

Hear, hear

Public opinion polls are useful only when political forces heed them. Sadly, our elected national leaders have stopped caring about what the people think. And on the other side, the Maoists, in their revolutionary zeal, are so convinced that they have all the answers, they don't need public opinion. In fact, their punishment for disagreeing is physical elimination. And yet, the results of the public opinion poll we publish in this issue

remind us that our rulers and those who aspire to rule ignore public opinic at their own peril. The Nepali people know that the leaders they voted for have squandered their mandate, but

NAVIN SUBEDI

where possible solutions lie. This public

opinion survey is based on the responses of more than 4,000 Nepalis in 22 districts carried out from 6-20 September. This is the third Himalmedia poll,

and it shows growing public disillusion-

ment with national institutions, and apathy towards politicians. Respondents were asked to qualify the state of the country at present. Over 65% said "bad", 26.5% said it was "horrifying", and only 3.6% felt it was

the reasons for the country's sorry

tion. 40.2% blamed the Maoists and

35% said it was because of poverty.

Don't know/can't say

41.5

1285

and men

4, 025 respondents in 22 distrcits were surveyed.

183

2901

monarchy and the Maxist. A scientifically selected sample of 4,025 respondents all over the country from 22 districts across the high mountain, midhill and tarai regions were surveyed. Nearly 60% lived in rural areas, and the rest were urban-dwellers. Only people whose names are on voter lists were interviewed. Nearly 38% of respondents were in the 26-40 age group, 36.5% percent above 40 years and 26% between 18-25 years. There were equal numbers of women

ORG Marg is a market research group owned by the Dutch firm VNU, which has just acquired the US-based AC Nielsen. Himalmedia is the publisher

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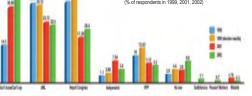
What are the most important issues facing the nation today? (% of respondents, multiple choice)

they don't agree with the Maoists: neither with their brutal methods nor their ultimate goal. Disapproval of the decisions taken by the Deuba government are glaringly evident. More than threequarters of those polled said that the term of local bodies should either have been extended or fresh elections held. More than half didn't agree with the way elections

were called. There are other revelations. This is the first public opinion poll taken since the royal massacre, and we see that less than 1% of those polled see absolute monarchy as a reliable solution to the Magist problem. And despite the nostalgia in Kathmandu Valley for strongman rule, the people blame the failure of politicians, and not the breakdown of the system, for the country's problems. The message from the people is clear: they want all political parties, the king, the security forces and even the Maoists to work together to

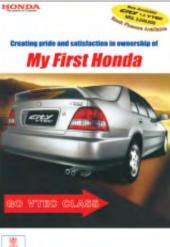
get this country back on track. If that is unrealistic, then there should at least be a coalition among those who believe in parliamentary democracy

The latest Himalmedia-AC Nielsen ORG Marg public opinion poll shows that Nepalis are fed up with politicians, they regard corruption and conflict as the main problems, they don't think much of the Deuba government, they are convinced democracy is in deep danger, and they see the Maoists as the main threat. he people have spoken. And they show maturity and an understanding of the country's crisis. Who will you vote for? They know exactly who has messed things up, and also have an idea about



endangered. In the present poll, 70.6% see threats to democracy. Asked where they thought the threats stemmed from, more than 70% of the

April 2001 over 61% said democracy was respondents in the current poll blamed the Maoists. Last year, only 8% percent blamed the Maoists and 82% said it was because of the activities of political parties. see ⊏> p2



65 JYOTI W Senter Company London: Bridghat Rogrand, Latigs for Sector Fox Sector Erect suscentrostagenesi

💺 Himalmedia-Nielsen ORG Marg Poll 🥯 Times nepologwo.com Given Nepal's fast-paced political changes, conducting the 2002 Himalmedia-Nielsen ORG Marg Q. If elections were held tomorrow, which faction of orient weight and paced pandled triggets catalogs and an end of the second manufable relation of many public opinion and paced pandled triggets and the 1999 or 2001 surveys. The polls were intended to determine public perceptions ahead of the 13 November elections, but the questions also focused on the uncertain security shatalon, the public's views on democracy, politicians, the



The people want such a force to emerge out of this chaos.

Weekly Internet Pall # 54. To vale go to: www.nepalltimes.com . This Dasain, what is the most precious thing you ish for Nepal and Nepalis?

"like before". What did they think were in the poll, was multiple-choice, so the situation? Nearly 55% blamed corruptotal sometimes adds up to more than 100%.) In the 1999 poll most respondents (This question, like some of the others saw no danger to democracy, but by

Is democracy threatened? (% of respondents in 1999, 2001, 2002)

2.4

2002

of Nenali Times and the





2 NATION

All together, now

from 🖒 p1

This time, a surprising 37% cited Prime Minister Deuba as a threat to democracy while 35.4% blamed the Nepali Congress-the party that has been struggling for democracy for the past 50 years. Nearly 25% said Nepali democracy was threatened by "outside powers" while 17.6 % saw the royal palace as a threat.

Asked about the Maoist problem, 66% felt it had got worse during Deuba's tenure, 16.6% felt it was same as before, while 11.8% said the problem had become less serious

So, do the people see a way out? A full 80% of the respondents felt talks were the only way to resolve the insurgency, while only 5.5%

STATE OF THE STATE

believed in a military solution. An all-party government was seen as a solution by 42.2%, while 20.6% opted for constitutional reform. Some 15% said a surrender by the Maoists was the way, and 14.5% wanted a referendum. Nearly 7% of the respondents felt India's help was an important factor in resolving the Maoist problem.

general elections, and more than half the respondents felt it was inappropriate" for the prime minister to call elections during an emergency, while 29.4% agreed with the decision. Asked who they

would vote for if the elections were held, most of the respondents

The Himalmedia poll tried to gauge the people's enthusiasm for

Neith

We, the people

inally Prime Minister Sher Bahadur The prime minister should finally stop listening to his advisers, and listen to what the people have to say. Deuba has found a party that he can call his own. But the joy of having shed the stigma of being a partyless prime

minister wasn't there on his face when he addressed his flock at the Birendra International Convention Centre on Monday. For the president of a newly formed splinter group, he looked tired and drawn. the present debacle Sher Bahadur Deuba has been known

for political flip-flopping, but in recent Nepalis seem to share my sentiments. times he has surpassed himself. On issues like the extension of the state of emergency, talks with the Maoists. submissions to the Election Commission and most recently, on the withdrawal of midterm elections Deuba wavers till the end. and then makes the wrong decision. the House was wrong.

When you have to eat your words so often, you're bound to get indigestion. The postponement of parliamentary elections now further confounds the country's constitutional crisis. But on this it would be unfair to blame Deuba alone After all mid-term elections were welcomed by the main opposition UMI and RPP, endorsed by a section of the donor community, cheered on by an

ΔΥΔΤΟΙ Ι ΔΗS

If following Ackerman's argu-

allowed to criticise America

ment (Letters, #111) we are not

because it gave us the TV and

the PC, then we should not utter

a single word against Iran, the

Arabs India Greece Europe

and China (endless list): they

fundamental knowledges of

which TVs and PCs are only

technical applications. But no

need to carry on such debates

human creations, as well as,

alas, intolerance and stupidity,

have no (national and quantita-

contributors who, facing the

week the freedom of thought

and the freedom of press (a

from all kind of ayatollahs.

British invention) which save us

homage to Nepali Tin

tive) borders. For my part, I pay

most serious risks, honour each

brought to the world the

influential media house, and declared of the respondents should also feel that

eight years working on develop-

ment projects, and for a total fee of about \$500, the college was

finally successful in getting that

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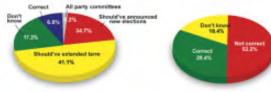
the Mapist problem has worsened after to mobilise the army against insurgents. All in all, public opinion is decidedly the installation of the Deuba government in July last year. Even more worrying for against most major Deuba decisions, and Deuba, only 6.8 percent consider that the disapproves of all his actions and

decisions to date. This should put any government units was correct, and close head of government in a fix. Deuba

to half the respondents don't think it was doesn't have much legitimacy left, but as necessary to impose a state of emergency captain he can't abandon a sinking ship Prime minister Deuba's decision to

... dissolve elected local councils.

ordinary Nepalis caught in the



75

37.6

Deuba personnent

4 - 10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

Foreign powers

either. One thing he could do is sack his

tainted cabinet colleagues. The trouble

deputy Chiranjibi Wagle-that would

mean sending the wilv manipulator from

options. If he wants to extricate himself

The prime minister is running out of

House, he can still ask his parent party to

is, he can't even risk disciplining his

Gorkha back to the Girija Congress.

from the political guagmire that he

jumped into by dissolving the Lower

rescue him. Paradoxically, the best

... call mid-term polls.

option for the Nepali Congress (Demo-

Name three instituions which

(% of respondents who said democracy is threatened.)

pose a threat to democracy.

54

Neguli Congress

LETTERS

Ackerman's letter doesn't do visa. Personally, I've had to appear justice to the America we respect. at the Immigration Department half Philippe Ramirez, Paris a dozen times, fill out over a dozen forms, provide numerous photos, But that is nothing compared to the Janaki Gurung hits the nail on the weeks and months that the college staff have had to spend dogging head with her piece "If we want tourists scran visa fees" (#113) the process... day after day. Worse still is the bureaucracy, and countless hours. Several humanithat applies painfully to those of tarian and development agencies with which I have been associated us here working as volunteers and on humanitarian or developover the past eight years have had ment programs. In May of last year to hire full time staff members just I was asked to volunteer as to handle such matters, taking professor at a local college and needed funds away from more research centre that agreed, as important tasks of alleviating part of the arrangement, to obtain poverty, From what I hear, my the necessary study/research case is not at all unu visa. That was almost five months Mac Odell, Tangal ann. Last week, just shortly before I'm to leave Nepal after

RULERS. If only Nepal's so-called rulers gave a good read to Ekta Ghimire's etter (#112) and also took a good look at themselves in the mirror and reformed, there would be some hope for Nepal

Jaishree Bhattarai, by email Every week, the news from home is progressively worse ("Enough", #111 and "Hunger for peace", #112). You think of the

middle and suffering from the conflict. And that is only in the affected districts, what about the rest of Nepal? Youths, particularly men, are fleeing to the cities, and across the border to India. The elderly, women, and little children have been left behind to fend for themselves. Local people are terrorised by the Maoists who extort money, food and other necessities. The army has are now filled with hatred and forbidden the planting of corn for revenge? Maybe this conflict will security reasons, and people force us to think about the underlying injustice and inequities already reeling under drought have no food. No one makes eve and finally act on them, and build a contact, no one talks. Nepal is in new Nepal. Nepalis need to work the silence of fear together with a common purpose. Who then is responsible now and we need rulers who have the and who can we turn to? The

vision to take us there political parties and their leaders have all exposed themselves as being unable to rise up to the task They are selfish, corrupt, and

blatantly shameless, and the people have lost their trust in them. The police was never trained for this kind of war, and the army obviously does not have the necessary intelligence to carry on. Civil society is virtually nonexistent, NGOs are fragmented ation? Can the politicians

amassed what was supposed to o to improving peoples' lives? Can civil servants sleep when they are posted to remote district during the day? Is the chief of police sleeping? The army chief?

