



There too still too many "ifs"

What if the Election Commission

and flag? What if it reaches a

When will the Supreme Court

finish hearing four different

freezes the disputed party symbol

You ain't seen nothing



BINOD BHATTARAI

f you thought the split in the Nepali Congress would end instability and focus the minds of politicians to restoring peace and governance, think again.

Expect even uglier scenes as two Congresses grapple for the party's four-star flag, its powerful symbol (tree), and the party name. What is surprising is that the climax of this epic battle appears to be completely removed from the country's present crisis. There is a disconnect. This makes the Deuba-Koirala feud even more surrealistic. The Maoists themselves are quiet, and don't seem to see the point in overthrowing a government that is busy overthrowing itself.

Strings attached

A five-member Nepali team that includes the prime minister's wife, Arzu Rana, is in London this week to ask donors for over \$1 billion in development, rehabilitation and military aid. It is not a pledging conference, but aid agencies want to hear that the government is serious. Donors say they are convinced Nepal needs aid, and are willing to give the money, but have doubts about governance. They are waiting for signs like the trimming down of the 37-member cabinet, launching a serious anticorruption drive and legal action against top high-profile bank defaulters. These are tough demands on a partyless govern ment facing elections, but it really doesn't have a choice.



O. How do you rate Sher Rahadur Deuba'

It may take months for the Supreme Court and the Election Commission to decide on how the 53-year-old party's spoils should be divided. Till that happens, everything else will be on hold

First, the Election Commission has to decide which is the legitimate Nepali Congress: picking between Koirala's legally elected party body and Deuba's hurriedly cobbled together team

The EC will probably decide to reinstate the Girija Congress, leaving Deuba with no party with which to contest elections. The deadline to register a new party ends on 10 July

How could things have got so nasty? A brief recap:

- May 1999: Nepali Congress wins a majority in Parliament. KP Bhattarai is prime minister and brings in sidekicks. Koirala immedi ately begins needling him.
- March 2000: Koirala engineer. Bhattarai's exit and installs himself as prime minister. KP gets Deuba to challenge Koirala., and is defeated
- January 2001: Deuba tries again, is defeated and is drubbed by Koirala again at the Pokhara Convention. June 2001: royal massacre, a
- new Maoist offensive July 2001: Koirala resigns after failing to get Army to retaliate against Maoists in Holleri.
- August 2001: Deuba gets Maoists to agree to truce and talks.

 November 2001: Maoists break
- truce, attack Army in Ghorahi. 22 May 2002: Party brass orders Deuba not to extend the emergency, who retaliates immediately by getting the king to dissolve parliament and call for elections
- Party expels Deuba for three years 16 June: Deuba convenes 'party convention", re-writes rules, expels Koirala as presiden and installs himself as head of

And that's where Nepal now stands with elections for 13 November, though few believe it will be full free and fair. The Maoists have been strategising and have sent signals they don't want elections. And if the polls can't take

rump Congress

risis which King Gyanendra will have to unravel

Suddenly, Deuba is not as strong as he once seemed, and he appears to have banked a bit too much on the support of the international community. Of the elected 18 Central Working Committee (CWC) members Deuba has been able to take only six. He thought mediators Ram Chandra Poudel and Mahesh Acharya were on his side, but got a rude shock when they defected

lawsuits, with 36 lawyers arguing and only four-hour session daily Till this week, state media was still giving glowing accounts of the prime minister's party takeover. What intrigues one exminister is how Deuba, known

rial appointments, hurriedly decided to dissolve parliament within two hours on 22 May, "Don't ask me who is pulling Deuba's strings," th minister told us. The answer may lie tried to patch-up till the last moment on Tuesday. He told us: in the joke that was being whispered at the Birendra Convention Centre this week: Q: "What is the "Deuba shouldn't have taken the legal path, it will make it more name of Deuba's faction?" A: difficult for him once this is over

"Royal Nepali Congress." One man hasn't spoken up ye patriarch KP Bhatarai, Can he still pull a rabbit out

as an indecisive prime minister who has been sitting on ten ambassado-



TWO SIDES OF THE SAME







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by RAM SHARAN MAHAT

STATE OF THE STATE **Home among Muslims**

The communalism virus from across the border is poisoning the tarai.

exposes the uply intolerance beneath the

rageously priced plate of meat at any

recent meeting. Even their existence is

It wasn't always so. Nepal's Muslim

pulation is not very large, just under a

million, but up from 650,000 ten years ago

There is controversy about the accuracy of

census figures, but the fact remains that the

number of Muslims is a very small percent

age of over 23 million Nepalis. They are

across the tarai, but can even be found in

some hill districts like Kathmandu

increasingly being questioned.

IN CASE OF EMERGENCY, BREAK GLASS

n the current politically charged atmosphere, one reality is self-evident: almost no one is playing by the rules. Internal party rules are being bent by this or that faction, underground Maoists operate as outlaws, even constitu-

In this legal limbo of the state of emergency, there are actually very few rules. And those that exist pertain to what you can't do, rather than what you can. Most rights of individual citizens are on hold. This is when the truth becomes subversive to those who have a lot to hide. Yet, it needn't be

War strategists have long held that information-believable and credible information—is a weapon to win the battle for public opinion. There is a whole subject they teach at war schools on information warfare. Propaganda, they

tell you, is effective only when it doesn't sound like propaganda.

The biggest asset of the government in this time of emergency is its nearmonopoly on information. However, it is very easy to make this monopoly futile—by a self-perpetuating perception that official information is not plausible. It is not incredible, therefore, that news today lacks credibility. You'd have thought that our info-mandarins would have learnt from the mistakes of the past, but no such luck. Going by the coverage of the current party-government feud, the official media is behaving like the mouthpiece of the party-in-power.

And then there is the Defence Ministry's daily faxed statements to the media. Most of its contents are probably true, but they lack the presentation that lends them credence. It is not what is said, but how it is eaid-either the sterile daily listing of war dead and captured material, or television pictures of piles of decomposed corpses so gruesome that the footage shocks even the battle-hardened.

The result is that a scentical public conditioned by 30 years of unfreedom focuses on what is not said rather than on

There could be nothing more wasteful than this squandering of the public trust when that trust is a vital hearts and minds tool.

More than six months after the imposition of the state of emergency, it is becoming increasingly clear that the government (or what is left of it) needs to show greater media savvy. We don't expect it from the Manists, since we know that they are for totalitarianism, all or nothing. They have proved time and again that the punishment for disagreeing with the party line is banishment to the gulag of the hereafter, It is logical, therefore, that anyone fighting the Maoists must be against totalitarianism and on the side of democracy and a free press. We cannot use their tactics.

Banning the truth doesn't make it disappear. Free speech is not truly free if you are only allowed to say nice things. The government may not like what the media says, but it must protect our right to say it. Otherwise, what are we fighting for?

SLIGA (Mahottari District) __ When the go anywhere near his kitchen. This comment destination is home, even a short journey is surface of this seemingly tolerant society. If you are Muslim, don't refuse the offer of an far too long. The day trip from Kathmandu to Ialeshwar is indeed long in time and space: it takes more than eight hours in a run-down bus that rocks and rolls through Mueling eatery-you run the risk of being taunted that halal meat is tasteless. The fate nine of Nepal's 75 districts. of the dalits is bad enough, but the lot of Nepali Muslims is even worse, as Dr. Krishna Bhattachan rightly observed at a

Monsoon Nepal rushes past the window: in Naubise farmers dressed in colourful clothes are planting paddy, in Bharatpur it is already harvest time for another variety of rice, in Dhanusha farmers in drab dhotis are busy irrigating their fields to transplant rice. Our buses were ramshackle, but it is still a beautiful country out there.

The first stop after the bus leaves Kathmandu is usually Dharke. The teashop owner there assures some bahun-type passengers that the food at his eatery is "nure" as he doesn't allow "Mussalamans" to

> In Suga, we know our Mussalmans more by their castes than their religion. On the western fringes of the village, the cluster of houses belongs to Jolahas-the weavers. Machine-made cotton put them out of business long ago, and our generation of Iolahas never got a chance to run the loom. They made a living share-cropping, but Asia, Guiarat and Puniab that sustains most families. A purca mosque has replaced the spotlessly clean thatched-hut that I played around as a child, but there is no sign of the Oil Money that the Indian media never tires

of talking about. At the northeast fringe of the village there is another mosque in the Dhobi Tole. This too is now pucca, but the madrassa is a recite "Alif-Be-Te" at the top of their voices. No sign of "foreign-funding" here either, and the only reason the poor prefer to send their children to Madarassa is the fact that these schools have flexi-time. Normal schools run according to a set routine and make no allowance for the children who have to help their parents at work. A few returnees from the Gulf irned entrepreneurs and run a

Public Call Office, a tailoring shop, d a grocery. Other than that, the in Dhobi Tole is as pervasive as the adjoining Chamar Tole Clients rindled as more people wash their clothes at home these days, but

then many Dhobis from our village have set up shops at Jaleshwar and Janakpur. On Saturdays, they sin bottled soft drinks at the neighbourhood shop while the others toil at

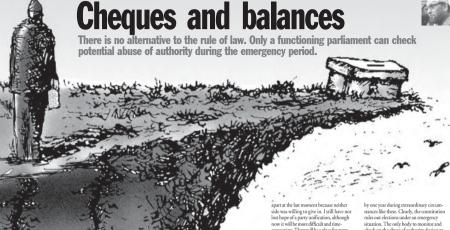
the Dhobi Pokhari.

During my childhood, we never thought that we were any different from our Jolaha or Dhobi neighbours, except the fact that the better off among us wore more expensive clothes. Village festivals were almost all common. I remember going around the village with the Tazia procession every year shouting "Ha Hussain" to mark the martyrdom of the grandson of the Holy Prophet, Once I had to fake a Hindu name for my Muslim friend to enable him get the tasty prasad from a Hindu temple in Janakapur But in our house. Muslims were always welcome for what they were.

The difference of religion rose with the Emergency in India and its effects spilled over to the our side of the border. It was in this period that the Muslims came to be looked down upon by the powerful people on both sides of the border and the difference between two communities started to surface. My participation in Tazia processions came to an end with the ritual sacrifice of a rooster and the presentations of a ceremonial turban to a long dead Sufi

These days Salam, the traditional mode of Muslim salutation, has been gentrified into the more religious As-salam-wale-kum. The benign Ram Ram greeting has now become a defiant Iai Sri Ram. There is a process of Arabisation that is turning Muslims into Islamists, while saffronisation is transforming Hindus into Hindutwabadis. The communal virus from across the border is slowly poisoning the social atmosphere of the tarai. This civilisational hubris has turned devout Hindus into Hindutva zealots and godfearing Muslims into hard-hoiled Islamites Culture is almost always inclusive and tolerant. The challenge before us is to once again reassert the inherent unity in the rsity of cultures. Building an inclusive identity based on the Right to Equality enshrined in Clause 11 of The Constitution of The Kingdom of Nepal is perhaps the only way of creating more effective social

Nepal is a "Hindu and Constitutional Monarchical Kingdom" but all its people ...irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe, collectively constitute the nation" are



hese are impic and difficult times Here is a breakaway faction of the ruling party that held a political eathering that it called a "convention" declared the prime minister party president, and along the way violated every rule in the book. The official media was used to justify and defend this action, to mislead and misinform the public. The abuse of state machinery to coerce those who did not agree may be an indication of what lies ahead Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba has for as long as I have known him, been a man with democratic credentials. How these things are happening under his leadership, I cannot explain

In the absence of a functioning parlia ment, parliamentary committees, and other checks available in normal times these soingson, paradoxically, happened under a demo-cratic constitution. The emergency clamped to deal with the problem of terrorism, but the axe is falling somewhere else.

The dissolution of the House came as a complete surprise to us. As a matter of fact, we had not even discussed the possibility of elections while I was in government. We never foresaw such a situation, and could

never imagine holding elections in the present situation. Nor did we ever think that a mid term election would offer a solution to the country's problems. I sensed that something was deeply wrong, and stepped down. The country was headed on a serious

and uncertain political trajectory, and there was no justification for dissolving the House and announcing elections. Local elections couldn't be held, and even the recent school exams were confined to district headquarters Seeking a fresh mandate, therefore, just didn't make sense. Armed groups rule the countryside, no political party is able to hold public meetings outside the district headquarters, there is no free movement o people and civil rights have been curtailed Disarming the Manists is the first precondition to holding free and fair elections.

The economic burden of general elections is even more scary. The direct costs of the election in 1999 was about Rs 600 million, including security. This time, with the added cost of security and the Election Commission the November polls will cost the exchequer more than Rs 3 billion. With the present state of the economy, we just cannot afford it.

The government's finances are in a very fragile state. Only with strict financial discipline and prudent management, were we able to contain the deficit and ensure macro-economic stability, thus keeping international confidence and support. The price tag of the elections will throw the precarious fiscal balance asunder.

