal starts from the premise that what is illegal in the real world should be illegal online. The document notes it is very difficult to prosecute those who disseminate racist material on the Internet because racist sites often are located in non-EU countries, particularly the US, where the offence is protected as free speech. The member states anti-racism legislation would need to cover people who design racist web pages for European consumption, even if they are not on EU territory. The proposal would also make it a criminal offence to set up a racist web site on EU territory. even if the material is not hosted in Europe. To be adopted, the proposal will have to be accepted by the EU justice and home affairs ministers once the European Parliament has



Succutent steaks and burgers bountiful, with a vegetarian variety. The friendliest bar around the most convivial fireplace between libet and limbucton. Live band on Tuesdays and fridays!





Chhalnhal, 25 Novembe

The Manists must understand very

clearly whether or not the other non-

Manist communist parties are also

volved in liberating society. The

Maoists should not believe that only

evolutionaries. The reactionary forces

onstitution At this point, the Maoist

again taken up arms. This will not do

had also come to a point where they were prepared to make changes in the

left the negotiating table and have

those who pick up a gun are true

BEIJING - China is reviving an old water the late Chairman Mao 50 years ago, that would see the waters of the China's longest river, the Yangtze, transferred from the south to the parched north. Critics deride the project as "Great Leap Forward think ing", which held that nature could be transformed in a great way for human benefit. But officials argue that the biggest water diversion project in China's history is "a fundamental strategic solution" to the serious water crisis in the north. The ambitious South-to-North Water Transfer Project, estimated to cost over \$60 million, will kick off early next year and large parts should be completed by 2010. People and industries in Beijing and Tianjin—two cities beset by worsening water shortages—are expected to use water taken from the Yangtze River has 100 km to the south. More than half of China's 600 cities suffer water shortages. The overuse of groundwater has caused the water table under the North China Plain to drop substantially over the past five years. The Yellow River, on which much of northern China depends for its industry and agriculture, is so overused, it often runs dry before reaching the sea This year has seen one of the worst droughts in decades. China's Ministr of Water Resources says that in 2030, when China's population reaches billion, its per capita water resources quota will be only 1,700 cu m, a generally acknowledged danger limit. Northern China, the country's breadbasket where a third of the population lives, taps only 7.7 percent of the country's water resources. Some experts argue that such a mammoth project would adversely affect the environment and displace housands of people along its routes, rivalling the controversial Three Gorges Dam in damage caused. (IPS)

A lot of gas

DHAKA - Bangladesh has long been under pressure from international oil companies, representatives of the World Bank and other multilatera agencies, donor countries and businessmen to export part of its gas erve, but the newly elected government seems to be rethinking an earlier decision to do so. Finance Minister Saifur Rahman says the earlier decision to do so. Prinance minister Salidi Kaliman says tile administration of Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia may still go for natural gas export—"provided that is beneficial for the country." Rahma sparked an outcry against the export plan in October, when he said the government had decided in principle to export gas to India. This prompted the principal opposition Awami League, and left-leaning organisations and professional groups to declare the decision danger-ous, even "suicidal", for Bangladesh. Awami League president Sheikh Hasina, Khaleda Zia's immediate predecessor, noted: "Over 90 percen of Bangladesh's total population has no access to the benefits of gas. Hasina accused the present government of striking a secret deal with foreign oil companies to export natural gas to India through a pipeline Instead, she said, raw gas should be used to establish gas-based industries within Bangladesh. It is difficult to determine the size of Bangladesh's recoverable gas reserve. Different bodies offer different figures, ranging from 2.83 trillion cu m to 315 billion cu m. At the present rate of utilisation, says state-run oil firm Petrobangla, this will be exhausted in the next 20 years. Bangladesh uses 70 percent of gas to generate electricity and produce fertiliser. Some 20 percent goes to rur mills and factories while 10 percent is for domestic use. The governmen spends about \$500 million annually importing 3.3 million tonnes of crude oil and petroleum products. Last year, using approximately 8.5 million tonnes of oil equivalent saved Bangladesh \$1.6 billion. (IPS

DEID is a significant development partner

in Nepal. We work to support the efforts

of HMGN to deliver its development

objectives in order to achieve the

Miltennium Development Goals and

Overall policy and the programme

development for DFID's Programme in

Nepal is managed by a team of professional advisers under the

leadership of the Head of DFID Nepal

in Nepali expertise and knowledge about

the political, historical, cultural and social

issues that support or inhibit change

towards pro-poor growth and

The adviser will make an importan

contribution to DFID country and

programme strategies and project

designs. The adviser will also, through

DFID, contribute to strengthening the

effectiveness of development assistance

We want to diversify the team to bring

eliminate poverty in Nepal.

development in Nepal

Political, Social Change Adviser

Women and the "war"

approaching for the main victims of Taleban rule: Afghan women.

The international community—in the form of the US, European powers most involved in the present conflict, and the UN—must insist on the inclusion of women at every level of the country's new provisional government. This is the demand of a new campaign launched in recent days by the Transnational Radical Party.

The campaign, which already has the backing of hundreds of members of parliament across Europe, spread the word among the international public to observe an "international day of fasting and non-violent protest" on pressure on political leaders around the world to move beyond rhetorical commitments to by taking concrete steps to ensure the full participation of women in the new Afghan

Putting women in power in Kabul is not only a form of reparation, but a necessary condition for resumption of development (including the development of democracy) in a country brought to its knees by over 20 years of civil wars and occupation.

Before the civil war. Afghar women took an active part, especially in the urban areas, in the develop ment and modernisation of the country, sometimes occupying role normally reserved for men in the Muslim world Many women practised in the legal and medical

The encreeful condidate will necesse

a postgraduate degree, or equivalent,

in a relevant social/political science discipline. Practical experience of

working in development is essential.

Also, you will be able to display a broad

based set of personal competencies

including strategic thinking and planning,

team working, excellent communications

skills in Nepali and English and

exceptional influencing/ negotiating skills

The post will be on a 3 year fixed-term

appointment and there will be an

attractive local salary and benefits

package, The adviser will be based in

DEID's Negal Office. There will be some

To apply for the post, you must be a

Nepali National. DFID is an equa

opportunities employer. Selection is on

To request an application pack, please

Closing date - 21 December 2001

Internationa

call 542980 ext. 201.

Working to eliminate global poverty and promote sustainable development www.dfid.gov.uk

in-country and international travel.



The world must insist on the inclusion of Afghan women in public life.

responsibility in the civil service. However, the condition of Afghar the beginning of the 1990s with the war between the various Afghan factions and the rise to power of the Taleban, who reduced them to slavers depriving them of the most elementa rights and making them literally visible. The barbaric, bloody Taleban regime deprived them of the right to study, to work, and to vote, the right to equality before the law, and ven the right to circulate freely. During more than 10 years of theocratic rule, women were subjected to compulsory segregation in the home, the imposition of the burqa on

ofessions, or held positions of

the few occasions they were allowed to go outside-always accompanied by relatives—public stoning, absolute submission to men, and daily abuse and rape, often resulting in suicide. In 1998, during a visit to Kabul

as European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid, I denounced the Afghanistan and was arrested by the Taleban. At that time I was alone in my struggle. I hope that I will not There is only one way to ensure

that the issue of women's rights is discussed during the negotiations for the constitution of the provisional government of Afghanistan

new book adds to speculation that t bottom the fight between the US TEHLE nd the Taleban is about oil.

government. Anything else would isk being nothing more than ineffectual denunciation, soon forgotten when the Afghan questio s no longer in the spotlight of the

30 NOVEMBER - 6 DECEMBER 2001 NEPALI TIMES

To ensure that this yery reason able proposal is accepted, strong ressure must be exerted on the governments of the US and the othe countries taking part in the military operations, on the UN, on the leaders of the Northern Alliance, and on King Mohammed Zahir Shah ♦ aps

(Fmma Ronino is a member of the European Parliament and

THE FORBIDDEN TRUTH?

resident George W Bush's government initially blocked intelligence agencies' gations on terrorism while it bargained with the Taleban on the delivery of Osama bin Laden in exchange for political recognition and economic aid, two French intellience analysts claim.