Rita Thapa, University of Toronto, Canada

 Is anybody getting a good night's sleep in Nepal? Is the prime minister sleeping? Or is he getting sleepless nights thinking about the political vacuum that is leading to the uncertainties? Are the prime minister's advisers losing any sleep over this government-less

(38.6%) said they didn't know or couldn't say. The proportion of those who didn't know was 30.09% in April 2001 and 14.5% just before the 1999 elections. Most of the undecided are respondents who voted for the Nepali Congress in the last elections.

The UML was the party with the most support (22.3%, down from 23.7 in 2001) while the Nepali Congress was favoured by 20.4% of respondents (up from 17.3 in 2001). Nearly 7% said they would not vote, while the RPP had 5.2% support among those surveyed. Only 0.3 percent of the respondents said they would vote for the Maoists if elections were held. One reason for this unusually low figure could be because genuine Maoist supporters may have chosen not to admit it to our interviewers.

The polls were taken before the Election Commission decided on the tree symbol, and respondents favoring the Congress were asked to choose between the two factions: 39.1% favoured the Deuba Congress while 31.3% were for the Koirala Congress. Nearly 20% said they would vote for whoever got the tree, and many of these may now have cast their lot with the Girija faction. Just over 10% said they were undecided. Not surprisingly, 70% of the pro-Congress respondents in the far-west districts supported the Deuba Congress.

Nationwide, the Deuba Congress is seen to have about eight percent of the total popular vote, while the Koirala faction has about 10%. But the final outcome on who will form the next government will depend on which way the large proportion of undecided votes. This is clear indication that the biggest beneficiary of the Congress split is the UML Another dramatic shift has occurred in the perception of the constitutional monarchy and the role of the army. In the poll taken in

April 2001, 41.32% of respondents supported the king's authority over the Royal Nepal Army. After the army was mobilised against the Maoists in November, this figure has fallen to 29%. About 35% said the army should be under the control of the "government", up from 20.7% last year

In another question about who is best placed to resolve the country's problems: one third of the respondents felt it was an all-party

advernment, 23.6% felt it should be the responsibility of the Deuba government, and 18.7% said the king was a solution.

To the question "Who do you wish to see as a future prime minister?" 19.1% voted for UML leader Madhav Kumar Nepal, 11.5% preferred Sher Bahadur Deuba while Girija Koirala had 7.4% while Surva Bahadur Thapa of the RPP got 4.5%. Senior Congress leader Ram Chandra Poudel got 2%. Baburam Bhattarai and Prachanda got 1% between them, while "other Maoist leaders" got another 1%. Former Panchayat leader Marich Man Singh made a surprise showing: 0.8% respondents, largely in Kathmandu Valley, wanted him to be prime minister again

4-10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

More than one-third of all respondents felt the constitution should be amended, about 24.3% said the present constitution needs no changes, and the remaining had no opinion or declined to comment.

(The full details of the survey will be posted on www.nepalitimes.com on 11 October.)

If you have what it takes to sing with the hotlest bars

cratic) could be to reunite with the mother Congress. It would leave open the question: so what was the fuss of the last two years for? Still, a reunited Nepali Congress could revive the chances of the Pratinidhi Sabha being reconvened. Deuba's claim to lead even an all-party government would then be quite justified. Resuming dialogue with the insurgents. conducting free and fair elections. and preparing for parliamentary polls would then be a matter of detail to be dealt with by a novernment of national consensus Personal grudges have no place in politics. These are desperate times, and we expect our leaders to rise above envy and ambition. And perhaps it would

by CK LA

also be the last chance for Deuba to redeem himself in the eves of history Since he has seldom hesitated from abruntly changing his stance, there is no reason for him to resist the urge to correct his course

for relatives killed. Is any Nepali

science who do not worry about their motherland, who do not care for others or for the people's future during their waking hours. When will we search our souls and begin the healing process? Who is going to take the first

CORRECTION The data in "Red Against Pralad Yonzon's article "Wounds of Neglect" in Habitat Himalava Volume 9 Number 1 Yonzon is Team Leader at the group Resources Himalaya.

in town, grab the mike and send your cassotte NOW And who knows? You might just rack your way to storthen with 1974 AD **CONTEST RULES** . Sing one song of 1974 AD and Recett it on en audio cassella. Recett your name, address, tel no and age on the califiette Mail or drop the causelle to "Carlsberg Rock Yers" at the neorest, address, given below, surficient by the hand.

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along political lines, donor-driven, sleep, now that they have and poorly resourced. Nepal's safety nets have always been the traditional and cultural sense of the family and community, but even these are disintegrating through displace-ment and other risks from the present times. Where can people turn? What happens to children who have suffered personal losses owing to the conflict and

headquarters with no guarantee of protection? And those caught in the security or Maobaadi dragnet, how is their sleep? Can businessmen sleep in the face of economic collapse? School teachers and administrators when hounded by both the government and the Maoists? And how about those directly in the fight: the Maoists and the security forces-they are certainly awake through the night. But can they snatch some sleep

step?

now. For once, Deuba should stop listening to his advisers, and listen to the people instead. 🔶 Ordinary citizens. Families caught

in the crossfire. Families grieving

also those who sleep because only ones alive sleeping peacefully are those without a con-

Green" (#112) was drawn from

sleeping? Then, of course, there are they are no more with us, caught by the blow of a khukuri, a bullet from a .303 or a light machine gur or a pressure cooker bomb. The

Shanta Dixi by email

valid by the Supreme Court. If Deuba's decision to recommend the dissolution of the House was faulty from beginning, then everyone must share the blame for non-extension of the term of local Unfortunately for Deuba, not many

People aren't ready to buy the argument that our prime minister is a mere victim of circumstance. According to the findings of the Himal-Nielsen opinion poll, 52 percent of the people surveyed feel that Premier Deuba's dissolution of Even more damaging for Deuba is the

damning indictment of the electorate: 37 percent of the respondents feel that his government is actually endangering democracy. That puts his government second only to the insurgents as a threat to democracy: 70 percent of Nepalis surveyed thought the Maoists are the biggest danger to democracy. Little wonder, then, that 66 percent



states bordering Nepal that seem

"The treaty is fine but the

real hassles are with the day-to-

day problems across the border,

said the harassed ohiu exporter.

Since May Ghiu exporters have

to sell all their exports through

India's state-run Central

to be designed to make it

difficult for them.

Why is doing business with India so difficult?

Political hurdles have been removed, but Indo-Nepal

trade is still stuck in red-tape, babudom and corruption. manufacturer who has not India for the past two months only in the domestic market Nepal's export to India grew a whopping seven times in five years. But this boom is now all about 80 percent two years ago. The statistics, however, do not reveal all because they do not portray the impact of the new conner wires zinc oxide and is more worrying is that even manufacturing in Nepal have entered a downward spiral.

border, and the recent strike in

Bihar, Many exporters now feel

that exporting to India is just not

worth the hassle, and are concen-

trating on building up a Nepali

*The problems are proce

dural, even petty, but they have a

big impact on our exports." says

the manager of a vegetable ghiu

market for their products.

before the IGC meets again to exported a single consignment to make the adjustments. The multinationals came to "Now we're thinking of selling Nenal herause they saw advantages of manufacturing here and After the 1996 trade treaty, selling to the vast north Indian market But their profit marging were wiped out when the Indian budget slapped an excise tax but over. Export growth last year based on the Manufacturers was just 11 percent compared to Retail Price, and not the price export quotas on vegetable ghiu, acrylic yarn, among others. What exports of Indian multinationals Until some years ago, every

cake of Nepal Lever's Liril soap sold in India was made in Hetauda And in the hest years the Nepali subsidiaries of Indian multinationals were exporting Rs 2.26 billion worth of toothpaste. But last year, toothpaste exports to India slid to Rs 1.6 billion, and is plummeting further. Nepal's soap sales last

year was roughly half the one billion two years ago (1999/00) Companies like Lever have already switched gears to concentrate now on the Nepali

market But Colnate-Palmolive which came to Nenal mainly to export to India. is still in deep trouble. The Inter Governmental Committee (IGC) meeting in New Delhi last month agreed to review the problems affecting Nepali subsidiaries of multinationals but it may take months

Warehousing Corporation at which they transacted with (CWC) to which an Indian importer has to apply for an their parent companies in India. Additionally, over time, India import license. introduced other fiscal schemes This license has to be used to support its domestic producwithin 15 days, but because all ers which have made manufacnhiu sellers have to net every turing in India more attractive export batch tested and certified This is one of the issues the by a laboratory in Patna delays IGC in August agreed to look e become routine. Strikes in into, especially the adjustments Bihar and the arbitrary hassles needed to look into the differgiven by lab personnel to Nepali ence the excise duty has made. products stretch delays and "Indian fiscal policies and disrupt delivery deadlines emergence of new tax-exempt Exporters complain that the zones in India have changed Patna lab will reject a sample for being sub-standard, even though profitability." Gurdeep Singh. chairman of Nepal Lever another from the same batch Limited told us in Kathmandu passed the tests. last month. *I don't foresee Sometimes exporters are major changes in our export in required to send samples from the near future. trucks at the border to Patna It's not just the Indians and wait for the reports to arrive Nepal levies its own service before they can move on. The aroument from the Indian side is

charges on exports, and the

in the nast Kumud Dugar, an exporter of agricultural products, faces another problem and is pretty blunt about it: "Free trade ended the day we put restrictions on quantity. What is the point of being in business if you cannot

NATION

exporters

Dugar's main grouse is guaranguarantine system. India has tine, which India began enforc promised to have three more ing in August 2001 and has quarantine checkpoints on the turned out to be a real bassle for border by November, Now Nepal would have to formally tell India Dugar argues there is in where the checkpoints should be effect no need to have quaranlocated before the Indian tine checks because we have a bureaucracy will begin to budge, norous unrestricted horder and which has not hannened same appo-climatic regimes and Informally, Nepal says it wants have been doing business in farm them near Janakpur, Sunwal and produce for ages. And the Joqbani, but has not officially problems at the guarantine equested it. India has agreed to reduce system seem to be geared for making the process as difficult as quarantine fees by half but again possible. Initially, there was only that will take time and until then one checkpoint at Kakarvitta, exporters have to live with what and exporters in say. Dhangadi is in place. Some business sources. argue that because Nepal also had to truck goods 1000 km right across Nepal to get the imports agro-products from certification. Two more check India, and is also trying to join points are operational now, but the WTO, it should also begin exporters told us that testing is thinking about its own guarandone in Lucknow or Patna and tine checks. But even that may they have to wait at the border not solve the problems exporters for reports to arrive back. The would face in India and further delays cause further losses of may add to the cost of the perishable agricultural exports. imports, which will then affect Indian sources say the best Nepali consumers. they can do is simplify the In the end, traders and

Project Manager

Training for Employment (TfE)

A Project of the

Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC)

Implemented by Alliance Nepal, a private consulting firm

The Training for Employment (TfE) Project was developed three years ago with the aim to improve the training programmes of public and private training providers in order to enhance the employability and productivity of their graduates by narrowing the gap between the supply and the demand side of skilled people. The Project supports Technical Training Providers and Enterprises in order to strengthen their institutional capacity, improve communication and strengthen linkage between training providers and entrepreneurs, and to enhance the quality of training's and services provided.