The Royal Nepal Army has been doing a splendid job militarily in weakening the Maoists, but the problem of terrorism is far from over. The army should have been allowed to continue with the momentum they have gained, but their primary responsibility will have to be diverted to provide security to candidates, polling booths, election personnel, and voters

Then there is the question of the Nepali Congress split and who gets to carry the flag. We tried our best to prevent a formal split in the party by reconciling government with party. We had also proposed a small, wellbalanced, and clean government. The patchup formula included a face-saving way for the prime minister to express regret for dissolving the house, in return for which the party would withdraw its expulsion order. We made some progress, but everything fell

consuming. There will be a place for every body in the party to work with dignity, including Mr Deuba There is no doubt that the Election

Commission will award the Congress election symbol to the party led by Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister Deuba just does not have the legitimacy to be party president. If his faction was to get the party nbol or even if the Election Commission decides to freeze the symbol to favour him. it would be a mockery of justice and the rule of law. And that would indicate a serious threat to the democratic process

This country now needs to create new space to allow democratic institutions to egenerate. The influence of wrong elements in politics at the party level has been the main factor leading to poor service delivery and high corruption. Party leaders have politicised institutions, and created fieldoms of power brokers in political parties. Only strong political will, enlightened leadership and statesmanship can deal with this.

There are several ways out of the preser mess. There is a possibility that parliament will be restored and there are strong legal and constitutional arguments for this. The constitution provides that the life of the House of Representatives can be extended

check on the abuse of authority during an emergency period is the parliament. It is my hone and belief that the court will order the restoration of the House of Representatives. Only if this does not happen will elections be an option. And if it comes to that we have no choice but to go to the people.

There are some who would not be avers to a benevolent authority figure to ensure development and better governance. But if the present trend continues things can get much worse unless there is proper account-ability, necessary checks and balances, and parliamentary oversight.

Let us be clear: there is no alternative to

the rule of law. There is no alternative to civil rights. There is no alternative to a functioning parliament. There is no alternativ to the full respect for human and civil rights. All these insinuations about a royal takeover are ridiculous. His Maiesty the King is a very enlightened and well-meaning monarch committed to the present constitution Democracy will prevail in the end, and for this our democratic institutions will have to be vibrant and effective once more.

(Ram Sharan Mahat was Finance Minister in the Deuba cabinet and resigned on 23 May.)

NEPALI CONGRESS You ain't seen nothing vet. (#99) was a flashback to the past three years of drama in the Nepal Congress, But you may need to look further back to the restoration of democracy 12 years ago for causes of today's events. Kishunii almost flawlessly handled the first two years of interim government and constitution. But in the very first

Immediately after he became Prime Minister, Giriiababu dismissed six senior ministers of the "Kishunii camp" on the advice of his stalwarts, who also managed to cripple the bureaucracy by sacking thousands of civil servants. In retaliation, Kishunji's camp abstained from a crucia vote in parliament which com-

Kathmandu cons

defeated him

tituency, and



LETTERS

campaigned against Kishunii in the term elections, boasting that he vould get an absolute majority The result in 1995 was a hund parliament and Sher Bahadur Deuba as prime minister. But Giriiababu became restless and unseated Deuba too.

In the last election Girijababu announced publicly that Kishunji would be prime minister if his party won. Voters helieved him and Kishunii became prime minister. But Girijababu started trying to bring him down from the very next day. He became prime minister and the whole saga was eneated when he resigned and Deuba took over last year. So last week's drama was only the latest in this long story of back-stabbing. Whether the split in Congress was good or had, only time will tell. But it is obvious to many neutrals like me that Girijahahu is more responsible than Deuba for undermining the Nepali

Congress. Name withheld on reques

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

I don't mean to sound like a communalist, but communalism or casteism are what seem to prevail in Nepal, going by the list of new secretaries. Every time the government announces appointees, political or other wise. I look to see if there is a wider representation from Nepal's ethnic diversity. I look at the current list of amhassadors and CDOs, and check how many are Magar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, or Gurung. Sadly, their representation is almost nil What did the 30 years of so called suited-to-the-soil Panchayat regime and over a decade of democracy bring for the Tamanos and other ethnic groups? Absolutely nothing. Are they not part of mainstream Nepal? When will we have true national integration? To a large extent, the long-term solution to the Manists or similar problems lies in addressing the griev-

ances of various ethnic groups S Prakash, by email At the all-party mass meeting in Kathmandu recently, the president of a national party was not allowed to speak in Hindi on the grounds of it being antinationalist. The incident throws up complex questions concerned with the core of Nepali nationhood and democracy. What is a nation? The essence of nationalism in these countries lies in "unity in ersity"-a common sentiment that hinds neonle in snite of differences. This implies that speaking in Hindi in Nepal strengthens national lovalty by integrating people who speak this language into the mainstream and accepting the principle of diversity. Then there is the perception of nationalism among Nepalis. Is our unity and natriotism so franile that it will be shattered if someone speaks in a language that might not be spoken by the majority population? There is a false perception that to be a good nationalist, one has to be anti-tarai and alienate that section of the nation because their distinct habits, language and way of life

are similar to India. This is pseudo

A large section of pahadis have found it difficult to accept madhesis as an intrinsic part of Nepal. This discrimination has made it difficult for madhesis to reach decision-making posts in the higher echelons of the government. Just look at the figures: only two SP's and one SSP in the police belong to southern Nepal, Only eight of the country's 75 CDO's are madhesis. While there is one school for every 100 households in the hills, the tarai helt has only one school for 400 households Among 15 educationally disadvan

taged groups, 11 are from the tarai Pahadis need to shed their anti-tarai attitude, and promote national consolidation and greater participation of tarai people in national affairs. This must be done with utmost care so that the pahadi-madhesi divide doesn't go deeper and break Nepal's fragile socio-political stability. But the silence of the major political parties about this discrimination is deafening. Nationalism requires

 I really wonder why people think the monarchy is Nepal's great saviour? What have we gained over the past centuries besides poverty, illiteracy and serious social problems? It is only the Nenali neonle who can save the country by developing it, educating themselves and make multiparty democracy work

SAGARMATHA NATIONAL PARK Nature may be protected in Sagarmatha National Park (#99) but I would like to draw your attention to the massive timbe poaching going on in outside the park boundary. Last month, walking from Phakding to Lukla, saw about 40 porters carrying long timber logs toward Upper Khumbu. The timber was fron Ponya forest in Jubing VDC and being sold in Namche and

people of all hues and walks of life Khumjung. Members of the commuto live in harmony, and accept nity forest user group say that they have already counted 4,000 logs Prashant Jha, going towards Namche. When they Delhi University tried to stop the porters, they were hreatened. But the women from the surrounding villages forced

> about 400 logs to be confiscated and stored with the community It is apparent that the demand for timber for new construction in Namche and Khumiung is driving this trade and that the lons are coming from outside the park demand rises during the monsoon. K Timsina, by email because it is the lean tourist season, and that is when most of the renovation is done. As the community showed, local action can stop the smuggling. The timber huvers in Namche must also realise that it is their demand that is destroying forests elsewhere. You

> > responsibly and in a sustainable manner. Pasang Gelzen Sherpa Pema Choling Forest User

can't han logging, but timber

resources can be managed

NOT AMUSED Generally Puskar Bhusal's

on pragmatic reasoning and logic However, his "Pervez's letter to Sher Bahadur" (#99). The crude sense of humour was missed by most people in Nepal who asked for confirmation from us if the President of Pakistan had actually written such a letter to the Nepali Prime Minister. It would have been much hetter if the contents of the letter had appeared in the form of an article on Pakistan-Nepal relations. This would have prevented the paper from drawing n the Head of another country in Nenal's domestic situation, You must give credit to your leaders for home grown actions and response to various internal compulsions and also by the same logic hold them accountable for the perceived failings rather than shifting responsibility for Nepal's current malaise to a country that does not even have geographical

columns are of high quality based

contiguity with Nepal. Yes it is true that General Group, Solu-Khumbu Musharraf has become a house hold name in Nepal because peoples of South Asia have appreciated his charismati leadership qualities, his direct and forthright approach and the rage to face even the most difficult situations. By the way Mr. Pushkar should understand the difference between a referendur and elections to avoid equating the two different political terminology.



would like to see Nepal coming out of the current difficulties so hat the country can march towards real progress, development, and prosperity

Kamal Ahmad. First Secretary (Press and Culture) Embassy of Pakistan

PRESS FREEDON

Jane Elizabeth Kirtley's view "Journalists reduced to being overnment mouthnieces" #99 regarding the media in Nepal hit the bull's eve. However, the question of raising the standards of Right to Information Act is table. The consequences of media warfare without the platform of development can have both positive and negative results, generally more tilted towards the latter. As Kirtley says, "Freedom of information laws can also have perverse effect..." and more so if the recipient mass is swayed easily The guest of the media to sell the story to the citizens of one of the poorest nations in the world can spark pessimism quite easily. It

should be the perpetual effort of the government to impart rays of hope and induce positive attitude to its people. This implies quite obviously that in order to guide sacrifice by imposing a positive check on the media becomes very essential. Considering all the differences, one thing that should be borne in mind is that

the line drawn is bound to be

much lower in our context than

that in the USA. iA Pî, by email

CORRECTIONS

In Lhakpa Sherpa's Sagarmatha National Park (#99), it was then Prince Gyanendra who, in 1973, committed to the international community in Bonn to declare Sagarmatha a national nark

 "Bhairav Aryal" (Nenaliterature #99) was nart one of a two-part piece. The next instalment will appear in

One small step for womankind

RAMYATA LIMBU

"A husband will now have to submit a written application and get approval to have sex with his

"A man will now have to beg for sex in his own home? "A wife can now send her husband to jail on a whim.'

These are some of the headlines and comments in the Nepali media after the 3 May Supreme Court ruling that martial sex without the wife's consent should be considered rape

The judgement came in esponse to a petition filed in July 2001 by the Forum on Women. Law and Development, and is widely welcomed by activist groups, although a conservative and male-dominated public has tried to ridicule it. In a 15-page indeement released last week the upreme Court stresses that Hindu religious texts highlight conjugal harmony based on "The judgement has ad-



Okay, just sign here!

British colonial rule across South Asia.

nowhere give a husband the leeway to inflict inhuman acts

several women approached us complaining that their husbands were forcing them to have sexual relations," says lawyer Sapana Pradhan Malla of the Forum, As no charges could be made on those grounds since there was no law, legal activists collaborated to present a test case in court The court has directed parliament to amend the present rape

Malla admits there has been some mockery of the Supreme Court ruling, but says the news isn't all bad. "Apart from a few cartoons ridiculing the judgement, and some write-ups arguing that it undermines and threatens social harmony, most of the feedback has been positive," she says.

dressed the root cause of the problem—that patriarchal value derive their authority by controlling sexuality. Recognis-ing rape within marriage as a crime is the first step. The econd step is to amend the law [regulating rape] and to get it passed in parliament. Third. enforcement and awareness measures have to be put into place to create an environmen that allows victims to come forward," says Malla. "After all, ow many women will dare challenge the institution

A few have however A young mother of three, Roshni

such as rape upon his wife. "We filed the petition after

laws to reflect the ruling. Hindu social and religious values

a divorce. She has decided to

बलात्कारी श्रीमान् र हाम्रो समाज SC empowers women not to take it lying down Court to decide on husband's forced sex यौनाशक्त पतिहरू, पत्निसंग साबधान Sex without wife's consent is rape: SC Wife's 'rape' may be difficult Beware! From Bedroom to Court room सर्वोच्चको निशाना र भालेको ख्वावासी The Charles Charles

The recent Supreme Court judgment on marital rape hasn't yet become law, but abused wives could soon get some respite.

(name changed) is bent on getting speak when she recalls the young brave the disapproval of family and society, because she cannot take the constant physical and sexual abuse she faces from her alcoholic husband anymore—her reproductive organs were damaged after her husband repeatedly raped her while she was recovering from

A shiver runs up Basundhara Thapa's spine every time she thinks of Roshni. A seasoned attorney who offers free legal aid to women, Thapa finds it hard to

woman's bruised and battered body and her desperate appeals for counsel. "It is unbelievable what can go on behind the surface of what appears to be an ideal marriage. Battery and physical abuse is one extreme. But the instances of sexual abuse some women face are often unimagina ble," says Thapa, who works through the Legal Aid Consultancy Centre's Women's Rights Helpline Project in Kathmandu. She's helping Roshni get a divorce.

Since its establishment in

Centre (LACC) has been offering legal aid to hundreds of Nepali women seeking legal recourse including separation or divorce as a last resort—against husbands who've made life for them a living hell. Since LACC set up its Women's Rights Helpline Project in January 1999, it has provided legal aid and advice to nearly 6,000 women on issues ranging from bigamy, rape, battery, dowry issues, trafficking, and division

1987, the Legal Aid Consultancy

of property. Thapa says she has learnt one

she has heard. "If you delve to the core of the problems of violence against women and matrimonial disharmony, the majority of problems are based on sex," she explains. "But owing to the lack of specific legal provisions, it is extremely difficult to prove sexual abuse, especially within a marriage." Lawyers have until now had to resort to existing laws pertaining to battery and polygamy, which are ineffective in proving rape cases. The laws in place also make it difficult for police, often the first to receive reports of domestic violence, to put the case forward, "Police nersonnel, often the first to get reports of domestic violence, try to patch up couples and send them on their way In that case. the woman might be victimised and face more abuse." says Bandana Rana, vice president of Saathi, a forum that works to counter violence against women. While many welcome the

ruling, they're scentical about how practical it is. "It may have opposite effect," says Viplob Pratik, a journalist, "I don't see the average Nepali woman going to court. There's fear of retaliation, of social disapproval. In some cases, it may provide an easy way to break a relationship leading to increased divorce suits Also, the ruling is silent on situations where women may force men to have sex with them It would be more practical to lobby for an effective Domestic Violence Bill".