In a new book, Bin Laden, La Verite Interdite (Bin Laden, the Forbidden Truth), Jean-Charles Brisard and Guillaume Dasquie, reveal that FBI Deputy Director

John O'Neill resigned in July in protest over the obstruction. The authors claim O'Neill told them that "the main obstacles to investigate Islamic terrorism were US oil corporate interests and the role played by Saudi Arabia in it." They also claim the US government's main objective was to consolidate the position of the Taleban regime to obtain access to Central Asia's oil

Until August, they say, the US government saw the Taleban regime "as a source of stability in Central Asia that would enable the construction of an oil pipeline across Central Asia" from the rich oilfields in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, through Afghanistan and Pakistan, to the Indian Ocean. But confronted with the Taleban's refusal to accept US conditions, "this rationale of energy security changed into a military one," the authors claim. "At one moment during the negotiations, US representatives told the Taleban, 'either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a

carpet of bombs'," Brisard said in an interview. The book says the Bush administration began to negotiate with the Taleban after coming into power in February. US and Taleban diplomatic representatives met several times in Washington, Berlin and Islamabad. The last meeting was in August, five weeks before the attacks in the US, the analysts maintain, when Christina Rocca, in charge of Central Asian affairs for the US government, met Taleban Ambassador to Pakistan [Abdul Salam Zaeef] in Islamabad.

Brisard and Dasquie have long experience in intelligence analysis. Brisard was until the late 1990s director of economic analysis and strategy for Vivendi, a French intelligence company. He also worked for French secret services, and wrote for them in 1997 a report on the now famous al-Queda network, headed by bin Laden. Dasquie is an investigative iournalist and publisher of Intelligence Online, a respected newsletter on diplomacy, economic analysis and strategy, available through

Brisard and Dasquie draw a portrait of the closest aides to Bush, linking them to the oil business. Bush's family has a trong oil background, as do some of his top aides. From Vice President Dick Cheney, through the Director of the National Security Council Condoleezza Rice, to the secretaries of commerce and energy, Donald Evans and Stanley Abraham, all have for long worked for US oil companies.

The book also takes issue with the role played by Saudi Arabia in fostering Islamic fundamentalism, in the personality of bin Laden, and with the networks that the Saudi dissident built to finance his activities. In addition, the authors say the US nt's claim that it had been prosecuting bin Laden since 1998 [is a big fraud]. "Actually," Dasquie says, "the first state to officially prosecute bin Laden was Libya, on charges of terrorism."

The book confirms earlier reports that the US government worked closely with the UN during the negotiations with the Taleban. "Several meetings took place this year to discuss the situation in Afghanistan," says the book. "Representatives of the US government and Russia, and the six countries that border with Afghanistan were present," it says, Sometimes, Taleban representatives were also there.

These meetings, called Six plus 2, have been confirmed by Niaz A Naik, former Pakistani Secretary for foreign affairs. In a French television program earlier this month, Naik said that during one meeting in Berlin in July, the discussions turned to "the formation of a government of national unity. If the Taleban had accepted this coalition, they would have received international economic aid. And the pipelines from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan would have come." • (178)

Black Friday

Since it was a Friday, the rulers and administrators of the country were in a holiday mood. Prachanda. supreme commander of the Maoists, had broken the talks (two days ago), saying there was no point in talking anymore. Still, he had not ordered his forces to attack. The government was trying to revive the dialogue and impress its importance upon the intermediaries, facilitators and other people in contact with the

At Baluwatar Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's aides had left for the day. The telephone rang around 9PM. It was the first sign of trouble and no matter how hard he tried, he could not avert the consequences The phone kept ringing throughout the night, By Saturday morning, most citizens knew that peace had been shattered.

The 9PM call from Surkhet not only informed the prime minister about the attack on the helicopter, but about the possibility of an attack in Dang. As soon as he heard this, he realised it was not enough to mobilise the army in those affected areas only. He asked the concerned army officers to start preparing for suitable action, and the army replied that everyone had been put on "alert."

The prime minister and defence minister was unaware that the army high command had four days earlier ordered its forces not to engage with the Maoists—they were not to shoot at them or follow them. He was satisfied having informed the army, but that was shattered after the call from Dang came through

At 10PM there was news that the Maoists were organising a torch procession. A few minutes later another call came—they were attacking the offices of the Chief District Officer (CDO) and the Superintendent of Police (SP). The prime minister asked his aides to remain in constant contact with the army, and called senior ministers over to his place. All that acting Chief of Army Durga Prasad Aryal had been saying until now was that the orders had already en given and the army was on alert. Communication with Dang was cut off around 11.30PM. By that time, the massacre had taken place.

At the same time, information came through that the Maoists had kidnapped the Syangja CDO and District Development Committee (DDC) president. Police were being massacred, properly was being set on fire and widespread tolking was taking place. The prime minister's aides were busy contacting people in other districts. This continued till 3AM. By disprises there were reports of Maoist attacks in 32 districts.

At 6AM, the prime minister ordered the army to start searching the jungles in Dang and Syangia, The army said it would only accept those orders following all due procedures. The prime minister called a meeting of the Security Council early in the morning. Both police chiefs, Pradeep Sumsher Rana and Krishna Mohan Shrestha were present, the army was represented by its acting chief, and there were two other army personnel there too. The meeting lasted until noon and decided the army would act as a back-up force for the police and the armed police. Just before this meeting, the prime minister had called all the cabinet ministers to his residence. They discussed mobilising the army and declaring a state of emergency. The prime minister met UML leaders, Krishna Prasad Oli, Amrit Bohara, Jhal Nath Khanal and Bharat Mohan Adhikary and got their approval to declare the Maoists "terrorists" and send the army after them.

After the Security Council meeting, the prime minister went to report to the king. He informed the king about all the events and also told him why the army needed to be deployed. He informed him that the UML had also agreed to these directives. The prime minister then went to the residence of former prime minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, ascertained that he agreed to the plan, and then went to meet former prime minister Girija Prasad Koirala. This meeting decided an all-party meeting had to be called for.

The cabinet again met at 4PM at the prime minister's residence. It had already been decided that the army would be deployed and the Maoists would be termed terrorists, but since the all-party meeting had not taken place yet, and the Nepali Congress had not passed any directives either, no decisions could be taken.

At 5PM an all-party meeting was held in Baluwatar. The events were thoroughly discussed and it was made clear that there was no option but to deploy the army. KP Oli made it very clear that since they had attacked the army, the question of whether or not to deploy the army was no longer relevant. He said this was a question the Maoists had to answer. Interestingly, the Samyukta Jana Morcha, the Rastriya Jana Morcha and the Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party did not attend this meeting, though they have always sent representatives to all all-party meetings. Other left leaders present were Jhalanath Khanal, Bharat Mohan Adhikary, Sahana Pradhan, Bam Dev Gautam, Radha Krishna Mainali and CP Mainali. Ruling party members KP Bhattarai, Ram Chandra Poudel, Sushil Koirala, Chakra Bastola, Narahari Acharya and Arjun Narsingh KC were also there. The RPP was represented by Surva Bahadur Thapa, Prakash Chandra Lohani. Rabindra Nath Sharma and Kamal Thapa. The Nepal Sadbhavana Party sent Gajendra Narayan Singh. Raiendra Mahato and Badri Narayan Mandal.