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Application along with an updated CV, salary expectation and reasons for applying should reach to:

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4-10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES b

Attack helicopters

DOMESTIC BRIEFS

novernment officials say, it

posts and the guarantine

omes down to making sure that

political decisions to streamline

trade trickle down to the border

centres. Says Dugar: "Our best

bet is to try and focus on agro-

products and processing. Only

run." This is because agricultural

exports would have 100 percent

immune to pressure from India's

trade, and also some of the new

Mandala House

Delawater, Rathmands

angente, esperte plate au - fotte po la distançativa fotte por la fastarilez

local content and would be

domestic lobbies to protect

non-tariff barriers that have

resulted from the treaty

renewal.

that can beln us over the long

The Home Ministry is planning to spend Rs 960 million to bring in two 20-year-old Mi-24 attack helicopters. Here's how the deal is being planned the Home Ministry buys the choppers and hands them over to the army, in exchange for Mi-17s currently owned by the RNA. Interestingly, two years ago the army had actually rejected the offer of these aircraft, saving it did not need them. The Home Ministry is buying the two choppers for \$6.2 million-enough money to buy two brand-new multipurpose Mi-17s, complete with armour and pight vision



Then there are questions about whether the army even needs these choppers. The attack helicopters are used largely to destroy area-type and group targets, including armoured and concrete installations, capabilities not of immediate use in the war against the Maoists. Then there is the question of training operators and gunners and maintenance crew for the copters, which normally takes over three years. The single-function attack helicopters carry 12, compared to the Mi-17s, which can transport up to 36 people and also be used entirely to transport supplies.

And finally, the two helicopters now parked in Australia need a total overhaul of all components before they can be brought in. Sources say that the suppliers-local agents believed to have family ties with powers that be in the present government-have promised to send the choppers for a complete overhaul in Russia after the deal is done. The process will take six full months from the day of dismantling, if the factory can fit the job into its production schedules. A source told us that if the army really needs attack helicopters, the Mi-17 comes in a version with rocket and cannons pods. Mi-17s would also be more compatible with the fleet already existing. The basic question remains whether we actually need attack helicopters.

Women's law

Finally, six months after parliament passed it, and a full four years after it was first mooted, the so-called "women's bill" is law. Last Thursday King Gyanendra gave his consent to the new law legalising abortion in specific instances, criminalising paedophilia and giving women property rights. Women's rights and reproductive health activists are hoping the new law will help reduce the maternal mortality rate in Nepal, which is one of the highest in Asia. According to WHO estimates, maternal mortality here is 1,500 per 100,000 live births. Under the new law, women will be allowed to have abortions up to 12 weeks into their nancy, and up to 18 weeks in cases of pregnancy resulting from rape or incest.

If the pregnancy poses a danger to the physical or mental health of the mother, or if the foetus is abnormal, the new law permits a woman to have an abortion at any time. Under the previous law, all abortions were prohibited and violations were punishable by three years up to life imprisonment. It is estimated that nearly 20 percent of the women in prison have been convicted of having an illegal abortion. Abortions performed beyond the time limits in the new law are still punishable by one to five years in prison.

The legislation also makes paedophilia a crime punishable by up to 16 years in prison, says women's rights advocate Sapana Malla Pradhan. Until now there was no law against sexual abuse of children in Nepal. The new law also gives women the right to inherit their parents' property.

Microfilm for TU library Finally, the Tribhuvan University Central Library will begin copying some of the rare texts in its possession onto microfilm. The library is said to hold over 70 million pages of texts on Nepal (in both Nepali and English), which will be microfilmed using a Japanese government grant of Rs 20 million, after the agreement is formalised. Library officials say about 500 manuscripts need immediate duplication and another 21,000 books are on a priority list. This includes 430 rare books in Nepali and 425 rare journals. The TU library's Nepal collection alone has 35,000 journals; the library has 250,000 holdings in all.

More Maoist attacks

As if in time for the tourist season and the Dasai holidays, a group of Maoists attacked and damaged the communications and other traffic control equipment at Phaplu airport in Solukhumbu last week. They struck after the airport had closed for business on 28 September, when no security personnel were around. The airstrip has not had additional security after the 26 November clash between Maoists and security personnel that left about 200 rebels dead in Solukhumbu. The damage was assessed at Rs 2.5 million, but the airport remains open, with landings guided by VHF equipment. The airstrip is about a half hour walk from the district headquarters Salleri. Two days later, the Maoists attacked the home of tourism minister Bal Bahadur KC in Salyan VDC.

On 28 September the Mapists attacked the Begnas Lake Resort and Village in Pokhara causing damage totalling about Rs 30 million. The Hotel Association of Nepal has condemned the attack. The Maoists also attacked schools in Kathmandu and VDC buildings and government offices throughout the week.

Road worriers

It's obvious to anyone who's been in the country's eastern and central regions since the monsoon that floods and landslides have wreaked havoc on the roads. But the extent of the damage is shocking. Suresh Kumar Regmi, who is responsible for maintenance at the Department of Roads, said in an interview with Rajdhani daily that repairs will cost over Rs 450 million. Most of those roads remain in a poor state because the department does not have the funds to repair them. The department has been asking the government for about Rs 100 million annually to spend on maintenance every year, but has been getting only Rs 30 million. Floods and landslides damage the two main roads from Kathmandu to the plains every year. Two years ago, the government invited a private party to build a direct road linking Kathmandu and Hetauda via tunnels in the hills in the south. The plan has been caught up in red tape. Now the government is considering another alternativebuilding a road along the banks of the Bagmati and connecting the highway network near Pathlaiva, shortening the 300 km drive on the Prithivi Highway to just 90 km.

A glass of hope

fifty percent water, fifty percent empty space. Let's start with Irag. Now if there's anyone. anywhere who find anything resembling an upside to the absurd theatre of redoubled demonisation emanating from Washington towards the Tinris-Europrates basin. I'll rush to sit at their feet and listen in awe. Maybe that rotter Saddam Hussein does have all these horrible devices that he's accused of possessing Never mind that the leading anti-Saddam hawk on the UN weapons inspection team, the American Scott Ritter, now says he doesn't Just presume he does. Then the best thing to do is to jolly well bash him about until he gives them up. Isn't it?

Er. no. savs just about everyone else but the Americans. Even the Israelis worry that Saddam-with B52s bombing Iraq into rubble all around him-might just decide it's time for the last waltz, for him to go out with an ugly, poisonous bang before he turns out the lights. So if we accept Washington's argument that he has them, and he plans to use them, where's the wisdom into provoking him into poisoning his

the Himalayan-Hindu Kush region that lies downwind of the Gulf, especially in January when the fireworks are due to start.

straw. He doesn't have such weapons, at least on any scale, and

the Taleban in Afghanistan—until he col-lapses, then loudly trumpet a victory for the war on terror. A rare victory, perhaps the only victory. Then it'll be time for America to retreat into resolving its growing domestic problems and for the White House to focus on ts most important task, getting George W Bush e-elected in 2004. History tells us that residents who don't get the economy right get nore time to play golf than bomb enemie

ndia-Pakistan. Well, the elections in Jammu and Kashmir are proceeding despite violence, apathy and fear. Yet there's no doubt any number of Kashmiris are voting wanting peace, normality, jobs for their kids. That vretched evil attack in Gujarat last week provoked little in the way of a response from India, which shows admirable restraint, but does little to quell public demands for an end to vulnerability. Hmmmm, tough one. How about this? Once the Land K elections are ver. India will live up to its promise to talk

The world is an increasingly difficult place for an optimist

to Kashmiris, all of them, separatists, pro-India types, Muslims, Hindus, business people and so on. The talks will be fraught with difficulty and there will be frequent displays of pique on all sides. Quietly, Pakistan will be talking to India too, even more guietly to some of the Kashmiris

Eventually, in the name of the economy and under immense western and Japanese pressure, a troubled, controversial settlement will be worked out along with plans for a referendum. Pakistan will claim that voting fulfils its interminable demands for a UN-sponsored plebiscite on the fate of Kashmir. India will say nonsense, it's yet another everyise in the sort of democracy we've been practising for decades. Pakistan's mullahs will how with outrage but Musharaff will be committed, under fierce pressure from his many creditors, to get his act together and opt for regional peace.

The next generation in India, Pakistan, Kashmir and indeed, South Asia, will live somewhat less in fear of nuclear annihilation.

Now Nepal. Oh dear. Here, I worry that too few of the fundamentals are in place, even for an elder optimist like myself to start postulating properly. But I promise to spend the next week ignoring the Byzantine goings-in in the political courts of Kathmandu. Instead, I'll reflect on the sufferings of the people, the shadowy plans of the Maoists and the overwhelming goodwill of the world for Nepal. I hope, pray even, that'll lead to a ray of hope. Otherwise I may have to give up on optimism.

that exports have to be tested because narcotics were



BINOD BHATTARAI wanted some inter-state taxes fter the problems with removed, and New Delhi got its Nepali exports to India state governments to comply. A were fixed with the renewal And yet, things remain stuck. of the 1996 trade treaty in Nepali exporters are amassing large inventories at warehouses March, everything looked set for a smooth flow of goods across the because of hureaucratic bassles border. India wanted quantitative from the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh restrictions on some Nepali state governments, the need to goods, Nepal agreed. Nepal pay off customs officials at the

HERE AND THERE

s an elder of the diminishing worldwide community of optimists, I A am often asked for my opinion on particular issues. At which point I usually wake up and utter the phrase "half full" before nodding back to sleep and hoping my questioner will go away. Lately though, it's been hard to find any trace of liquid in the proverbial glass that's supposed to be

So we optimists are forced to grasp at the following microscopic

President Bush's plan is hammer him-like

Okay, Irag, Sorted, Now what about



viable middle class. The post-9/

11 objective is to eradicate

poverty in order to prevent



he murkiest member of the commander's characterisation of Manist triumvirate has cast Nepal as dynamite between the two new light on the precarious-Asian giants was evidently intended ness of our existence between two to illuminate the firepower his boulders. Comrade Badal has lads and lasses still have. His gained political prominence ever broader point merits deeper ince Prime Minister Sher Bahadur introspection Deuba suggested be might have to As a vam. Nepal was the open peace talks directly with the perfect candidate for nonman responsible for the insurgents' alignment. Our official middle-ofbattlefield ferocity. The rebel the-road line helped us weather

Required by an International Organisation for its

professional premises - one or two adjacent buildings

with a total capacity of 30 rooms each one foreseen to have enough working space for 2 to 3 persons. Also necessary will be a large conference room, a kitchen, small storerooms and a parking area for 10 vehicles.

These premises will be rented by the Organisation and cannot be shared with other tenants

The premises should be in Patan or its immediate surroundings (up to Baneshwar in the north and down to the ring road in the south).

Should all these requirements be fulfilled, renting arrangements can be made immediately.

For further communication, please submit detailed proposals including costs to the Administrator. G.P.O. 21225, Kathmandu Nepal.

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eng with Ballet Lands and a belie of here 40 Rs. 400 + 3m for adults ing with Ballet Lands and Notle of out drink 40 Rs. 200 + 3m for children



ened that a large section of Nepal's

intelligentsia and political parties

ramifications of increasing hobnob-

Wild Summer

low every Saturday & Sunday

Godavari D

fail to recognise the disastrous

bing with external powers. They

main, however, preclude a full understanding of their cause. Comrade Badal, by continuing Cold War and the cooling of the tradition of nomnous prose Sino-Indian tensions appeared to does little to clear the clouds. I diminish our strategic impordoes contain enough powder to tance. We were about to concede trigger a productive debate on our how multiparty democracy's second nationhood, if you're willing to coming heralded the end of history concede that dynamite needn't when the Maoists sprang up. always have a destructive Of late, the rebels are disheartconnotation

Small states always strive to chart their own course in turbid international waters. Some Pacific and Caribbean islands have

become leading tax havens. Switzerland was synonymous with international diplomacy for decades before it decided to join the United Nations this year. Lebanon was emerging as the banking mecca of the Middle East before the prophets of doorn prevailed in the mid-1970s. Al minds to create and sustain a azeera TV has helped Qatar carve its own personality in a region awash in petrodollars.