Under the present rape laws marital rape is not recognised. regardless of the woman's age. A

emulate their feathered counterparts. Possibly, they had even learnt to consort with their mates in a manner learnt from the said counterpart in the animal world. So when the Supreme Court, targeted the rooster with an arrow, the rooster-head of the house, the home-owner, the god-like husband-felt an earthquake measuring 10 on the Richter scale. Chans and confusion reigned and the males began looking in all directions for help. Unfortunately, the cries of the roosters went unheard by the patriarchy or by the old baba Pashupatinath. ... One morning, a small group of roosters gathered at the teashop. Their lips were dry, their eyes and ears drooped and their voices were hoarse..." (Khagendra Sangroula, Kantipur, 11 May)

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HUMAN ROOSTERS

charge of rape can only be filed against a man but not a busband who has had sexual intercourse with a woman under sixteen with or without consent, or who has forced the act upon a woman over 16. Punishment ranges from six-10 years imprisonment for the rape of a girl below 14, and three-five rears for the rape of a woman

The judgement highlights the need to formulate comprehensive legal provisions for victims that clearly set out the kind of evidence and circumstances admissible, and the sentence a man found guilty of marital rape woman faced with such a

passed by parliament and is awaiting the royal seal, the punishment for raping girls below 10 ranges from 10-15 years while

situation should have the choice

to get a divorce, or separate from

addresses the issue of marital rape

her husband. In addition, it

in child marriage and says

consideration must be given to

the special situation and status

of husband in marital life". The

ruled that rapists of sex workers

individuals who rape sex workers

In the 11th amendment to the

pay a fine of Rs 500 or serve a

Civil Code that was recently

should be given equal punishment

Supreme Court judgement also

as other rapists. Presently,

year in jail.

विक्रमा स्ट्रम काजासमा

मीह गरत र, अति

the punishment for raping victims between 10-15 years of age ranges from seven-10 years. Rapists of women above 16 could face between five and seven years behind bars

The apex court's ruling also between the Muluki Ain (Civil

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Code) and the Nepali constitu tion, which pledges to end all forms of gender discrimination in line with international inerry ments, such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) the Bailing Platform for Action, and other human rights covenants that Nepal is

In addition, the ruling cites landmark cases in the UK (Regina vs R 1992) and in the US Peoples vs Liberta 1984), where the House of Lords and the Court of Appeals in New York respectively decided that marriage was not a license for rape and that there is no difference between rape inside and outside of marriage.

A survey conducted by Saathi

found that 95 percent of 1,250 female respondents questioned had faced some sort of violence at some point. The survey said that rape (30 percent), after beating (82 percent), was the second most common form of physical violence against women "Violence such as wife-beating is accepted by society. Not becaus our religious texts tell us to, but because society has misinterpreted what they actually say Vomen are socially conditioned to accept and bear violence, but to what extremes?" asks Rana. who is also a counsellor at Saathi

"Having a law is the first step We tell women about their rights that they should take legal recourse," explains Rana. "But we need to create mechanisms. shelters where the women can stay while they decide what to do and when they have nowhere else to go. Already, the Valley's few shelters are full. "It's hard to find a place for women engaged in legal battles, since divorce and separation cases take a long time to settle, and shelters don't have the place or resources to keep victims that long," says Thapa. "We need to get the state involved " •

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DOMESTIC BRIEFS Restless refugees

Bhutanese refugees languishing in camps in eastern Nepal are getting impatient. In a petition signed by 1,933 refugee families in Khudunabari—the first camp where field verification has been completed by the Bhutan Nepal Joint Verification Team-they say that there appears either or both the governments are deliberately delaying justice. Now that they've completed their part of the deal by submitting necessar papers, the families have urged both governments to make public the results of the field verification and to announce a timeframe for their repatriation to Bhutan. They have urged the JVT to resume verification n the remaining six refugee camps and asked the international commu nity to encourage both countries to get over with the task. Field verification of refugees at Khudunabari started on 26 March, 2001 following the 11th round of hilateral talks in December 2000. The last Khudunahan

Roaring peace ride

They're off. A couple of Himalayan Enfielders, bikers from Kathmandu's local Enfielders club, will travel 6,000 km through 16 Indian states to spread the message of peace. Aimed at promoting Nepal as well as adventure sports in India, the Himalayan Enfielders Peace Ride hones to spread goodwill in troubled times. "We want to show the Indian people that we can visit their country even when others are afraid to-and honefully encourage them to do the same," said Rakesh Prasai, just before he took off with riding partner Sabin Basnyat.

Eminent line-up

First came the Americans. Then came the Brits. Our Chinese neighbours had a go, too. No, we're not talking about football, but the eminent line up wanting, first, a glimpse of Maoist territory, and then a go at the 'terrorists'. Now, it is the turn of our southern neighbours. A four-member Indian military training assistance team led by Major General AS Bahia left this week for Manist-affected districts including Rolpa, Rukum, and Gorkha. Like their western counterparts, the Indians appear keen to support Nepal's war against terrorism. But if news filtering in from the Maoist battlefront is to be believed, Nepali security forces are getting tried of waiting. Getting support on the ground could be more critical for keeping morale high.

Himalayan bonds

The Himalayan Bank Limited last wee began selling bonds worth Rs 360 million of which Rs 100 million will be sold to the general public. The interest is payable very six months and the HBL-2066 bonds can be used as collateral in some banks and finance companies. The HBL is

and Finance Limited is managing the bond issue.

issuing the debt instrument to raise its supplementary capital in order to meet the central bank's new capital adequacy requirements. That rule requires that all banks have Rs 1 billion in paid-up capital in seven years. The HBL's paid-up capital now stands at Rs 390 million. The bank says it will sell bonds worth Rs 260 billion to larger institutional investors. Himalaya Sumshere Rana, chairman of the Himalayan Bank, told the press that the remainder of the capital adequacy requirement will be met through rights' issue of stock in coming years. Rana says that the bank is not increasing equity to ensure that the profits, in the form of dividends, do not have to be split up to a larger number of shareholders. The Nepal Merchant Bank

Patna hop

Necon Air resumed direct flights to Patna on Sunday and the company says it will also re-start flights to Kolkata and Varanasi in coming months. The hon to Patna will use Necon's 17-seater Reach 1900 aircraft and not the larger ATRs. Necon stopped flying its ATRs to Patra last year after passenger numbers nose-dived. The company has two ATRs and two Beech 1900s to service its seven domestic routes and the resumed and new Indian destinations.

Cheaper telephony

Some good news for users of the Nepal Telecommunications Corpora-tion's (NTC) mobile telephone service. The new NTC telephone tariffs that came into effect Saturday include a roughly 33 percent reduction on mobile telephony. Local telephone bills could also get smaller. because the NTC has introduced different rates to bill calls made at different times of the day. You can get to make longer calls for less minutes. During the 8AM-6PM neak telephone usage hours on the other hand, the effective billing minute will be two minutes on the clock. The cornoration has also slashed the rates for international and domestic long-distance calls. Several other charges have also been reduced but the same taxes apply.

Privatising oil

Nepal has begun considering options to privatise the import and distribution of petroleum products. The move has become necessary after India opened up the industry earlier this year. Among some of the arrangements being discussed here are opening up the business to Nepali companies that are joint ventures with a refinery, and control ling the number of entrants. The government is just not ready to do away with administered prices, though, and so this will require another

Freedom at midnight

The world's interlinked market economy actually restricts freedom of action of sovereign governments.



Countries most in need of emergency assistance or long term support

have a choice in setting economic policy. And those nations who have

become beholden to development aid and the plethora of agencies and

bureaucracies that dispense it, some would say are the least free of all.

Nepal is getting too little revenue from tax, he has to turn to the

capital markets. And if his country's credit rating isn't very good

a perceived reward for economic policies dictated somewhere else.

because of the Catch 22 of declining revenues, then he has to ask for

help. That help flows into general revenues and specific programmes as

Necessity is the mother of invention. If the Finance Minister of

it couldn't be done. Smug is something we do. But Mountbatten, Nehru, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Jinnah, Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Atlee all owe their place in history to the success of that deadline. In mid-August, India and Pakistan became sovereign nations and whatever their patchy records since then, they remain so. Free, proud of some things, gence in capital and labour policies. The world's interlinked market unquestionably independent of foreign control. economy actually restricts freedom of action of sovereign governments.

Nepal has never had to go through that. From its inception four centuries ago, this has been a sovereign independent state. True, British Residents and Rana Prime Ministers co-operated closely before 1950-51, and India played a role in the Nepali Congress struggle for democracy and freedom. But what remained intact throughout was Nepal's freedom to make its own decisions, to regret its own mistakes and to

ometimes it's best to be impulsive, to move quickly and damn

he consequences. One person who thought that way was Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of British India and the man who

brought freedom to much of this subcontinent. Mountbatten-named

Labour government in London-arrived in India soon after his appoint

ment. In his early talks with Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi, he bonded

with the two men and accepted the need for an immediate end to

What shocked many was his decision—under plenipotential

powers granted by Prime Minster Clement Atlee—to free India in six

by Winston Churchill, howled with outrage that the Indians weren't

ready, that Britain's eternal flame was being snuffed too soon. Civil

amount of work that needed to be done. Sectarians on either side of

the partition debate stoked fires of hatred. Journalists said smugly that

service mandarins in Delhi and London quivered with fear at the

months time. There were the predictable reactions. Conservatives, led

Viceroy in 1947 by the newly-elected and avowedly anti-imperialist

Or have they? Increasingly, even rich nations are less independent than they perceive themselves to be. The influence of superpowers or the sole superpower impacts upon us all. Globalisation's most irresistible forces—led by multinational companies—push towards conver-

Similarly, aid from friendly countries is often predicated upon recipients doing as the are told. Over the years, we've had foreign officials telling Nepal that they can only invest their taxpayer's money into projects that promote such things as good governance, gender equity, social justice or—as ever—freer markets. The infamous 1998 World Bank report, Assessing Aid, argues that aid should not be good

> foreign assistance in this town, and around this magnificent land, that their days of calling the shots in poorer countries may be numbered. It's plain at the moment that not enough opportunity or benefits reach the poor, even the working classes, who are increasingly resentful of the four-wheel-drive vehicles and special tax privileges that bring the interchangeable expatriate-expert to their homeland The distorted labour markets from international agency salary levels sap local entrepreneurs of administrative or creative heft on their office staff.

I can foresee a new breed of politician-in Nepal, Bangladesh and other aid-dependent states-who cry "enough" and demand a different kind of development paradigm, one that puts opportunities and resources in the hands of local people, who also make their own political decisions. One that might emphasise education or health with devolution of power and accountability widespread. And it could all come as quite a surprise to an orthodox development elite. Think

money sent after bad, and that means rewarding success as measured y goals set by donors. Even large non-governmental organisations look to influence their partners in development, with agendas So what does all this have to do with Mountbatten and 1947 and

all that? At the moment, nothing. But I would suggest to the barons of The school fees, rents and property prices climb inexorably.

of it as "Freedom at Midnight". ♦

What are the hundreds of thousands of

supposed to do? Join the Maoists?

Missing children

Nepalis open the newspaper to young Nepalis who fail their SLCs sing. This year, 69 percen scanned the SLC results in win Sometimes the percentage is lower, bu

newee by much After a lifetime of hearing their teachers repeat the mantra that youth are "the future of Nepal" and "the oillars of the nation", the vast majori of youth are officially declared to be failures The pillars of the nation are nounced too weak to sustain a inther load

On paper, Nepal has made markable progress in education. There are relatively few people under 30 who have never spent time in a nom, and almost no one withou a family member who has experienced school. By 1998, 78 percent of boys and 55 percent of girls were enrolled in primary school. Girls and disadvantaged youth are attending in record numbers, for at east a short time

But since nations are comprised of uman beings, and not of statistics, we need to ask another question: at the end of the day, what is the "take home lesson"? What is the ultimate ssage, for most people, of their

Disturbingly, the one experience shared by a majority of the people in

labels its young people as failures, and tells them to run along home. What,

today's Nepal is the bleak, embittering between now and a year later, when they will be permitted to attempt the SLC again, is not something that many people seem to have given much thought. Except, of course, the

This is a "your" mun by school dropouts and SLC failures for whom mark sheets full of 20s and 30s came

Lack of hope may make a perso desperate and gullible, but the lack of a certificate doesn't make a person incompetent. The youth in the jungles are tragically wrong in fields of blood and fear. But their actions are ironic proof that strategic

thinking, the ability to organise, and the energy to attempt to make a difference—however misguided—an far from lacking in Nepal Now take a minute to imagine a

ped and teen energy was capitalised some form of college? What would on by giving young people a growing voice in village affairs as they matured happen if there were community colleges that offered both vocational ing and the dignity of a college instead of a mirage, at the end of

education's tunnel? A drastically overhauled system in which higher education was essentially open to all would, at the very least, keep the dream of a brighter, more dignified future from going missing in action. And it ould teach a very different lesson

(Sally Acharya is an American worked in Kathmandu. Hom Raj Acharva is a graduate student in sociology at the American

complex"

"A mass inferiority exposed the shocking inequality in Nepal's school system. students to India





Nepal's political stars probably have some connection with our own in Pakistan."