The Nepali Congress Central Working Committee held its meeting Sunday morning and decided that the government should take appropriate legal action against the Maoists, mobilising all security forces. The CWC also asked the government to take appropriate action against anyone threatening peace and security. Home Minister Khum Bahadur Khadka said since the party had already declared the Maoists terrorists, action should be taken against them.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

The Nepali Congress comprises a crowd of incompetents. When these incompetents could not carry out their job efficiently, they called for an emergency, proving their incompetence.

Pradip Nepal, spokesman, Nepal Communist Party, UML in Budhabar, 28 November



जयाँ सङ्कः Naya Sadak, 24 November

'Maoist restraint' Who's a real revolutionary?

Janadisha, 25 November

The "People's Liberation Army" have carried out military operations in Dang, Syangja and other parts of the country, which shows that they are slowly becoming victorious and that the old political system is being slowly wiped out. Despite all this, Maoists



THIS PAGE CONTAINS MATERIAL SELECTED FROM THE NEPALL PRESS

he country any good. At a time when all the imperialist and capitalist forces of the world are watching us, they should have tried to win the neonle' dialogue. They did not do that and an walking into the trap set for them by reactionary forces. The Maoists need t think hard about this It was not a wise decision for them to resume violence when reactionary forces are have shown a great deal of flexibility bent upon oppressing the people by labelling them all terrorists. It was ver on the issue of dialogue. If the old tem disregards this flexibility and cessary to establish a good under standing and rapport with the people uries out its policy of oppressing the Maoists, that would be detrimental. It and between the forces and the people ould be proper for Deuba's The gun is not the only means of ernment to agree to the Maois defeating reactionary conspiracies. nand for a constituent assembly (This edit appeared a day before the emergency was declared) before it is too late. It was only after government shut the doors in the face of the Maoists that they began Wisdom, patience

rrving out their military campaign: This is clear for all to see. All peace-Himalaya Times, 27 November loving Nepalis must raise their voice

This is a difficult moment for the

country, a very critical juncture. We

are moving towards war, terrorism and suppression. Our education. Closed society? industrial and other constructive sectors will all come to a standstill. वेशम्बर सम्बद्धीय .The Maoists have bitten off more

against the present system. (This paper

topped appearing Tuesday)

Korea and Cuba. Nepalis are not

interested in a closed society. There

may be some people unbappy with the

n no way means that they support

the Maoists' actions. If the Maoists

are really fighting for the rights of

the people, they should make sure that people are not killed. Going by

recent events, there will soon be

massive bloodbath. Once the

Maoists start this, the governmen

counter it. The government is

will not sit quietly, and certainly, it should take immediate steps to

responsible for providing security t the citizens. It has the fundamental

responsibility to take action against people who break laws, the rules and

regulations of the country. (This edit

appeared a day before the emergency was

Fear, unrest and uncertainty have ead to all parts of the country and is the duty of the citizens to stop this han they can chew. The government The Maoists and the government both ras doing its best to carry forward the fialogue. This is also what the people eem to be caught up in their own pride and show of strength No one nted too, but the Maoists did not nows for sure when uncomfortable espect their aspirations and broke the easefire. Within 50 hours of breaking decisions will be taken. In such a it they massacred a lot of people. After Dang and Svangja, it is clear that the situation it is not wise to maintain the status quo. A time like this requires peace, stability and unity, either ny must be mobilised. Armies rough the deployment of the army don't return to their barracks until hey have finished the work assigned. or an ordinance or an emergence whatever means laid down by the The Manists have killed soldiers and nstitution. This requires a great dea if the army decides to react, a lot of blood will flow. The army is certainly of patience, docility and wisdom. The oists and the government have etter trained and equipped than the Maoist militia, and also larger. The already had three rounds of dialogu Why not sit for another round? The national scenario is not favourabl ntellectuals, politically active and to the Maoists either. India has already declared them terrorists. Once the aware members of society must also focus on this. In his recent statements, wernment here does the same, then gardless of the kind of suppression Prachanda has claimed his party is stil interested in solving this problem rough dialogue. If this is the case, might involve, no other government o nternational body will speak in favour why start this unnecessary massacre spill more blood? Similarly, if the of the Maoists. There could be more bloodshed, but to what end? he solved with the help of certain The type of communism the tors, why resort to violence? If Manists want exists only in North

solved. If we do not have wisdome tact, patience and docility, we may resort to force to solve the problem and none of us will be able to foreser the outcome. A solution is possible and for this the government and the Maoists must keep their use of arms under control. (This edit reads as if it was written before the emergency was

New constitution

Sille en Excerpts from an interview with Padma Ratna Tuladhar What is the main reason that the overnment and the main opposi tion parties cannot agree on the

matter of a constituent assembly The Manists have now removed the demand for a republic from their list and have publicly said that the ormation of a constituent assembly is their minimum agenda. The povernment did not understand this at all, and instead told the Maoists that since they had forsaken the issue of a republic, it was not necessary to raise he issue of a constituent assembly rither. As far as Lunderstand, the onstitutional assembly was to be the medium through which the people would take a decision on the matter of the republic. The UML and the Nepali Congress have to realise that in principle the issue of a constitutional embly is positive, it is democratic, and you cannot possibly oppose it. But it is not practical. The Nepali Congress said clearly that it would no support it at any cost. The UMI. annot oppose it in principle, and will have to support it. Some raised the ssue that an even worse constitution



night be formed after the election of the constituent assembly. Their oncern is baseless. Why do you say this?

... I feel this shows that there is confidence within the NC or the UML. Otherwise these parties would agree to the constituent assembly, as her would be sure that democratic lefrist forces would be in a majority. and the constitution that would be formed would not be to their liking Neither party believes in itself, for if any of them wanted, they could easily have tilted towards a republic. They were simply not confident they would win the elections and write a constitution they liked.



handled with tact, understanding and

wisdom, any difficult problem can be

For the finest Thai & Continental cuisine

Thamel, Kathmandu, @ 425 510

Cur parking available — We accept all major credit cards

The cost of peace Excerpts from an interview with

Damanath Dhungana Saptahik Punarjagaran 27 November

"Before the talks started, and even after that, the majority party in the parlia ment, the Nepali Congress, could not



just because the Maoists have not eally accepted this fact the nation i eing sucked deeper and deeper into his whirlpool of violence. To bring how to solve the problem—whether to the situation back to normal the curb it through the use of force or whether to press for a peaceful solution overnment must prioritise its through talks. I feel that similarly, ever efforts—take back the weapons loot from the police and army, and those o the Maoists could not reach a unilatera Maoists, and strictly check entry point decision. The Maoists and the Nepali along the border and hidden route Congress (and its government), were forced into peace talks because that wa through which illegal arms are what the people wanted, Unfortunately neither of them wanted to make defin commitments. What has happened nov Maoists' mistake is the result of the indecisiveness, in th two minds. The conflict resumed because the intentions of the concerne parties did not center on peace. They Using the powers granted by the talked for a few months, but both side nstitution, for the first time in th were not satisfied or confident that the 12 years of democracy, the country is would get what they wanted out of the in a state of emergency. After the peace process. They broke the peace Maoists walked away from the peac process without even saving that the talks and broke the four-month-old