True, we don't have that kind of affluence to make a difference. Building on Badal's assertion, we can draw the world's solemn attention and strategic assets. The overriding objective is to prevent the dynamite from exploding. Afghanistan encapsulates the perils of indifference to failing states. The idea that states too weak to secure their own territory could hardly represent a threat to the international order is antiquated. Proponents of defensive imperialism insist such places can provide a base for such

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era of unpredictable threats puts terrorism. The corollary should great premium on pre-emptive be our guiding philosophy. And action. we're getting the world's atten-"Anticipatory self-defence" tion. The Belgian government predates 9/11, though. A decade almost collapsed over differences after the collapse of the Soviet on how Nepal's conflict should be Union, the United States continues viewed. An opposition MP in to pour in billions to dismantle its Australia grilled Prime Minister John Howard for committing nuclear arsenal. That initiative also involves keeping Russian, Ukrainian Australian lives to war against and Belarus scientists from working Iraq while ignoring mass terrorism for roque regimes. Through its nuclear programme. North Korea has succeeded in drawing humani-

or terrorist syndicates that may

pose a danger to the world. An

in Nenal, Remember how British Prime Minister Tony Blair was accused of sneaking through tarian assistance from America, parliament a decision to give us Janan and South Korea. Call it two Russian-built military blackmail for greenbacks if you helicopters under an aid prowant, but it sure works. gramme normally used to bring Our strategy should rest on peace to war-torn countries? (No the time-tested reality that aid wonder he couldn't spare time for hased on nure altruism belongs to Deuba last month) If it hadn't the realm of idealism. The postbeen for the Iraq crisis, the Blair Second World War aid philosocabinet could have ruptured over phy was guided by politicalwhether the land of the Gurkhas strategic goals. The decade after needed auns or reforms. You no longer have to be a cynic to the fall of the Berlin Wall was spent on opening markets and expect our combustibility to deliver us from calamity.



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ECONOMY

INTERVIEW "Society still looks down on businesspeople."



Recently elected president of the Nepal Automobiles Association, Rohini Thapaliya is also vice-president of the Nepal-German Chamber of Commerce of Industry and co-chair of the Nepal-EU Economic Forum at the FNCCI. Thapaliya has a range of business interests—trading and representation as well as manufacturing furniture and aluminium fittings. We spoke to Thapaliya to talk about his businesses, corruption and the difficulties in doing business here in Nepal.

Nepali Times: What is the range of your business? Rohini Thapaliya: My father began the Shree Padma Saw Mill in Simra in 1963. Because there was little value addition in million and it contributed little to employment, he moved into wooden furniture. Other reasons for the shift were raw material shortages and environmental concerns, which is why we started to focus instead on aluminium. We set up Altech in 1987 to produce windows, doors and other fixtures using technology from Germany. We stress quality because we believe that it will ultimately pay.

representation. We represent Mazda for the of marketing Mazda-Ford products in Nepal. Our diese pickups have gotten a very good response because of the good price and technology. We've not been able to do as much with cars because of the fuel quality here. Our fuel quality is 87 octane, but for effective pollution control the new vehicles of Euro-I to III standards need 93 octane fuel, mainly because we don't have carburettors anymore and most engines are computerised

furniture? We were awarded that honour in 1997, the 25th year

of the coronation of His Late Majesty King Birendra. We've supplied furniture to the palace for about 17 years and were honoured in recognition of the quality of our products, as well as the import substitution we've been able to introduce. We supply to five-star hotels, the Cabinet room and other high government offices. We have not been able to export on a large commercial scale because of a shortage of raw materials, and the bulk of the product, but we have sold small amounts of furniture in Japan, Germany and the United Kingdom.

everyone in business actually wants corruption to exclusive and that gives people the impression that we might be expensive. But if you compare them with money from their pockets. Since the system does not other products on the market, we might just be cheaper and more durable. We discourage discounts to reduce other costs associated with the transacbecause we want to assure quality. Many people plan to purchase furniture during Dasain and Tihar when We must focus on how we can do husiness and we usually have special discounts

Chinese tourists

BIZ NEWS

The first batch of Chinese tourists to visit Nepal after the new tourism arrangement made in November 2001 arrived here this month, and more are expected to come starting October. The first batch of 17 tourists arrived on 26 September. The timerary most Chinese tourists are expected to follow is a 10-day tour of Kathmandu, Chitwan and Pokhara. The tours are managed by Amiko Travels.

Bank reforms

Though delayed by about three weeks, reforms at the Nepal Bank Limited (NBL) are moving ahead as planned. The ICC Bank of Ireland, which took over management of the NBL earlier this year, has presented to the Nepal Rastra Bank a plan detailing how it believes it can go about reforming one of the most troubled banks in the country. The plans relate to financial evaluation, budget and management planning. Meantime, the central bank has still not found a replacement to take over the management of the Rastriya Banilya Bank (RBB) after the US firm Deloitte Touche Tomahatsu (DDT) backed out of an earlier understanding to take on the responsibility

Award-winning rum Khukuri XXX rum has ben awarded the prestigious Gold Award at the recenty-concluded International Rum Fasival that was held in SL Johns, Nawardundland, Canada. "Depiet still competition from well-known global thands such as Baserial, Capatain Mogan, Nary's Goslings, Landis, anongot others, Nukuri XXX mu was the Gold Award winner," according to a company press release.

LIC shares

LIC SIGNES The Life Insurance Corporation (Nepal), a Nepall joint venture with the Life Insurance Corporation of India has altoted 470,000 stars to about 25,000 of the roughly 60,000 subscribers who applied for them. LIC Nepal has reserved 5,000 shares for its employees. Fifty-five percent of the stock of LIC Nepal, which has authorised capital totalling Rs 250 million, belongs to LIC India, 25 percent to the Bishal Group of Nepal, and 20 percent to the general public, including employees.

Scratch & win

Bluebird Department Store and Rio [WHO] have put together a number of sponsors for its Scratch & Win scheme for Dasain shoppers. The prizes will come mostly from manufacturers of consumer products—Philips, Samsonite, The Bluebird Hotel, Cosmic Air, Carlsberg, Imperial Blue, Trisa, Fa, Johnson & Johnson and Wella Every shopper spending Rs 1,000 is entitled to one scratch card that could open the doors to a range of prizes including Philips TVs, CD players, Braun blenders, juicers, hair driers and other household items. All in all there are 30,000 prises for taking, says a Bluebird press release.

Snooker with Surya Surya Nepal and the Billiards, Snooker and Pool Association of Nepal (BSPAN) have put together a Nepal-wide snooker challenge to last throughout the festive season, which kicks of next week. The first rounds are already underway in 28 snooker stops across the country from where contestants qualify to compete in the final rounds in Kathmanu (25 October - 2 November). The total prize money is Rs 460.000. of which the winner and runners up will take Rs 75,000 and Rs 50,000 respectively.







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& Bars throughout October 2082. Our great Reduction is total Seduction



pollution standards. The pollution standards. COP. and type approval, became controversial because the government did not consult the private sector adequately. Last year the government decided to phase out 20-year-old vehicles. That wasn't imple-mented because we didn't have adequate consultations with the people affected by the decision. Whatis your general assessment of the ease of doing business in Nepal? It is difficult. In manufacturing, we have very high cost of production, because we are landlocked and have high electricity costs. Our labour is cheap but

This is one industry that is growing fast everywhere, including India and China. Automobiles reflect the

change in people's needs as a society develops, so

growth in this sector is inevitable. There are other

benefits, too. The automobile industry contributes

wheelers, spares and lubricants. Indirectly, it employs

about 14 percent of direct revenue, including two-

over 200,000 in the formal and informal sectors.

spares stores, etc. There are issues about conce

tion, to solve which we need to find ways to phase

out old vehicles with proper compensation schemes. Pollution problems also need to be tackled. The

solution is not to stop importing cars but find better

ways to deal with old vehicles, which often cause

What caused automobile imports to drop by 15

not disciplined. We want productive labour, not cheap labour, Tourism depends a lot on externali-

ties, making it unpredictable despite the huge

investments that have been made. Then there's

to succeed in husiness in Nenal

trading, which depends on the demand generated in

individual companies or industries. It is challenging

the overall economy, which is beyond the control of

What about the representation side of things?

This is another service sector. I represent several

international companies who appoint local firms and individuals to facilitate marketing. It is uneconomi-

cal for large companies to set up their own market-

ing offices, so they seek individuals and companies

But representation has become almost a dirty

wordŐ Unfortunately, no one in business in Nepal has a

"good" name. Society looks down on businesspeople This has to change. In other places, entrepreneurs have a very different standing in society because

there they are recognised as employers and drivers

of the economy. We need to change our mindset,

because political change without economic activity can't solve our problems. The government employs

about 300,000 people, while the carpet sector alone

used to employ 200,000. The private sector employs millions. Attitudes are slowly changing, including in government, but not fast enough. It is easy to blame

businesses for being corrupt and profit-seeking. But

come down because they don't want to keep giving

work that way, they are often forced to pay their way

tions. There is a need for change across the board.

respect and support those in business

There is still some confusion on certification vis-à-vis

more problems than the new ones.

percent last year?

drivers, mechanics, their helpers, people working for

We also have a trading house called Padmashree, which is involved in import, export and

How come you get to use a royal crest on your

Does this sort of exclusivity make your products expensive? Definitely the royal crest makes our products

n search of lost music

The piwancha produces a firm, warm, thick sound and it heralds the revival of Nepal's ethnic music traditions

PHUDORJI LAMA SHERPA

CULTURE

lobalisation. Sure, it sometimes seems to be all McDonald's and Levi's or their rip-offs. But the other side is the diversity of cultural artefacts that enter the mainstream. Look at the increasingly popular genre of music called World Music. Africa has exploited it well, pushing the frontiers of pop music with infusions of ethnic flavour on the one hand, and the promotion of traditional music forms on the other, and Southern and Western African popstars and griots are singing their way to the bank.

Nepal, too, has its share of innovative popular musicians who, say, give a rock flavour to a traditional Tamang tune, as the band 1974AD does with a surprising degree of success in Nepal and abroad, as their recent eight-city

concert tour of the US shows. The jazz outfit Cadenza takes a more cerebral music form and interpellates it with Hindustani classical music. (See "Himalayan standard time", page 15.)

In the midst of these admittedly exciting developments, it's easy to forget traditional music at its purest. But organisations and individuals working for the preservation of indigenous cultures are keeping their ears open, and have started to do something. Ramprasad Khandel, a thangka artist, collects traditional folk music instruments. To him they represent an opportunity to understand indigenous Nepali cultures, and he believes that keeping documenting folk instruments and keeping alive knowledge of them is a vital step towards preserving what makes these cultures unique. 2



different ethnic groups during the course of his research. He regularly travels to different areas instruments. Khandel says that he to interview local musicians and keeps the museum going by using older people who are more likely the earnings from his art work. to remember instruments that an and dedicating every spare no longer played.