Dear Deuba sahab:

Our people in Kathmandu tell me that any conversa tion on your upcoming general elections invariably brings up my surname. It's nice to know that I am on the way to becoming a household name in your country, although the context could have been a little more benevolent. There are certain clarifications I. feel I ought to make on our recent referendum that granted me a five-year extension in the presidency. Refore that, allow me to make some personal

Your political stars probably have some connection with our country's. During your first stint as premier in 1996, I recall, you were on an official visit here when Benazir Bhutto's second government was sacked. Back home, you faced criticism for poor diplomatic planning, which we believed was patently unfair. How were you supposed to know that President Leghari had had enough of Benazir when we at General Headquarters were left speculating on when the Eighth Amendment to our constitution would be invoked next?

I understand that 17 years earlier, the execution of Benazir's father gave your Nepali Congress the opportunity to launch its first nationwide show of strength since the political change of December 1960. I have been told that many of your party colleagues still turn green with envy when they recall how BP Koirala tagged you along on the referendum campaign trail. That the Panchayat system had similarities to General Ayub Khan's "basic democracies" is still fondly recollected by many of us here Since Indonesia's "national guidance" philosophy and grant a seventh year the "class organisations" of Egypt and Yugoslavia also inspired your partyless polity, we considered it a true embodiment of the spirit of the Non-aligned

Those who have full faith in your democratic credentials cannot doubt your commitment to holding the 13 November elections on schedule They seem to be worried, though, that a Musharrafstyle poll might prove to be more damaging to the country than the constitutional deadlock everybody is worried about today. Please be assured that the analogy is misplaced. We held a yes/no referendum on whether I should continue as president for another five years to advance my agenda to build real democracy. (Last week, you chose to describe your elections as a referendum on whether Nepalis wanted peace or terror. But we realise that you were speaking etaphorically.) Our opposition leaders exercised their right not to participate and persuaded many others to stay home as well. Since there was no other contestant, a lot of the ves votes I got were from

the cynics to go. Many people still can't stop making fun of the poor turnout. My aides stand by the 35 percent figure. The opposition give us no more than ive percent. Even if you take the average, for the sake of argument. t was every bit of 20 percent. That was half the 1997 turnout that gave Nawaz Sharif a twothirds majority in parliament. You have to remember that in our higher in general elections because of the competition. Moreover you have to factor in the fact that Mian sahah's two thirds majority represented 17 percent of the total number of voters. We both know that our political rivals can acknowledge such realities only at their own peril, don't we?

I am aware, though, that the stakes in Nepal's elections are to serious for us to be obsessed with arithmetic. From what I read here, many Nepalis seem to be unsure about whether an election can be held under a state of

emergency. Since you have promised to lift the emergency well before voting starts, that might assuage some of your critics. What we sometimes discuss here, as I am sure many in your country do is whether the candidates would feel safe enough to campaign without state-funded security cover.

Another concern seems to centre on the ability of a government that couldn't properly organise the School Leaving Certificate examinations to hold free and fair elections. That's not relevant to the debate unless your critics are also willing to revok the SLC results out this week. After all, most students didn't know whether the exams would be held until the very last moment, when the Maoists withdrew their five-day strike. Moreover, the absence of public transport in Kathmandu on the first day of the exams and the concentration of centres in district headquarters must have taken too heavy a toll on students to permit a fair assessment of their abilities.

Barring the Supreme Court's reinstatement of the House of Representatives, or a political package that would allow the resurrection of the chamber on some technicality, your politicians have no choice but to accept elections. Even if the house were to be reinstated by the Supreme Court, that would only push back the elections two years. When political conditions haven't improved unde seven months of emergency rule, it would be risky to bank on two normal years. In that case, your constitution allows you to extend parliament's term by a year. But what are you going to do if things remain the same? Even the Supreme Court can't

Here's my suggestion: look further north-west. You can always learn from another land-locked least developed country. By getting a transitional lova jirga-style mandate like the one our friend Hamid out last week, you can wait until condition are ripe for a real election. That could be a long wait. But it's your best shot at preserving the constitution. I look forward to holding more extensive discussions with you during the SAARC summit here next year. Even if we aren't there personally when the chairman's gavel is handed er, our successors can be expected to act in the true spirit of regional cooperation, provided Atalji is under no inordinate domestic political pressure

I am sure you won't consider the contents of this letter an interference in Nepal's internal affairs by yet another nuclear-armed state, because I see other countries doing and saying worse things.

HEMLATA RAI ry year, at least six is very ten young Nepalis fail their high school exams. This year, 152,300 students

appeared for their tenth grade tests three months ago. Only 47,565 passed. Hidden behind these shocking figures are the dispari ties between government schools and private ones. Only 17 percen of the students from government schools this year passed their School Leaving Certificates (SLC), with some government schools having a zero pass rate Eighty-three percent of the students who passed the SLC

exams this year were from private schools-even though only onethird of all schools in the country are privately run. "The SLC results have spread hopelessness in public schools, and children have become cynical about everything," says Chakra

Secondary School in Dhading. "This is a mass inferiority complex desaging all of society down."

The glaring inequality exposed by SLC results is what the Maoists have been using to pressure the government and private schools to reform the education system. Even those who do not agree with the Maoists' murders of teachers, their threats to close private schools and roll back fees agree that there is a serious unevenness in the quality of

Educationist Dr Man Prasad Wagle told us: "What it represents is a total failure of ten years of hard work and a waste of the Rs 100 billion that has been spent in the education sector in the past years. Wagle blames politicisation, lack of proper monitoring, and centralised ision-making. As it became clear that government schools were failing to fulfil their mandate, private schools moved in to meet Nepalis' demand for better

invested Rs 4.5 billion in the sector so far.

Private sector involvement in education has met a part of the need, but the higher fees in these schools they have also exacerbated class differences. After the Maoists tameted private schools as symbols of the country's social inequities, 41 teachers and 81 students have lost their lives-mostly at the hands of the Maoists Since 2000 the Maoists have forced 500 private schools to close, affecting 100,000 students and 9,000 teachers, according to the Private and Boarding School Organisation-Nepal (PARSON)

In April 2002, all schools still open in six far-western zones received new threats to close down "Your schools go against the policy of the jana sarkar ("people's government") and you have contributed towards creating a clas hierarchy," the letters state. The closure of schools has revived the exodus of Nepali high school

The danger here is that the country's best private schools may he forced to close because they cannot meet the stringent fee structures and other unrealistic rules in the amendment. Says one school principal: "The idea should be to improve government schools not punish those that are giving quality education." There are also nuestions about how this legislation will play out in the highly politicised district education offices.

concerns about the absence of a

a sense of scepticism about how

Besides trying to regulate

sincerely the government will

implement the Act

clause guaranteeing autonomy to

lower-level education agencies, and

facilities provided. Bhoj Bahadur Shah, general secretary of PABSON, says: "The government isn't sympathetic to the causes of private schools, the new amendments prove that point. The Maoists's demand for

What makes private school

administrators even more angry are

to the Education Act which specify

new categories of private schools

and a fixed range of fees they can

charge on basis of investment and

ower fees was initially welcomed by the public, which felt that private education was too expensive and beyond their reach. Private schools tended to be mostly profit-oriented estab lishment and were concentrated in urban areas. Figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics last year showed that only five percent of rural children attended nrivate schools, whereas up to 42.

nercent in Kathmandu Valley did A School Fee Monitoring Taskforce formed earlier this year also found that many private schools had fees other extras and deposits that made them exorbitant and unaffordable for most Nepalis. This two-tiered education thus widened the gap between those who can afford quality education and those who can't.

The government's amendment are intended to redress this gap. But many private school principals say it may throw the baby out with the athwater. "The new amendment could revive the education sector but only if the government doesn't try to use it as a weapon to control schools. If that happens the outcome could be just as devastating," says Wagle, who is also a member of the high-level taskforce that recommended revisions in the

percent in 1951 to 42.4 percent

Education was declared "free for all" in 1990, and fees in primary schools were waived But the government could not pay for the subsidies, and schools were allowed to charge small fees. Communities felt cheated because they had to nay fees, and the quality of education was not guaranteed. However, in some villages where the elected local councils took greater interest in education. locals have invested in better teachers and raised the quality of instruction. This trend had started to spread across Nepal in 1995, but was affected by the

private schools, the government has the added burden of sorting out the The amendment to the Education Act endorsed by mess in Manistraffected area Many teachers have fled either because of Maoist threats or because they fear security forces, and there are 25,000 teaching posts teacher training, teaching vacant throughout the country. The licences more severe nunish government says it will soon start appointing more than 400 "teaching lunteers" in public schools in 35 Maniet affected districts who will be paid half the salary of a normal

of teachers in politics. "If the vacant places are not filled immediately hundreds of schools in 35 districts might not function in the coming academic year," says Yubraj Pandey, spokesman at the Ministry of Education. What is clear is that unless something is not done urgently, next year's SLC results may be even more skewed than

this year's. Despite the problems, Nepal has made impressive gains in literacy, which is now at 53.7 percent, up from 30 percent 15 years ago. The rise is even more dramatic for women: female literacy grew from just two

parliament last month restored the fees for post-primary levels It also recommends mandatory ment for teachers who fail to carry out their duties, decentralisation and greater particip tion of communities and local government. The legislation also prohibits the direct involvement

The allocation for education had jumped from 10 percent of the budget in 1980 to 15 percent in the late 1990s, with nore than half going to primary education. With security expenses growing, this fiscal year the government allocated only Rs 3.5 billion for educationonly about 7 percent of the total annual budget.

Concludes educationis Vidhya Nath Koirala: "There is no one single sector that can be blamed for the deterioration. Government, planners, teachers, have failed our children."

experience of being tagged, at some point, as failures. There are many ints at which this happens, both before and after the SLC, but it's particularly poignant at the age of 17 or so, when dreams are all of adventur and a brilliant future along uncharter paths. At the age when the energies of outh are boiling with the power to

themselves as they will.

Nepal of several decades ago, the

pitfalls of the teen years were side-

But today in Nepal, the gove

before the 303s nove mountains, the school system of Nepal shuts the lid on further There is something about the SLO results that bears a remarkable

resemblance to the caste system-no necessarily in the surnames of the Chosen Ones, but in the general ourline A small, select group perches at the top, while a large group of supposed blockheads is grated to the sidelines, to do with In traditional societies such as th

different system. What would be lost by permitting the majority of Nepal's high school students to continue to degree? What could be gained by creating a genuine and reachable light

that each person is capable of learning, and worthy of respect.

journalist who has lived and University, and specialises in

"It is a crime to not provide

schooling, and have collectively



Nepali Times: How do you think Nepal has done in the education sector

Asbiorn Voreland: A lot has been achieved. There has been an attitude change-now more people send their girls to school, and education has given girls leadership qualities. Not many are in politics, but they make up for it in the social sectors. Nepali girls are bestowed with rare natural qualities to lead social change in society. Their contributions to Nepal's development are more than those of the men. Men are naturally ambitious-they would rather fight for top ranks and influential positions, rather

than work towards creating space for others to grow.

When we first arrived here the caste discrimination was very intense. Bahun and other high caste boys would not sit with others, they would not clean toilets or treat their poorer classmates as equals. It was difficult to maintain discipline in the classroom, we had to threaten a lot of people with expulsion if they would not comply with classroom discipline. The Luitel School was established to

Asbjorn Voreland and his wife Anne Marie came to Nepal 38 years go to teach at the newly-established Luitel School in Gorkha. The school has many notable alumni, all leaders in their fields, and Voreland says he is proud to have contributed to Nepal's development. He would, however, rather not talk about the SLC batch of 1970, when Maoist ideologue Baburam Bhattarai topped the annual exam, and neurosurgeon Dr Upendra Devkota took second place. Voreland returned to his native Norway last month, but will carry on as the international director of the International Nepal Fellowship, Nepali Times spoke with him about the relationship between social change and education, and the role of the private sector in schools.

good education in public schools."

equality, and I feel it was successful in its mission.

How do you think we can ensure equal access to education

The government should maintain similar standards in private and public schools, but it seems rejuctant to improve the quality of public school education. Without this, only children from poor families will study in public schools, which could widen the disparities in society. Discipline should be maintained, and it should be equally applicable to all. Poor people invest a lot in their children's education. Not crime. The private sector has contributed a lot to education in this country, but that matters little if the poor have to sell their land and property to send their children to private schools.

Have you achieved what you had hoped to, when you first came here?