ceasefire through a series of violen

state of emergency needed to be

declared. The king did that o

Monday and the army was also

attacks, the government decided that a

deployed throughout the nation. The

vernment also labelled the Maoist

errorists. This declaration has pretty

nuch put an end to the talks between

the government and the Maoists. The

state of the nation deteriorated because

reaking the peace talks, and with that

the hope of the government and the

neonle that the six-year-old insurven

would come to an end, for the firs

ime in the history of the insurveno

he Maoists attacked the Royal Nepo

equested the Maoists to not break the

peace process, but the Maoists refused

and resorted to military action. That i

Army. The Nepali intelligentsia and

political parties protested and

why it is the Maoists who are

ONE STOP

AUDIO VISUAL & PRINT

Get all vote Audio-Visual and Drint needs lander rote real

LARGE FORMAT PHOTO FINISH COLOUR PRINTING

PRE-PRINT SYSTEM WORK
Fully equipped dispal studio with PowerMac Cit and IMac
pagazined with bigo resolution professional scanner for
complex photo/side editing

maxpro

This Einstell Extremo: Tallian 977 LEARNE E-off man

hat pured apple studio monitor

► HON LINEAR BETA EDITING STUDIO

attiting option also evaluable

DTR Report designing and layout

the Maoists broke off the peace talks

and resumed their attacks. After

that by then many Nepalis will already have lost their lives Necessary evil

ould not stay on for talks. They go

down to action right away. Either the

two sides have no knowledge of each

other's powers. If they truly realis

violence is not good for the nation

then they will come rushing back to

the peace process. But the sad part is

each other's strength, and why

Space Time, 27 1 स्पेसटाइम टेनिक Although the announcement of a state of emergency is a new development in the history of Nepali politics, we cannot say it is unreasor ole or unjustified. because it has been done in keeping with the constitution. It is natural to take recourse to all the methods prescribed in the constitution and allowed by the law to maintain near law and order. Until now the Maoists

esponsible for bringing uncertainty to had taken action against civilians opposing their ideology and the police who were doing their duty. But ono The Maoists had already come to they started attacking a respected he negotiating table, but they security agency, the Royal Nepal considered it unimportant to discuss simple demands. They could have Army, this state of emergency come be a necessity dictated by the situation started by compromising on the Through this period what is expected simpler demands and pressured the of all national security organisations is government through talks to accept th that they will concentrate their effort ore complex ones. Instead, they die n disarming the Maoists. ... Individu exactly the opposite. They started ou als and the ideologies they (Maoists) with the major demands. They could tand for cannot be wiped out through not reach a solution, got frustrated, iolence. It was because the Maoist and made the big mistake of breaking the neace talks. If they had made the did not care about this fact that they eliefs. If ideology could be dictated before breaking the talks, the Maoist

would have had an advantage. Rather they have become the party that walked away from the talks. The Maoists did for breaking the talks, but also proved themselves of being an irresponsible power that has nov nushed the nation to a grave crisi This is a shameful political and diplomatic loss for the Maoists The government for its part also

uld not analyse the Maoists' demands and behaviour Instead of trying to make the talks decisive, the nent tried to stretch the rocess This was one mistake Both sides appeared unaware and even

The government claims it had to do this because of the Mao-

THIS DAGE CONTAINS MATERIAL SELECTED FROM THE NEDALL ROSS

The Maoists' activities are inappro and it is necessary to control them This situation, where all security ganisations are deployed, is a result neir conduct. That they provoked the army is not acceptable. However state of emergency means barr all political activities. What kind of nocratic practice is the governm nlementir

It is said the army was not willing to be deployed unless state of emergency was de-

clared? Why wouldn't they? The governmen deploys troops. The army has already n attacked, army personnel hav already been killed, weapons looted why wouldn't the army respond? I is already been deployed after the attack in Ďano Since a state of emergency has already been declared, what will

vou do now? Since the government has announce this without proper consultation and discussion, we do not support the declaration. We are not protesting wh the government does within the parameters of the constitution to co

careless about the aim of the talks and aired in the process

And, so both sides have failed said they had an "undeclared working unity" with the king and an agreemer o not deploy the army against then this time attacked what was not just a ensitive institution, but also the nation's last security line. This will haunt the Maoists. This attack on the Royal Nepal Army has shown that in reality the Maoist leadership is now in the hands of reactionary people like Mohan Vaidya and Ram Bahadur Thana...

"We suspect the government's - KP 0

motives"

of emergency. How does the main opposition CPN - UML react to this When different political parties asked he government of its plans on Saturday, it only mentioned that it would take effective steps. They die not say anything else besides that. When we said we must move toward declaring a state of emergency and possibly alter the rights of citizens, th ernment did not even articulate th of emergency. The government said such a situation would not arise and that we could be comfortable wit effective deployment of security force ...It is wrong to recommend a state of emergency without even consulting th in opposition and other politica parties. A state of emergency is concerned not just with the govern ment, the problem is not of the government alone, and they are not th nly ones bearing its costs, so why die they deceive the opposition parties? It is a matter of grave concern for us that the government said one thing and did

something else by suddenly declaring

the violence begun by the Maoists. Are you suspicious that the povernment is trying to hit at democracy through the emer-

We will not say that at this moment, but there are chances that democrac here might be affected depending on ow the situation unfolds. Should there have been an allparty government? hat could have happened. We have een through the years that the Nepali Congress has not been able to govern e country well

Media war कालिपर Kantipur, 22 Novembe

A tidal wave

..Our national media is falling prey mmercial papers from abroad and it is to fight this assault that major ublishers and editors of the co we got together to form the Nepal Media Society... Foreign investment this sector is flowing very rapidly, which may be detrimental to the ntion. Nepal has to fight against thi tidal wave and this is why this Society has been formed. The government is keeping silent about this and not doin anything. This casts a web of doubt o s true intentions. The government nay lose its sense of responsibility to the nation. Political compulsions or nmediate benefits may sometimes p major role in the turn of events and in such times national compromises a ot uncommon. We have many such examples before us. Foreign investme n the media sector may not be taken seriously by the Deuba government ecause of its own political compu sions. Still, how can national dailies b quiet when issues concerning the ation, nationalism and nationa interests are being compromised? How can we forget our responsibilities? The ormation of the new society must be analysed in this light, ... Today the vernment is quiet and Asia Pacific Communication Associates is begin a state of emergency. We are suspicious

ning to publish. What guarantee is there that another group will not start another paper tomorrow? The Fourth Estate is under attack. If the Deuba overnment thinks it can still protect the first, second and third estate in such a situation, that is only wishful thinking...

Where do you stand? स्थेसटाइम टेनिस्स

There has been a nation-wide scussion for some time now concerning foreign investment in print media. After leaders of the ruling party tarted speaking in the favour of foreigr vestment in the print media, the atter has suddenly taken a serious urn. If there are problems between ou nation and the parent country of the arce of foreign investment, obviously hat company will side with its own ountry. The end result will be a direct assault on our nation, nationalism and all that Nepal stands for. It might even affect the very basis of this nation's existence. The truth of the matter is, it nation has so far opened its Fourth Estate to foreign is vestment. Since Nepal is a small, weak country, it is ven more important that we take thi riously. Our neighbour India does not allow foreign investment in the orint media either. Indian politician and intellectuals ensured foreign vestment was not allowed in the sector. But here it seems that only

Il political parties, intellectual and pers of society in general should clarify their stance immediately...