His documentation will no doubt be central to the work of future ethnomusicologists Khandel's personal favourite is the rediscovery of an instrument

diverse cultures Newars use wood for their flutes, while Kiranti herdsmen fuse called piwancha, a copy of which

is on display at the museum. The niwancha is a close cousin to the Chinese erhu and ban hu, the Tibetan piwang, and the Mongolian morin khur. He found an illustration of this instrument, thought to be lost forever, on a pillar in Pashupatinath. The piwancha, which used to be played by Kathmandu Jyapus is a two-string fiddle almost 70 cm



long with a little drum at the end The drum is made of sandalwood covered either by sheephide, or snakeskin, which is considered to he lighter and allow for better resonance. Two tuning handles si at either end of the neck. Sliding one's fingers down the length of the string produces different pitches. The 60 cm long bow is either wood or bamboo with horsehair running between the two strings, unlike the violin and the Nepali sarangi. The tone of

the niwancha is firm warm and thick. Khandel is interested in more than just collecting museum pieces. The museum started music lessons last year, and recently concluded a 10-day instruction course on the piwancha and sharangi. The fees are modest, between Rs 150 and Rs 250 per lesson, on a

sliding scale to match the finances of a prospective student. Classes are free for the physically impaired, and all teachers are volunteers. The museum needs all the help it can get, but Khandel strongly believes that it is important for the public to realise the worth of folk music before he can legitimately go out ask for assistance 🔶

Get your Capy Now 1

Not just beautiful or 18-year-old Nira Gautam, there was a lot of the gruelling training for contestants in the

more to it than just being able to look good when she was persuaded to join the Safi women put in 15-hour days of cat-walking, Queen pageant, It took a lot of courage to stand photo shoots, question answer sessions, up to our anti-beauty pageant culture. It involved smile analysis appointments, formal dining going out there to create your own identity, being courses, football and even rock climbing. different, deviating from stereotypes,

According to the norms of pageants, Nira Gautam is 2 kg overweight. But it does seem that weight standards at the Safi Queen contests are in serious need of medical scrutiny since none of the 20 contestants were deemed fit enough to donate blood. Blood donation was nart



At the end of it all, judges which included anti-trafficking activist Anuradha Koirala. filmmaker Nir Shah, actor Raiesh Hamal and Indian diplomat

Nagma Malik chose Nira as winner At 5'7" Nira looks stately and mature, she is quick to smile and has a nononsense look about her. But in the end it was her brains that the judges seem to have been most impressed by. Asked "How can George W Bush and Saddam Hussein become in-laws?" Nira didn't hesitate with the answer: 'Saddam's son has to wed Bush's daughter because it is well known that children inherit their parents' characteristics so a son of someone who is considered to be a terrorist can only be controlled by a powerful woman." Applause. As winner, Nira now has a whole series of engagements for modelling, and will be replacing the Indian model on Safi commercials. And there are trips: she will represent Nepal either in the Miss Earth contest in the Philippines next week and the Miss University contest in China later this year. Nira is donating her Rs 50,000 prize money to Sungava Orphanage where she is a volunteer every Monday, and the Old Age Home in Gaushala. (Astha Dahal/The Circle)s





CONDITIONS APPLY, VALID FROM SEPTEMBER 01, 2002



It all began with the purchase

moment to it. Every instrument reflects a regional and cultural sensibility that shows in the design and materials used. The variations on the basic flute are a perfect example of Nepal's

two bamboo flutes to make their iodhmurali. The characteristic high pitch of the Sherpa flute comes from ningala, the long thin bamboo shoots. The hill I imbususe the Fhamuk made from three differ ent lengths of perforated bamboos that can accurately imitate

birdcalls At the museum the instruments are classed as string, wind, drum or 'miscellaneous'. Temple bells, cymbals, beads and even jhumkhas and payals worn by dancers on their feet, eclectically form the last grouping. Khandel knows the history of each instrument and has met 25



Unilateralism vs multilateralism

any allies of America say they resent the excessive unilateral-ism of the Bush Administration's foreign policy, but even President Clinton argued that America must be prepared to go it alone when no alternative exists

resolutions.

International rules bind the LIS and limit America's freedom of action, but they also serve American interests by binding others to observable rules and norms. Opportunities for foreigners to raise their voice and

influence American policies constitute sometimes induce others to make an important incentive for being part of an alliance with the US. America's interests. During the Reagan membership in multilateral institutions ranging from the UN to NATO may reduce US autonomy, but the multilateral ingredient of America's conditions that prodded other current preeminence is a key to its longevity, because it reduces the incentives for constructing alliances settlements mechanism against the US. Some multilateral initiatives are

But multilateralism is a matter of recipes for inaction, or are contrary to

GOING IN IS THE EASY PART.

degree, and no country can rule out unilateral action in cases that involve its very survival. Self defence is mitted under Article 51 of the UN Charter, and pre-emptive self defence American values. For example, the may be necessary when a terrorist *New International Information Order" proposed by UNESCO in the organisation presents a strong or imminent threat President Rush's 1970s would have beloed authoritar. military action in Afghanistan was ian governments restrict press largely unilateral, but carried with freedom. More recently, Russia and

China prevented Security Council authorisation of intervention to stop support from NATO allies and UN In addition, unilateral tactics the human rights violations in Kosown in 1999. The LIS decided to compromises that advance multilateral go ahead without Security Council approval, and even then American Administration trade legislation that ervention had the strong support of NATO allies. threatened unilateral sanctions if others did not negotiate helped create the But some transnational issues are inherently multilateral. like climate countries to move forward with the change. The US is the largest source of creation of the WTO and its dispute greenhouse gases, but three-quarters of the sources originate outside its

The cooperation, rather than going it alone debate has been oversimplified. stability of global financial markets. the international trade system, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction parcotics trafficking international crime syndicates and

by JOSEPH S NYE, JR

transnational terrorism Multilateralism is a mechanism to get other countries to share the burden , of providing public goods, and fostering commitment to common values. Even militarily, the US should rarely intervene alone. Polls show that two-thirds of Americans prefer multilateral actions to unilateral ones, and there are practical implications as

well. The US pays a minority share of UN and NATO peacekeeping operations, and the legitimacy of a multilateral umbrella reduces collatera borders. Without cooperation, the political costs to America's so-called problem is beyond US control. The soft" or attractive power, ie, its aid same is true of infectious diseases, the and cultural initiatives. Soft power can be destroyed by excessive unilateralism

> nd arrogance At times America will have to on it alone. When the US does so in pursuit of public goods that benefit others as well as Americans, the nature of America's ends may substitute for the means in making US power acceptable in the eyes of others. If the US first makes an effort to try a multilateral approach, its occasional unilateral tactics are more likely to be forgiven. But if it succumbs to unilateralism too easily, it is likely to encounter criticisms like those the Bush Administration is In such cases, the likelihood of failure increases because of the intrinsically multilateral nature of transnational issues in a global age, and the costly effects on US soft power that unaccepted unilateral actions may impose. (Project Syndicate)

> > (Joseph S Nye Jr is Dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and former director of the US National Security Agency.)

V ALBERTO ALESINA AND FRANCESCO GIAVAZZI **Divided Europe stands**

AFGHANISTAN

n coming meetings of the G8 (the world's club of rich industrial countries plus Russia), four members-Germany, France, Italy, and the UK-will participate individually and as members of the European Union, whose president also attends to represent the EU as a whole. Shouldn't the EU have a ingle representative? Unitary EU participation would affirm a common Europear stance in international relations and international economic policy.

TRAQ

Joint participation by the EU would increase Europe's weight in international relations, especially vis-à-vis the US. After all, a key reason for European integration was precisely to provide a more powerful voice for Europe in the international arena. The FLI's member countries share

strict rules on fiscal policy, a common currency (except, for Europe might be the moment, the UK, Sweden, and Denmark), a common trade policy, a common antitrust policy, and common better off leaving market polices, just to name a few. Germany. France. Italy. and the UK basically share a common stance on interna some things out tional economic policy, so why not present a united front of the EU's to the world on these issues?

There are two possible answers. One is that despite occasional shows of unity, European countries retain very different views on foreign policy and do not want to

delegate this prerogative. Consider the recent strained relationship with the US. Although the UK remains very close to its transatlantic ally. France is extremely critical, regardless of the colour of its government. Italy's position pivots 180 degrees depending on who is in power. Germany has recently taken a more anti-American stance (perhaps for electoral reasons), but is beginning to like flexing its independent foreign-policy muscles

The risk is that agreeing on a common foreign policy would either be impossible or require adopting a minimum common denominator that would leave Europe ineffective and weak. Taking a strong position based on, sav. majority voting within the EU may lead to very strained relations between member states. The European Union may soon have 25 or more members Agreeing on a united foreign policy will become even more difficult. Reaching a consensus on relatively small diplomatic and international issues may be feasible, but if America pushes forward militarily against Iraq, after consultation with the European allies seeking their approval, it is very plausible that agreement on how to respond to the US request would be impossible.

Profound disagreements on foreign policy among members represent one of the main reasons the EU can not and should not become a traditional federal state. Also, can a united policy ever be "fair" in global terms. Once Estonia joins the EU it will be represented at the G8 meeting while, say, Korea will have no voice. Obviously Estonia's role in deciding the EU's position would be small,

but its participation would be symbolic. The second answer is more cynical. Perhaps the heads of states of the four European countries would lose a major photo opportunity and have no inclination to delegate it to a representative of the EU. The different preferences and policy choices among existing members in some areas, especially foreign policy are very deep and will in all likelihood remain so. The differences are likely to multiply and become more pronounced in an enlarged Europe. There is a constitution. trade-off between FLJ enlargement and deepening of policy coordination, an important point that seems to be

missed in the current European debate about institution building and constitution writing.

This cynical answer may or may not be correct, but it underscores that decisions about what to delegate to the EU are often the result of shortsighted conflicts between national and European bureaucracies rather than the product of a carefully thought-out institutional design. These are some of the key questions that the European constitutional convention has to address. So far it has offered precious few answers. . (Project Syndicate)

(Alberto Alesina is professor of economics at Harvard University. Francesco Giavazzi is a member of the Group of Economic Advisers to the President of the EC.)