Now Nepal has democracy, which means equality, equity and equal access to development for everyone. I have witnessed children from very poor families from remote areas who have been high achievers when provided with apportunities for education. My students are leading this country in many areas, and I feel it is time that they now contribute towards creating similar opportunities to other poor communities that are being left behind. Democracy is also about

giving, and providing opportunities to others. But Nepal's education system has failed to teach this to students. It rarely teaches them life skills. It has failed to teach that democracy is also about sharing the burden—sharing the burdens of the country, of communities and of the family. Education should prepare students to make the best of what their country, and its state of development. have to offer. It feels sad that a student from the hills won't be able to find a job in the capital after completing the SLC, but he'd rather not return to his village. For Nepal, agriculture is the most important

occupation, it needs more educated people. There are ample untapped opportunities for an educated hill boy in his own village. but the Nepali education system does not prepare him for this

Were there any early warning signs that things would turn out this way in Nepal?

With the kind of disparity and lack of access to opportunities, this is bound to happen anywhere. There is rampant economic and social disparity and discrimination here. Some people have grown rich, but the majority is still very poor. Fewer opportunities are created for the poor and for people from remote areas. Social dissatisfaction is like a volcano-without an outlet, it is bound to explode. The poor have no freedom of choice, because opportunities are so limited. The ruling classes are too greedy to share the abundance of opportunities they enjoy. Peace will not come to this country unless it comes from inside of individuals.

When we first came here, there was severe caste discrimination and social disparity, a clear indication that the present situation might arise. When more and more young people were exposed to foreign countries in which democracy brought equality and equity and equal opportunities to all, they sought the same here in their own country. When that did not happen here even after democracy their dissatisfaction had to find expression

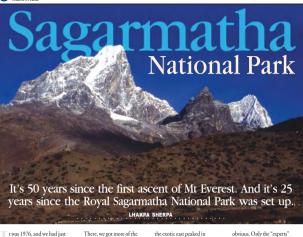
What has development given to Nepalis?

Nepal now has many new rich people. But they don't seem to realise that their responsibilities include helping destitute people achieve a comfortable living. Compassion is rare in developing countries, and the quality is deteriorating here too. Development has taught people to become individualistic, it has eroded spirit of community. This is the backlash of modern development. Nepal might become a cruel, hard nation if it loses its traditional simplicity and



Social Science Research Council South Asia Regional Fellowship Program Second Announcement, June 2002

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC, New York) is pleased to announce the availability of short-term fellowships (3-4 months) for research in any discipline of the social sciences and humanities related to the theme Resources and Society. Twenty research fellowships are available for junior and senior scholars from South Asia to begin new research, continue ongoing research or write up ted research. The objective of the SSRC Regional Fellowship Program is to strengthen links between teaching and research; the competition is open to all full-time university and college lecturers readers and professors Eligibility is restricted to faculty with PhDs presently teaching n an accredited college or university in South Asia. Fello will be expected to attend a workshop in January 2003 before they begin their fellowship period. Junior fellows will receive up to \$2,200, senior fellows up to \$3,000. Application materials and more information can be obtained from: SSRC Fellowship Program, Himal Association, Patan Dhoka, Lalitpur (phone: 542544; email: ssrc@himalassociation.org.) or you may download the forms from the SSRC website www.ssrc.org/fellowships/southasia. The deadline for receiving applications is August 3, 2002. Announcements of fellows will be made in October 2002. This program is supported by a grant from the Ford



finished explaining the aims of the park to a gathering of local people, when shouts began to come from the crowd. "We don't need your park. Take your park to your own village." The meeting became unruly and meaningful consultation was out of question. We politely assured the crowd that their sentiments would be conveyed to the higher officials and left for the next

same. The Sherpa people were afraid that their use of the forests and pastures would be restricted. Even worse, they thought people to move out of their Khumbu villages. Local politicians were quick to take advantage of the fear. Some went around promising voters to put a fight against the park if elected. Despite the local opposition, the park was

In the early 1970s, interest in

We join the nation and people in extending our loyalty to

His Majesty King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev

western countries and Nepal fretted about the risks to the became an important destination environment and culture of the for mountaineers, adventure sacred Khumbu valley. Bigger tourists, dharma bums and trees were cut for construction of culture vultures. The number of hotels and guesthouses. Huge tourist and mountaineers visiting amounts of firewood for sold and Khumbu Region were growing consumed at campsites for cooking and campfires. Garbage rapidly. The local people were quick to adapt, getting into the piled up along trails and near campsites. The traditional forest ousiness of providing food. protection systems of the local lodging, and guiding and portering services. The economic people were being weakened benefits were immediate and

under the new economic pressure Eventually, the threats from inregulated tourism became a matter of concern internationally and in Bonn in 1973, then Crown Prince Gyanendra committed to the international community that the Khumbu Region would be declared a national park to conserve its environment. The New Zealand Government cofunded establishment of the parl



attitudes towards the park are nearly uniformly positive. There is even talk of a formal silver jubilee celebrations. It is important, though, to go beyond the festivities and use this as a chance to reflect on the last 25 years and consider the future of

Slow-growing trees The most important contribu tion of the Park was probably in conserving the high elevation forests and wildlife of Khumbu





from uncontrolled exploitation. Trees, like humans, find it hard 3,000 in 1973 to nearly 26,000 to thrive at high altitude. The in 2000. There are an additional 4,000 people living inside the Sagarmatha National Park is a vertical reserve: going from 3,000 park. Management of biodiversity, fuel, fodder, timber, m to 8,848 m. Trees take inordinately long to grow, it and water for people, and aesthetics for visitors is a major takes a lot more to safeguard them than it does forests at lower altitude. At about the time the Now, the park needs to park was formed, the traditional move beyond protection, and . Sherpa ways of managing natural resources were dying out. The demand for forest resources were growing, incidences of illegal hunting and land encroachment

were increasing.

The park ensured that

firewood at trekking camps wer

timber barvesting was brought

down, to allow the forests to

recover, regenerate and expand.

Today the forest conditions of

Khumbu have certainly not

declined, even if we can't tell

whether they've improved. The

park's chain of forest nurseries

Himalayan Trust is one of the

most successful high-elevation

forest regeneration programs in Nepal, and it has covered many

hectares of bare slopes and filled

wildlife commonly targeted by

hunters in the past, such as the

Himalayan tahr, musk deer,

serow and pheasants have also

up litter, encourage alternative

energy use, provide information

collected revenue for national

We'd never have guessed it

back in 1976, but most of these

changes are due to the participa-

Khumbu. There was a massive

increase in tourism-arrivals in

to tourists and locals, and

recovered.

coffers

hunting was banned, use of

start managing forests, rangeland, wildlife, and tourism with participation of the local communities. It also needs to improve local livelihoods through community development programs. Infrastructure such as trails, bridges, and camps need to be better maintained discouraged, and that the rate of with the revenue that visitors contribute. The construction of lodges and hotels, and the movement of non-local busi-

humbila from Khumjung nesses into the park will need to be carefully managed. Most importantly, the park needs to be vigilant against major developments that are likely to have

rity of it's values.

(Dr Lhakpa Sherpa was Deputy Warden of Sagarmatha National Park in 1976-77, and Senior Warden from 1983-1986. He now works with the Mountain Institute in the Tihet Autonomous Region of

permanent impact on the integ



REPAIRS ALSO



हार्दिक श्रद्धाञ्जली श्री ७ महाराजाधियान वीरिव्ह वीर विकल शाहकेव समानर श्री ६ वडामहायमी देशवर्य कञ्चलङ्गी हेवी श्राह सरकार तथा राजपरिवारका तहरा बढ़ेरा सवस्य सरकासारको असामधिक स्वमसिष्ण भएको प्रथम वार्षिकीको पण्यतिशिमा विदागत भारमाको चिर शाहितको कामबा गर्दे मोयपहरमा हार्डिक श्राताञ्जली अर्पण गर्दश्रे



he Heart Center at Bumrungrad Hospital is an internationally renowned center of excellence in the diagnosis and treatment of heart disease. Under our care, a team of highly qualified, internationally trained cardiologists and cardiac surgeons, mploying the latest medical technology will treat you in a world-class medical facility. We also offer competitively priced packages and affordable family housing next to the the bosnital. As always, our 5 star service is free of charge.



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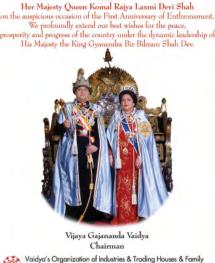
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VOITH Complex, Teen Kune, Sinamangal, Kathmandu, Nepal





PESHAWAR – Mullahs, or Islamic priests, are usually the ones other people come to listen to, but they are the ones learning new sub-

children's health-under a new course at a university here. These

subjects are meant to familiarise the mullahs with issues not usually

taught—or considered taboo—in the religious educational institutions

that have mushroomed here in this horder city with Afghanistan over

the two decades since the Afghan war. The University of Peshawar

project hopes to show another face of the mullahs, who are often

labelled as extremists, and at the same time out them in touch with

everyday concerns of people in this Islamic country. The courses

include a short English language course at the British Council here,

as well as the use of computers, issues of family welfare, women's

"The course was good and I liked the way punctuality is

observed but the bad thing was that there was a female teacher.

minrated from rural areas, and unregistered neonle in urban areas.

discontented peasantry has always troubled Chinese leaders. An estimated 120 million people live below the poverty line and around

another 150 million migrant workers only find seasonal employment.

These estimates come on the heels of massive labour protests in China's industrial rustbelt, and months before the Communist Party

elects new leaders, the so-called "fourth generation" that will likely

comprise technocrats such as current Vice President Hu Jintao and Vice Premier Wen Jiabao. The political transition is already threat-

ened by the mass protests in northeast China and elsewhere. In the

era, tens of thousands of laid-off workers from state firms protested

longest-running demonstrations by workers in China's communist

government calls to raise efficiency by laving off redundant work-

ers, but there is no social safety net for pensioners and the unem-

400 million could be affected by government efforts at economic

Independent economists warn that over a third of China's urban

restructuring. Jobless workers under 35 now account for 70 percent

of the total unemployed, compared with under 50 percent two years

contrast with almost 100 percent during the strictly planned economy

ago. Only 70 percent can now find jobs after graduating, in stark

insufficient severance payouts. State companies have heeded

The prospect of angry urban workers joining forces with the

ects—from women's rights to the environment, tolerance and

health, human rights and peace.

Will Johannesburg go Rome's way?

JOHANNESBURG - South Africa is trying to get international agreement on the "Draft plan of implementation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)", after delegates at the last meeting in Indonesia failed to finalise it. Developing countries insist that the document should not ignore the most important causes of poverty—among them unfair terms of trade and the lack of market access for agricultural products from poor countries. 150 heads of state will attend the August summit here to see how the social and economic conditions of the world's poor can be improved, while also protecting the global environment from the negative effects of development. The setback in Indonesia comes after the failure to attract G8 leaders to the World Food Summit held in Italy, or to come up with new commitments to alleviate world hunger. (IPS)

Paying for education for all

WASHINGTON - The World Bank has unveiled another plan to educate the planet's poprest children, one that requires billions of dollars from rich nations and some concessions from developing countries. The Education For All Fast Track aims to provide primary schooling for every boy and girl in 23 countries by 2015, as long as those nations "prioritise primary education and embrace policies that improve the quality and efficiency of their primary education systems," the Bank said Wednesday. For a start, says the Bank, developing countries should devote at least 1.4 percent of their GDP to primary education, and the G-8 and the international community would need to commit about \$3 billion a year in additional financing for the next 10 years to pay for the new education programme. (IPS)

Linking immigration with aid

LUXEMBOURG - Efforts to forge Europe-wide policies to tackle illegal immigration suffered a setback Monday when EU governments split publicly over linking aid to cooperation on tackling illegal migration. Proposals by Spain, backed by Britain, to suspend financial assistance to developing countries which fail to crack down on people-smugglers and take back their own nationals were opposed by Sweden, France and Luxembourg. Some 500,000 illegal migrants a year enter the EU, UK diplomats insisted that the idea was to tie aid to ways of improving the ability of third countries to better manage border controls, part of a wider effort to fight corruption and encourage good governance, accountable policing and independent judiciaries. Despite the tough talk, there is likely to be reluctance to crack down on important transit countries, such as Turkey, Egypt and Morocco, while punishing poorer ones such as Afghanistan could hit the most vulnerable. (Guardian)

The new in-between



European politics is suddenly all shades of grey.

rope's lumpen outsiders are becoming insiders as the Continent's political pendulum swings to the right. After the Netherlands and France, Germany may be next (German elections are due in the autumn, and the centre-right candidate-Minister-President Stoiber of Bavaria—is now the favourite). Spain, Austria, Italy, Denmark, Portugal are already ruled by centre-right governments. This swing does not simply mark the return of traditional conservative parties and policies—smaller rovernments more attention to the nterests of capital—to power

Something new is at work. What's new is the fact that many of today's centre-right governments are supported by opulist or nationalist parties. In Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, and Denmark, the government is either a coalition or a minority vernment propped up by the pivotal support of populist right-wing parties. In France the government is composed of mainstream centre-right politicians, Yet, President Chirac owes

far-right National Front. In the past, Europe's political contests were waged between left wing parties representing the interests of labour, and right wing parties representing the interests of capital. Centrist parties that