Surprising silence epal Samacharpatra, adque distribution

cople directly involved in the print

dia are discussing this concern. The

ernment and the opposition have,

rprisingly, not discussed it yet. Thi

matter of utmost seriousness, and

22 November Foreign investment in the print edia is investment in the intellectua rights of the people, and surely nflicts will arise between the source untry of the investment and our tion. It will be difficult for Nepal to function properly in such a situation. The least the government could have lone was put forward its opinions cerning this, but it did not even do that...Once a paper controlled by Indians starts publishing from Nepal lo you think it will discuss matters such as Kalapani, the encroachment of Nepali territory, and the trade and sit treaty? It certainly won't, Wh have our government and our ationalist parties been mum on this? Himalawa Times has been published for the last six years. Now, with the help of foreign investment, an English-

nguage paper affiliated with it, called Himalayan Times, will be published. Certain sections of society have rotested against this very vocally, but ne dead silence in certain quarters is very surprising... The silence of the overnment and the opposition partie surprising. It is improper and naccentable that such forces of ationalism should be quiet at such a time and even more surprising is that wour of the new paper, saying things that are detrimental to nation...

Media cartel

Deshantar, 25 Novemb 200mmanualita

A group of wealthy newspaper publishers and editors have got ogether and formed a media society that has two purposes. One is to

afearard the interests of the nation and the ther is to fight for the protection and orking, the identities and objectives of the ers of this Society, you realise omething is not right. . . It appears that the eners of the fourthest ate None has articulated their vested interests until now As far as national interests are concerned nothing has happened until now that is nentalto the nation. If you think abou it there have been other times when people have been singing the praises of someone of navnill of other countries, some have been imported from other countries, still other aditors continue to receive their pension from

This new Society is apparently unaware of this, nor does it show any inclination for healthurammetition Hitherames active readers will suffer. And since this is a cartel, eywill neverpublish anything detriment: theirinterests. This will be an assault on the fundamental rights of the people, thos maranteed burbe constitution. This Societ vasactually formed only to stop the foreign tment in The Himshyan Times Bu the editors in the Society were not ready to knowledgethisobjective publicly. There avebeen many discussio reign investment in the Fourth Estate. It is t right to let any media organisation work nder the directives of foreign powers or ntries. The investment in the spaper could not come in through operchannels and so it took a roundabou te, and definitely it is fulfilling someone prests Ifhorh these objectives are nproper, then why let countries open ticmissions in this country? You nould start dosing them too

(foreign paymasters), and then there are thos

Intellectual freedom

cerpts from a page 1 editorial . What worries me right now is thi stion: if media companies star

ning cartels, then without harring uso ellectual freedom? Who will feguard that? Many publishers m to think that they are "king cers". Are publishers, editors and other media-related people also ing to start forming lobbies ar to those in many other ectors? Today they have formed an ociation to protect their interests; norrow they might start to form lliances to form and destroy nments. What will happen n? If the thought proce ng to be controlled, will the ple be the wiser? ... I used to lish naners even in the anchavat regime. At that time the objective of most papers was the oration of democracy. Despite this, we did not form cartels secause cartels can never work for benefit of the nation. Forming artels in the media would lead to the control of intellectual rights and reedom. ...This time around Himalaya Times is not part of this rtel, and Gorkhapatra was not even vited. Further, smaller papers like Nava Sadak, Prahhatkalin, Janadish: o be sure that the cartel (Media ciety) will not be used against the naller papers also? If this influices the government to stop paper n being published, that will be: n of the fundamental ights of the people. The constitu on gives all Nepalis the right to ublish papers in this country. Tha is something to be decided by the thers may backfire sometimes, and hen what? So I ask the members o the Society if some other people or rce is not using them.

30 NOVEMBER - 6 DECEMBER 2001 NEPALI TIMES HISTORY

had it is Marviet

war has its own particular character-

istics and in this sense, it cannot be

"War is the continuation of politics

develops to a certain stage beyond

which it cannot proceed by the usua

obstacles from the way. Politics is

politics with bloodshed.

war without bloodshed while war is

History shows that wars are of two

sive wars are just, and all wars tha

impede progress are unjust. Not

kinds, just and unjust. All progres

ans, war breaks out to sweep the

oy other . . . means." When politics

equated with politics in general.

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariable onduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenon enon of outward strength but inner reakness failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory

absolutely superior force (two

three, four and sometimes even fiv

or six times the enemy's strength)

strive to wipe them out thoroughly

and do not let any escape from the

net. In special circumstances, use

crushing blows, that is, concentrat

all our strength to make a frontal

attack and an attack on one or both

of his flanks, with the aim of

wiping out one part and routing

another so our army can swiftly

move its troops to smash other

enemy forces. Strive to avoid battle

of attrition in which we lose more

than we gain or only break even.

(5) Fight no battle unprepared,

fight no battle you are not sure of

ning: make every effort to b

well prepared for each battle, make

every effort to ensure victory in the

given set of conditions between the

(6) Give full play to our style of

fighting-courage in battle, no fear

of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue,

continuous fighting (fighting

successive battles in a short tim

enemy and ourselves

without rest).

the method of dealing the enemy

encircle enemy forces completely

If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more nore satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction. China's problems are complicated, and our ains must also be a little compl cated. If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace

If anyone attacks us and if the conditions are favourable for battle we will certainly act in self-defence to wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly wholly and completely (we do not strike rashly, but when we do strike

As far as our own desire goes, we do not want to fight even for a single day However, if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the

In the revolutionary war as a whole guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complemen each other like a man's right arm and left arm. In concrete terms especially concerning military rations, when we talk of the people in the base area as a factor, we mean we have an armed people. That is the main reason the enemy is afraid to approach our base area

The object of war is "to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy (which means to disarm him or "deprive him of the power to resist member of his forces physically) Destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and selfreservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself

Every war exacts a price, sometime an extremely high one. Is this not in contradiction with "preserving oneself" There is no contradiction at all: sacrifice and self-preservation are both opposite and complementary to each other. All military operations from the principles of shooting (taking cover to preserve oneself, and making full use of fire-power to destroy the enemy) to the principle of strategy—are permeated with this spirit. All technical principles and all principles concerning tactics. campaigns and strategy represent applications of this basic principle.

Our principles of operation are: (1) Attack dispersed isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated strong enemy forces later. (2) Take small and medium cities

and extensive rural areas first; tak big cities later. (3) Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. This is the outcome of wiping out the

enemy's effective strength, and ofter

a city or place can be held or seized

for good only after it has changed

(4) In every battle, concentrate an

"War is the continuation of politics." In this sense, war is politics and war itself is a political action: since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character.... However

when he is on the move. At the

same time, pay attention to the

capture enemy fortified points and

resolutely seize all enemy fortified

As for strongly defended enemy

fortified points and cities, wait

take them

ints and weakly defended citie

(9) Replenish our strength with all

the arms and most of the personne

captured from the enemy. Our

and materies are at the front

(10) Make good use of intervals

of rest, training and consolidat

permitted no breathing space.

should not be very long, and the

enemy should as far as possible be

them World War Lis an instance in which both sides fought for Communists of the whole world firmly opposed it. To oppose a war of this kind do everything possible o prevent it before it breaks out and, once it breaks out, to oppos war with war

Every Communist must grasp the truth; "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Seizing power by armed force settling the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds universally.