4-10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

Watershed election

On 6 October, Brazil will hold its first round of presidential elections in a vote that is seen as a referendum on President Fernando H Cardoso's eight years in power. Cardoso came to power in 1994 with the promise of economic stabilisation. He privatised telecoms, the national mining company and part of the electric sector. Inflation fell, but unemployment, public debt, and urban violence all rose sharply. Social inequalities heightened, and last year Brazil suffered blackouts and electricity rationing. Brazil's severe summer market jitters, during which the country's

risk index suddenly topped Nigeria's and short term credits for international trade dried up as public debt exceeded 60 percent and bankers feared a default, changed the face of the election. In early August, Brazil speeded up its IMF timetable and began negotiating a new \$30 billion agreement. To bring the presidential candidates "on ard" (as was done in South Korea in 1997), Central Bank President Arminin Frana invited their representatives to his office for a chat. Ten days later, Cardoso did the same with the four leading candidates. Although no candidate formally signed off on the agreement, all lent verbal support to it. This calmed the markets temporarily, but the candidates became wary. If they rejected the agreement, they would be accused of being anti-market and anti-Brazil. If they agreed to it, then they would lose their ability to freely criticise Cardoso's policies, (Project Syndicate)

Using the WTO

GENEVA - Brazil has challenged the world's two trade superpowers by initiating dispute settlement processes at the WTO, tackling the subsidies the United States gives its cotton growers, and the European Union its sugar producers. Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government called for consultations about the subsidies US cotton growers and exporters, and EU sugar producers and exporters receive from their governments. Oxfam International says in a study released last week that the US spends \$3.9 billion a year to support its 25,000 cotton producers, "more than three times the US foreign assistance to Africa's 500 million people." Oxfam also states that the consumers and taxpayers in the 15 EU countries pay \$1.5 billion a year to place the bloc's surplus sugar on foreign markets. The Australian government has also lodged a formal challenge against the EU regarding sugar. Brazil's complaints are significant because they represent the first efforts to open up the WTO to handling lawsuits involving subsidies for farm commodities. (IPS)

Slippery prices

CARACAS - The average price of OPEC's set of benchmark crudes crept higher last week for the first time since December 2000 than the \$28 a barrel limit established by the cartel, closing Friday at \$28.69 dollars per 159-litre barrel, reaching an average of \$27.60 for the month of September and \$23.49 since January, reported the Energy Ministry of Venezuela, the only Latin American member of the group. Last week, the closing price of the basket of seven OPEC crudes was \$27.60 a barrel. At its meeting 19 September, in Osaka, Japan, OPEC nations decided to limit production to 21.7 million barrels a day, unless the prices remain above the \$22 to \$28 price band for more than 20 consecutive days. If that happens, the members agreed to increase output by 500,000 barrels a day to push prices back within the band. The last time the OPEC basket surpassed \$28 a barrel was 4 December, 2000, when it reached \$28.28. The price hand was established at the OPEC summit in Sentember 2000 a year after oil prices had suffered historic lows.(IPS)

Blackmail by water GENEVA- The IMF and World Bank pressure developing countries to sell their water services to a handful of transnational corporations as a condition for financial assistance, says Gunnar Aegisson, author of a study published by the Britain-based One World Action. Aegisson's report, The Great Water Robbery, stresses that access to water is a human right, not an economic commodity subject to market forces. Aegisson also calls into question decision-making and water services management. Poorer outlying areas, where the lack of potable water pipelines and drainage services cause disease and increase infant mortality rates, have largely been ignored by governments. One reason is that poor populations lack political fluence in developing countries. The IMF and World Bank, in this context, pushed for privatisation with the argument that open competition in a free market would lead to increased efficiency //psi

COMMENT Yet, cooperation with the US may not gain the al-Sauds much, because relations with America are strained to

and the second s Saudi Arabia's Iraq dilemma povernment's ability to control

s war talk builds, the audi regime's room for manoeuv mõdernisation narrows

audi Arabia broke ranks with Innostanding ally and source of their the Arab world's opposition to legitimacy. External pressure arises military action against Iraq specifically from the US, Saudi Arabia's when Foreign Minister Saud al-Faisal primary strategic protector. The al-Sauds fear that cooperation announced that the kingdom would allow the use of its military bases if the with the Americans may not guarantee LIN sanctions an attack on Iran. The Ionn-term stability and worry that official Saudi press explains the new concessions on so fundamental an stance as reflecting the government's "Arab" cause as Iraq will further desire to abide by Security Council undermine their domestic legitimacy resolutions, but it highlights the Saudi How much erosion of legitimacy occurs regime's growing feelings of internal will depend not only on whether war fragility and external vulnerability. with Iran takes place but on what Domestic pressure on the Saudi happens during the build-up and royal family, the al-Sauds, arises from preparations for war: the media and widespread opposition to any war propaganda struggles, and the political against Irag, as well as to America's alliances forged. The Saudi regime does military presence. Dissent comes from not want to be marginalised as America the street, and from the Wahhabi embarks on its policy of "regime religious establishment, the al-Sauds' change": it also does not want to be

Arms and Saddam

he UN's weapons inspectorate chief and I rao have agreed on tentative terms for the conduct of weapons inspections, which in theory could begin two weeks from now. But the success of any such deal depends as much on the men who will carry out the inspections as on the details of when, where, and how they are carried out

Hans Blix will head the UN arms inspectorate charged with searching for, finding, and destroying Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction. I have known Blix for over forty years. In 1960 he was my deputy when I was a leader of the Swedish Liberal Youth organisation. Since then I have followed his career closely. He became Sweden's foreign minister for a year and was later a director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna

Personally, Blix is amiable and has a sense of humour; politically he is weak and easily fooled. I can think of few European officials less suitable for a showdown with Saddam Hussein. It is with utter disbelief that I watch television news about Blix's negotiations with the Iraqi dictator's henchmen.

The world has been amply warned about Blix's weaknesses because he has a track record of compounded failure. When Blix headed the IAEA before the Gulf War of 1991, he delivered the clean bill of health that Saddam had hoped for when he began hiding his atomic factories and ambitions. Since then, we have learnt all too unambiguously that Saddam is obsessed with procuring weapons of mass destruction-chemical and biological warheads as well as atomic bombs and the missiles to deliver them. Former experts of Iraq's nuclear weapons program, who have fled Bachdad for the west, confirmed this. They told us about determined and costly efforts to obtain doomsday devices. It is clear that Saddam was a



the breaking point. Since 11 September could reduce the importance of the regime—once central to American Saudi oil in world markets because strategic interests in the region has been increased Iragi production is likely made to feel dispensable by the US, when sanctions are lifted. As al-Saud's political and economic which drops strong hints that there are alternatives to Saudi military bases, even control declines and in the absence Saudi oil. Although the Saudis were not of democratic reforms, the regime's included in President Bush's "axis of policy will likely shift from evil * some American policymakers view natronane to repression the country as a "kernel of evil." Al-Qaeda is seen as arising directly from American demands will persist fundamentalist Wahhabi teachings, an even after any war on Irao. America integral part of the Saudi regime. wants to restrict the influence of the These problems run parallel with Wahhabi religious establishment, the regime's rising domestic problems. reform the educational system, and War against Iraq will be divisive and bring about moves towards weaken the kingdom's delicate unity

democracy. To appease them, Shi'as in the oil-rich east, ambivalen discussions are taking place about about their "Saudi-ness" and called restriction the Wahhabi establish heretics by the Wahhabi authorities, ment's role to the social sphere and will likely welcome regime change in the state's religious oversight to Iraq if it enhances their ties with Iraqi tasks such as operating schools for p-religionists, which would bolster memorisation of the Koran and their political confidence. The popula regulating tourism tion of Asir. the tribal area bordering An attempt to secularise the state might backfire as the regime Yemen from which most al-Qaeda recruits originate, is also alienated, and could become more vulnerable to accusations that it is an American war on Iraq could strengthen the appeal of the al-Qaeda there, invigorating calls lackey—there is nothing to replace for iihadanainst America's military the legitimising sanction provided presence and the al-Sauds. The Hejazis by the Wahhabis. The Saudi regime needs American guarantees from Mecca and Medina. are alienated from the political process and the and the support of the rising religious establishment, as they are not middle class. Some steps towards Wahhabi. They might welcome a return freedom of the press have been of their old Hashemite rulers to the taken, but censorship remains, Iragi throne, an option for any strict.

(Project Syndicate) egime change*. But if war reinforces

(Mai Yamani is a research fellow the Arab sense of defeat. Heiazi adherence to bin Laden's message at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London.)

by PER AHLMARK

by MAI YAMANI

public opinion. A declining

economy has made the rising

neneration rebellious. War on Iraq

The al-Sauds realise that

may grow. The advent of Arab satellite television and the Internet limits the

Can a wimp disarm Saddam? year away from securing his first atomic bomb when the Gulf War broke out. After that war LIN inspectors found and destroyed hune amounts of chemical and biological warheads as well as facilities to produce nuclear

weapons. Despite his grave failings as IAEA chief before 1991, Blix once again came to lead UN disarmament inspectors, this time in tandem with another Swede, Ambassador Rolf Ekéus. Blix, naive and relatively ignorant about technical details—his field is international law—is easily mislead. Even after the Gulf war, he failed to realise that the Irani officials, who were again assuring the UN that they were hiding nothing, were but consummate liars. Blix believed Iraq had no program at all for nuclear arms. David Kay, perhaps the most effective arms inspector, insisted that he did not trust them. Blix reproached Kay for his attitude. You must

believe in official information, Blix implied. The turning point came when Kay initiated inspections of suspect buildings without notifying the Iragis about his intentions in advance. This new, aggressive inspection strategy had dramatic consequences: Kay discovered material confirming that Iraq was only 12 to 18 months away from producing a nuclear device.

This historic discovery ended up in a confrontation at a parking lot in Baghdad. UN cars were surrounded by 200 Iraqi soldiers and a mob, ordered out to the scene by Iraqi officials. For four days and nights the siege ontinued, as Kay and his colleagues used satellite telephones to fax crucial documents to the west

Blix had opposed the raid. Fortunately, Ambassador Ekéus backed it and supported the inspectors during the siege. Experts on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction often compare the two Swedes: "Ekéus is brilliant." they say. "Blix is terrible."

Saddam's chemical and biological arms, and his determination to get nuclear weapons are a threat to the world. The dictator could use these arms himself or make them available to terrorist organisations. And the issue of war and peace depends on a man repeatedly duped the Iraqi regime. The Bush administration probably understands Blix's weaknesses. My quess is that the US will not allow Blix and the inspectors that he oversees to be deceived by Iraq again. Regardless of how this crisis develops from this point, the UN has neglected its duties by asking a wimp to lead the inspectors who are supposed to stand up to the brute of Baghdad.
 (Project Syndicate)

(Per Ahlmark is a former deputy prime minister of Sweden.)

4-10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

When you can't say 'condom'

BEIJING -Chinese papers praise the government's attempts to safeguard "socialist morality" through its recent crackdown aiming to rid Chinese cities of the vices of prostitution, drug abuse and gambling-'evils of the capitalist society' that have made a steady comeback in the last few decades of wrenching market reforms after having been banished from this communist land more than 50 years ago.

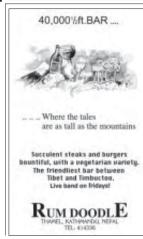
But this same tough government response is also being blamed for the authorities' failure to raise HIV awareness in this sexually conservative society and to step up prevention efforts in the battle to contain China's growing AIDS epidemic. China's punitive treatment of high-risk groups, such as sex workers and drug addicts. has hindered effective preventive strategies. It has also made the question of treating HIV/AIDS and helping people living with the pandemic if not a taboo, then a very sensitive, issue.

Because prostitution is banned in China, efforts to promote use of condoms in places like bars and parlours are slighted as attempts to legalise sex work. Most recent government guidelines such as The Medium and Long Term Plan for AIDS Prevention and Control of 2001 reiterate that "prostitution, drug trafficking and drug abuse must be vigorously cracked upon". China has an estimated 1.7 million people with HIV/AIDS. The UN forecasts that some 10 million people in China could have HIV by 2010. While UN missions and non-governmental organisations are lobbying the central government to give the green light to free condom distribution projects in areas outside of the few trial cities. local officials are fearful of implementing them. Kumiko Yoshida, a coordinator of HIV/AIDS focal point at the UN Fund for Population (UNFPA) mission in Beijing, says: "Condoms are seen as a sex commodity rather than a health product and you can't go around the place distributing them." (IPS)

Modified, unimproved food

NEW DELHI - Dire warnings by food security experts and crop failures have not deterred India from going ahead with plans to allow farmers to grow genetically modified (GM) food crops developed indigenously, as well as from seeds supplied by transnational firms. In March this year, the Genetic Engineering Approval Committee (GEAC) under the Ministry of Environment and Forests cleared for commercial planting Bt cotton, whose seeds are spliced with genes from the bacterium Bacillus thuringiensis (Bt) that is deadly to the bollworm pest. GEAC cleared Bt cotton developed by the US seed giant Monsanto, despite the legal challenges to its planting pending in the Supreme Court by farmers unions and the Research Foundation for Science Technology and Ecology (RFSTE).