Mandala House

his victory to the success of the

The successes of populist right wing parties can largely be attributed to the failures of leftleaning governments, Europe's disappointing economic perform ance lies at the root of this. high, and productivity growth (and hence living standards) has perceive the striking difference

to blame Many European voters also

and moderated the ideological extremes of left and right were pivotal. Nowadays, ideological differences between left and right are blurred. So a new breed of

politicians and a new constituency

of voters hold the balance of power

European unemployment remains slowed since the mid-1990s. Even non-economically-minded voters with the US, where productivity growth has skyrocketed since the mid-1990s and unemployment is far lower. Some voters are beginning to think the cherished European welfare state may be

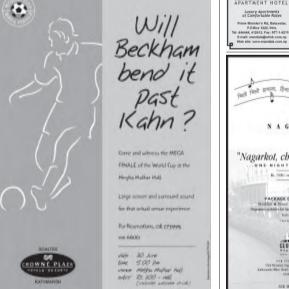
feel threatened and unprotected Not everyone is convinced that Europe's social model trades less

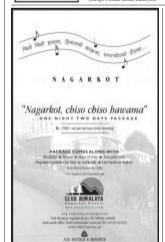
protection and less risk. Large groups of "outsiders" (young unemployed and first-time job seekers, temporary workers, shopkeepers and other selfemployed) don't see these supposed benefits because they lack a stable and protected job. or do not qualify for unemploy ment insurance, or are too young to benefit from public pension systems. They also complain about crime, and the deteriorat-

ing quality of life in their cities Many "outsiders" supported right-wing populist parties in the latest elections; their votes are critical for the survival of the new entre-right governments in many European countries. These "outsiders" were often neglected in Europe's traditional political ompetition, and their demands received little or no attention. Across Europe, they have suddenly become political arbiters. What these newly influential voters want is clear less immigration, crackdowns on crime, more economic opportuni ties, but also more protection against economic risk and

international competition. Politicians representing these voters lack experience in govern ment, sometimes are technically unprepared for governance, and are suspicious of technocrats and bureaucrats, particularly those in Brussels, On many issues, populist parties' positions conflict with the traditional procapital and pro-market platforms of established centre-right parties. Some demands of these oters are sensible and will improve policymaking. Most of Europe does need better crime prevention and a serious effort as tackling illegal immigration. But in other important policy choices, populist parties could lead Europe astray.

(Guido Tabellini is professor of economics at Bocconi University.







Reconfiguring the Middle East

ahout the Oslo process.

But Arafat missed the historic

common aim was to wrest from a

frightened and terrorised Israel

what could not be achieved by

or a significant number of Palestinians and Israelis, the use of force has

come to represent the only conceivable option. But rather than resign ourselves to more years of hate and misery, the foundations for future peace

Everyone's priority is the present conflict: but until human well being becomes a

universal priority, conflicts will continue to dominate interpersonal and interna-

Those who wish to contribute to reducing tensions should identify and

promote starting points for peace-builders to find common ground. Political and

nedia support ought to focus on programs that work on the ground, as reported

by humanitarian and non-governmental agencies, and not on particular religious

agendas. Priority should go to projects enhancing cooperation between different

faiths, different schools within the same faith, and religious and secular groups. Islam as a religion of peace and human betterment is betrayed by anyone who commits atrocities in its name. It is a broad and inclusive religion whose

adherents across the world presently suffer from their lack of a unified voice. For example, issuing farwas, or religious edicts, is legitimately undertaken by those

community. We need trustworthy and reputable bodies for issuing globally

Such a step would bring to non-Muslims some of the sharpest thinking in the Islamic world, and would contribute a missing voice to debates about global

values. Globalisation and Islam are not incompatible, so long as Islam is recognised as a tradition that has much to contribute to world civilisation, not

ed as a menace to be neutralised. The goal today must be to modernise

significant fatwa, with the authority to represent Muslim communities worldwide: such bodies could be based in Mecca and Najaf, representing Sunni and Shi'a

whose high standing is acknowledged by the whole Ummah, or Muslim

centers of religious thought.

need urgently to be rebuilt before all civilised structures are swept away.

wo conflicting needs assail the Middle East. The Palestinians must rebuild political structures almost completely destroyed by Israel's recent ncursions into the West Bank. Yet it is also clear that the Palestinians are unable to create a polity untainted by terrorism and free of an ideology that violently repudi-

ates Israel's right to exist. After the Oslo agreements were reached a decade ago, supporters of the peace process, in Israel and abroad, hoped that the PLO—an armed national liberation movement deeply enmeshed in terrorism-would transform itself into a responsible and viable political structure. Only then would a sovereign Palestinian state be able to live in peace alongside Israel If the ANC could make such a transition in South Africa, why not the Palestinians? The hope that Yasser Arafat might become a Palestinian Nelson Mandela inspired even Israelis sceptical

diplomacy. Palestinian territories descended into a lawless chaos reminiscent of Lebanon in the 1970s

A Saudi protectorate could shield the Palestinians from

Israel and also reassure the Israelis that this won't be

another failed quasi-state ruled by terrorists.

opportunity to achieve a Palestinian state in 2000 when he rejected oposals by President Clinton and Israel will not allow the reconthen Israeli Premier Barak at Camp struction of terrorist structures on its David and later in Egypt. Instead, doorsten: no country would. But he launched an armed intifada, in Ariel Sharon's government should which competing Palestinian not be allowed to use the Palestinmilitias unleashed terrorism and ians' utter failure at peaceful nation suicide attacks against Israeli building as an alibi for continued occupation What, then, is to civilian targets-not only in the occupied territories, but also in rusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Hadera President Bush's support for Afula, and Netanya, Some militias reforming the Palestinian Authority were under Arafat's direct control. is well intentioned. But to imagine a while others got semi-official democratic and transparent Palestinsupport from him, and still others were his antagonists. Their

ian Authority when neither Syria, Egypt nor Saudi Arabia (or any other Arab country) show signs of democratisation, is a pipe dream. Equally well-intentioned UN and EU ideas about introducing an international force to separate Israel and the Palestinians originate with paper shuffling diplomats, whose previous experiences in peacekeeping (say, in Srebrenica or Rwanda) do not inspire confidence. Will an international force hunt down suicide oombers? Will it possess intelligence issets and the will to fight if needed? Such a force is dangerous nonsense. Palestinian institutions must be

rebuilt, but within a legitimate Arab context. Like Kosovo and Bosnia. Palestinian territories should be put under an international protectorat but not one administered by the UN or EU. It should be an Arab one. referably led by Saudi Arabia. A Saudi protectorate over the Palestinians will have internal Arab legitimacy; it will also possess knowledge

and techniques used in the Arab world to ensure security. Such a protectorate may not develop a democratic or transparent Palestinian structure But we

should forget about that for now anyway What it can do is create a structure untainted by terrorism suicide bombers and competing militias. It may also shield the Palestinians from Israel as it reassures the Israelis that the political entity that will emerge their doorstep is not going to be another failed quasi-state ruled by warlords and terrorists.

Far fetched? Perhaps, but so far conventional solutions have proved unworkable, even disas trous. After some years of such a Saudi protectorate over the Palestinians, serious negotiation more or less based on Crown Prince Abdullah's proposals for an overall agreement - could be

In the meantime, the most urgent priority is a process of de escalation, stabilization and political consolidation within Palestinian society. A Saudi protectorate may be the key to achieving this. Everything els having already failed, it may be the only choice left for both Israelis and Palestinians. ♦ (Project Syndicate)

director-general of Israel's Foreign Ministry, is professor of political science at the Hehren University of Jerusalem.)

Also I didn't like the use of television and video." comments Maulana Nisar, principal of a madrasah near Peshawar. The religious leader. who wore the traditional headgear worn by religious leaders in this part of the world, is also missing from the group photograph taken on the concluding day of the course. He avoided it, because he believes that making or being photographed is against Islamic teachings. (IPS) Counting, China-style BEIJING - A semi-official study initiated by the Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences has said the real jobless rate of the country is double the official number, sounding an alarm just months before a concitive transition of China's political leadership is to take place. The Green Book on China's Population and Labour released last week estimates China's unemployment rate to be 7 percent-a "critical level" threatening the country's social stability-and likely to worsen sharply in the next two years as it faces heightened competition following its entry into the WTO. Last week. China officially again out its urban unemployed at 6.8 million-3.6 percent of the urban working population-a gross underestimation, analysts say, as it excludes the millions who have

(Shlomo Avineri, a former

OPINION by PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

The Middle East needs outside intervention committed to specific goals,

traditions, while remaining faithful to their roots. A total collapse of religious norms would truly be destabilising. If globalisation is to make the world a better place, it cannot be predicated upon market forces alone, but needs to reinforce the tability and integration of diverse societies.

In the Middle East, clear ethical leadership is needed. But such leadership cannot achieve results in a vacuum. Global standards of behaviour can only be implemented effectively if they are upheld by all. If a supposedly universal policy is seen to be applied inconsistently in order to further one nation's or culture's interests, that policy will lose credibility and be rejected as representing a double standard. It is the responsibility of rulers and opinion leaders to insist that universal rights are implemented universally—that all, without exception, are subject to the rule of law. Only when we achieve a culture of compliance with humanitarian norms will we be able to establish the framework for securing a ribrant civil society, negotiation instead of conflict, and continuing human welfar

One of the most important expressions of goodwill is the gift of humanitarian id. At this time, when military conflict risks worsening in different corners of the world, western agencies in particular can support the people of a troubled area. Ye humanitarian aid must not become just another foreign policy tool. If aid is thought by the people receiving it to be manipulated for political gain, it will reduce the possibility for international relations based on any kind of trust. There should be a re-evaluation of the place of altruism and compliance with universal

The international community can offer stability and improvements in living conditions for both Israelis and Palestinians by intervening now with a peacekeep ing and humanitarian presence, endorsed by the United Nations and with the support of the United States. Outside intervention may be necessary, including international commitment to specific objectives—not just to a process intended reach those objectives-before it becomes possible to visualise a viable future in which both parties can flourish alongside each other. • (Project Syndicate)

Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan is moderator of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and President of the Arab Thought Forum)

40.0001/2ft.BAR

of the 1960s. (IPS)



..... Where the tales are as tall as the mountains

Succulent steaks and burgers bountiful, with a vegetarian variety. The friendliest har between Tibet and Timbuctoo. Live band on fridays!



The essay form has played an important

role in Nepali literature, giving writers a

chance to meditate upon society, and to

comment on the life around them. Bhairay

Aryal is one of the best-loved essayists of

the modern age, writing from the 1950's till

his untimely death in the 1970's. He was a

satirist who commented on the absurdities

editor. The essay below, written during the

vears after the royal takeover of 1960.

speaks well of the bungling of the

Panchavat vears.

of modern Nepal, as well as a journalist and



A son speaks:

Do I have the choice of sitting back and letting someone else

eldest born?

Am I bound to care for my younger siblings, see that my sisters are married and my brothers educated and settled in white-collar jobs? Am I supposed to see to it that my children are provided for, a house, an education, a future?

is expected of you, so are you supposed to"? These doctrines tie my Can I not say, "I am not responsible for you, my brothers, my

isters, my wife, my children, each to his own and as one is destined to?" You make or break your own destiny. Am I being fatalistic,

destined position—the eldest born and that too, a son. The one who carries my father's name forward, the future scion of the family. A veritable don! Am I prepared to give up these privileges?

If not, then why this quandary?

To each his own dear brothers, father, son, and husband. If it

Am I to be sent to the government vidyalaya, while you put on a

ccompanied proudly by my father to the "English Boarding Tutored by the best English-speaking ladies from Darjeeling,

while I languish in the corner, trying to interpret, trying to glean "pearls of wisdom" that are "pearls before a sow" to your noncha

Am I too to be demeaned called witch sorceress fed the

एसएलसो नितिज्ञा प्रद्याशित Is Your Number Missing ()

The world in Nepal Think locally



Despite having the support of foreign countries such as India the United States and the United Kingdom [for the emergency], Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba lissolved parliament after failing to win the support of his own party to extend This indicates that foreign nowers are more influenal than domestic ones in regard to the running of

Since the Maoists have established their power in the last six years—resulting in a state of emergency since November 2001—it has become important for the world to be alert about what is happening in Nepal. The 11 September attack by bin Laden's al-Qaeda on the US has made it clear that sparks ignited by terrorists can spread to any place in the world.

That's why top American [army] brass used the visit of the US Foreign Secretary [Colin Powell] to inspect Maoist areas. Top-ranking Indian army officials also visited these areas prior to the visit of the Indian Army Chief Padmanaban, and the British army chief, too, visited these areas. Last but not least, the Chinese ambassador, who is all for peaceful diplomacy, also inspected some Maoists-affected districts. He made it clear that the activities taking place in a bordering state were of concern to the Chinese. His concern is justified if elements engaged in spreading unrest in Nepal were to cross the border into Chinese territory. That's why China is prepared to help Nepal solve her internal problems.

There's a symbolic meaning, too. Nepali Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba has tried to improve ties with Britain and the US. The Americans have indicated that they are interested not only in assisting Afghanistan but, if need be, providing troops to settle the Pakistan and India conflict over Kashmir, if this were to happen, there is a possibility that Nepal could be used as a base. However, the US envoy to Nepal has reiterated that this is not his country's intention. As India and the US come closer on the Kashmir issue, China is worried that the issue of a free Tibet might be ignited. And that is why China is interested in peace

It is important for Nepal to decide whether to allow supportive countries such as the US, the UK and India to have free rein in Nepal or to only use the support that it needs. Both India and China are finding it difficult to digest Nepal's increasing closeness to the United States. If powerful nations are allowed to make Nepal their playground, it is not clear what diplomatic price Nepal will have to pay. There is speculation that Nepal's politics will be much clearer following Their Maiesties' upcoming visits to India and China.

A certain section feels that the elections and other activities will fail unless the Maoists are brought into the mainstream. If elections were to take place, and parliament were formed, it would be a majority parliament, which exists even now. It doesn't make sense to dissolve parliament. The security forces will continue to be mobilised in the same manner as they are now, since there is no possibility of adding forces. However, the Manists, in that period, will have learnt how to check the security forces. Unless they are

given a political option, development will come to a standstill, given that they are destroving infrastructure. So following Their Majesties' visit to India, there will be an attempt to bring the Maoists into the mainstream. The Maoists seem to be ready to drop their demands for a republic and a constituent assembly, and settle for a model democracy and a monarch. They appear to be ready to join an interim government and to fight elections, because it is becoming difficult for India to provide them protection in the face of improving relations between India and the United States. That is why a certain sector feels that once the king returns from China, the present government, owing to its inability to maintain peace and security, will be replaced by an all-party interim government that will work on amending the constitution.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Under the circumstances, we have come to recognise that our enthronement was something preordained.

-King Gyanendra, The Himalayan Times, 18 June



Let go! It's going to split

WHITE CITE II Himalaya Times, 16 June

In reality an ordinary citizen's relationship with the state is through the local governance units. They help

ordinary people evaluate what democracy has brought, through the work their local representatives do for them in the villages. As the director of the Association of Village Development Committees Pradip
Thapaliva says that regardless of whether the decisions are taken at the local chautara (resting place) or while squatting on a straw mat in a village home, they aid the villagers in making up their minds about the [efficacy] of the state. But the government, citing the state of emergency, has stopped the election campaigning for these units that should have begun some months ago. Its decision to have general elections first show that it is not honest towards the local governments. It says that it can hold general elections, but there is some doubt about whether the decision to not hold local elections was a considered one, or whether it is simply not in a position to conduct them.

After the dissolution of the House of Representatives Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and his powerful ministers have not been able to agree on following on of three options: extending the term of those already in office (in the VDCs), leaving the local units in charge of their employees, or forming some sort of all-party committees. A source at the Ministry of Local Development told us that Deuba, after two weeks of discussions, put off making a decision saying "we will consider it after July". But the State
Minister for Local Development is confident that the local governments will be dissolved. He is said to have will be dissolved. That decision may have been a result of infighting in the Nepalic Congress. Officials at the Ministry of Local Development also told us that the government has more or less decided not to extend

the term of present office bearers in local government units.

The Association of District Development Units, which has a majority of UML representatives, had decided to request the government to extend by a year the term of those in office, but doing that would not have been easy for the government. It was a difficult decision, especially for a party that was effectively divided—it would create more political problems as the UMI controls most of the local government units. Add to this the fact that an earlier meeting of Nepali Congress DDC chairmen had recommended that the term of the VDCs and DDCs should not be extended. Nepali Congress spokesman Ariun Narasingh KC says that in a situation where the resources provided to villages has been used by the terrorists, his party is of the opinion that these units should be run by the administration. However, Krishna Prasad Sapkota, chair of the DDC Association, says that the government should extend the terms of the organisations in the event that it cannot hold elections.

Another idea being tossed around in government circles is the formation of all-party committees to run the local units until the next elections are held. By law, the government can extend the terms of local governance units members by a year in the event of unforeseen circumstances, natural disasters. economic mismanagement and other "special situations". Sapkota and others disagree. How, they ask, can political representatives appointed by the government stay in the villages, districts and municipalities wher even elected members are finding it difficult to stay on. The UML also smells foul play. Spokesman Pradio Nepal says that the talk of all-party committees is just a tool that the government is using in its internal party battles. "We oppose such attempts to end the existence of local governments." says Nepal.

If the terms are not extended and all-party committees are not made, in mid-July these units automati cally come under the charge of the employees until the next elections. The people in charge, thus, will be the Local Development Officers, chief executive officers of municipalities and VDC secretaries.

He has also visited India twice

nore attention than it did to

The Indian media gave his visit(s)

Prime Minister Deuba's visit. But

ven before Nepal did, but we have

will bring some good news.

Convention notes

Excerpts from Purnajagaran, 18 June

The stage, the balcony, the entire

When Prime Minster Deuba

Congress, Take back the action

against the prime minister. Inside the

venue, too, Deuba was welcomed

with loud cheers. Applause rang out

when at the end of his address Deuba

said he was in favour of party unity

but that there was not enough time

to wait, and when Home Minister

Khum Bahadur Khadka said that the

tree would remain their election and

positive.

India's Maoist links

ven his visits failed to shed any Excerpts from a piece by Khagendr Giri "Kopila" light (on India's role). India It took a lot of time for Nepali declared the Maoists "terrorists" parliamentary parties and intellectuals to understand that India has: no information on what it has done hand in Nepal's Maoist "people's against them since Let's see if the visit by His Majesty King war". At the same time, the interest the rest of the world has in the Gyanendra that begins this week

surgency is not as acute as that it has other regional terrorism problems. This is why the world ha been unable to unravel India's suspect role in Nepal's problem. It is necessary for India's present position to change, if an end is to be brought about in the Maoist terrorism that was nurtured by India In order for that to happen. the Nepali establishment first need to win the support of the world community—including India. Then is also the possibility that India may

venue was packed with representatives to the general convention [of the Nepali Congress] and leaders. Extra chairs were brought in for the press. Loudspeakers were set up outside the hall for party workers who couldn't get a seat. In his address Bijava Kumar Gacchedar proposed that the reign of the Koirala family should try to bargain with Índia, diplomatically, on other issues, in exchange for agreeing to help in the end, that the president should resign fight against the Maoists. To bring and that Ram Chandra Poudel about in India a "mood" that is should take his place. When another helpful to Nepal. Nepal has no speaker. Pradin Giri, said that option but to seek the support of Govinda Raj Joshi, Koirala's slave the global community. Nepal's should also be made president, the hall applauded in support. foreign policy seems inadequate for that in terms of diplomatic finesse it is canable of Nepal's parliamenarrived, party workers outside the tary parties may be adept at enue welcomed him shouting slogans: Long Live the Nepali analysing [situations] and writing

the global community and India to bring an end to Manist violence Congress president Girija Prasad Koirala understands a little nore about India's role in the Manist problem than the others

their party documents, but can we

say the same about their foreign

solicy skills? In such a situation.

how do you get the support of both

narty symbol. Senior Congress members Bhu Bikram Nembang. Prem Raj Angdembe, Badri Ram Rhandari Chandralal Shrestha Bishnu Bhakta Bhuin were also

Excerpts from Satyagraha, 17 June

Hundreds of government motorcy cles were lined up outside the venue of the general convention (of the Nepali Congress] venue. Rumours circulated said there were 900 representatives there, but in fact not more than 250 representatives attended. Party workers from the districts could be seen gearing up to have a good time at a hotel on the

rab of Deuba and Gacchedar. Deuba had a written speech in case he made a slip. Those close to Deuba said that his speech had been drafted by Pradip Giri. Many resentatives could be seen tearing off their badges and hiding them in their nockets, as they didn't want to remain at the gathering. When a urnalist close to Deuba, who als happens to be press advisor to the Nepal Rastra Bank, came out to sav that Khum Bahadur Khadka would be the future president of the party, it was interesting to see listener their tongues in disbelief and turn red with shame

A majority of party representa tives at the convention were heard saying that they would not relinguish the tree symbol and the four-star flag if Deuba split the party. The party workers were trying o figure out why Deuba and Khum Babadur Khadka were arm-in-arm with DB Lama, Sharad Singh Bhandari, and Gopal Jijung Shah There was a notable presence of the UMI, the RPP and the Maoists at

THE INTERNATIONAL FROG CONFERENCE

In today's world, a son has greater worries than the unemployed; a journalist is in a greater rush than a taxi car. On top of that, if someone takes up journalism in order to stave off the daily hassles of being a son, you can imagine how patchy his life gets. And I am the kind of journalist who must serve journalism all day on the basis of a rickety cycle, and enjoy the nectar of filial life in the early evening, scraping out the pot for storing grains. That's why my mind keeps spinning all night and all day—as if a cinema reel were flickering on the screen of my brain. One second I'm thinking of the disarmament speeches of world leaders, another second I'm thinking about the boiled rice rations that I must gather by this evening. One moment it's the Geneva Convention, and the next moment it's the divorce of the mothers of sons and daughters.

This incident is still fresh and warm, just from the day before vesterday. I had finished reporting on the meeting of the All Nepal Family Problems Solution Meeting, and was heading home when I thought I heard a baby crying at the edge of the Kamalpokhari pond. For a while I thought it was just my cycle squeaking, so I ignored the noise, but then I saw that a young woman was solving the problem of family, I carried along, telling myself. "Why keep digging once you know it's a useless root, and not ginger,' but to her misfortune, or to

would think that a bomb had detonated on my head. She frantically toread har hundle into the brushes and looked at me. As soon as our eves met. I recognised her. She had led a delegation to the International Forward Ladies' Conference last year, and only a few days ago, she had given a talk on the edge of the Ranipokhari pond, vowing to dedicate her life to taking care of children by remaining unmarried all her life. There was no question that a journalist like I would recognise her

You surely know, many things that a journalist sees he cannot write about, and many things that he writes about he cannot see. If he could write everything he sees, then the papers would be full of shoving and crushing and anger and jealousy and poison, et cetera. If he could see everything he writes about, then the world of man would be like the world of the gods; all progress, development, friendship and idealism. So why should a modern journalist pay attention to her bravery in solving her problem? The age demands wife and children plan hecause the method is different, how can it he called a crime? It could be that she's come up with a means of her own, to suit the times.

When I reached a little further, I saw a policeman scolding a loiterer I dragged my cycle along, my legs trembling from fear that he might scold me too, but then, how would he dare catch a gentleman who rides cycles? Indeed, I had found a main news item, and I even thought up its title—'Confrontation Between Police and Robber.' Whether or not the man was a robber was for the police to figure out. I'm just a ournalist, all I need is news.

In the end it doesn't matter, because these days, in every country ntelligence reports are Bramha's words for the government, and the papers and radio news are Bramha's words for the citizens. Intelligence agents and reporters have become so skilled at

concealing what has happened, writing about what hasn't happened, coloring the white and twisting the straight, that in reality, world politics is in their hands.

A friend of mine used to say in jest—at the border of two countries, there were barracks on each side. One day, an intelligence agent and a reporter were walking towards the horder on their side of the divide. Just then, a uniformed soldier from the other side ran across the border with something in his hands. The intelligence agent immediately called headquarters, and the reporter called the office. 'A soldier from such-and-such country entered our territory A police Jeep arrived immediately. The journalist at once reported. 'The nolice have also arrived. The news was true enough. In no time at all. the morning editions of newspapers beat up a fuss—'Border encroact ment by a soldier of such-and-such country.' The intelligence report was proved by the newspaper report. Politicians rushed to release statements, the parties rushed to hold an emergency meeting and passed a proposal of protest. Editors rushed to write editorials. The radios rushed to review the editorials. Allied nations stirred into action, earned folks like us got a chance to sit around at restaurants talking about all of this while chewing on meatballs. In the end, investigations showed that the soldier had been suffering from dystentry, and had to take a dump as he was heading out for morning duty, but the toilets were all crammed full, so he grabbed a mug of water and ran off to sit down wherever he could find a spot. Now you tell me how important intelligence agents and reporters are. That's why I decided to make news out of the encounter between the loiterer and the police

I hadn't even had time to write a report on the speeches given by various intellectuals and representatives at this morning's Firewoodand-Dung Distribution Meet. As soon as Lord home. I settled down on the trunk to write, thinking 'I'll cough up all this nonsense all at once.' I ordered the mother of my son-'Alright, I don't have any time to eat any rice-shice, just bring me a chillum of sour tobacco leaves.' My sleeping son, representing his mother, replied—'Mother axed the chillum and burned it, Father!' I looked with amazement at the mother's face, only to see her make a face and say, through her nose, 'I couldn't find any firewood anywhere, so' I shut up and started to write about the speeches and proposals made at the Firewood-and-Dung

worry about the next meal on the table? Do I have the choice of not being the head of the family? Do I have the choice of not performing my filial duties as the

So what if I am the chosen progeny? Am I supposed to be "duty

Do I have to subjugate my independence to "Son, you must. It

spirit from taking wing

nihilistic when I voice these views? There are questions that I must ask myself. I am in a pre-

In retrospect: an answer from a daughter

was not so by what is demanded of us, am I to be kept the last to eat from the family plate, while my dear mother, feeds you with the choicest fare?

tie, slick your hair with the oil from the household press, and are

Am I, too, to be married off to a man, my father's peer, then sold to the helicopter lady from Bombay, flashing her jewels and promising a 25 percent on the deal that you make on me? Am I no the source, the shakti spirit from whence you were born, but am I to cast aside, a masomat widow. No land to my name, no place in society, not even considered as a community member, dejected and

basest and planued by the likes of you my dear brother, father, son and husband. All in the name of being a woman. How then should I



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EVHIRITION

KOREA JAPAN

efore this year's World Cup began, I picked Argentina to beat Portugal in the final. Neither team, of course, made it out of the first round. Nor did defending champion France or two-

from Europe and South America, past. Of the 16 previous World Cups, eight have been won by European teams, eight by South quarterfinalist was European or recent Cups, only two teams from and Mexico in 1986) made it that far.

This year, of the eight quarterfi-

in their team's three victories, but

succeeded despite the crushing expectations, which have little to

Popular sentiment here well as co-host and long-time oppressor Japan, and it didn't

matter that the Korean team was

facing more difficult opponents. Then the US started having a good

Cup and Korea wanted to keep up with the Joneses, with whom they have a very understandable lovehate relationship built on over 50 vears of hosting American soldiers.

Then, over the weekend, I met Korean schoolteacher who said that initially she was just hoping the team would make the second round, but once they'd drawn Italy here, victory was essential. Why? Because North Korea—the countr she'd been taught all her life to hate and fear—had beaten Italy in 1966 and it would be shameful not to at least equal that feat. Very few of the urrent throngs of red-shirted South Korean fans were alive in 1966, but that doesn't matter. The local TV networks were hammering the point home by incessantly showing hazy black-and-white footage

The Korean team has measured up to all three of those imagined nes in addition to the real ones they've faced on the field. Who knows what would have happened it they had instead lost to Italyriots? mass suicides?_hut thank. fully we'll never have to find out Nepali fans around the world

of an antique North Korean goal.

In Osaka last week, I had the needle-in-a-haystack experience of randomly meeting a Nepali at a

match. I was standing in a beer line before the England-Nigeria game when I heard the man behind me tell comeone he was from "Mount Everest." Lok Bahadur Biswokarma actually hails from Pokhara, but I guess that's what he says to avoid getting blank stage

21 - 27 JUNE 2002 NEPALI TIMES by BILL BREWSTER

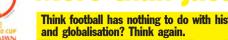
> I had to pay about double face value to a ticket scalper that day. but Lok, who's been living in Osaka with his Japanese wife Shipeko for three years, working as a noodle chef, had gotten tickets to this very desirable match at regular price, by some means I didn't quite inderstand that involved writing a letter to FIFA and then waiting in a long queue of Germans.

Lok was shirtless and had a small England flag painted on his allegiance, but he said he'd had his face painted just for fun-he doesn't support any of the teams at this year's tournament. He apologised, "dherai raksi khaayo" but most of the crowd at that match was in the exact same boat We were so excited to find each other that we met again at halftime when he introduced me to his wife. Even though the game was a goalless draw, meeting him made it a special afternoon.





More than just a game



nalists, one each are from Africa (Senegal), North America (the US), Critics of this year's tournament are was scheduled too soon after the monsoon, etc. etc. But the simplest game" is finally starting to globalise

The best leagues in the world are still in Europe, but the main reason today is that that's where

world's richest clubs you'll see Trinidadians, Liberians and Australians Players and coaches are moving around the world more than ever, and their long-ignored national teams are the beneficiaries

Complex inferiorities The deafening Korean crowds have certainly been a major factor to some degree the team has weight of their countrymen' do with football and everything to do with history.

demanded that Korea do at least as



Think football has nothing to do with history

time winners Uruguay.

These traditional powers hail and it's shocking how those regions have owned the tournament in the Americans, In 1998 and 1994, every South American, Over the five most other continents (Cameroon in 1990

and Asia (co-host South Korea) making excuses—the tournament European club season but too late to escape the north-east Asian explanation is that the "world

the money is. In the line-ups of the

MERCANTILE

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Kingdom on Edge: Nepal: Royal Tragedy 2001 Subarna Chhetri, Suresh Malla, eds

challenges thrown up by his death, and the road ahead for Nepal under the present king.

Studies in Nepali History and Society Vol 5, No 1 Pratyoush Onta, Mary Des Chene, Seira Tamang,

The latest edition of SINHAS, Mandala Book Point' scholarly journal includes articles entitled: Institu-

tional Responses to Electric Vehicle Promotion in Nepal; The Enigmatic Pig: On Magar Participation in

the State Rituals of Nepal; Legalising State Patriarchy in Nepal; Urbanisation, Government Policies and Growing Environmental Problems in Pokhara, Nepal; and Kathmanduko FM Radio ma Nepal Bhasa.

Poverty and Rural Development in Nepal Krishna Bahadur Kunwar

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CI ASSIFIED

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oving on to exploring the repercussions of the royal massacre of 1 June. Historians, journalists,

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rograms can work best with local leadership and self-governance. Finally, Kunwar discusses

foreign aid and economic dependence, and suggests new ways to combat poverty, with some

Nepal in the context of democracy and party politics and discusses how poverty alleviation

smen, armymen and others reflect on the various facets of the rule of King Birendra, the

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World Cup Watch Football finals at GAA Hall, Thamel, 30 June, 4PM on. Tickets, Rs 99 (St Xavier's '92-'02) and Rs 199 (all rest) at GAA Hall, St Xavier's School, Tukuche Restaurant, Darbar Marg, Kasthamandan Bazar,

Monsoon Moods Annual collective summer show from 20 June at Siddhartha Art Gallary Rahar Mahal Revisited 11AM-6Pm

Three Men's Perspective A three-man exhibition of photographic art 9-27 June, 10AM-5PM, except Saturdays, Park

- Bookie's Bar Watch World Cup games, win free buffets and other prizes with every match. Free entrance, Hotel Yak & Yeti everyday, 248999
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ELD Training Workshops Telephone Skills, Welcoming Visitors, Dealing with Enquiries & Complaints, 25-28 June, 9.30 AM-12.30 PM. Memo & Letter Writing, 25-28 June, 1.30 PM-4.30 PM. UK Charity, British facilitator, at Sanepa. For details: eld@wlink.com.np, 524202. www.eld.org.uk

- The Formation of a Nepali Public Sphere in India and the Creation of "Nepaliness", 1914-1940 Talk by Rhoderick Chalmers, SOAS, London. 25 June, 2PM. CNAS (Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur. Organised by CNAS and the South Asia Institute Heidelberg University
- Friends of the Bagmati Meeting 26 June, 3PM, Dwarika's Hotel to discuss the second
- Bagmati River Festival. All welcome. friendsofthebagmatinepal@yahoo.com Namaste Banepa an education project seeks input and ideas. wavetex@wlink.com.np

International music day Two open concerts, special children's programme and modern songs at Tundikhel Open floor 11AM-5PM, classical, folk and rock programme from 6:30 PM on at the Alliance Française. Thanathali, Free Entrance, 21 June

Uncork the good times at Dwarika's Hotel, 30 percent discount on snacks and beverages in the new Fusion Bar. 43" screen for football viewing. Swimming pool for non-football fans.

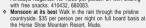
- 479488 Metre of Malts Single malt exhibition and tasting. Twelve single malts for Rs 999. Evenings. Piano Lounge, Hotel Yak & Yeti. 248999
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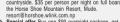
The best of Punjab Punjabi thali dinners at The Fun Café, Radisson Hotel, 21-27 June.

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Just as we suspected three weeks ago in this column, the nonsoon is late. Years with robust pre-monsoon showers have usually seen a weak start to the real monsoon, and to it was this year. If you want to go into the technical details, then it is the equatorial jet stream not reaching its usual northern position over the Himalayan foothills to push the first monsoon waves along. As a result, the westerlies are still playing tug-o-war with the moisture-bearing winds from the southeast. However, this satellite image taken on Wednesday morning shows a big monsoon pulse building up over eastern India. This zone will reach Nepal next week with heavy sustained rains. KATHMANDII VAI I FY











Mon-Fri

Sat

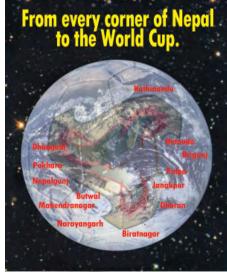
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Daily

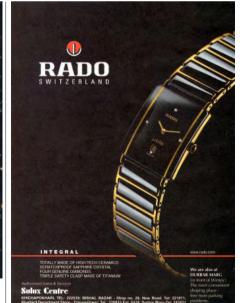
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16 21-27 JUNE 2002 NEPALI TIMES



Under My Hat

by Kunda Dixit

Not the 8 o'clock News

cen observes and shreed anal-six of Nepali politics are all tuned in to the 8 of clock News, than any other some open by general higher ratings than any other some open by general higher ratings and the long-running Afghan teleserial. Loya Jings and the Wafords and the board new Indian television drams. The Unguided Missile Man. The reason is that our political drams has more back stabling, back-bring, back-pedalling, backing the wrong brose, back-creathing, greed and wanter than any other on the planet. Os far, there hasn't been any explicit sex yet, but we can't rule than out in future episodes.)

While channel hopping the other day to find out what was happening at the Nepali Congress HQ at Teku, I was given a tour de force of the exciting stuff our cable operator has on offer:

Dallas

Lacy is really getting out of hand—now she is trying to frame her teacher for sexual harassment. But guess who's coming to dinner it is the fruit of bring's enemy's loins. Here is a spy who has leaked JR's less-than-legal dealings to the Senate Committee. As Jock's heart attack mandates a quadruple bypass, JR sees a trap for Gary by



luring him to set up a new company called Enron. Ellie thinks Jock will leave her if she has a mastectomy, she can't take it any more and emigrates to New Zealand.

Dvnastv

Alexis marries Cecil Coshy, thus cementing the marger between Coshyco and Derrewe Carringson. But it's a jungle out there, as Alexis soon finds out to the Chagin. She starts fifting with an alphan male from the Chagin. She sauts fifting with an alphan male from the Massing Man. Blake Carrington, stung the Carrington, stung the Carrington shows the Cosh of the Carrington shows the Cosh of the Carrington shows the Carrington sh

the pride hunts wildebeest on the Serengeti Plains but

eat up a National Geographic cameraman by mistake.

The Bold and the Beautiful

Brode is on the couch watching the World Cup quarterfinals between South Kore and Italy when the outsteam Erica and Whip's conversation on the baby monitor. Stephanier Ilsh Sperta that Bridges threw her out. Deacon, who is a bit down upstain, and has already awarched the marth like; sells Brodes the cocc. She nearly strangles him, unaware that Ahn has scored the golden goal and their martiges is dready over. Brodes golden goal and their martiges is dready over. Brodes allows Deacon to fed the halp kick, Bridget can't take it awar more and emigrates to New Zealne.

The 8 o'clock News

The O GURAL Peeks

She rells Girjii shi the docsn't like him any more.
Girji says, look you impudent twit, don't talk to me
Girji says, look you impudent twit, don't talk to me
like data, and bans him from his paries for three years.
Miffed, she runs off to get a bulldoore and demolishe
the august bruse. Griji says, wait right here. I'll take
care of you when I come back from China. Sher tells
Ry don't just sit here, do something, But it's noo late.
Sher has Giriji in a half-nelson while Giriji hand an upper
cuton the Sher's jaw. Now the weather: A bit unserded
over some parts of the kingdom in the next 2h tous.

NEPALI SOCIETY

Our women in The Hague

It's been a long journey for Kabita Nifota, who begain her Kabita Nifota, who begain her Kabita Nifota New Boad back Practice for directing fraffic on New Road back Practice and the season of the season her who was the season her will be come one of Nepal's four women DSPs. Then, two wears the come one of Nepal's four women DSPs. Then, two wears the come of the season her women DSPs. Then, two wears the come one of Nepal's four women DSPs. Then, two wears the come of th

Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, following in the footsteps of her colleague Rita Pradhan, who in 1994 also left the police force as a DSP to join the ICTY.

On a rare sunny day in The Hague, both women hurn for a sidewalk cale, but these are all occupied by sun-staned Europeans. Eventually they settle on a dark Chinese restaurant and talk about the work they do now. For security reasons, they are not allowed to reveal much about this, however. They both work as

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They are not allowed to discuss what exactly they are investigating in relation to the former Yugoslavia, and neither can they say where they take their frequent field trips. "It's in the former Yugoslavia, obviously," Kabita offers, but that is as specific as she can be.

These restrictions promise to grind the interview to a halt, but Kabita goes on: "In Nepal, we usually investigated crimes that had just been committed. In the case of the former Yugoslavia, we're investigating crimes that occurred years ago."

Pradhan faced a greater challenge in adjusting to ICTY's work because when she joined in 1995, the organisation was only a year old, and unusure of its own mandate. "Nothing was clearly laid out for us," she says. "But now there's a system in place."

Were they sorry to leave the Nepal Police? Both women nod wigorously. "Spens twenteen years there. That's what trained me," Niricla says." And obviously my training was good, because I can compete at an international level." Pradhan is just as unequivocal about paying her dues: "We're here today because of the Nepal Police." Yet the discrimination they lendured in Nepal still rankles.

Impressively, of the fourteen Nepalis employed at the ICTY, three are women. (The third is a lawyer. Teij Thapa). Both Pradhan and Nirola are glad to be setting an example for the younger women joining the Nepal Police. Having moved up the ranks through sheer effort, they open the way for the following neparations.

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