> According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some nnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of

army and people, between ommanders and fighters, and disintegrating enemy troops

in war, but not the decisive factor people, not things are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economi power, but also a contest of human nower and morale People necessarily wield military and conomic power.

Weapons are an important factor

The atom bomb is a paper tiger people. It looks terrible, but it isn't. Of course, it is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the people decide the outcome of a war, not one or two new types of weapon.

carried on within the Party so tha members can understand the meaning of democratic life, the relationship between democracy democratic centralism should be

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through

The Party commands the gun, the gun must never be allowed to command the Party

The People's Liberation Army has veloped its vigorous revolution ary political work, an important factor in victory over the enemy on the basis of a people's war and the principles of unity between



Going by the Little Red Book

These excerpts from Mao Zedong's Little Red Book—from sections on the armed struggle to

formation of the People's Liberation Army—all show how closely Nepali Maoists follow Mao thought, and where they see fit to diverge. The excerpts also indicate which way the Maoists

are headed, and give us a glimpse of their ultimate destination.

ing political power, surrounding the cities from "base areas" in the hinterland, and the

put into practice. Only in this way can we really extend democracy within the Party and at the same time avoid ultra-democracy and the laissez-faire that destroys disci-

In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. Ultrademocracy damages or even completely wrecks the Party niestion and weakens or ever completely undermines the Party's ing capacity, thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. The source of ultra-democracy is in the petit bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the

proletariat's fighting tasks.

Our slogan in training troops is "Officers teach soldiers, soldier teach officers and soldiers teach each other." The fighters have a lot of practical combat experience. The officers should learn from them, when they have made other people's experience their own, they will become more capable.

form of warfare. Guerrilla warfare is a weapon a nation inferior in arms and military equipment may emplo against a more powerful aggressor deep into the heart of the weaker country and occupies her territory in is no doubt that conditions of terrain, climate, and society in general offer obstacles to hi progress and may be used by those

who oppose him to advantage. During the progress of hostili ties, guerrillas gradually develop into orthodox forces that operate i conjunction with other units of the regular army.

We pursue our basic policy, the creation of a national united anti-Japanese front, to gain our political goal, the complete emancipation of the Chinese people. There are certain fundamental steps necessar in the realisation of this policy Arousing and organising the 2. Achieving internal unification

3 Establishing bases 4. Equipping forces

5. Recovering national strength 6. Destroying enemy's national Regaining lost territories

Guerrilla strategy must be based primarily on alertness, mobility, and attack. It must be adjusted to he enemy situation, the terrain, the existing lines of communication, the relative strengths, the weather and the situation of the people.

In querrilla warfare, select the actic of seeming to come from the east and attacking from the west; avoid the solid, attack the hollow: attack; withdraw; deliver a lightning blow, seek a lightning decision. When guerrillas engage a stronger enemy, they withdraw when he advances: harass him when he stops trike him when he is weary; pursu him when he withdraws. In querrilla strategy, the enemy's rear, flanks, and other vulnerable spots are his vital points, and there he must be harassed, attacked, dispersed, exhausted and annihilated.

Some simple-minded milita rists sav: "We are not interested in politics only in the profession of arms." It is vital that they be made o realise the relationship that exist between politics and military affairs

With guerrillas, a discipline of npulsion is ineffective. It must be self-imposed, so the soldier is able understand completely why he fights and why he must obey. In a evolutionary army, all individuals enjoy political liberty and the question of the emancipation of the people must not only be tolerated out discussed, and propaganda mus encouraged. It is incorrect to hold to a theory of equality in all things. But there must be equality of existence in accepting the hardships and dangers of war. There is also a unity of spirit that should exist between troops and local inhabit ants The Fighth Route Army put nto practice a code known as "Three Rules and the Eight Remarks":

All actions are subject to command Do not steal from the people. Be neither selfish nor unjust

best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Remarks All men must die, but death varies in its significance. Dying for the people is weightier than Mount have slept Tai, but working for fascists and Be courteous dying for exploiters and oppressor is lighter than a feather.

What Is Guerrilla Warfare In a revolutionary war, guerrilla operations are necessary and must not be considered an independen

As for the training courses, the

main objective should still be to

grenade-throwing and the like. The

raise the level of tactics with special

Wherever there is struggle there is

sacrifice and death is a common

interests of the people and the

heart, and when we die for the

people it is a worthy death

sufferings of the great majority at

evertheless, we should do our

occurrence. But we have the

raise the level of technique in

emphasis on night operations

marksmanship, havoneting

Replace the door when you leave Roll up the bedding on which you Be honest in your transactions Return what you borrow. Replace what you break

Do not without authority search

Nepali and Hindi movies online ticket booking at www.nepalshop.com

Embassy and Alliance Française. All films subtitled. Free passes at the French Émbassy (Lazimpat), Alliance Française (Thapathali), Chez Caroline (Bahar Mahal Revisited), Himal Media (Sanchay Kosh Building, Pulchowk). Tik 'n Tok (New Road). 27 November-2 December, Russian Cultural Centre.

Festival of French Films 12 feature films presented by the French

- Kenichi Komatsu 2001 Exhibition and sale of photographs by Japanese photographer of Mustang, Dolpa and pilgrimages to old Nepali temples. Organised by Japan-Nepal Photographic Exchange Society. Lasts until 7 December, Nepal Art Council, Baber Mahal. 220735
- Colour of my mind Paintings by Mona Ghosh, Until 2 December, Alliance Française

- * AWON Holiday Bazaar with food, games, handicrafts and Santa Claus, Admission Rs 50 perhead, children under 12 free. 10AM-5.30PM, 1 December, Hyatt Regency Hotel.
- Workshop on Knowledge Management by Mohan Dhamotharan and Vivek Rana. Organised by NGCCI in cooperation with GTZ/PSPP, Participation fee Rs 1,000, includes high tea. 5 December 1.000. ber, 2PM onwards, Hotel Yak & Yeti. For registration and details contact NGCCI Secretariat
- Contemporary Jazz dance classes by Meghna Thapa. At Alliance Francaise Sundays and Tuesdays 4,30PM-6,30PM, 241163. At Banu's, Kamal Pokhari, Wednesdays 6,30PM-8PM. Saturdays 1.30PM. 434024, 434830

- Live acoustic music Dinesh Rai and Deependra every Friday and Sunday at the Himalatte Café. 7.30PM-10PM 262526
- Weekends at The Jazz Bar The Jazz Commission on Thursdays, Chris Masand's Latin ban on Fridays and on Saturdays An Fainne, 7PM onwards, Shangri-La Hotel, 412999
- Live music Tuesday and Friday nights at the 40,000 ½ ft Bar. Rum Doodle Restaurant.
- * Himalayan Feelings Fusion band every Friday night with full Sekuwa dinner and complimen tary beer or soft drink. Rs 555 per head or Rs1010 per couple net. Traditional dances nightly in the lamp-lit courtyard, free entry. Dwarika's Hotel. 479488

- Afro-Caribbean night with music and speciality food. Rs 500, 30 November, La'Soon Restaurant and Vinotheque, Pulchowk. For reservations ring 525920.