There have been spectacular crop failures in the three major cotton growing states of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya, Pradesh. A fourth state, southern Karnataka, has banned the sale of Bt cotton seeds. Monsanto officials told IPS that the crop failures have been due to droughts followed by unseasonal rains, and that this resulted in root rot, to which the Bt cotton crops have no resistance, but newspaper reports say that reason in Gujarat was bollworm attacks. The government remains keen on another crop spliced with Bt developed by the Delhi-based Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI)-the 'golden acre' cabbage consumed in large quantities locally. As with Bt cotton, the main advantage of Bt cabbage is its vastly reduced use of pesticides, says its developers at the IARI, one of the world's major agricultural research organisations, (IPS)



COMMENT

ASIA

Forests, not timber

CANBERRA - Community development and environment groups in Papua New Guinea fear that last week's deferment of a forest conservation project will undercut efforts to put up a system to manage new logging operations, further harming the country's forests. At the centre of the controversy is a stand-off between the PNG Forest Authority and the World Bank over the implementation of the six-year Forest and Conservation Project (ECP), agreed to in December 2001. The World Bank planned to launch the \$39 million project in mid-September following workshops with government agencies. But last week David Nelson, managing director of the PNG Forest Authority, demanded that the workshops be postponed indefinitely. Critics say the postponement shows pressure from the timber lobby, which has been getting new logging concessions in recent years, and casts doubt on the government's support for the conservation project and a willingness to review logging projects. They worry that the PNG government's move could prompt the World Bank to ease up on the terms of the project to push it through. (IPS)

12 FROM THE NEPALI PRESS

Kavre's child soldiers

Nepal Samacharparta, 28 September data success

An older boy from the village told Chetnath Dhakal of Dhukharka VDCs what he could have if he joined the Maoists. Initially Dhakal did not believe what he was told, but that changed after he saw another 14-year-old from the village, Krishna Prasad Gautam, come visiting with a gun on his shoulder, Krishna Prasad, who joined the Maoists when he was in grade seven, is now the commander of the Child Soldiers in the area. Chetnath's mother tried to discourage her son from ioining the rebels. He is said to have told her in response, "I don't care what happens to you, I'm off " She sent her other son to Kusadevi because she did not

want him to follow Chetnath's footsteps.

Many students from Dhukharka have gone missing after some of them first joined the Maoists. Most houses in the village have murals painted on their walls announcing that the Maoists have launched a "Sanjaya Enlistment Campaign" to commemorate the death of Prem Bahadur Bariely (Sanjaya) of Panchkhal in an encounter with the security forces. Even though the Maoists are taking away students both the teachers and the guardians don't want to discuss what is happening.

Among those who have disappeared from school, taken by the Maoists, are Khil Bahadur Asthani (15), Jit Bahadur Rana (14) and Nirmava Asthani (14). The Maoists are also using about 20 students from the school at Phalametar VDC as child soldiers, including Prem Thing (16), Dhan Kumari Gole (14), Arjun Thing, Akkal Pakhrin, Bindu Thing (16) and Nawaraj Raut. Bindu Thing had fled from the Maoists after the emergency was declared, but they came to get her, beat her up and planted a bomb in the house.

Former DDC member Krishna Khulal was attacked by these same child soldiers. They are reported to have been unable to even carry their own supplies while walking uphill. "Their guns used to touch the ground," says Khulal. When they reached the base at Saldhara-1, he is said to have told them not to play with the pressure cooker bomb they were carrying, but they ignored him. The explosion killed Man Kumari Gole and Urmila Tamang, both 13 years old. Bimala Waiba, 15, was killed in a similar accident sometime ago. Over 400 child soldiers in this district have been prevented from attending school. According to the Chief District Officer they are first used as porters, and then as cooks before being indoctrinated in the party.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"Repression (reversal to absolute monarchy) is no big deal. How long can it last? Even if it does for a few days, it will destroy itself, (because) the problems are the same. The poverty is the same and unemployment is everywhere. Regressing is not going to end that.



Blurb: Thank god, it's stuck.

प्रनगरिसम् Punarjagaran, 1 October

THIS PAGE CONTAINS MATERIAL SELECTED FROM THE NEPALL PRESS

Infiltrated Deshantar, 29 September Jana Aastha, 2 October 2010-01/10/10/10

 He said he would marry me. a .. On one side were the security forces widow, and care for my children taken prisioner, on the other the That's how he honked me Later made Manists who had narticinated in the 20 attack on Sandhikharka (9 September). me pregnant and ran away. He didn't allow contraceptives. I About six Maoists arrived the scene, had an abortion while taking paracetamol for an illness. My uncle raped me and got me pregnant. When I had an abortion I was charged with manslaughter. After staying in jail for some time I was

Abortion

shook hands with their comrades and with the prisioners and asked, "Do you recognise us?" All the prisioners said ves. These were the people who had been instrumental in the successful Maoist attack on Sandhikharka. The had said goodbye to the police and armyonlya week before the attack. The plumbers who worked in the barracks vere not just plumbers, but also Maoist spies collecting information about the number and types of weapons at the bases as well as about

the fallout of abortion being illegal. Abortion has now been legalised, after the 11th Amendment to the Muluki Ain (civil code) became law last week, upon receiving the assent of His Majesty. But, according to Sapana Pradhan

Malla, chairperson of the Forum, there cantured by the Manists who seized are still several uncertainties that remain at the implementation level, and steps need to be taken to resolve them. The uncertainties could revolve around a number of things, such as how an abortion should be carried out, what kind of doctor can approve them, what form does the agreement between the husband and the wife have to take? It is important to clarify this, as the Civil Code does not come

with a separate set of regulations, take out soldiers in trenches who unlike other laws The amendment does not permit abortion on the basis of gender preference, but how will that be prevented? By stopping the import of the equipment needed for testing? The law allows abortions if the child is likely to be born disabled, but what is the measure of that disability? Will a specification by the Health Ministry

be enough or will the law have to be . custodv amended to incorporate thes definitions? A study by the Forum says that there are presently more than 50 women in jail on charges of abortion. Twenty-five of the cases are presently being heard by the courts. Also, according to Malla, even though there are men involved in every case. none of them is doing or has done any

jail time or faced charges of any kind.

released. Then I got involved in drugs and was back in jail again. These are statements by women who have been spending time in iail. for having abortions. The findings of a study conducted by the Forum for Women Law and Development show booby traps that had been set up by the

armed forces to defend themselves. .The security forces had taken adequate precautions-they had listening posts in the surrounding jungles. A patrol had gone out on the day of the attack but were

communication equipment. This team had set up a GPMG aimed at the military barrack. The gun was manned by a former RNA soldier who had been court-martialed for selling arms while on a mission in Yugoslavia. The detainees were interrogated and later, with them at aunpoint, the Manists entered the barracks. By this time attacks had already started and they were able to

were shooting at the Maoists in another direction. Most of the 12 soldiers dead had gunshot wounds on thier heads ... The army is nvestigating the defeat at Sandhikharka, for which the army captain who abandoned the barracks after the fighting began and a policeman are also being held

The NSP mind Sagarmatha. 29 September Excerpts from an interview with Rajendra Mahato, general secretary,

Nepal Sadbhabana Party. 10.000 Major issues include the matter of citizenship, and the policy of reservations. There are other issues like enlistment in the army. We say take neonle in from all the communities that have been excluded so far-the madhesis, the Newars. We need to have a battalion for Tamanos, one for Gurungs, and also battalions for people

from other aroups. . What we are saving is that let us not take what belongs to others, but let us all use what is ours. When we talk of pay his dues by 6 September. When regional government, we are not talking that did not happen, they decided to of the plains alone, but of the same all over the country. For example, we are talking about five autonomous regions (the Maoists are talking about 12)-the astern Hills, Western Hills, Eastern Tarai Western Tarai and Kathmandu

Valley. The people of the two Terai regions will govern themselves, and the people of the two hill regions will do that for themselves; and Kathmandu /allev will also be run the same way. ... People say that the country will

disintegrate if you split it up into regions or grant regional autonomy. that the nation will cease to be. [We believe) regional autonomy is comput sory for the integrity of the nation and to truly save the country. This country does not belong to two groups, how can 15 percent rule while 85 percent continue to suffer?

about 300,000-400,000 votes in tarai's one million might be voters.



Deshantar, 29 Septembe Following a call by the Magists asking all families in Gulmi, Argakhanchi, Pyuthan and Baglung to send a member to their "camp"



demand rice in "donation". The Maoists have been having problems the NSP is a small party, that it will never form government and will never feeding themselves after the government began permitting the be able to solve your problems. They transport of only 25 kg of rice pe promise that they will bring solutions. The people believed them family in these districts. That is why the Maoists demand rice. Now, after being promised things ...Maoists fleeing army attacks and then neglected, the people are beginning to think otherwise. There

in Rolpa are said to be seeking treatment in the villages bordering were 40 marthesis in narliament who Pyuthan and Baglung, a densely forested area that the rebels have been using as a shelter. In the Five of them were from the NSP and meantime, reports from Khotangsay the rest were from other parties. These that the villagers have been terrorised by Maoists who have begun coming because they were from the tarai. They said that the NSP is not the only party to their homes saying ki dhan deu ki ian deu (either enlist, or pay up) About 500 Maoists are said to have assembled in these areas and the word is that they may attack the district headquarters Diktel befor Dasain

Default minister

won running on a platform that

other MPs obtained their tickets

with madhesis, we are also here, and

we will resolve your problems. But

the people have seen what these 35

other MPs have done for them

The Nepal Electricity Authority

Dristi, 1 October

emphasised their madhesi identity

Tribhuvan's car Gorkhapatra, 1 October

(NEA) Employees' Association-2051 A car gifted by Adolf Hitler to King Tribhuwan lies neglected in a garage at the Thanathali Campus. The 1939 Daimler Benz was given to King Tribhuwan in 1940 and it came to called the "Tribbut as he used to ride around in it. The car does not have a hood anymore and its seats and doors are in poor condition. A plastic sheet has been used to replace its hood. ... According to chief instructor Tarkaraj Joshi, the vehicle had been taken for repairs to the Singha Darbar garage but was not repaired. The Germans who used to teach at the Thapathali Institute saw the car at the garage and some time in 1977, asked the Institute to use in instruction. Thi is one of the cars that was carried into Kathmandu when there were no roads. Several people have tried to nurchase the car, but the Institute does not have authority to sell it. Since it is registered in the name of Her Late Majesty Iswari Rajy Laxmi Devi Shah, it was also not possible to transfer ownership to the Institute, though it tried to have that done a few years ago. The Institute had also asked for Rs 500,000 to repair the car, but TU's Engineering Education Department did not have the money.

"Enlist or pay



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Back at Sundarijal >19

"My one foot is outside the jail gates."

And the spin was first size in the spin allow a spin of the spin size in the spin size of the spin size is the spin size a state property is the spin size of the spin size is all state a state property is the spin size of the spin size is the spin size a state property is the spin size of the spin size the s

The second secon

BP is in a somewhat better frame of mind. A visit from the doctor proves

doing so makes his jail stay feel temporary.