 BBQ and Thai buffet dinner every Friday with live band Las Sonidos
- Latinos Adults Rs 500, Children under 12 Rs 250, Taxes extra, Summit Hotel, Sanepa. 521810
- Far Pavilion Indian cuisine with Sapan Pariyar and Suresh
- Manandhar, Everyday except Tuesday, 8PM-11PM. The Everest Hotel Spa Rejuvenation Cuisine Special brunch offer with use of health club and swimming pool. Every Sunday, 11.30AM-5PM. Rs 750 Hotel Yak

east at the Imperial Pavilion every Sunday. Hotel Shangri-La. 412999

- Himalayan Feelings Fusion band every Friday night with full sekuwa dinner and complimer tary beer or soft drink. Rs 555 per head, Rs1010 per couple at Dwarika's Hotel. 479488
- Le Cafe des Trekkers New Tibetan and French restaurant, Special 10 percent discount or Nepali menu until 7 December, Jyatha, Thamel, opposite Hotel Blue Diamond, 225777
- Barbecue lunch with complementary wine or beer for adults, soft drink for children. Satur days and Sundays at the Godavari Village Resort. 560675
- * Rox Restaurant Traditional home-style European cuisine from a wood-fired oven. Steaks, trout, roasted vegetables, desserts, Hotel Hyatt Regency, 491234 Peking Duck and Mandarin Music Chinese chefs' mild and spicy delicacies from the far-

- Chiso Chiso Hawama Summer B&B package for Nepalis and expatriates. Rs 1,250 per head. Club Himalaya Nagarkot Resort. 410432, 414432
- * Escape to Jomsom Two nights, three days, B&B package with tours and Pokhara-Jomsom return airfare. Expats \$250 per head. Valid until New Year. Jomsom Mountain Resort. 492009 Nagarkot Escape Weekends in cottages, views of the Himalayas, valleys and forests.
- Special rates for Nepalis and resident expatriates. Hotel Keyman Chautari keyman@wlink.com.nn 436850
- Breathtaking Escape two nights accommodation, sixcourse Krishnarpan dinner, massage afternoon tea, breakfasts, cocktail. \$155 per couple net. Valid until end December. Dwarika's Hotel 479488

For inclusion in the listing send information to editors@nepalitimes.com

This has been a long, dry November, The only rainfall recorded this month was a mild storm two weeks ago in Pokhara. But the satellite picture shows a long cloud from the Sahara to Pakistan and indicates an active jet stream. It may be blowing a westerly front our way before long. The pressure pattern indicates cloudy patches for the eastern Himalaya. But a high pressure area over the plateau and northern India will keep othe clouds at bay. For Kathmandu expect thicker morning fog due to temperature inversion with sunny clear and breezy afternoons











indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi Katherine Frank HarperCollins Publishers, London, 2001

Indira was India. Throughour childhood, love, marriage, imprisonment, motherhood and a sequence of personal and family tragedies, her personal hopes and desires would be continually subsumed by the historical and political imperatives of her country. In this beautifully written and engaging biography Katherine Frank explores the personal and political fate of the leader of the world's larges

> The Unknown Hsüan-Tsang D Devahuti, ed Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001 Rs 792

There is a silence about the years following 645AD, when Hsüan-Tsang, the Buddhist scholar visited India. German and French translations of Chinese and Uighur texts on his life were in print even in the 1850s, but this is the first time they are available to a wider audience, freshly translated into English, Editor Deavahuti also provides explanatory notes, footnotes and c

> The Quest for the Yeti: Confronting the Himalayas' Deepest Mystery Reinhold Messner Macmillan London 2000 Rs 1.500

ounter in eastern Tibet with a creature of unbelievable proportions and agility Reinhold Messner, the greatest living climber, believed he had proof of the yeti. He followed centuries-old Sherpa trade routes through Nepal, India, Bhutan and Tibet, often alone and on foot He explored forests, ravines, precipices, sooured monasteries and remote villages, seeking testimony relics and footprints, and hoping to confront his creature again and capture it on film.

Courtesy Mandala Book Point, Kantipath, 227711, mandala@ccsl.com.np

Stupa View and Restaurant & Terrace at Baudhanath Stupa. Well-appointed restaurant and terraces with views of stupa and Himalayas. nternational vegetarian specialties, pizzá from clay oven, ice cream, soft guitar tunes on Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays from 5PM on. Special events on full moon. Open daily 11AM-8.30PM. 480262.

Kodari Eco Resort Peace in natural surroundings, good views of Nepal/ Tibet border, jungle-covered mountains, Buddhist monasteries, ancient Shiva cave. Hike to villages with various ethnic groups vantage points to Himalayas. Comfortable accommodation, attached bath, balcony or terraces, good food, friendly service. 480262, kodari@mos.com.np

The way to Mexico is too far. Botega Restaurant and Tequila Bar is near Thamel Chowk, 266433, 15 nement off-season discount

The Borderlands Resort For canyoning, rafting, trekking at Tibet borders, Professional Development Program, Leadership Courses and many more 425836/425894_info@borderlandresorts.com

"highest", "first" or any other superlative, Just a relaxed, easy-going bar and restaurant with the coldest beer and juiciest steaks this side of the moon. By the Kathmandu Guest House. 433043

HMB Mountain Biking Have your bike serviced or repaired by HMB's Professional Mechanics at the HMB Workshop. Riding gear, accessories and parts available. Second hand bikes bought/sold/hired. New and reconditioned mountain bikes for sale Himalayan Mountain Bikes—Tours and Expeditions.

Best Room in Thamel Long-term only. Private terrace, bath, double-bed, wardrobe, shelves. Quiet, private, and a great view, US\$5 per day. Contact John 548119

To let Spacious furnished apartment neat Jawalakhel Zoo. Two bedrooms, two baths, large living-dining modern kitchen terrace overlooking garden. Quiet surroundings. Contact Mrs Singh at 524389

For immediate hire Toyota Land Cruiser. Threedoor air-conditioned CD player Excellent condi-K-Too! Beer and Steakhouse not the "longest", tion, great price. No brokers. Contact 9810-4192.

For insertions ring NT Marketing at 543333-36.

BBC on FM 102.4

Mon-Fri 0615-0645 **BBC World Today** 0615-0645 **BBC Science in Action** Sat Sun 0615-0645 **BBC** Agenda 2045-2115 BBC नेपाली सेवा Daily BBC नेपाली सेवा 2245-2300 Daily

Radio Sagarmatha

P.O. Box 6958, Bakhundole, Lalitpur, Nepal Tel: ++977-1-545680, 545681 Fax: ++ 977-1- 530227 E-mail: radio@radiosagarmatha.org www.radiosagarmatha.org

30 NOVEMBER - 6 DECEMBER 2001 NEPALI TIMES



Nepal's nadhatters

are

endangered

as busines

s umps.

ALOK TUMBAHANGPHEY

ll the great extravaganzas of the world, from the football and cricket World Cups to the New Orleans Mardi Gras, have one thing in common. Ever notice the crazy hats?

Surprising as some of these confections of felt, feathers and fleece are, it is more interesting to find out that much of this headgear with a sense of humour has in the last decade or so come from Nepal. Like the yeti, the crazy hat business in Nepal has a complex genealogy. Every second nerson in the industry claims to have hit upon the idea of making the silly things in this country. But Nepal's madhatters are endangered, as the Alices of the world stop dreaming.

Take, for instance, Aruna Tripathi of Freak Street, where mad hat-making is rumoured to have begun. Tripathi sits bored, far from amused by the creations she is surrounded by. "Things are not the same anymore," complains this pioneer of absurd millinery. "This business has suffered the same disease as every other

industry in Nepal. Unhealthy as soon as we started doing well." In the hevday of the hat. ome eight years ago, l'ripathi frequently receive orders for as many as 8,000

hats. In peak sea

make a profit of as much as 25 percent on a hat that on the streets of Kathmandu cost Rs 250.

Tripathi, who scoffs at suggestions that her triumph was, well, trumpery, recalls with the hint of a tear in her eye how she would pick the finest Chinese velvet in all manner of virulent colours from Khasa, and pair that with the lightest material and fastest dyes from India, to ensure the hats gave even the sweatiest football fan no

Tripathi's is one of just four or five such isinesses left of the dozen the country was home to just a few years ago. One of the others is The Kathmandu Madhatter, a once-proud bastion of baroque absurdity. This was a flourishing company that used to receive bulk orders for at least 15-20,000 hats at one go. Each of its 25 workers could make between Rs 400-Rs 1.000 a day, depending on how nimble their fingers were. Says a bitter Rajendra Deuja, owner of the Madhatter, "The wholesale market is decreasing, and what's more, our business has been taken away by the cheaper labour and goods markets in India and China."

The Kathmandu Madhatter factory is a dismal sight now, with just a handful of workers listlessly stitching up the last of the small, 6,000-hat Christmas order. That this industry, which did stellar service to modernise Nepal's image internationally and lighten the lives of so many Nepalis, is dying out, is yet another reminder of the ephemeral nature of life and its laughs.



SHOW OF FORCE: Soldiers patrol the streets outside Singha L



GRIEVING WIDOW: The first CDO to be killed in the Manist insurve-Buddhi Sagar Tripathi of Solu Khumbu is given a tearful farewell by his wife, Krishna, relatives and friends at the Police Headquarters in Kathmandu on Luesday, 27 November



SAD HOMECOMING: Security forces casualties being brought back to Kathmandu airport from Phaplu on Monday afternoon. The aircraft rushed reinforcements back 26 November



30 NOVEMBER - 6 DECEMBER 2001 NEPALI TIMES



Under My Hat

by Kunda Dixit

nong the priceless items of heritage that we are in langer of losing to the relentless march of civilisation we know it are our glorious superstitions. There are those who do not value our traditional faith in these beliefs which have been handed down from one generation of Nepalis to another since time immemorable. Today, these customs are in danger of being discarded into the dustbin of

For instance, the practice of blowing into your forefinger in case you accidentally touch your throat with it. Countless people through the centuries have prevented gotire with this simple, yet cost-effective, remedy. Similarly, it is because we believe in Black Cat commandos crossing the street that our

national leaders are safe and sound, mostly sound. Superstitions have a role to play in development as well. We can concoct new superstitio s to combat corruption, for example, by spreading the belief that stealing is a sin and those who accept kickbacks will notice their fingers falling off one by one. That should clean things up.

We have other natural and supernatural wonders that are also endangered. One of them is Hell. People have forgotten that there is such a place, and it is vitally important in this day and age to re-invent the concept of Hell as a deterrent to control corruption, smuggling, urinating on Tundikhel, and other ills that plague contemporary Nepali society. To find out exactly how things are going on in Hell, we were recently granted an exclusive interview with the Devil in his secret nideout. Excerpts:

Q: Mr Satan, let me play the devil's advocate here and ask you a hypothetical question. Suppose we said you are personally responsible for many of the misfortunes that have visited our nation in the recent past, how would you

A: At this present point in time, I'm afraid, I can neither confirm nor deny those rumours. But it is a

matter of policy in The Netherworld (and I said this to CNN this morning) that we make life a living hell for all and sundry. We have managed all, now we are working on the sundry. Q: Giving you, as Devil, his due, is the declaration of a state of national calamity going to affect your activities in any way?

A: Well, I may have to go underground and lie low for a bi with my cousin. Beelzebul

Q: Poor devil. It is alleged that you have a hand in making lesser mortals engage in nefarious activities like corruption, smuggling and even urging them to become miscreants at Tundikhel.

A: These reports are grossly exaggerated. I will frankly admit to you—and this is totally off the record and if you quote me I will force you to print a retraction and veher ever said it-I have on occasion mistaken the Tundikhel fo

Q: Be that as it may, hasn't this perpetual state of tension between Heaven and Hell gone on for a bit too long? After all, it is having serious consequences on the tourism industry. Will you at some point resume negotiations with God? No way in hell. You see, these tensions benefit me.

O: How exactly? A: Well, some of the guards at the pearly gates are on my

payroll and they misdirect the new arrivals to purgatory from where, after intensive training in being bad, they con

O: We bear rumours of a serious energy crisis in hell. Some returnees have told us that the fires are not burning a fiercely as in the past and there is a draft. Are you caught here between yourself and the deep

A: That is correct. It is due to: temporary shortage of CNG caused by universal pollution control measures, and unfortu nately we in Hell are also

affected. But we will soon be switchin urning tyres to tide over the shortage. Things should be nice and toasty then.



कांगियोसंग मित्रता स्वस्थ कपालसंग प्रेम

Advanced Protein Health Complex que suf feefee पाल प्रोटिन स्थान्यु, जाले कपालबाट गुमेको प्रोटिन फकांग्रेछ, कपालनाई स्थान र बीनवी बनाईछ । अनि कपाल कोटो दुवने इर दिन र काणियांने कोई सरस्र।



NEPALI SOCIETY



ave Nepalis become too cynical to laugh? Ha-ha, that's a good one, chuckles Krishna Murari Gautam, who goes by his nom de guerre Chatyang Master (lighting they recognise someone's voice," flash). He is best known for his morning monologues on Radio Sagarmatha, and a fortnightly satire in verse on Himal Khabarpatrika. Many Nepalis don't know his real name, or that he is an agriculture economist. But they know his voice.

"I was buying fruits in Dakshinkali, and a couple of kids came up and said: aren't you says Gautam in his rapid-fire chatter.

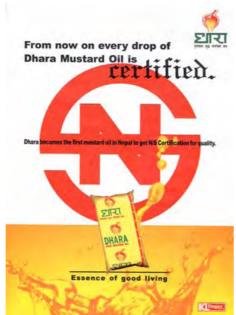
While he is not making the nation laugh at itself, Gautam is helping boost farm productivity. His work has been so effective, the World Bank with farmers in China. USAID has

sent him to India. After graduating from an Australian university. Gautan came back to Nepal to see if he could annly what he learnt Resides his professional work, and hobby as "part-time comedian", Gautam is an activist who tries to change attitudes by setting a personal example. Some days you see him and a group of volunteers sweeping the premises of schools in Kathmandu Valley, or planning new ways to enhance the dignity of cremation rites.

Gautam is dead serious when he talks about Nepal and his absolute belief that this country can and will progress, "There are lots of Nepalis who are not corrupt." he says gesturing vigorously, "the majority are honest, hard-working people with integrity. But you don't hear about them because they are too busy getting work done."

As Chatyang Master, Gautam gets immediate feedback on his radio talk and this is his adrenalin. After poking fun at the sad state of the library at the Royal Nepal Academy. he got a call one day from Tulsi Bhattarai, the librarian, who said: "Come and see for yourself what it looks like now."

Chatvang Master thinks Nepalis have an innate capacity to laugh at absurdities. "As long as we can do that we will be ok " he says. "Humou is all about twisting the logic of things." Chatyang Master has resumed his popular radio talk after nearly six months, which is on air a 7:25 AM every Friday on Radio



CDO Regd No. 194/056/57 Lalitpur, Central Region Postal Regd. No. 04/058/5