Sundarijal: I am in a normal mood. The fact

attention is being given to us. I was pretty

Furamide compound which I generally take

worried on that score. He has prescribed

some medicines for my stomach trouble.

contained chloroquin which was a

depressant which in my present low

pressure should be avoided. He has

, prescribed valium. He knows that I have

stimulant tonic. A new major took over

today. We were informed that we could

get writing paper from the market at our

expense. A very happy information. I had

started writing on waste paper collected

from old newspapers. If I could do 4 hours

writing every day I can pass the time with

soothe the nerves perhaps. There is no

household work to do and writing does not

take more than an hour-and that too not

every day. There are not books with us to

interest me. But writing interests me. I can write for long hours without fatigue— whether the written product is good or not

s immaterial as long as the act of writing

keeps me engaged. I am thinking of writing

GM has been advised by the doctor to

cut down on the intake of tea of which he

took 6 full glasses every day-no tomato.

no onion, no meat, no many other things,

He has to take a lot of salad. Dr Basnet

will have to take care of my heart in view

advised me against taking butter, cheese is

ake anything that raises cholesterol in my

In the morning as we were waiting for

eakfast to arrive we discussed politics.

return to Nepal was most timely. He bases

his [indecipherable] turn of Nepal's politics

on grounds that I need to advance in India

to convince friends and comrades that it

was time that we returned to Nepal. In

unshakeably convinced, whereas I the

instigator of the idea sometimes develop

doubts about the validity of the direction

but at times I am with doubts.

Not that I doubt my point of view analysis,

Did not feel inclined to go through the

uneniovable tasks of daily duties-did a

little bit of writing but couldn't carry on for

any length of time. Re-arranged the room-

i.e. put the writing desk on the other side

of my bed stead, changed the position of

from the stuffed duffel bag and put some

from the d-bag because it is so iampacked

I keep only such articles of daily use which

the reading lamp took out some clothes.

others in it. It is a job to take out things

India he was not so convinced of my

argument. He now seems to be more

of persistent low pressure and has

all right but no fat. At my age, I should not

GM is fully convinced our decision to

a book on science for Manisha, my ideas

will be based on the book "We are not

less mental agony. Writing does help

low BP for which he has prescribed some

is that Dr Basnet came. So the medical

12 February

reassuring, and BP is pleased to learn that he can order writing paper from the market at his own expense. In writing about his everyday life, the jailed leader notes that he is loath to unpack all his belongings and spread out. Not

are needed daily outside-other things are

Therefore my room is very bare. I can leave

the place within 5 minutes of notice. My one

usually kept in the bag or the suitcase.

foot is, so to say, outside the jail gates.

Sundarijal. I am in good mood today. Medi-

cines to correct my digestive disorders are

proving effective. My psychological trouble

sometimes emanates to a great extent from my digestive troubles, which because they

discomfort don't receive the blame for my

a tendency of despair and melancholy

mood-blues, as they say. After a day of

administration of medicine I am feeling much

Today we didn't get our daily papers. No

I have started writing. My writings are not

of good standard, but I think I should continue

When I will be more organised I will improve it, or if the manuscript can be taken outside then

Shailaja may edit it and improve my language

I began writing to occupy my idle hours here

quality of the language or the originality of the

more propitious time and neutral state. I wrote

about 2,000 words. If I can continue this rate

written 30,000 words. A creditable perform-

ance purely from the point of quantity. Don't

talk of quality at this state. Don't you see the

Since imprisonment I have been taking

two classes of milk every day-one class at

breakfast and another glass after dinner. It

stomach trouble. From today I have started

a cup of curd. I think I should take more curd

it is still very cold, milk doesn't curdle easily.

So provide continuous heat we are placing

than milk. We take suficient quanitity of

inside the jail, because tobacco is in the

increased quantity of curd.

cheese there is no sense in increasing its

intake. Hence we have to fall back upon the

category of articles forbidden inside it being a

madak padartha". A new tension, I have

some zarda left which may last me about a

month. We will see what hannens when it is

finished. Remembered Sushila with love-

deep love-profoundly, superstitiously,

spontaneously, supplicatingly, eagerly,

desperately- acutely

Today I am informed that zarda can be got

the curdling pot before the room heater. If we

succeed then we will start taking more curd

cutting down on the quantity of milk that I take

to see if it improves my digestion. I take a half

We are trying to prepare curd at home. Since

doesn't suit me obviously because I get

then by the end of February I will have

quality of my language in these pages?

hence the primary consideration is not the

ideas. That can be taken care of later in a

writing however insufficient its quality is.

explanation except that the bus didn't come to

Sundariial Laminclined to put interpretation

on this. GM accepts that explanation at its

are chronic and can cause me great physical

psychological distress. Unconsciously, they

affect my psychology and promote insidiousl



Winrock International, Nepal, is pleased to assist promising young Nepalese scholars by providing them with partial research and travel grants. The research grant is for students to carry out field research related to Masters/Ph.D. degree whereas the travel grant is for researchers to present research papers at international conferences. The grant program will exclusively cover aspects of equity and environmental justice in the management of natural resources. Therefore, applications for both types of grants, should clearly state how the outcome of the research contributes to the enhancement of socio-economic equity and how it benefits the disadvantaged and marginalized groups of people in the society. Acknowledging the particular importance of women professionals in promoting sustainability in the natural resource management sector, 50 % of the total number of grants i.e. both travel and research, will be allocated o women candidates.

Conditions for the grants:

A) Eligibility: Applicants, who have completed their Bachelor's degree in natural resource management fields viz. land, water, energy, environment, forest etc., and are actively engaged in research or in a graduate academic program, are eligible to apply. Research proposals as well as conference papers must have adopted social science research methodology rather than natural science or technical research.

B) Types and amount of grants: In order to support as many scholars as possible with a limited amount of funds, the program is strictly confined to the partial support only. The maximum support for Ph.D. and Master's research will be NBs. 75,000 and NRs. 50,000, respectively. In the case of Travel Grant, the amount will be up to NRs. 50,000 . However, in all cases, priority will be given to the cost effective applications

C) Announcement of award winner: The research grapts applicant will be informed (by telephone, email or post) about the status of his/her application within 4 weeks of the last date of submission of applications. However, in the case of Travel grants, evaluation of the applications will be made every month. The applications for Winter Session research grants should reach Winrock by November 30, 2002. The applications for travel grants for the same period should reach Winrock by Feb. 28, 2003.

Note: Electronic application including the proposal/paper is also acceptable. Please contact Winrock International for the grants application form and other detailed information.

Applications should be mailed to: Application for Research/Travel Grant Winrock International P. O. Box 1312, Kathmandu, Nepal Tel: 476101, 472839, E-mail: madhikary@winrock.org.nc

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SALSA, THE DANCE WHERE MEN LEAD AND LADDES SHENE

धन सुवर्ण अवसराबर्ड सनुपर्वज नहीं बनी इंगले जुलाःजय वीवनवारन गर्न सम्पूर्ण इष्ट्रम्न महामुख्याहरमाई हार्विक ध्यागत गर्दाहु । -विपुनो



naid electricity dues adding up to about Rs 7 million. The minister is said to have told employees at the sugar factory to "stop paying the electricity bills," soon after he was appointed about a year ago. Even prior to that, the factory had not paid its bills, according to NEA sources. The minister is also believed to have asked his relatives to not nay their electricity bills, saying that he would settle them "from the ministry." [The paper names the relatives and the amounts overdue.] The minister is already "blacklisted" by the Rastriva Baniiva Bank, and last year the military patrol at Bhairahawa customs impounded vehicles smuggled by him. He now uses a number of vehicles belonging to the NEA. The mployees' association had tried to get the management to get the minister to pay up. Since that did not work, they ook matters into their own hands. The association asked the minister to

prevent him from entering the NEA premises. They have promised to take more severe measures if action is not taken against the minister

We have generally been getting elections when at least 60 percent of the

has decided not to let Assistant Minister for Water Resources Birendra Kanoudia enter the office premises unless he stops lootin corporation. The Mahalaxmi Sugar Mills in Kapilvastu, in which Kanoudia has investments, has not











(up)

buffet with a difference. An Action Station preparing Crispy Crab Cakes dong with an international selection of recipes celebrating fresh crabs. Cajun Crab Cakes with Mesclun, Baked Crab with Mustard and Fontina Cheese ... it's time to get cracking!

Interactive cuisine Whether it's Lunch or Dinner, it's





SPEPSI



4-10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES 15



vy Kunda Divit Visit Nepal While It's Still Dark[™]

Under My Hat

here used to be a time when all tourists could do in Nepal was trek to Kala Pattar, chase yetis, and visit the carpet shops at awalakhel for a souvenir rug. Today, due to creative promotion and an imaginative product diversification stratery. we are in a position to cash in on a vast new array of

oversmication strategy, we are in a position to cash in on a vast new array of activities not only to lure more bourists, but to lengthen the average duration of their stay once here. Our motto is: "Think positive. There is an opportunity inside every crevase." Souther if could be present of Merelie have electricitive What we have to

So what if only 15 percent of Nepalis have electricity? What we have to remember is that tourists are sick of electricity, that they want to go to a place where there is n't any. This is why we have now started successfully elling our darkness under the "Visit Nepal While It's Still Dark" campaign.

All right all right, there have been some complaint, including this one from a hard-to-piese visitor who wrole in to say. "We booked a tour to Nepal because the travel agant assured is that it was powerless and promited that the whole country would be pitch dark for the duration of our say, imagine or dismay whom we writed at Rahmand aupricat it won the morning to see that there was one neon light still on in the arrival area. Our holiday has ben mindred, and we girterfund?"

Fat chance. We can't please all tourists all the time, and some are rather finicky. But one promo that is working astrenely well and shows great potential for growth is the campain numched by the Ministry of Maxism, Leninism and Tourism to attract Chinese tourists with the "Nepal Cultural Revolution Retropective".

Now that there is yuan convertibility and Nepal has been declared an "Official Destination", it is now much easier for mainlanders to visit Nepal to see our unique selling point, viz, an actual revolution under construction. The following except from an effective promotional brochure sums it up very miary. "Was Mao? The Great



revolution under construction. The onal brochure arms if up very hieldy: "Miss Mad' The Grad Heimman and the Grang of Four are alive and kicking in Negal. Get into a timecapsule that takes you back to 1960 China. Relive the Grant Laep Fonward, watch Red Cauraris na citon as they trample Capitalist Roaders and Imporialist Running Dogs." In order to ensure that tourisds ond "wate a moment of

tourists don't waste a moment of their limited time while in Nepal, there has also been a highly effective programme to not let them sleep while here. An average tourist has

24 hours at their disposal every day. Unfortunately, they waste about eight hours of this skeping uselessly in their hotel rooms. In order to add value to their Nepal sojourn, and so they get their money's worth, we are now lining up new nochurnal attractions.

Unfortunately, let 'sace it, Kaihmandu has no night life secopt he occlenito body masses jetter on dorsychicity glof for resit the military checkpoint every time you cross Bagmanil Bridge after 8.30 PM. But all snot loss the horizet airlines are on waquinter night-vision helicopters to conduct mountain sighteeing flights in the deal of night. Passengers get image-enhancing siggalist throug shink they can admine the scare-scanery of the Himalage by starlight. Pabhara has slightly more nightlife than Kathmandu, Lut even there tourists

Pokkara has slightly more nightlife than Kathmandu, but even there tourists have nothing to do after ten o'clock. However, all that is set to change with the installation of extra high-power halogen stage lights on Sarangkot which will illuminate Machanouchre by night.

In this way, we can keep tourists occupied day and night. They will remember Nepal as an area of darkness, and keep coming back.



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4 - 10 OCTOBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES