

Mahara on CNN Chief Maoist negotiator in the failed peace talks last year, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, spoke on camera to CNN from an unspecified hideout. Mahara flatly denies the Maoists are recruiting children and killing civilians, and tries to use the deadlock between the king and the political parties to his

RHAGIRATH YOGI advantage. Highlights Are you terrorists: We are a political force and do not support terrorism. We condemn all types 43, of terrorism. This and development workers have also is a people's ininedin movement, a people's war. It is a people's

force. We are not terrorists and that is Why do you recruit children: "We have no children in our fighting force. We do not admit anyone below 18 in our army. This is a baseless allegation. Why do you kill civilians: "The allegation of Maoists killing civilians is also false. In fact the government is responsible for all those killings." Prospects for talks: "The reason the government is opposing talks is that it is preparing for a full-fledged war. If the government agrees to a political solution we are even ready for a ceasefire." Prospects for peace: "The whole world is putting pressure for peace talks and then an interim government. In such a

situation, the king does not have any other possibility but to take these talks forward."

ore than 600 people, mostly western scholars and peace activists based in the US and Europe, have signed a petition urging US lawmakers to stop military aid to Nepal. Dozens of Nepali rights activists Washington and London in May this year seeking military assistance

ZN

in the present tense to keep Shaha's memory alive.

Communist Party of Nepal to oppose Nepali Congress policies.

died in a plane crash in the Congo.

history, and he is dying of lung cancer. While working with Himal South Asian, we used to describe Rishikesh Shaha as

Democratic Congress, one of the constituents which later became the Nepali Congress, he later sided with Dilli Raman Regmi in the Nepali National Congress, and was even

part of the People's Front together with Tanka Prasad Acharya's Praja Parishad and the

1956. and also served as the country's first ambassador to the US. It is a measure of his

stature in the world body that in 1961, he was appointed chairman of the international

Thereafter, he left for New York to set up Nepal's permanent mission to New York in

commission to investigate the death of Dag Hammarskjøld, the UN secretary-general who

survived after winning a confidence vote in armed insurgency in 1996 lead us to the August, but the weapons will not be supplied until after Belgium's parliamentary elections in November.

The Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies (ANHS) at a one-day conference. "War on Terrorism: War as Terrorism" at the University of Wisconsin's South Asia Centre on 12 October adopted a petition to be sent to the United States government calling for a halt to the planned military aid. The petitioners said the aid "could resolve nothing and would do untold harm both to innocent Nepalis and to the prospects for a political resolution to the

Inits 2 August 2002 decision the LIS government said the \$20 million emergency "supplemental funding" would force the Mapists to decide that a military victory is not possible and that negotiations provide the best hope for realising their goals. The petitioners do not agree. "Our collective experience in the study of Nepali society and our close attention to the murse of events since the commencement of the CPN (Maoist)'s

The association has posted the petition on the web (www.petitiononline.com/ demonepa/petition.html) for signatures "It is our considered view that military aid will not bein bring about a negotiated settlement, but instead deepen and prolong an already devastating civil war. Rather than increase the chances for Nepal to achieve a

opposite conclusion," claimed the ANHS.

peaceful functioning democracy in the Editorial foreseeable future. Reaction and such aid will only revolution aggravate the present

conflict, leaving Nepal and the region to cope with unintended repercussions and untold suffering far into the future." says the ANHS Those who signed the petition come from a wide spectrum. Interestingly, their diversity is reflected not only in their understanding of the issue, but also in the way they lobby for a recognised in Nepal as scholars of experience,

"noble" cause. There are many names and also a few who seemd to have "walked" into the website and signed on. see 🖒 p6

responsible political system landed him a 14-month prison sen-

Shaha never served in a public post after that, but became prolific as a scholar. He was a visiting professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University and Regent's Professor at the University of Calfornia at Berkeley. His books, most notably, Nepali Politics: Retrospect and Prospect, Essays in the Practice of Government in Nenal and Modern Nenal: A Political History have become standard reference works, while his Introduction to Nepal and Heroes and Builders of Nepal provide perhaps

the Human Rights Organisation of Nepal in 1988; no mean feat during the authoritarian Panchavat days. He later left the organisation but did not relent in his own

anologist for the Magists because of his friendship with Baburam Bhattarai, with whom he corresponded even after Bhattarai went underground. But Shaha was also accused of being pro-absolute monarchy for asking the king to step since he believed the politicians were ruining the country.

the Nepal's political evolution. Writing in 1996, a couple of months after the "people's war" began, Shaha said: "The signs of an imminent legitimacy crisis are already visible in Nepal's fledgling democracy, and the immateriality accorded to the civilian deaths in Rolpa is a foretaste of difficult days ahead." Only a statesman with vision can foresee events so far into the future. ♦

interimall-party gover constituent assembly elections reinstatement of parliament noneof theabove Total votes: 1.88 eekly Internet Poll # 60. To vote go to: www.nepailtimes.co 2. Do you support US military aid to Nepal?



Shaha was brought back to Nepal in 1960 after King Mahendra's takeover to serve as a cabinet minister. For the next couple of years, he was shunted around as Foreign Minister, special ambassador to the UN and as chairman of the commission to draft the Panchayat constitution. Having won a Rastriya Panchayat seat from the graduates' ituency in 1967, his statement calling for a more representative and a more HVSF7E TUE/FET 21:20 03.55 *

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Activists launch campaign against military aid to Nepal The reverberations of the conflict are no more confined to Nepali hills and valleys. Buoyed by increasingly convergent world opinion against terrorism, former prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba travelled to

Nearly a month after the London meeting of donors to Nepal (June 19-20), the British government announced an aid package of £ 6.5 million to procure two helicopters as well as provide training and other logistics for the Royal Nepal Army.

The Bush administration announced in August that it would provide a suppleinsumency * mental \$20 million as military aid to Nepal to buy "non-lethal" equipment and services for the army. But things don't seem to be moving exactly the way Nepal would like. There has been reaction against military aid to Nepal.

Belgian Health Minister Magda Aelvoet resigned over the proposed sale of 5,500 automatic rifles to Nepal. The government of Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt

Rishikesh Shaha, tence. Nepal's scholar-statesman Rishikesh Shaha died Thursday shortly after DEEPAK THAPA had visited him and written this tribute. We print this piece here is something particularly winsome about an ailing old man lighting up and giving you a smile of welcome. That is how Rishikesh Shaha greets you when you

the best introduction to the country. Rishikesh Shaha's deep commitment to the issue of personal freedom was evident when he founded and led or his room. After the initial shock of seeing how wasted he looks, the first thing that strikes you is the dhaka topi that somehow remains perched on his head even in repose. Then the sadness creeps over you as you realise that there lies a piece of Nepali Nepal's scholar-statesman, and I doubt if there is any other Nepali who can share that designation. Just look at his accomplishments. A founding member of the Nepal personal crusade against injustice In recent years, Shaha was accused of being an

But he was above all a humanist, and a keen analyst of

including Amsterdam Airport Schiphol and London

THE 24 LOCT Transavia airlines Introducing special fares to top 22 European Destinations



Which of the following offers the best solution

Times

Reaction and revolution

here ought to be a single, preferably monosyllabic word we can use as shorthand for the premise that violence will not get Nepal any-

where. Unfortunately, the word does not exist in either Nepali of English. Equally unfortunately, neither the Maoists nor the government can at this point adopt that position without a considerable loss of face, as well as actual authority. Even if one of them were to say 'enough', too many bridges have already been burnt, too much trust has been seen to be betrayed. The victory, even if it comes to the Nepali state, will be harsh and eventually inconclusive. By papering over existing angst, there could simply emerge another, bloodier insurgency, again with its roots in credible grievances, and again unacceptable in its brutality.

So how do we go about this? Let us have no more talk about 'talks' without specifying what a dialogue entails. Let's not talk about a 'solution' either, for that supposes a level of simplicity that just is not there. It will take time, years, for the genie that exploded out of the bottled frustrations of the Nepali people to vapourise. We'll make progress and then just as surely we'll backslide. The key is to keep at it.

Revolutionaries and reactionaries alike, no matter how you define them, lay particular emphasis on appearances. That bias is built into the very tools of politics. As they are talking-arguing more like it-neither side can be expected to lay down arms. The rebels would be nowhere without their guns. For the state, it will be important to keep up the military pressure but also come across as being strong in other ways, for instance morally. The army will have to have a zero tolerance policy for excesses. Meanwhile, military battles won must be consolidated through better security conditions and at least marginal improvements in the quality of life for the people in the area.

Now for the hard part: how to pull this all together. To start with, we can at least ensure that all of us who are not for the Maoists are on the same page of the debate. As we've said in this space before, all forces that believe in democracy must present a united front. That needs thinkers, political parties, politicians to brainstorm productively, which isn't happening. Differences of opinion are expressed with a serious paucity of analysis or even grace, in petty, diluted forms. People are talking-often shouting-at each other and getting defensive instead of arguing their position. Debate is good, and used wisely, would help present the Manists with puanced relatively inclusive proposals for how to proceed from here. A multifaceted understanding on the specifics of

subjects under negotiation is the only way to move forward. The terms of reference for the dialogue are different now. For one, no one is about to stand up and deny that the insurgency has its roots in legitimate grievances, so let's take that as a given. Let's not assess every strategic or tactical proposition in terms of whether or not it will resolve the root problems; nothing but a lot of time, work, and money will do that. Let us instead start focusing on specifics-for example, the precise efficacy or otherwise of military aid in maintaining a holding pattern while a negotiation process is worked through: the confusion over the constitution: the magic words 'constituent assembly', which are never given substance; how to give people some cover in the absence of local governments; and so on. We don't need fragile, much-maligned 'compromises'. This is about winning some, losing some, and actually redefining other positions.

If the people on this side understand the framework within which they are now operating, and the most basic, even grudging, kind of unity that is required of them, we can begin. That is realistic. That can help build the unity of purpose that would bring the political parties and all other aboveground forces together. This is the first step to strengthening the hand of the state. For the unknown quantity, the leaders of the insurgency, we can only hope to take strategic actions that force them to react. The 'state side' must then put together a team that is inclusive in every sense to talk to the insurgents.

Eventually, this is the attitude that will win people on this side the badge of being truly progressive. The Maoists will have the satisfaction of effecting the kind of change they want through legal, institutionalised means. For both sides it will much closer to a real victory than any facesaving gesture.

The state is in a disorganised daze. The Maoists cadre must feel they are winning, even as their political leadership must know that the longterm prognosis is not favourable. But there is always Lord Pashupatinath who has been known to come to the people's aid in times of acute crisis. Maybe he will come of his perch now that we have managed to make a royal mess of everything, and somehow get a dialogue going.

member of the National Planning Commission first resigns from his post on moral grounds, and then accepts the post of vice chairman of the same institution within a month as his moral obligation. Then an economic reform package is dusted out of the cupboards of structural adjustment and re-launched under the name of stricter

STATE OF THE STATE

austerity measures. Put the two together. and it's impossible to miss the message: a resurgence of the right. The antipathy of Girija Prasad Kojrala towards the communists may just be a political myth, hut Sher

Bahadur Deuba's aversion to any shade of red is for real, and could have been the reason for his ranid rise and fall. During his second innings at Singha Darbar, Deuba successfully sold the red scare to George W Bush and Tony Blair. He hitched our wagon to the global 'war on terror' and hoped the two would help prop him up in his seat. He

forgot that he needed to be strong internally. Deuba committed political hara kiri by allowing himself to be goaded by people more militantly rightist than he is. He dissolved parliament, called for midterm elections, and then broke away from

to such an extent, they cower behind his party. In practical terms, this was apparent apathy. The middle class, the tantamount to simply delivering the old bastion of democracy, is largely disillusioned, having witnessed its leaders country to the UML. By backing out from his earlier promise of forcing a capitulate to postmodern imperialism. It showdown between the conservatives is a tragedy of our times that almost every and the communists of all shades

leadership, but it is.

at the earliest. Deuba undermined his own utility. After these moves, Deuba was a political liability— instead of proving that he was a true blue soldier of the right, he turned out to be just another shade of pink. After that, his exit from Baluwatar was merely a question of legal detail that could be left to creative constitutional experts to work out. Meanwhile, the desired effect of the charade over corruption control was not too different from that of public floggings—to provide amusement to those people too insignifi-

The economics 🎑 of democratic decay

Like the human heart, Nepal's hope lies slightly left of centre.

come together around the king to

the left. This strategy is based on the

interpretation that all the UML's

bystanders.

swears by socialism when contesting cant to be anything other than innocent elections, and swears at it as soon as it 4 October has forced mainstream comes to power. People of the centre are political parties out of the political centre, easily transformed into worthless hypocrites by conservative manipulators. and the forces of the entrenched right and the extreme left are now face to face There's no single factor such a drastic

15 - 21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

by CK LAL

In the next phase of the "grand design", situation cam be pinned on, but there is all non-communist parties will have to no doubt that the political economy of resurgent capitalism is one of the main precipitate a direct confrontation with factors behind both the rise of leftist insurgency and centrist corruption in this country.

The leadership of Girija Prasad Koirala has spectacularly failed to face the hardcore activists have either already injined the Manists, or are on the verge of doing so. Rightist ideologues seem to rightist challenge Madhay Negal basn't think, perhaps rightly, that the leaders of succeeded in nudging the Mapists to the Balkhu Palace are now a spent force. By mainstream. By vacating the political recklessly trying to cut Koirala down to centrestage, mainstream parties have size, Madhav Nepal and his comrades ended up inviting extreme adventurism may have dealt themselves a mortal blow. of the most insidious kind. Since the Even a rump Nepali Congress could main reason behind their failures is the be a nuisance if it is not brought on economic policies they were forced to board in the global fight against dormant follow most varieties of canitalism will socialism. Hence the ingenuous formulanose a problem. So that's not a solution tion of US Ambassador Michael And a coalition of "briefcase" parties led Malinowski in this paper (#118), "... the by leaders with egos bigger than their house is on fire and people are still capabilities can't be a substitute for real worrying about who is going to sleep in politics. As long as glorified clerks the master bedroom." This is a politically sitting in a luxury hotel-cum-casino correct way of insulting our political complex keep preaching free-market fundamentalism to Singha Darbar, there There's a more proper way of will be no end in sight to our present framing the predicament of the political nightmare. The failures of the last twelve years are the failures of a fundamentally class, which centres on appropriate ways flawed doctrine of political economy. of fighting the fire. A capitalist class familiar with the conveniences of the Democratic politics and its leaders have master bedroom wants to douse the fire been mere victims of circumstances over with more intense firepower, and limited which they had little or no control. authoritarianism is its favoured model.

There's still no alternative to demo-The underclasses have been terrorised cratic socialism in a country like Nepal. Here hone like the heart inevitably lies a little left of centre. To bring democratic politics back on track, the economic agenda must once more be to reduce the nan between the noor and the rich

US Ambassador to Nepal said that the Maoists must be brought back to the table (NT, #118). Both could be the first signs that international mediation may actually allow us to settle the conflict just as it was done in El Salvador 10 years ago. But it requires a government that has

the political and moral courage to boldly push ahead with initiatives that will be acceptable to both parties as well as the international community. When the government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed a peace

accord on 16 January 1992 to end the twelve-year insurgency, both sides claimed victory. The FMLN leader Joaquin Villalohos declared that it was the first revolution won through negotiations. The talks lasted eight years and the tenacious bargaining was greatly influenced by external actors. Throughout all this, the government of El Salvador had displayed a remarkable unity and patience with an adversary that either constantly added negotiating demands or deliberately stalled the progress of negotiations. The FMLN began in January 1981 as a loose Cuban-supported confederation of insurgent factions whose goal was to create a revolution similar to which had occurred in neighbouring Nicaragua in July 1979. In one violent decade this insurgency had cost the lives of 75,000 people and wreaked destruction worth \$2 billion to the

Salvadoran economic structure After winning the presidential elections of 1984, Jose Napoleon Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party opened the first of many attempts at negotiations with the FMLN, which were initially sourned. With the presidential elections slated for March 1989, the FMLN suddenly sent a peace proposal, but this was a ruse. The querrillas were secretly preparing a big offensive, which they launched on 11 November 1989. In a remarkable display of raw, brutal power and daring, the FMLN

I would like to make two points on

(#118). At this juncture it would be

solutions rather than on the few too-

vour editorial "Un-United Nation"

more appropriate to focus on

UNITY



he United Nations representative in Nepal has said that the UN would

be willing to act as a mediator if

both conflict parties are willing to talk. The

How to talk

There are uncanny parallels between the conflict in El Salvador and that in Nepal. There are also vital lessons for us on how to approach negotiations.

ORGANIZATE

GUERF LA

FN

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anise fort the FMI N instea invaded populated neighbourhoods of San Salvador and held them for a couple of weeks, at great cost.

rights that included establishment of a

However, after this meeting, the FMI N

stalled progress in peopliations as they

One distinct difference between

United States Congress on military

thing about it?

United Nations verification mission.

auspices

Despite the nation-wide guerrilla In April 1991, when the two sides mel terrorist campaign to intimidate and disrupt the elections, the turnout and the again in Mexico City they agreed on constitutional reforms concerning the support for the FMLN's political allies sent armed forces, the judicial system and a clear signal that society had rejected those human rights, and the electoral system. In who endorsed the path of violence. The September the Salvadoran Congress ratified failure of the November offensive finally these constitutional amendments. Yet forced the FMLN to agree to negotiations another agreement was signed to permit the with the government under United Nations FMLN guerrillas to incorporate into a new

police unit under the civilian Ministry of Talks began on 4 April 1990 in Geneva Interior rather than the Ministry of under the auspices of the Secretary General Defence, a promise that the querrillas of the UN. The ice had been broken. The demanded as a means of guaranteeing their initial objective of this accord was "to personal safety. terminate the armed conflict by political means in the shortest time to promote democratisation of the country, to quaran-

tee the unrestricted respect of human rights and to reunify Salvadoran society." In July 1990, the government and the two sides met in New York in December FMLN signed an agreement on human

card to the reds", the people said in El Salvador, ignoring grafitti that exhorted them to

assistance to El Salvador. They were still

enhance the chances of a military victory.

hoping that a halt in this aid would

of a ceasefire. This included the end of the military structure of the FMLN, and the reincorporation of its members into the awaited the outcome of the debate in the civilian, political and institutional life of

opposition and the cooperation of all other After personal intervention of the national actors remained crucial for success. outgoing Secretary General of the LIN Insurgents increase the level of violence Javier Perez de Cuellar and under strong either when they feel that their political pressure from the governments of the US base is narrowing both externally and and other Latin American governments, the internally or when they desire to strengthen their negotiating position vis-à-vis the

and agreed on the technical-military aspects

the country. The final peace accord was LETTERS

3. Ministers and MPs who think they own the country will have to report to the team of experts about the progress and other matters in

details and property of relatives of

Thanks for "The villagers' support keep me going". Mohan Khatri's tragedy has a parallel with a friend who lives a few days east of Mude. But my friend was killed by the state security forces. These killings only show the bankruptcy of Maoist "philosophy" and the unnecessary brutality of the army, which is setting back its own counter-insurgency operation. It is a true tragedy. Pol Pot has

M Nepali, by email

security personnel, police force and

Pravesh Saria, Chicago Thank you, Nepali Times, for bringing the human element to the conflict with the stories over the past year of patriots like Mohan Khatri, Dinesh Thapa, the farmers' sons in Kalikot, Ram Mani Gyawali, Krishna Prasad Sapkota. And there are thousands of other names of innocent people, of young

Nepalis who joined the Maoists because they had nothing, of villagers caught in the middle, of young men arbitrarily detained, beaten and killed by the security forces. It is clear that no one is going to win this war. Only one thing is certain, the losers will be the

G Thapa, Dharan Loved the Under My Hat ("--)" #116). If

your readers are not too sick of emoticons. I would like to add to Kunda Divit's list

 @@@@@@:o) Marge Simpson • (# ! #) Singaporean gumchewer's burn

clear picture of what the US and other friends of Nenal in the west are doing for these two groups of countries is that in this country. But as he said, "at the end the latter group, they all had legendary of the day it's Nepalis who have to be in and strong leaders like Lee Kwan Yu, Deng Xiaoping, Mahathir Mohammad, Park charge of their own future." We need to take this advice to heart. Malinowski's reply to a crucial question on Delhi-Washington dialogue on Nepal, however, is evasive. He could have given some indications about what

Washington's stand is on Delhi's sinister design to bring independent Nepal under its 'security umbrella Article of our constitution, or a signature

DY FOD MEDAL Artha Beed needs to add a few more things to his "Rx for Nepal" (#116): 1. We don't need money-making ministries like water resources etc. all money making ministries need to be run by a board of experts/

specialists. All ministers and MPs will have to be based at their region/ electorate from where they won the election-we have got the technology

Sugat Ratna Kansakar, Kamalad at the moment to do video conferencing to participate in a meeting which will cost less than the phone bill they use for them

selves in Kathmandu.

There has to be political and moral will
All democratic forces must be united
Both sides need flexibility and a spirit of compromise · Outside powers should not interfere and stoke tensions

signed on 16 January 1992. Peace was

achieved in a manner in which all actors

could claim success. The government was

functioning democracy, carried out basic

structural reforms, attained peace and did

so within the framework of the constitution

The FMLN could claim that their

oligarchic governments and their military

greater societal reforms and structural

changes of the government. Throughout

the insurgency, the unity displayed by the

ruling party, the loyal support of the

government. The government should

always attempt to talk formally and

informally with the insurgents and their

political allies whenever an opportunity

presents itself.

strength had enabled them to negotiate for

revolution had prevented the return of

and at the same time, established a

able to prevent the takeover by the FMLN

· Mediator must be trusted, discrete and sole arbitrator Government must have credible military deterrence

Lessons for Nepal from El Salvador

· Both sides have to realise that violence is a dead-end

 Split between hardline and moderate rebels must be prevented

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

· Government must deliver social reform and development

Both parties must avoid playing to the gallery via media

long as possible, the government must be able to display the ability to survive politically and militarily to thwart the ultimate offensive by the insurgents or a mass uprising by a disgruntled population. The government must have the vision and the capability to plan for preventing radicals of the right and left who may try to derail the peace process through assassing

The crucial factor in El Salvador was the trust both parties vested in the mediation role of the United Nations. The Secretary General was proactive and was able to get both parties to accept him as the sole arbitrator. The influence of the regional countries in applying pressure on

both parties to negotiate, and the assurance of economic aid by the United States were other factors. Each insurgency requires specific and surgically precise tools to defeat. A display of physical and moral strength, honesty, flexibility and mutual trust backed by

corresponding actions by both parties are needed to create a conducive environmen for negotiations

Whereas the guerrillas will remain (Hitman Thapa is the pseudonym of a adamant in their negotiating demands as Nepali military historian.)

> the Royal Nepal Army personnel who gave up their lives to save the nation's integrity and sovereignty

A 21-gun salute to all the fighters.

high officials who sucked the money from the country and send their children and relatives abroad to study. D Sharma, Australia

Nepali people. UNDER MY HAT



My heartfelt condolence to Captain Dinesh Thapa who showed his bravery at a time when the country demanded it. May his soul rest in peace. My condolence also to all the

their region. We should try to get the bank Amrit Neupane HEROES Bv email



campaign in a distant country

to defend a few

incapable politicians. What

ask, for instance, why five Asian countries-Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka-could not achieve significant economic and social growth compared to other five countries-South Korea, China, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand? If it is the character or mentality of the citizens, why can't our so-called political leaders change it? If educa tion or culture is the main hindrance.

who prevented the governments of

NEPAL'S RESPONSIBILITY American ambassador Michael Malinowski's interview (#117) gives a the past 13 years from doing some

obvious weak points of the average Chung-hee and King Bhumibol. Nepal Nepali citizen. Broader analysis on the regional level may be an eveopener, especially for our political

leaders who are there to solve all our national problems. A lavman might

we need is a single leader who can force our 23 million citizens to change their "Nenali character" All political parties should first change their party constitution to make it possible to select or elect a new visionary leader instead of sticking to the old so-called 'jail-returned-

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

Custody (mis)management Justice denied is justice denied

MAN ILISHREE THAPA not incriminate herself, or her right n the sunless reception room of to a medical examination. When the station indicemensition sofas, watching filmi dances on TV. Didactic posters-*Let's not associate with corrupt people"and photos of police brass line the walls. A monk tries to speak in broken Nepali to the man at the front desk. The families of those tangled in police cases shuffle by Middle-aged Shova, squatting on the floor, says. "Ke ho ke ho. thaha chaina"-I don't know what's what. She was arrested 18 days ano for what she was not

4 NATION

told. She has not received an arrest warrant. She cannot read or write. When the police gave her a prepared statement, she thumborinted it without knowing what it said.

At her remand hearing a lawyer presented her with another document, and she thumbprinted this too, though it was not read out to her. She does not know how long her remand orders are for. She has not got her Rs 25 daily allowance. She sold her gold earrings to feed in detention herself, and to provide for her fatherless children, now living by themselves. She knows, now, that she is being charged with drug

trafficking. But at no time in custody has she been informed of greeted with a public outcry her right to a lawyer, her right to

Not far from where Shova sits is

family members come to visit, they are allowed to see her from afar, but not to speak to her. Shova's experience is unfortunately typical of those detained in police custody. A report that Advocacy Forum presented recently at a consultation meeting says that only 8 percent of the detainees interviewed at the Hanuman Dhoka Police Station in one calendar year had their cases remanded within 24 hours, as required by the constitution. Only about 35 percent of detainees said that they gave statements of their own will. Nearly 43 percent said they had not been informed of the reason for their arrest. Over 70 percent said that they had no contact with



The detention centre at Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.

Little and likeable

Human Rights Violations in Custody July 2001 . June 200

Of 456 detainees in Kathmandu

246 said they were not informed of the reason for their arrest 226 said they were physically tortured 319 said they were forced to sign statements prepared by the police 150 said they were denied access to family members 322 said they did not know that they had the right to consult a lawye 412 said they were not provided medical examinations

Of 134 detainees in Nepalganj

65 said they were not informed of the reason for their arrest 62 said they were not allowed to visit with family and friends 111 said they were not provided the right to read papers before signing then

40 said they were physically tortured (severely) 93 said they were not provided medical examinations

Of 96 detainees in Biratnagar

74 said they were not informed about the reason for their arrest. 73 said they were not allowed to read papers before signing them 61 said they were not aware of the right to have lawyers 17 said they were severely tortured 90 said they were not provided medical examinations Source: Advocacy Forum

"Kerkaar", the station's dreaded his signature. interrogation department. This is Another detainee. Prem where leevan another detainee. Bahadur, says he was beaten unconscious by four or five says he was beaten by policemen two days in a row. He says he constables at the station where h couldn't get a medical examination was first held. He was taken to Bi afterwards. The police didn't Hospital for a medical examination write down what he said in his but no x-rays were taken. Later a statement, he says, and they faked constable gave him a couple of

by DANIEL LAK

It's nice to be that way, but to survive we also need to be self-reliant.

Immersed in talk of bandhs, bombs and bad boy politicians, the denizens of this kingdom can be forgiven for forgetting that there's a world out there. Will they or won't they-our Maoists-come to the negotiating table? Does the present government have any authority, and will they ever prove it? What is really going on beyond Pulchowki, Shivapuri and Thankot? Will the tourists ever come back? These are all burning, pressing questions that are being endlessly debated around town. And for good reason. The honest answer to most of them is "I don't UTRS 1 know". But let me throw a few things into the mix from the wider world that should add a greater sense of urgency to our landlocked sensihilities

First look west to a place called Iraq. If you're paying attention, you'll know that it's lead by a very bad man who is about to come under mmense pressure from the International Community-ie. the Good Guvs-to give up nasty habits like making chemical weapons and gassing his own people. And guess what? War Is Coming! I offer this not to express opinions, or start a debate. Discussions have ended. It's been decided. The United States will attack Iraq sometime early next year, nerhans after President Rush returns from a trin to Africa in late January Now how does this affect Nepal, you ask. Let me tell you. Iraq is the top priority in the US, the UK and all those other countries that nerous to us here, that help us with so many things despite Nepal not being particularly high on anybody's list of priorities. Everyone likes us, that's true, but not everyone rates our problems anywhere near the top of their particular league table of overseas assistance priorities. And Iraq will bump us much, much further down towards the depths of importance. "Right off the screen." wa how one mournful aid worker put it to me recently.

The war itself will be time consuming, unpredictable and hugely expensive. The media-perhaps even lowly old I-will flock to Iraq's borders like moths to a candle flame. Even the valiant efforts of the aid donating embassies here in Kathmandu might be severely challenged as they try to coax paymasters and political people to pay attention to us. Just a small example, British Foreign Office

Minister Mike O'Brien, whose brief is South Asia, also covers Iraq. He'll be busy, very busy, and I daresay might have to burn the midnight oil if Nepal is to get any of his time from now on.

The State Department in Washington, the European Union, the United Nations, various multilateral and bilateral aid bodies will all be focused on Iran. First the war, then the aftermath, which will also be expensive, unpredictable and potentially messy.

Another foreign development to worry about here in Nepal; Japan's economy is sinking ever deeper into stagnancy and unemployment. There's been no real growth in the Land of the Rising Sun for a decade. Most maior banks are technically insolvent. The Japanese miracle is either over. or on long-term hold. Something-an earthquake, a political shake-up, a border dispute with a neighbour, North Korean nukes-will come along to appravate things in Japan. And where does that leave Nepal's largest aid donor? Where does that leave Nepal?

Closer to home, has anyone noticed that the ossified leadership of the Chinese Communist party is attempting a changing of the guard? Does anyone in Nepal pay attention to China and consider the implications of changes in Asia's most amazing economy? Try this on for size: China provides nearly half of all imports into America. Do we care that at some point soon, Beijing's autocrats might be facing immense pressure for real change from a billion Chinese people who want a bigger share of all that wealth, more freedoms, maybe even a slice of power? And India too, our most important economic partner... watch for elections there soon as the BJP seems set to do well in Gujarat. India's resilient democracy can cope with almost any governance change in New Delhi, but Nepal needs to be on top of things, reforging relationships and keeping up pressure for continuing cooperation on the Maoists, cross border trade. migration. etc.

Yes, there's a world out there and it's not really all that interested in us. It's about to get less interested. We can use that as an opportunity to become more self-reliant and solve our problems ourselves, or we can flounder about in lonely obscurity, waiting for an outsider to offer a bag of money or an all-expenses-paid junket to the west. But like the water table in the Kathmandu valley, that's all drying up. And we'd better be ready. .

NATION

ribs, he says.

centres in Biratnagar and

hallways, Womer

Nepalganj. Lawyers are generally

Constitutional rights for criminal justice, under Article 14:

- I. No person shall be punished for an act which was not punishable by law when the act was committed, nor shall any person be subjected to a punishment greater than that prescribed by the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.
- No person shall be prosecuted or punished for the same offence in a court of law more than once No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.
- No person who is detained during investigation or for trial or for any other reason shall be subjected to physical or mental torture, nor shall be given any cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Any person so
- treated shall be compensated in a manner as determined by law. No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of
- the grounds for such arrest, nor shall be denied the right to consult and be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice.
- Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before a judicial authority within a period of twenty-four hours after such arrest, excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to such authority, and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period except on the order of such authority.
- Nothing in clauses (5) and (6) shall apply to a citizen of an enemy state, and nothing in clause (6) shall
- apply to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

and little acted on. Only a few

judges bother to ensure the rights of

detainees. Defence lawyers hesitate

soliciting clients. Communities are

largely hostile to accused criminals

And it is unrealistic to think that

detainees might demand rights for

Ravi, a young detainee, says he

doesn't know why he was arrested,

but thinks it may be because he was

walking about at 3AM. "Apparently

no one is allowed to walk around

On any given day there are roughly a hundred detainees at the

charges of drug trafficking, theft,

traffic-related deaths, forgery,

reveals the criminalisation of

rape, terrorism, murder, cheating,

counterfeiting, multiple marriage

public offence, abuse of power and

other cryptically coded crimes. A

Kathmandu's dispossessed classes

Tamang, Rai, Pokharel, Lepcha,

Ghale, Magar, Gurung, Rimal,

Lama, Khatri, Yaday, Shrestha

Sindhupalchowk, Kavre, Dhading

Those who do not know their

and Makwanpur districts. More

rights are easily abused. Jamuna,

another young detainee, says she

did not know that eloping with a

asked if she needs a lawyer, she

what lawyers do. What are the

Behind her, a policeman

and begins to channel surf.

The names of detainees

have been changed.

watching TV picks up the remote

confesses that she does not know

chances that the system will respect

second husband was illegal. When

than 75 percent of them are

Lama.... Many detainees are

migrant labourers from

illiterate.

her rights?

random sampling of their last names

Hanuman Dhoka Police Station, on

before five," he says.

themselves

to go to custody centres because

they don't want to seem to be

Brufen pills to ease the pain in his must be taken, important gains have been made in custody These cases are in Kathmandu. management under the 1990 Advocacy Forum's report exposes constitution's Article 14. The equally dismal violations at custody Torture Compensation Act is one gain. In 1996 the police also created a standard custody manage not given access to detainees before ment format. The present IGP has their cases are remanded. Detainees stressed routing out corruption. are often held illegally, without any improving custody facilities, and documentation, and are sometimes improving the police's human rights disappeared. They are sometimes record. "A course on human rights hidden from international human is now part of basic police training SSP Shrestha says, "and we are

decrease the numbers

detained." Community

policing is one way to

do this: in over thirty-

five areas selected

members of local

communities have

formed consultative

groups to work with

of people being

rights observers. Police often use violent means to extract confes working with national and internasions. Minors are still being held in tional human rights agencies." adult facilities. Detainees share It is a fallacy, he argues, to lay crowded, bug-infested facilities. the responsibility for custody sometimes spending nights in management solely on overbur dened police stations The solution is to



local police on crime Indeed, speaking informally, police prevention and neighbourhood personnel tend to defend their security, and to resolve minor routine violations. They cannot give infractions, avoiding the criminal iustice system. SSP Shrestha says medical examinations to detainees. that this kind of collaboration decreases the incidence of arbitrary arrest, overcrowding in custody centres, and over-expenditure on the part of the state. "It also

promotes friendliness between the communities and the police " As for ensuring the rights of those already in police custody this requires activism from the courts as If the police don't beat detainees, well as from defence lawyers, he says. Mandira Sharma agrees, they'll never confess to their saying: "The police, the courts and By contrast, SSP Chuda defence lawyers are all very aware of Bahadur Shrestha's passion for the reforms that need to be made." But this is yet another sector in

rule of law is evident as he speaks insisting that while new measures which reform is much talked about



DOMESTIC BRIEFS 1.321 VDCs gone

Rs 283.5 million and increasing. That's how much damage the insurgency has inflicted on VDC buildings alone. At last count, 1,321 of Nepai's 3915 VDC buildings had been damaged by Maoists, mostly by fires and explosives. Work has come to a complete standstill in these seats of local self-governance. There are no plans so far to repair the buildings, due to budgetary constraints as well as Maoist threats that any VDC rebuilt would be attacked again

Far-west Nepal has seen the most damage, with 83 percent—316—of its 383 VDC buildings have been destroyed. In the eastern region, 285 of the 893 VDC offices are gone, in the central region, 334 of 1199, in the western region 221 of 865 VDC offices are damaged, and in the mid-western region, the figures are 165 of 575 offices. The government does not vet have detailed reports of damage from all the regions

And 443 post offices

It isn't only VDC offices and infrastructure, service delivery is also being hit, in the form of post offices. At last count, 443 POs had been damaged by Maoists in 34 districts. The damage totals almost Rs 7 million in physical infrastructure, Rs 4.1 million in office equipment, Rs 800,000 worth of stamps, and Rs 2.2 million in miscellaneous damage. Postal service officials say that three of their workers have been killed by Maoists so far. Arghakhanchi and Accham districts have been affected the most. In Accham alone the damage adds up to Rs 3.4 million, with the Maoists having destroyed 12 post offices, including the district post office. Other districts affected are Ramechaap, Sindhupalchowk, Kavrepalanchowk, Sindhuli, Jumla, Dailekh, Bajhang, Dolakha and Baitadi.

Kesang Tseten honoured

Kathmandu-based writer/filmmaker Kesang Tseten's stirring documentary film We Homes Chaps has been selected by the American Museum of Natural History's prestigious Margaret Mead Film and Video Festival as part of its year-long travelling show, to he screened at 25 venues around the world. The documentary follows the scattering and homing instincts of former students of Dr Graham's Homes. a Scottish Presbyterian orohanage in Kalimpong. India, as they reunite as adults, still deeply affected



by the social and family displacements that originally landed them in the orphanage. We Homes Chaps is being promoted as one of the highlights of the film and video festival, the largest showcase for independent cultural documentaries in the United States. The festival kicked off on 7 November with 39 documentaries from over 19 countries.

ANFA unite

The Nepal Sports Council, the country's sports governing body is preparing to unite the two warring All Nepal Football Associations (ANFA) currently in existence, but critics don't think it will last. The NSC's move is prompted by the fact that Nepal requires a single internationally-recognised football association to host or participate in international events. One ANFA is headed by former national player Ganesh Thapa and officially recognised by the FIFA and the Asia Football Confederation (AFC). The other, formerly headed by Geeta Rana, is officially recognised by the Nepal Sports Council. Unless they unite, there's no much chance that Nepal will host the under-19 Asia Youth Cup from 1 December, or compete in the SAARC Cup in Bangladesh in the same month. "Since ANFA split two years, Nepal has not been able to play at international games," says NSC member secretary Binod Shankher Palikhe. "We have to try to get together.

Threatened mountains

..... The world's mountain regions are increasingly under threat as more and more land is converted to farming and grazing, according to a new report produced by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Mountain Watch, the first map-based assessment of environmental change in mountain areas reveals that mountains regions including the Himalava are fragile and susceptible to climate change. Areas doing well, apart from Greenland, the region whose mountains appear to be the most pristine, are North and Central America, where only an estimated 9 percent is used for livestock and 5 percent for crops. "Our reverence for these unique, wilderness areas has been partly based on their remoteness their inaccessibility, but this new report highlights how, like so many parts of the world, some of these last wild areas are fast disappearing in the face of agriculture, infrastructure development and other creeping impacts," said UNEP Executive Director Klaus Toepfer. Compiled by the UNEP World Conservation Monitoring Centre as a contribution to the International Year of the Mountains, the report was presented to officials attending the Global Mountain Summit in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, from 29 October to 1 November.

Foul air

Illegal brick kilns are once again spewing vile fumes into the Valley's already-polluted air. A committee was formed by Bhaktapur's Office of Cottage and Small Industries to inspect the area where most of the kilns are, and recommend action against them, but that doesn't seem to bother the kiln owners-some of the new kilns in Lalitour and Bhaktaour are already well into construction work. A study last year revealed that only 45 of the 75 brick kilns operating in Bhaktapur district were legal. Still, the government took action against only 17.

Brick kilns are one of the leading causes of the Valley's foul air. In March 2002, the Industrial Development Board decided to phase out the obsolete kilns from Kathmandu Valley in one-and-a-half years and replace them with cleaner technologies. A study conducted by Clean Energy Nepal (CEN) last year in Bhaktapur's Jhaukhel VDC found that the concentration of particulate matter in the air was three times higher in the brick kiln area than elsewh







crimes

SOMEWHERE IN NEPAL

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

Peace offensive

from 🖒 p1

Stephen Mikesell, a longtime Nepal hand who has written extensively about the Maoist phenomenon and is one of the petitioners, told us over email from Madison: "All of us who signed felt that ... even if the Maoists could be defeated militarily, the aid itself would lead to spiralling levels of violence, distortions and unforeseen repercussions far into the future.

But Saubhagya Shah, a PhD scholar of anthropology at Harvard, counters: "I would agree if they had talked about overall US policy including enormous military assistance to Israel every year. To single out Nepal could be part of romanticism of political exotica for the 'fashionable left'.'

For their part, the organisers of the campaign were careful to underline that opposition to US military assistance to Nepal should not be described as support for Maoist activities here. When contacted by Nepali Times, some of the key persons behind the campaign refused to go on record, citing fears for their own research as well as possible reprisals against their Nepali friends and colleagues. A US scholar actively engaged in disseminating the petition wrote : "It must be

understood that a petition to the US government regarding its military aid to Nepal is not in any way equivalent to support of Maoist activities. Most signers of the ANHS petition

imply wish to communicate to the US government their opposition to further militarisation of the conflict in Nepal, and would hold the same opinion about the

militarisation of any other world conflict (and would also oppose the US's own moves owards war with Iraq)."

The debate on whether to aid the Nepali military or not seems set to intensify particuarly in view of reports of killing of civilians by the army. Nevertheless, some analysts think that the Madison campaign itself is missing some fundamental guestions. "The distance of the scholars from a rapidly evolving situation in Nepal may be making them reach for easy and romantic answers," said one Kathmandu-based observer who, like some of the petition rs, requested anonymity

Dipak Gyawali, a political analyst and resource economist, argues that if the Maoists called a ceasefire, then Nepal's civil society could exert pressure on the army and govern ment to engage them in a negotiated settlement. If Maoists are not going to lay down arms, and as long as the war situation continues the RNA will get its weapons from any source whatsoever, including the free market. "It is far better for Nepal to get military assistance from the US and the UK as these governments are responsive to their demand that the RNA respond to reports of rights violations." Gvawali told us.

Not everyone agrees. Chitra Tiwari, a political analyst based in Washington, argues that the question is not whether the campaign to stop military assistance to Nepal infr Nepal's right as a sovereign country to get assistance, whether lethal or non-lethal. The question is whether American taxpayers' money is being spent to save the lives of the people, or being used to kill non-combatants.

Rights activists from South Asia also echo similar sentiments. Gautam Navlakha, editor of the Economic and Political Weekly, has been actively questioning the Nepali government's action vis_a vis the Manists and was

detained briefly by Indian police during a meeting in New Delhi of Maoist supporters two months ago. He told us: "Intervention of

political resolution. If this is placed against the US military expansion in Central and South Asia and the nature of regimes being propped up, it becomes clear that democratic voices in the US oppose military support for autocratic monarchy in Nepal.

have joined this dehate and all a Shital Niwas source would tell us was: "We would respond to the concerned authorities if the need

be looked at from a broader perspective. Says Alok Bohara, professor of economics at the University of New Mexico: "In Nepal, having a strong military can bring some balance in the strategic equation, and will provide an incentive for everyone to come to the table. The army has not turned into a death squad. nor is it a right-wing militia." ♦



ECONOMY

BIZ N

Businessmen's prescriptions



The Nepali business community has called upon the new government to implement a range of suggestions made by it, saying that such movement was long overdue. The community has identified five core areas that it believes need to be addressed immediately-security at both places of business, as well as the country in general; revenue law, policy and administration: the need for an appellate body to hear labour issues and deal with laws and policies; and corruption control

Rajendra Kumar Khetan, spokesman of the Federation of Nepalese Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI), says that his umbrella organisation even has some more specific recommendations. For security in business places, the FNCCI suggests forming the industrial security force that

has already been approved by the cabinet. Similarly, the FNCCI says it is vitally important to harmonise the Nepali revenue mechanism with the fast-changing international system, and amend existing labour laws to make them investor-friendly. "The policy should also open up new areas for employment generation that are seasonal, part time, contractual, weekly or hourly that are paid a little higher remuneration." explained Khetan.

With regard to the corruption that business leaders say has taken a serious toll on the country's economic sector, Khetan cited four areas where change is required: the revenue administration, public commercial banks, government procurement departments and public service delivery utilities. The FNCCI has also demanded that the revenue advisory committee be made permanent and given teeth, and that the Income Tax Act 2058 he amended

Straight from berry season. This is the first gin brand of liquor manufactured within the country using "non-refillable closure" which is a high-tech gin distilling method. The product is available in the 180 ml, 375 ml and 750 ml bottle packs all over the country from November.

Home appliances by Ichiban

Touchstone Sales & Services, authorised distributor of Sharp for Nepal, has introduced a new home consumer electronics brand called Ichiban in the Nepali market. Gadgets will include home appliances, kitchen equipment and music gizmos to Nepali customers. The product range includes colour TV, refrigerator, deep freezes, air condition ers, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, microwave ovens, DVD players, etc. For the kitchen, there are rice cookers, blenders, coffee makers, and even electric woks

Diaspora dreams

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

slowdown in the US and almost

'break' won't affect your career too

where IT startegists, for instance,

could try their hands at all kind of

projects, with levels of responsibility

LIS will only increase their market

value when they return to the US.

experience, and Nepal nets profes-

There's another side to this

traffic Neral needs to reach out to its

people living abroad and find ways to

help them invest here. When interest

rates are shrinking in the US, the

banks should think of dollar-

bring cash to Nepal. Swapping

Nepali government, and even private

denominated financial instruments to

multilateral agency loans for a Non-

and would also provide the large

Negali community in the US or in

resident Nepali Bond issue would be

sional expertise from its own.

that might take years to come to in the

Everyone wins-returnees get valuable

significantly, and coming to Nepal

everywhere else in the world. Taking a

It's time for more two-way traffic between Nepal and its children abroad

he Beed's just been take a trip an exhibition of a Nepali artist's work. to Washington DC. There's People flock to watch Nepali concerts somethingabout it: a palpable sense of authority sends a little frisson up even the most jaded back Of ourse, DC is interesting to Nepalis for another reason too-more than 10,000 Nepalis live in and

around the city. Meeting with them is

both frustrating and exciting.

Frustrating, for many subscribe

almost fanatically to the belief that

Nepal is at the end of the road, a failed

ECONOMIC SENSE

and films. The diaspora is emerging as a remarkable market for the arts. For instance, while in Nepal it would be impossible for a band to see over 1,000 copies of its album move after a concert, that's par for the course if they play in the LIS The emergence of quality bands such as 1974 AD and their US tour, or

a good way of re-engineering finances the success of Haribansha's Je Bhayo Ramrai Bhavo a film about Negalis other countries like Australia to pursuing their dreams in 'Amrika', are the start of something big. As other contribute to Nepal's development. I South Asians countries started realising our economy bererevolves around remittances, there's no reason we can't in the past decade, the biggest market for the arts is often the diasnora

no Nepali the Beed has spoken with in the US-and one seems to have spent a Intof time vakking—sees going back at entailing any benefits at all. Of course, they rewrong. This is the best time for professionals to return for a short stint Look at it this way: there's an economic

infectious disease. (Readers can post their views to arthabeed@vahoo.com.)

kinds of engine problems, and how they

impact tailpipe emission. The program also

offers ad-hoc courses in cooperation with

interest groups, and awareness courses for

the likes of journalists and students

interested in the mechanics of vehicles

They're also helping plan courses in

The mechanics of clean air are trained on the reasons for different

Don't toy with your car engine. You'll save money, but also get respite from Kathmandu Valley's horrible air.



pollution from vehicles can be avoided. It's fuel. This means not just a waste of money, simply a question of proper adjustment of but a lot more black smoke, which is a big the engines," says John Grunwald, a health risk to Valley residents. What we technical advisor to VAPP from Denmark need to focus on is getting vehicles here to According to Grunwald, a veteran of the perform better." he savs European automobile industry, one of the That's what the VAPP is teaching main reasons for the inefficiency of vehicles mechanics as well as trainers from the local here, and the remarkable pollution they schools for free cause, is largely due to mechanics and

owners tampering with the fuel injection in

order to get a better mileage. "When you

tamper with the fuel injection [in the

course of a normal servicing) and we see

that in the engines of vehicles we get in off

the street, there is less oxygen to burn the

VAPP's training centre has an engine workshop with specimen engines, and has been working with mechanics from car dealers including Sipradi, Hyundai, and Toyota, and also inspectors and officials from the Department of Transport, and the Valley Traffic Police. The personnel

automobile electronics and mechanics with instructors from technical colleges. Ten participants from major car dealers, several officers from the Valley Traffic Police, and the Department of Transport have already completed several courses. Another dozen will complete their training course soon But a majority of the over 200,000 vehicles plying the streets of the Valley run on the pre-EURO-1 system, and VAPP still needs to reach out to the garage mechanics who deal with these vehicles. If they, and owners with a DIY complex can be taught to stop tinkering with the engines, we can vet hope that Kathmandu won't be up there with New Delhi Mexico City and Beiiing Of course, that is far from all. The other side of the story however is that although MOPE put a ban on more than 20 year old vehicles as well as made

a regulation only allowing EURO-1 standard vehicles to be registered none of these decisions have actually been implemented. The backlash from transport entrepreneurs last year seem to have killed the matter. "The govern ment has not effectively implemented any of its decisions on the transport sector made since 1996." says Bimal Aryal of the Martin Chautari antipollution public interest group. As long as the stalemate continues, it is perhaps citizens who have greater responsibility in cleaning up their air. ♦

by calls for consolidating the supreme law feeling isn't mutual. (I don't know what through radical overhaul or outright the nalace thinks but it is a little replacement. Forget about the motives awkward to see the only party associated with attempted regicide claiming to be and focus on the coherence that has entered the national conversation. The the monarchy's strongest armour.) crude compromises foisted on us as The CPN-UML is less enthusiastic weighty accomplishments were becoming about a constituent assembly. This is too heavy. For the nation's left, right and odd, considering its ultimate goal of a centre, a constituent assembly is no republican Nepal. It's unfair, though, to expect firm resolve from a party that longer a notion. The only people still describing this constitution as one of the hasn't been able to extend full support to world's best are its least prominent a constitution it helped draft. The split framers. Those who argued that the basic personality that surfaced on the Mahakali law could go unchanged for another half treaty, the emergency proclamation and century have decided to keep quiet. the dissolution of the House of Repre-

assembly.

sentatives is an integral part of the

party's survival mechanism. (And lest we

parliamentary elections supposed to have

started two days ago.) Once the political

currents become clearer, our comrades

can be expected to draft a convoluted

document supporting a constituent

forget, the UML expected to win the

Revolutionary resolve

The only people still describing this constitution as one

of the world's best are its least prominent framers.

The pronouncements of pundits and politicos over the weekend revived memories of the last anniversary of the Panchayat constitution. An ailing Surya Bahadur Thapa had warned an adamant Marich Man Singh Shrestha of the dire costs of failure to move with the times The pancha dissident-in-chief was in full action four months before the tripartite Narayanhity accord

t looks like we're finally on the

threshold of revolutionary change. For the first time in 12 years. Consti-

tution Day observances were dominated

The Rastriya Prajatantra Party and Once again, calls for change are Nepal Sadbhavana Party had no direct coming from within the system and the role in drafting this constitution. Now in credit must go to the Nepali Congress. power, they can either make up for the For too long, Kangresis have wallowed in marginalisation or bring a fresh perspec the fallacy that they did the palace a tive to the political process. The smaller great favour by dropping the demand for communist groups caught between the UML and Maoists can help bring the two a constituent assembly in 1957. Sure, closer. This is a good time for the rest of they brought democracy twice. There must be a reason why they squandered it both times. The realisation that those our 100-plus parties to prove their contention that you don't have to be in power to do the country some good. who stumble on the same stone twice

Tell a Tale Winners The British Course Mandala House The British Council Short Story Competition APARTMENT HOTEL 18-35 years old Ranian Adica The Marriage of Ram Kumar's Sor annhile Tala wy America ut Comfortuble Rates Up the Drains Twist of Fate Nayantara Kaksi Sujata Tuladhar Baluwatar, Kathmanetu 15-18 years old at 412412 420019 (0:00 don - 5:00 don B18 35822 (effer 5:66 pm & Saturday radipta SJB Rana The Naked Truth sneh Rajbhandi Frishna Rana E-mest marchaiad Life Left Lifeless My Bundle of Joy

तिकोशाही ग्रोषणा फिर्मक्षेत्र deserve to have their necks broken has Things get a little scary when set in. Senior Kangresis are wondering you consider the practical aspects Even in the best of times, the two big out aloud why they should continue to be the palace's principal shield when the parties that had the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution couldn't agree on what should be changed. When words like Sikkimisation and sell-out hover over

द्विंधानिकर आप्रजारणेक श

by PUSKAR BHUSAL

the debate, we know we've reached the precipice. We must nevertheless confront our fears, especially when the benefits of change could outweigh its costs

power. Prime Minister Lokendra

Bahadur Chand has a rare opportunity

to prove that a government struggling

for legitimacy doesn't have to lose its

sense of purpose. ("We'll bring the

Maoists to the negotiating table, or

cabinet's motto for the month.) The

without really being sure what that is

years ago. The biggest winners will be

for who we are and what we do. Now

wouldn't that be revolutionary?

We can start taking responsibility

S.

UIIIIA

will have fulfilled a pledge made 51

the sovereign people.

palace, which perennially feels com-

pelled to invoke the popular will

vacate our chairs" could be the

outside powers as well as military support during a civil war, as a rule, invites caution because such support vitiates chances of A constituent assembly could do much more than clear the runway for the Maoists' long-awaited safe landing The Prachanda-led political commissars would have firmer ground from

which to open direct negotiations with Neither the government nor the army renegades that refuse to lav down their weapons. The interregnum would allow the mainstream parties to get a better idea of the shift in the 1990 balance of

Other analysts insist that the issue should

roadshow



s Not "Terrorism" Imperialists and actionaries—Hands Off Nepal! A statement on WPRM's website (worm.org) proclaims: "The agenda was to stop the imperialist aggression and support the ongoing victorious people's war in Nepal." Li Onesto, a journalist with RIM's mouthpiece



Revolutionary Meanwhile the insurgents are also garnering support in Europe from the World People's Resistance Movement (WPRM), a group affiliated with the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM). The WPRM launched a discus-

sion tour starting in Hamburg,

in Rotterdam, the Netherlands on 7 November. The roadshow's rather wordy slogan is: People's Liberation

spread.

recent random monitoring of tailpipe emissions by the Valley Traffic Police in Pulchowk 38 of the 47 vehicles checked flunked the test. Kathmandu has at least 200,000 vehicles on the roads everyday You do the math. The VAPP, a training program

initiated by DANIDA's Environment Sector Programme Support (ESPS) to reduce vehicular pollution, focuses on training vehicle mechanics on the maintenance of EURO-1 emission standard vehicles, all of which use computers to control ignition, emission and fuel systems. All well and good, you say, but most mechanics here don't know how this works, and how such a delicately calibrated system can be thrown out of whack if you try to tune the engine as if it were one of the old sort

The Ministry of Population and Environment (MOPE) started insisting on

state. Exciting, because it is certainly a wonderful new outlet for Nenali music and arts, and potentially a strong investor base for projects in Neral There are far more Nepalis in the US today than there were a decade ago, as is evident in the increased workload of Nepal's embassy in Washington. The embassy was not outfitted to handle so many people, and it still

does not have the resources to do as good a job as it would no doubt like to. The upside is that it can still pursueeconomic diplomacy, to give

Now for the frustrating bit. Almost

institutionalise the repatriation mechanism. That's the Beed for you this week, with a positive outlook as always, but wishing optimism were an

the US access to the Nepali economy and create avenues for Menalis to enter 13 13 13 13 the American economy. One of the most interesting features of the Nepal diaspora in the US is how easy it is to keep at bay divisions of geography and commu nity that would most likely have sprung up between the same group of people back in Nepal. A community Mha Puia or celebration of Nepal Sambat is as important as Dasain or



Mechanical Engineering are trying to Almost 30 percent of the 136.000 vehicles tested between June 1996 - May 2000 failed the tailpipe emission tests. In a

EURO-1 certification for all cars imported after January 2000 to reduce air pollution in the Valley. But that hasn't been strictly enforced, and neither have other pollution-control regulations been implemented, such as taking all vehicles older than 20 years off the streets, has been slipshod, and even the new vehicles have been poorly maintained. This means that, even though the brick kilns on the outskirts of the city have been shut down,

the Valley's air remains pretty vile. But it seems as if we can all do our hit to clean up the air and do less damage to our respiratory systems. "Most of the

Ryale ...

Dandakater

Juniors/ Schools/ (a

Location

Sundarija

Sankhu

Sankhu

Sankhu

Kattiko Rhaniyane

Altitude

1430-m

1/05.m

1430-m

1430-m

Kilometer

9.00 km

9.00 km

00

00

Gagalphedi

1430-m

Kathike



Back on the bike trails

The mountain biking races are here again. Gear up to fall down repeatedly.

round this time last this year, with the opening year, the opening of the Siemens Action Asia Himalyan Mountain Bike Race Series 2001 hit days. Thamel. 'Hit' is perhaps the most appropriate way to describe the frenzy of activity, horse-drawn carts, dancing, parades and whistle-blowing. The people of Kathmandu Valley-high-ranking government officials, expatriates, local celebrities, onlookers and the VDCs of Sankhu, Lubhu and Kakani-all loved the festivities surrounding what is, after all, an event primarily for the overly energetic biking up and down the hills of the Valley. The races are back

ADVENTURE

ceremony in Thamel at 2PM on 22 November, World Cup.' and races the next three The mud trails snaking evidenced by scores of up and down the hills surrounding the capital have taken it up. long been popular with adventure sports athletes, especially mountain bikers. In addition to the splendid views of the Himalayas at this time of the year, the routes offer enough challenges and variety for many months of all-over sore muscles. A star German mountain biker, Marc Weichert, who won two races here last year, publicly extols the delights of offroading in the Valley. After Peter Stewart. the competition last year, A keen biker himself

he told us: "It was better Stewart explains how than racing in the European HMB is lengthening the courses they recommend The sport is certainly a and take people biking on, catching addiction, as and making them more difficult to help raise the young Nepalis who've standard of serious Nepali bikers. Like any business Himalayan Mountain dependent on tourism, Bikes (HMB) was a major HMB has had its share of force in popularising mounpost-9/11 problems, but tain biking in the Valley that hasn't dampened their with a well thought out enthusiasm for the races long-term plan that inthis year, or that of the cluded organising races and participants'. The efforts championships. "We had a made by the local commufive-year strategy which we nities to liven up the event started implementing in with cultural programs and 2000. Basically, we've been the mass welcome particiworking towards developpants received upon entering a truly international ing each VDC did not go race," says HMB director unnoticed.

As much as the quality certainly find the course of the biking, the involvemore challenging than last

ment of the Valley's many

attention of many interna-

channels and also National

interest and support shown

by the local VDC's that the

The average race time

this year for the Men's and

Women's Open category is

expected to be between

have been made more difficult. "A lot of work has

been put to study the

courses. Participants will

three and a half to at least

four hours and the trails too

tional adventure sports

Geographic TV. "It was

particularly due to the

television channels are

Stewart

returning this year," says

communities has caught the

year," says race director Stewart. The Race 3 course from Nagarkot to Bhaktapur (see maps) is said to be the most challenging. and was 'discovered' by the German Ambassador, an avid biker. For Races 1 and 2, there are even camping

facilities so, for a small cost, exhausted bikers don't have to ride all the way back from Sankhu and Nagarkot. Last year more than half the participants were Nepali, and HMB expects that to be the case this year



too. The only trouble is money. The entry fees are not terribly high-between Rs 280 - Ŕs 2,200 for Nepalis, \$20 - \$80 for expats, and \$190 - \$270 for internationals-but there are other expenses built into participating in the races. "We've planned well for the races themselves, but the cost of logistical support and spare parts are often beyond reach for a normal Nepali," says one biker who says he may only be able to compete in one race. In addition to three races in six categories, HMB is also doing something few sporting (and non-sporting

(For more details,

ring Himalayan

Mountain Bikes

or email

442345, 9810.33865,

applaud@wlink.com.np)

Registration 7.30-8.30 AM, Roads close at 8.30 AM, All races begin at 9AM. Open Men/ Masters/ Open Wo Kilometers Location Sundarija Mulkhaka 1700-m Jhule 2400-m 16 22 Jarsing Phowa 1965-m 29 km 1495-m Sankhu Race 2 for that matter) organisations do-making arrangements so people with disabilities can join in the fun. Like last year, the races this month will feature specially-designed courses for the disabled. This year, Handicap International will help meet the competitors' expenses and other needs. Twelve wheelchair athletes have already signed on.

	Masters/ Open			hools/ (alternate)		
Kilometers	Location	Altitude	Kilometers	Location	Altitude	
00.00	Sankhu	1495-m	00.00	Sankhu	1495-m	
07.00	Jarsing Phowa	1965-m	15.30 km	Nagarkot	2000-m	
18.30	Sankhu	1495-m	Wheel	Ichair - Disabled	Athletes	
29.60	Kattike	1895-m	00	Telkot	1600-m	
33.60 km	Nagarkot	2000-m	9.00 km	Nagarkot	2000-m	
ace 3						
84	-	No.	START	Assailed		
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a fingator	- Cation	0		Chapme .	# tings	
WYNNY Daniel a Print Print Print Print						
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	HAKTAPUR HAKTAPUR					
	HAKTAPUR		A COLOR			

Open Men/ Masters/ Open Women			Wheelchair – Disabled Athletes		
Kilometers	Location	Altitude	Kilometers	Location	Altitude
00.00	Nagarkot	1880-m	00	Bhaktapur	1340-m
14.00	Maegaun	1480-m		Durbar Square	
19.00	Chhaharedada	1100-m	7.00 km	Taumadi Square	1340-m
24.00	ChandeshwariTemple*	1480-m	*Momen / kuniers: fi	inish at Chandeshwori Ter	malsand
38.00	Bhaktapur	1340-m	transfer by bus to Bha		npic and



We may dislike it, but the EU is part ast week, the president of the European Convention Valery of our system of government. like Giscard d'Estaing, submitted a municipalities, regions, and nationso-called "skeleton" for a future states. The question is whether we are constitution of Europe. This docu ment arose despite the fact that the Convention's mandate did not empower the delegates to produce a constitution. The Nice Declaration, which I drafted as one of the participating prime ministers, only asked us to simplify and restructure the FLU's basic treaties. Critics believe that Europe may be

too big to forge truly democratic institutions. But Europe already exists, decisions that determine our lives are made everyday on the European level.

COMMENT

The first problem in need of a with foreign policy, the "European Community" with economic integration. Thus, agreements with third countries that involve both foreign and economic matters require

"constitutional" solution is Europe's unified identity. Because of the jumble of treaties from which today's European institutions arose, "Europe" s not a unitary entity. The "EU" deals

satisfied with the way the EU a "directive" is issued, you don't functions. If not, can we fix it, and is a know who is responsible. In Italy onstitution the way to do it? there is now a controversial statute that will change the rules of criminal procedure in ways that might be helpful to eminent public figures. Senator Cirami's name is attached to *Regulation 75*?

Ø.

that bill. We can fight about "the institutions will be a challenge Cirami law*! Could we do that for (Project Syndicate) Europe has so many bodies that legislate-the Council of Ministers, the Council for Arriculture the Council for Industry, the Council for

mous, bureaucratic nature of

Strong constitution If Europeans are to ordain a

by GIULIANO AMATO

common constitution, their values must be respected by it.

two distinct treaties. This confuses the Environment, etc-that we can't even trained foreign diplomats who know who is doing what and why. negotiate with Europe, leave alone We need a single legislative council, a ordinary citizens. Also, if the bicameral European Parliament, with Community does something that one house representing member affects someone's rights, he or she can states, and the other the European no to court. But if the Union electorate. In this system, legislation encroaches on your rights, access to a will be called legislation, and court may be closed because the executive regulations, as in most legal systems, will fill in the gaps in Linion has no legal personality The next problem with constituprimary legislation. tional implications, is the anony-

The draft constitutional document presented last week calls for a single, unified legal entity. European legal acts. Criticising institutions is as essential a part of Whatever it is called, the European Union, United States of Europe democracy as protecting enumerated legal rights. In the EU we don't have United Europe, or something else, it statutes or laws with names, we have will provide for a unitary, simplified regulations." "directives." "decisions." system of normative acts that will general guidelines," "common introduce transparency and accountstrategies." "common actions." ability. The institutional structure "common positions"-a myriad that should also reflect and help develop only experts can comprehend. When Europe's broader aspirations. We expect economic and social matters to be connected. We expect Europe to play a role for good in the world. But more Europe cannot mean a centralised system. Getting the proper balance among European. national, regional, and local

> (Giuliano Amato, a former prime minister of Italy. is deputy chairman of the

Furnnean Convention) by JOSEPH STIGLITZ Serving two masters

merican corporate capitalism has demonstrated amply of late the ability of company bosses to indulge in corrupt practices on an almost unfathom-A dollar party douses to it having a in contract presence of the researce of t GDP of many countries

With the assumption of perfect information of traditional economics, these problems should never have occurred. Shareholders would realise the books were cooked, and punish the offending company's share price. But information is never perfect. Because of tax advantages and inappropriate accounting practices firms richly rewarded executives with stock options. Company bosses could ensure that they were well paid without doing anything to benefit their firm's bottom line. They just needed to boost the stock price, then cash in their option.

Executives received millions in compensation, and no one seemed to he bearing the cost. But such options diluted shareholder value, and were worse than dishonest-stock options provided managers with strong incentives to get the value of their stocks up fast, often overinvesting Over the last 15 years executive compensation in America soared. So did compensation that is tied to a company's stock price, to the point where the fraction related to long-term performance is quite small.

As research over the past three decades demonstrates, when information is imperfect-and it always is!-Adam Smith's invisible hand, by which the price system is supposed to

quide the economy to efficient outcomes, is invisible, partly because it is absent. With the wrong incentives a drive for the creation of the appearance of wealth took hold in the US, at the cost of actual wealth

Auditing firms that make more money from consulting have a conflict of interest: they have an incentive to go easy on their clients, or even help their clients think of ways—"within the rules"—that improve the appearance of profits So do analysts at investment banks that earn large fees from stock offerings tout stocks even when they are dubious about them-if these banks have a commercia bank division, they may have an incentive to maintain credit lines beyond a

Without perfect information, expensive conflict of interest is always a threat prudent level, as cutting them would put at risk high potential future revenues

from memors and acquisitions and stock and hond issues A distortion of private incentives affects public incentives as well, and the two become intertwined. As "money talks" in politics, private incentives distort public policy and prevent it from correcting market failures in ways that then further distort private incentives. America's Securities and Exchange Commission's head recognised the conflicts of interests in accounting, but his efforts to address were resisted by industry until scandals forced change. Financial

Accounting Standards Board saw the accounting problems with executive stock options, but political pressure, including from the US reasury, was put on the suppos edly independent Board not to make reforms. This happens at at the national and international levels Some countries try to fight this

vicious circle. For example, because we rightly suspect government officials who move too quickly into private sector jobs related to their public roles, many democracies don't allow such "revolving doors. Certainly, such restrictions have costs-they may deter qualified individuals from accepting public employment, and seldom eliminate

conflicts of interest altogether. But they are necessary because we cannot really be sure what motivates an individual, even those who seem of the highest integrity. The loss of public confidence that could result from not acting may be even higher than the cost of governmental regulation. It recently resulted in billions of dollars of reductions in the value of shares.
 (Project Syndicate)

(Joseph Stiglitz is winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics, and author of Globalization and its Discontents.)

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALITIMES

Aid program changes LONDON – Britain's international aid program is changing course to direct more of its aid to poor countries and to governments in those countries rather than independent projects. The aid will now be channeled more to governments "to support the ins tions of the countries to work for themselves," said Clare Short. head of the Department for Industrial Development (DfID). This means less government support to large western NGOs and more to local governments and local civil societies. Several NGOs have welcomed Clare Short's new policies. They are being implemented in Afghanistan and Pakistan to combine development support with political aims. The British government increased its aid budget to 0.4 percent of its gross national product (GNP) from 0.32 percent this year, though it still falls short of the UN recommended 0.7 percent of GNP. In four years aid will total \$7.7 billion a year from the current \$5.2 billion a year. (IPS)

Free media

WASHINGTON - Developing countries need free and independent newspapers, radio and TV stations to boost their economic development, a recent World Bank study, "The Right to Tell - The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development" concludes. It says the media can expose corruption in government and the corporate sector, provide a voice for citizens, and help to create a public consensus to bring about economic change. It can also help markets work more efficiently by providing reliable economic information on topics from small-scale vegetable trading in Indonesia and Ghana to global foreign currency and capital markets in New York and London. Countries seeking economic development are urged to work towards free press by "enhancing competition, reducing restrictions on the entry of new media, blishing a balanced regulatory framework, encouraging, and participating in innovative ways to reach people." (IPS)

European protests

FLORENCE – Activists from 105 countries are participating in the European Social Forum in Florence, Italy, which is holding a flurry european social rotini in rotenice, ray, which is housing a num of debates and protests against the negative effects of globalisation, and the United States' plans to wage war on Iraq. Food sovereignty, the foreign debt, immigration, information, culture, world peace and the economy were on the agenda last Thursday, the first day of seminars at the first European chapter of the World Social Forum, which began to meet annually in the southern Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in January 2001. More than 30,000 people have signed up for conferences, seminars and workshops to be held through Sunday, under the theme "Another Europe is Possible: Against Neoliberalism, War and Racism". On Saturday a demonstration against Washington's plans to attack Iraq and overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein could attract as many as 200,000 protestors. Despite bad press, Italian reporter Oriana Fallaci described the Social Forum activists as "false revolutionaries", organisers said most stores operated normally Thursday, and the seminars were taking place in a climate of peace and celebration. (IPS)

Unstoppable poverty SANTIAGO – Poverty has persisted in Latin America and now affects 221 million people, according to the Social Panorama report the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) released here this week. Between 1997-2001 there was little or no improvement in the population's standard of living, and the number of poor in the region grew by more than 10 million. The study says poverty now affects nearly 43 percent of the region's more than 500 million inhabitants. Argentina's crisis triggered rapid expansion of poverty, contribut ing most to the deterioration of the overall Latin American situation where during the period studied by the Santiago based commission. At the Millennium Summit, which took place at the UN in September 2000, the world's governments pledged to reduce global poverty by half over the next 15 years. Latin America suffers the greatest gap between rich and poor in the world but José Antonio Ocampo, ECLAC executive secretary, suggests that "progressive redistribution of income" would allow economic growth to quickly improve the poorest population's living standard and achieve poverty reduction goals. (IPS)

HIV testing without consent

TORONTO- Some Canadian doctors are breaking the law by automatically testing pregnant patients for HIV/AIDS unless a woman has explicitly refused to be tested. Alberta, Newfoundland and Labrador provinces have officially adopted this automatic, opt-out approach, ignoring the informed consent provisions of Canadian health law. Now the Ontario Medical Association (OMA), representing the powerful lobby of Ontario's doctors, is pushing Canada's largest province to adopt the automatic approach. Giving Ontario women the choice to consent beforehand has led to 70 percent of prospective mothers taking HIV/ AIDS tests, compared to almost 100 percent in Alberta under its opt-out protocol. Ralf Jurgens of the Montreal-based Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, points out that most pregnant women will go along with HIV/AIDS testing to safeguard the life of the baby if a health practitioner properly counsels them adding that those who refuse "often have very valid reasons". (JPS)

ASIA

centrestage.

ANALYSIS

The importance of Zhu

China owes its vibrant capitalism to this man.

s China's new leadership team pledged to make three bold moves to emerges, the world's attention secure a more vibrant, self-sustaining has focused on President Jiang economy. First, he would overhaul the Zemin's successor. But this is 300,000 state-run national corporamisquided, for perhaps the most tions that still conducted an oversignificant moment in China's recent whelming amount of China's business history of boom and transformation and accounted for the bulk of its was the 1998 appointment of Zhu economic activity. More than 70 Rongij as premier of the State Council nement of such commanies were a position once held by Deng unprofitable and were propped up by Xiaoping. Given the obvious vernment subsidy. importance of the post in recent years Just as Welch promised to "fix the choice of Zhu's replacement may be of even more significance than

close, or sell " non-performing divisions of General Electric when he President Jiang's departure from took over the company. Zhu threatened to fire chief executives of Chinese Even before he became premier firms that lost money for more than Zhu, as the president of China's two consecutive years, and then either

central bank, was known as the architect of China's 8 percent annual economic growth in the 1990s and the mastermind of its successful fight against inflation. Zhu has been China's Jack Welch, the tough-minded, longtime CEO of the American conglomerate General Flectric-a man celebrated for his candor, his global sophistication, and his insistence on performance. Indeed, Zhu was renowned for punishing those who fell short of his expectations. As mayor of Shanghai, he once disciplined his tourist bureau officials by making them scrub the city's public toilets

themselves A few months after his appointment as premier. Zhu delivered his "three promises" speech, in which he

OPINION

Tagging rebels hese are very uncertain and confusing times for Filipinos, who find that armed rebel groups active in their country for decades have suddenly been

classified as terrorists by big powers like the United States and the European Union In August, the United States tagged as terrorists the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), whose armed wing is the NPA. This month, the EU listed

them as terrorists as well. Reports say the Muslim-based Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which seeks a separate Islamic state in the Philippine south, is bound to be next one in the terrorist list. The NPA and MILF represent the largest, most enduring insurgencies in this South-east Asian country. The communist insurgency started in 1969, and the Muslim rebellion has been active since the 70s.

Politicians and analysts are outraged by the US and EU declarations, saving they blur the distinction between separatism, rebellion and terrorism in the public mind. "Who are they to tell us that our people are terrorists? I was really surprised because why is it that other countries are declaring Filipinos fighting their own government in their own country terrorists?" says Senator Robert Barbers, a former police official. "They are simply enemies of the government of the Republic of the Philippines "

Different views reflect the debate on terrorism. Some say overuse of the term after the September 11 attacks in the United States last year has distorted perceptions. Filipinos are beginning to ask if foreign judgments of terrorismthe inclusion of the NPA, exiled CPP leader Jose Maria Sison and the MILF in has linked the MILE to lemaah Islamivah, the group that seeks a pan-Islamic state in South-east Asia and which intelligence officials say is linked to the al Oaedanetwork

The MILE has denied the charge Last week an MILE leader said the Linited States was making an enemy of Islam by making no distinction between radical and moderate groups, and risks pushing more people into extremism. Manila has been giving mixed signals. The military said it would intensify operations against the rebels. But peace negotiators said the government is preparing an amnesty program and is not ready to abandon peace talks, now temporarily suspended

Walden Bello, a professor at the University of the Philippines, adds. "The CPP-NPA is not terrorist group. It is a revolutionary group whose main targets are not civiliars but combatants of the Philipoine government." He says, "there is a world of difference between terrorists and revolutionaries." Bello believes the EU had political aims in calling the NPA terrorists. "They (EU) are opposed to the U.S. war on Iraq, but to mollify the U.S. they had to show that they are cooperating with it in its war against 'terrorism'. This was pure opportunism."

The government classifies the communists as "the number one threat to national security." with the MILF ranking second in military strength. The Philippines has no law defining terrorism as a crime. The government would b hard pressed to wage a full-scale war against the communist rebels and the MILF to shut them down or sell them. This forced national corporations to be privatised and go public or to be overseen by provincial governments, a change that proved to be a major impetus for a sudden decentralisation of China's governance structureanother key legacy of Zhu's tenure.

Second, Zhu said he would wipe out the many bad debts of China's banks and "international trust companies." Many of these had contributed to a softening in China's economy by routinely lending money to insolvent corporations. At the time there were 245 such trust companies, which had such a poor record of repayment that overseas investors were beginning to shun China entirely. Reforming them would take 10 years he said.

central government and take on one of China's most pernicious problems: high-level corruption in government agencies. He would propose measures including, for example, cutting links between government and organised crime, and making it more difficult for bureaucrats to accept bribes. Politicians often make bold promises but rarely keep them. On 1 July 2001, at the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party. Zhu assessed his progress. His appraisal of his record in office is notably accurate, and stands as a convincing testament to the effectiveness of his leadership. He told

profitability targets, allowed to choose the people they hired, and encouraged to raise money on private stock exchanges, which effectively propelled them into the private sector as "red chip" corporations. As for the second

promise, more than 50 heads of inancial institutions had at that point been fired (more followed), and reforms had changed the investment climate dramatically. Instead of fleeing the country, capital was flowing in more rapidly than ever before. Zhu's record concerning his third promise was more mixed. While the size of the central government fell dramati-Third. Zhu would streamline the cally, with employment at the State Council halved from 34.000 to 17.000 corruption continued to fester. Despite

Zhu's efforts, opposition from vested interests throughout the governmentparticularly at the highest levelsmpededreform Nonetheless Zhu Ronaii's reforms created the kind of leve playing field and rule of law on which a vibrant capitalist system depends. That is a political legacy second to none in modern Chinese history. . (Project

(Kenichi Ohmae is one of the world's leading business strategists.) by MARITES SISON

the assembled Communist leadership

that he had fulfilled the first promise

many of China's public corporations

had become profitable private entities

or had been shut down. Those still

operating were given stringent

.OMBO- Scepticism greeted the Tamil Tigers' softening of their guerrillas, who fought for a separate homeland for the country's the areas they control. This has drawn criticism from hardline Sinhalese political parties and President Chandrika Kumaratunga, arch foe of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe's ruling United

at the same time. In the 90s, the military declared the Marxist insurgency dead. but regained force in 2000, when the Philippines was realing from the Asian economic crisis and the ineffectual leadership of then president Joseph Estrada.

From having a low of 2,000 armed guerrillas in the mid-1990s, the NPA has grown to 12,000. Growth has been fueled by poverty as well as a "rectification campaign" by party leaders, who sought to correct abuses like forced revolutionary taxes on peasants.

The MILF, which broke away from the then dominant Moro National Liberation Front in the 1980s, has emerged as the major Muslim rebel group in the country. Unlike the Abu Sayyaf, the MILF, whose strength is estimated at between 6 000 to 12 000, is reported to have a mass base among Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao.

After its classification as a terrorist group, the communist movement has vowed to step up attacks against police and military camps. "The revolutionary Filipino masses can never surrender their armed revolution," said Gregorio Roparty, spokesman for the Communist Party. The MILF has approached the problem differently. It has yowed to go after members of Jemaah Islamiyah

Still unanswered is the question of how far the government, the United States and the EU will go after these rebel groups now called terrorists. Many ask if Sison would be expelled from the Netherlands, where they live as political refugees. The EU's terrorism classification also means the movement's funding

Deadlock

ISLAMABAD- Pakistan's post-election political crisis is far from being over as none of the three major parties is able to muster the majority to form a government, delaying the much awaited transfer of power from the current military rulers to people's representatives. Political sources say that the major point of contention among the

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

parties has not been who will be prime minister, but their conflicting positions on more than 25 amendments the military regime has made to the constitution. The changes include curtailing the powers of the prime minister and creating a supra-parliamentary National Security Council loaded with representatives from the ranks of the military. Additionally, Musharraf allowed himself to retain the office of the

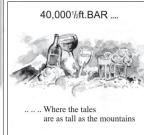
army chief along with that of the president for the next five years. While the pro-Musharraf Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PML-Q) supports the amendments, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the alliance of six religious parties Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) reject them as unconstitutional. PML-Q is the largest party in parliament with 118 seats, but it cannot form a government without the support of 72 members in the 342-member house. Its closest rivals PPP and the MMA, on the other hand, have 81 and 60 seats in the National Assembly, respectively. Observers and politicians say that the military is perpetuating the deadlock to force the opposition to accept its amendments and economic reforms agenda. (IPS)

Return to power

NEW DELHI - Sonia Gandhi, the Congress party president, called the pro-Hindu coalition government of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee a "comprehensive failure" in a two-day conference of chief ministers from 14 major states her party now rules. She said the country was looking to the 115-year-old party to lead it "from stagnation to growt and from strife to harmony and from darkness to light". Officially, the conclave is meant to review the performance of governments in Congress-ruled states, and a strategy session for state assembly elections scheduled for December in Guiarat-scene of a pogrom against the minority Muslim community earlier this year. Charges of corruption in 1996 and a Hindu fundamentalist wave generated by the ultra-right wing BJP affected the standing of the party. They lost India's general elections three years ago, but have been staging a comeback by winning nearly all the provincial assembly elections conducted since. The Congress emerged as the single largest party at the recent elections in Indian-controlled Kashmir and shares power there with the regional People's Democratic Party. (IPS)

Tigers soften stance

positions in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, highlighting the difficulty in brokering a peace deal between the rebels and the state. Tiger minority Tamils for 19 years, surprised even their ardent supporters when they said at last week's peace talks that they would enter the democratic political mainstream. Analysts believe the government is gradually moving toward legitimizing the rebels' legal, revenue ollection, banking and administrative structures already in place in National Party. So far, an interim administration in the north and east has been seen as a temporary step before a permanent solution is found, (IPS)



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"There is a world of difference between

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"This government has no constitutional status."



Congress, Nepal Samacharpatra,

जेगाज व्यक्तमार्थ The Nepali Congress has always stood for constitutional monarchy. Why did you propose a constituent assembly at a meeting of the party's central working committee

mean deposing the constitutional monarchy. The Nepali

Are you saying that the kingis move has created a constitutional vacuum?

nstitution, and acted according to an interpretation of convenience. Only reviving parliament car rectify these blunders. If the Deuba government was dismissed for its incompetence and inability to hold elections, the present government should have set a date in the next six months for elections. The only way out is to restore parliament or hold elections for a fresh parliament. Right now a non-constitutional force is running the country.

Wasnít the constitution violated even before the royal move when the parties recommended postponing elections? That's no reason for a constitutional monarchy to violate the constitution. Political parties should take part

of the blame, because they created the background for 4 October. The all-party meeting was indecisive, but it directed the prime minister to find a solution within the constitution. The royal address may have promised a solution, but this has only added to the confusion.

Do you think a restored parliament would be a legal entity? And as for the constituent assembly, it could take years, as in India, Ito frame a new constitution, Wouldn't that help the Maoists?

It's not about who will take advantage, but about getting out of this mess. And restoring parliament is not the end, but a means to a solution. A constituent assembly might still be important even if parliament is restored. Otherwise, we should start working on other solutions, and elections should be held soon. The Manists were the main reason the elections were postponed. A constituent assembly may take three or four years to work, but we need to be mentally prepared, if we want it to bear fruit earlier.

You're perceived as being guite critical of the monarchyÖ

I hope the monarchy is always popular, but I wish it would keep up with the times. An absolute monarchy was made a constitutional one in 1990, and the Nepali Congress respects that status. But 4 October violated the spirit of the constitution. If the monarchy takes over and tries to retain the executive power, it will be criticised.

How do you evaluate the performance of the present government?

This government does not have constitutional status. Technically, it is a body that oversees the daily functions of government; executive power lies with the monarch. In the month since it was instituted, there have been no signs about what it plans to do and where it it heading. The Deuba government was said to be a failure because it did not set election dates, but the present government hasn't given any indication that elections will take place at all.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Our constitution has provisions to punish political parties. It also has provisions that prevent the king's involvement in politics as this may lead to controversy. If the monarch defies the constitution, it is a clear indication that a change is required.

> Daman Nath Dhungana, member of the constitution drafting committee of 1990, in Chhalphal, 10 November.



Elephant: Constitution

Spacetime 10 November 2002 रचेराणका हैनिय

Excerpts from an interview with Narahari Acharya, Nepali

Proposing a constituent assembly does not necessarily

Congress has stood for a constitutional monarchy since its inception, but it also recognises that the constituent embly is a tool of government. Proposing a constituent assembly does not in theory or in practice amount to ending the monarchy.

Yes. We believe that the spirit of the constitution was killed when the monarch crossed the limits set by

There's really nothing new in the ERP. Previous governments have repeatedly talked about reforming the bureaucracy, managing expenditure, and so on There are no concrete programs to address the problems faced by Nenali industries or offer the private sector any relief. The only novel idea in the new program is limiting the prime minister's delegation to nine

But the government has also announced several policy level and long-term programs, violating its scope and mandate 1 inuidation or privatising state-owned enterprises. involving the private sector in the import and distribution of petroleum products, etc, are significant issues that cannot be decided by this government without proper studies being carried out. The government seems to be conspiring to take away workers' rights guaranteed in existing Acts through unilateral amendments

and ordinances. Shrestha announced the observance of a "plan holiday" and the introduction of a special package to rescue the economy from its present crisis. But now he also says that the 10th Five Year Plan will be made public by December. How can a government that does not have the mandate of the people do this, salt from Tibet. continues." especially when there are already

Program and the Tenth Plan are the

modernise the country and

transform the Nepali economy. Salt for trees Rajdhani, 10 November

same thing.

राजधानी Residents from Gorkha's northernmost villages are involved in an illegal timber trade via Samdo. exchanging timber from the area's pine trees for rock salt from Tibet

Large amounts of timber are being

that the villagers are forced to

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALL TIMES provide logistical and financial support to the Manists even if they do not agree with them. The

security forces search all houses

and are suspicious of everyone.

between them and the public.

the same treatment to everyone.

Another weakness of the security

forces is their strategy to indiscrimi-

nately employ informers from the

public. Information obtained like

this is not always reliable. Many

hurt. If the general public is

people accuse their enemies of being

Maoists, and innocent people get

pressurised by the security forces to

provide information, they will feel

the security forces are endangering

The security forces don't

realise that the public will always be more angry with them, even if it

suffers at the hands of the Maoists

This does not make for warm ties

The Maoists, however, have

specific targets, they don't mete out

felled in the Shvala jungle of Lho Conspiracy VDC. Lal Prasad Gurung, program Excerpts from an article by director of the Manaslu Conservation Area Project (MCAP), under Dr Dilli Rai Khanal, economist the King Mahendra Trust for and former UML MP, Chhalphal, Nature Conservation says that the 10 November

आंच ! संच people are compelled to do so. Gorkha's northernmost VDCs-Finance Minister Badri Prasad Sirdibas, Bihi, Prok, Lho, Samagaon, Shrestha has recently unveiled the so-called "Economic Reforms Churrchet and Chhekampaar-area seven-day walk from the district Program (ERP) 2002" on behalf of headquarters. The residents of these the Chand government, which was villages do not use the subsidised formed amid constitutional and iodised salt, because the government political controversy. The program has been unable to provide them with comes at a time when the country's economic crisis has deepened, and it. An estimated 9000 people in the region consume rock salt from Tibet. all sectors of the economy are faring The villagers travel for two or badly. The budgetary position in three days to get Tibetan salt. the first three months of the current "You can't buy salt with money. fiscal year suggests that develop-You need timber," says Noru Lama ment expenditure is likely to be less of Chhekampaar VDC. The than 30 percent of the initial outlay planned. Revenue mobilisation as Tibetans believe that the wood

from northern Gorkha is strong and well as mobilisation and utilisation lasts longer. The inhabitants of this of foreign aid have weakened. area have to make preparations for salt that will last them for seven months at a stretch so they fell timber throughout the winter. starting about now. "We collect timber now and once it is dry we transport it to Tibet," says Tshering Lama of Lho VDC.

The district forest office in Gorkha acknowledges the illegal trade, but says that the conservation of the forests in the area is not its responsibility MCAP has formed forest management committees to protect the forests in the area, but all its field offices in northern Gorkha have been

displaced due to the security situation, severely affecting conservation efforts. CDO Madhav Prasad Oiha acknowledges his inability to send security forces to the affected areas. "As we have tightened security in and around the district headquarters, we haven't been able to pay attention to outlying areas." he says.

MCAP had started to see the effects of its campaign to convince the people in upper Gorkha to use

misleading attempts to suggest that the Poverty Reduction Strategy Dristi, 12 November

Subash Devkota The ERP seems part of the government's conspiracy to stay in office as long as possible. There is no chance of getting the country out of the present economic crisis unless a new government is elected to office with a mandate to

suffered defeats at the hands of the Maoists, as well as successes. Security forces say that one of the main reasons that victories are hard to come by is the reluctance of the public to provide them with

connerate with them



forces' strategy to destroy Maoisl pases has isolated them from the public. They do not understand

HISTORY AND CULTURE

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Back at Sundarijal >21 C-е-11 "Meantime, I'll keep scribbling... 0 e., . 6



17 February, 1977 ÷.

e. ÷ Sundariia Spent the day brooding and feeling disconsolately sad. ÷ 5 Since yesterday homesickness has assailed me again. e This constant state of agony—how long will it last? I am not getting reconciled to the incommunication of incar-. c. ÷ ceration. If it continues for sometime my heath will с. suffer serious damage. I am in for heart trouble. If only this isolation is lifted. I don't know how the Jews lived in .

e. . death camps in Nazi Germany. Our life here is not so e. bad. Except for total segregation, there are no physical -0 discomforts

е. Papers did not come. We wait for newspapersa. even those sheets of paper known as Kathmandu e. -0 dailies, with some interest. After all that is the only e. source of information of world happenings available to

-0 us. Tomorrow being National Day there will no newspaφ. pers. And day after is Saturday. Hence we will get

papers only on Sunday e. -01 The Cantain informed me that the matter about the e. supply of zarda to me has been referred to Dr (Colonel)

. Bhattarai, whether I can take it or not on medical grounds. It means that perhaps I will be permitted to

take zarda. Since they had stopped it once in the name e. 0 of a jail rule that no madak padartha must be supplied to

e. us they want to get one if through the agency of a

doctor's permission. A face-saving device. 6 10

6 18 February

e. Sundarijal

Today is National Day which is also celebrated as ъ. Democracy Day. It was on this day 26 years ago (1951) en. that I was inducted in a coalition cabinet as Home .

Minister, inaugurating a new era, a new dispensation in . 0 governmental setup-I was slightly over 36 years old. What a red letter day it was for all of us-for the Ø.



BP Koirala is obsessed with his failing health, and thinks his psychological condition under detention is worsening his medical problems. These pages from his prison diary written in English show that he also fears that the king intends to keep him in jail for a longer period.

country and the people. I was from the people's side, the most popular and at the same time most powerful man. Since I am a man of honour and ideals. I was very weak in my power motive and therefore I did not use my influence and power, which had come to me without my making efforts for them, to maintain myself in power through manipulation and machination. I could have done that. I don't regret it. But since then I have been subjected to buffetings of political fortunes-up and down, up and down-and I am now landed, at about the fag end of my life in jail-in a condition of total isolation from where I don't know when, if, I will he liherated I am not in good health since I am imprisoned. Digestion

continued to be bad, there is bleeding from the nose, this morning there were some traces of blood in my sputum, there is a constant buzzing in my ear and peculiar heaviness in the head, headaches too. I look a little haggard, wrinkled, feel weak in the legs and continue breathing with difficulty and palpitations of the heart. A long list of physical complaints. Basically they are promoted or even induced by my present psychological state. I suffer from depression constantly, and sometimes the depression assumes the maniac intensity.

I do some writing every day, but it does not at all calm my nerves. I am not intensely occupied with this routine. The quality of my writing has also suffered because I can't bring concentration of thought to bear upon it. I devise innumerable ways to divert my mind from the obsessive bronding over the present state of destitution-but such make-belief only promotes my depression by the awareness that they are false beliefs. Yesterday I wrote 1.100 words. How empty these are!

Today the Captain informed us a new set of utensils would be supplied to our kitchen which is outside the jail compound. They had been using big army utensils to cook our food, and we were interpreting this improvisation in our favour supposing that our detention was a temporary affair. But now they seem to be making a permanent arrangement for the kitchen, which means a long detention. I don't mind a long detention provided, 1) interviews are allowed, 2) correspondence is allowed 3) books and newspapers are allowed to be supplied by our people.

In the November Himal Dirty little middle class secret: Child domestics amongst us 'Holy' cow and 'unholy' dalit: Crimes against untouchables From evil state to civil society: Rethinking development in Nepal Ballot boxing in Kashmir & Pakistan Donor malfeasance in Bangladesh Keeping Sri Lankan peace on track Numafung, woman of Nepal Trip to the Bangla heartland Plus more! To subscribe: Call 543-333 or write to subscription@himalmag.com

ENCOUNTERS by MEGH RANJANI RAI Communicating with Coyote 1

15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALI TIMES

"Where were you? You were asleep again, weren't vou?"

t all began with an email on a mountain mailing list. My virtual friendship with Jacqui Higgins-Rosebrook, the woman who "mans" the weather station at Stampede pass. (Check out my weather at http://www.wrh.noaa.gov/seattle/).

She lives atop a mountain in the Cascades of Washington state, has three grown daughters who live in Seattle with their husbands, and six grandchildren. I was intrigued with her email ID "Covote1". It brought images of western woods and snow, with the silhouette of a howling coyote raising its head against the background of a full moon Such were my visualisations, perhaps influenced by Wild Bill Hickock, the last of the Mohicans, tales from Louis L'amour of Shane Farm and "Clementine". I wasn't far from the truth as it turned out. Jacqui's ancestry includes the Cherokee people of Okla-

homa and early Scottish settlers with pure Irish on her father's side. And a project that she was working on with her cousins were to get all the family photos on a

The coyote is an important figure in the cosmology of intermontane

disc



indigenous people of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. "He is one of my favourite gods of all the gods I have studied. My nearest neighbour are a family of six coyotes who are enchanting to watch, my nearest human neighbours on weekends are 15 miles away at the bottom of the mountain and not nearly as interesting." She sure has her priorities

She writes novels, screenplays and poetry and runs a non-profit organisation called "Children of Sosnovaya Street". She's going 60, and what an inspiration this virtual encounter has been for me. None of that "my children need to look after me, I am sick, I am depressed and I am old". Age is relative. There is so much to live for and enjoy, and you only get one stab at it as far as we know.

You can go with Jacqui to pick blueberries, or help her shovel the snow off the hinhway with a snow cat. She plants herbs and medicinal plants and grows Stiupic tomatoes developed in Czechoslovakia when t was still one country. Hers is probably the highest high-altitude garden in the state. She deplores hikers who come up the Pacific Crest Trail that runs from Baia California to British Columbia and passes right in front of her drive. Like trekking trails here, that means litter.

She drives down to the ghost town of Lester to celebrate the birthday of Gert Murphy, who is 99 today. And to all her friends who missed the Leonid shower she has lines of verse

Where were vou? You were asleep again, weren't you? I wished you were here. I watched for you . once every thirty-three years. Temple Tuttle passes by and We get this chance to suck in our breath In wonder and whisper Yes, ves, ves, YES! With our suddenly let out breath As streaks of gold quarter the sky, But you regretted other obligations. Some of you, who slept through the night Got up this morning and went to church To ponder miracles done Two millennia ago and half a world away WHAT CAN I ŠAY? I'll be ninety the next time it happens. I'll need a nap And someone to remind me. Will you be with me then?



emergency was imposed and the government announced the joint mobilisation of the security forces.

It has been nearly a year since the





mented. In a meeting on 31 January this year, the council had decided that all madrasas operating within the country must be registered with the concerned District Administration Offices (DAOs), and report to the offices their annual income and expenditure. The government also authorised the District Education

madrasas operating all over the country, but no records of their

registration with local authorities. An office-bearer with a Muslim organisation in Kathmandu said that the madrasas were reluctant

to register with the authorities, since the government had apparently come to this decision

under pressure from the Indian anvernment "Moreover the administration itself is not really interested, so why should the madrasas make the effort?" he asked. Official sources say that

Nenali officials have recently met their counterparts from border follow up the decision and haster

rebels, and so irresponsible. But government forces have a responsibility to the people. They should make life easier and safer Madrasas Kantipur. 12 November The ten-month old decision of the

too. The person on the street

tends to feel that the Maoists are

4 _{CITY}

EXHIBITION

- * Raw Material: From the road in Asia Travel collage by Margi Scharff, Indigo Gallery Naxal, 8AM-6PM daily. 413580
- * Rite of Way, Writers Seen photographs from the streets of Kathmandu by Wayne Amtzis, portraits of Nepali writers by Anne Hunkins. 17 November- 4 December, Siddhartha Art Gallery, Baber Mahal Revisited

EVENTS

- * Christmas Bazar 13 December, followed by barbecue, courtyard, Dwarika's Hotel. 479488 * Turkish Delights Music, belly dancing, handicrafts and
- cuisine from Turkey. 6:30 PM onwards, 15 November -17 November Hotel Yak & Yeti 248999
- · Weekend painting course for children with Cecile Houdre. Ages 6-9, 10-12, November through February, 10 lessons each. Rs 3,000 expats, Rs 2,000 locals, including all materials. Alliance Française. 241163

MUSIC

* Live music by Catch 22, Friday nights at the 40,000 1/2 ft Bar, Rum Doodle Restaurant, Thamel. 414336

DRINK

- * Friday Indulgence Irish music from An Fainne, tasting with 12 Scottish single malt, Rs 999. The Piano Lounge, Hotel Yak & Yeti, 248999
- * Paddy Foley's Irish Pub A wide range of drinks and food. Live music on Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday nights, 416096

- and largest garden in Nagarkot at The Fort Resort, fort@mos.com.np. 226799
- Card 526271 · Vegetarian specialties and clay oven pizza at
- Stupa View Restaurant & Terrace, Boudha. 480262 · Barbecue at the Terrace, Hyatt Regency
- Kathmandu. Rs 550 plus taxes. 7PM-10PM. Complimentary entrance to Rox Bar. 491234 Taste of Beijing Roast duck and other Chinese meat, fish and vegetarian delicacies.
- Beijing Roast Duck Restaurant, Birendra International Convention Centre. 468589 Newari Bhoj Traditional snacks, drinks and meals, outdoors or indoor, in a restaurant
- designed by Rhaktanur artisans, Lajana Restaurant, Lazimnat, 413874 * Tukche Thakali Kitchen Buckwheat, barley, bean, and dried meat specialties. Also
- brunch with porridge and pancakes, all raw material from Tukche village, Darbar Marg.

GETAWAYS

- * Thank Goodness It's Friday package for local residents at US\$111 plus tax per couple/ Single at US\$85 plus tax, includes Friday Sekuwa overnight stay & breakfast. Dwarika's Hotel. 479488
- * Tea House Combo Room, breakfast, Nepali thali dinner, swimming, jacuzzi. Rs 700 per head on twin sharing for Nepalis and expats, Tea House Inn, Nagarkot. 410432
- * The Great Godavari Getaway Special weekend packages including room with breakfast and dinner. 25 percent discount on health club facilities. Godavari Village Resort 560675
- · Writing Retreat Full board package. Aesthetic living, innovative thinking, creative writing and nature at Park Village Resort, Budhanilkantha. 375280
- Bardia Bonkers Freshwater dolphins, giant tigers, elephants, safaris, rafting, evening cocktails, traditional food, junglebasecamp@vahoo.com,

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



KATHMANDU VALLEY

Pakistan border. The rain this week was a surprise, and damaged the paddy crop ready to be harvested in what should be Nepal's driest month. These rain-bearing clouds crept over the Himalava into eastern and central Nepal from eastern ibet. The low-pressure over the Bay of Bengal will continue to draw them in but that won't result in rain in Nenal. This week: older nights, with fluctuating daytime temperatures due to th loud cover

Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia: Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh Robert W Stern

BOOKWORM

ndia Research Press, New Delhi, 200 Rs 792

Stern examines the idea of coalitions of dominant classes in South Asia in their historical context, and explains how they relate to current political and communal realities in many parts of South Asia. Stern examines the cases of Punjab and Bengal and the larger situation of emocracy in India, as well as modes of political action in Pakistan and Bangladesh, and asks whether parliamentary democracy matters in South Asia.



15-21 NOVEMBER 2002 NEPALL TIMES

This collection of Ramesh's columns for India Today examines with the author's typical intellect and wit, the economic, social, political and intellectual concerns of India and the wider world. Ramesh touches upon a range of topics including federalism, exchange rate mechanisms, the failure of secularism, the obstacles facing liberalisation, the intricacies of budget-making, Indian agriculture, enterprise and the public sector.

On Nature and Language Noam Chomsky

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002 CHOMSKY Rs 1,272

A primer for Chomsky's Minimalist Program, this volume is a significant landmark in the development of linguistic theory. Here Chomsky develops his thinking on the relation between the second secon anguage, mind, and brain, integrating current research in linguistics with the burgeoning field of neuroscience. These essays will be of interest to students and researchers in theoretical linguistics, neurolinguistics, cognitive science, and politics.

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

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A Nepali feminist in Japan

Ashmina Ranjit continues her meditations on women's bodies in a different context.

shmina Raniit has created a bodies are very much in women's buzz over the years by own control. Now she has taken her A declaring, through bold feminist message to Aomori, Japan. installations and art exhibitions. much to the delight of the local that Nepali women have live. women-and men. throbbing bodies under all their Currently at a three-month cultural trappings, and that these residency at the Aomori Contempo-

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Breaking Nev

Tik N Tok CDa an

rary Art Center, Ashmina has held five art workshops for over a hundred girls and women from age 3 to 70, discussing the body. sexuality, and gender politics. She then asked them to draw and

paint, on dresses that she pro-

bodies

vided, their views about their own "It was wonderful to see their self-expression." Ashmina says of

the workshops "I was amazed to see that the youngest girls

with simple rainbows and flowers. Most of the high school girls focused on the breasts ... and women in the 30's chose very abstract expressions." It was, she savs, as much of a learning experience for her as for the narticinants whose cultural background is repressed and modest, as is Nepal's. The workshops proved so popular that men, too, requested a similar workshop for them "At first I thought they were joking," Ashmina says. "But it turned out that they were serious. So now I'm planning to conduct a workshop for men too " The men get to paint on traditional Japanese phundo-shii (which Ashmina says is very much like the traditional lyapoo tunic-andtrousers) which will later be

alive & cooking uniel 230015 cafemitratemo

placed on display. An installation piece titled "Uplift", incorporating all the dresses is on display at the Anmori Contemporary Art Center from 26 October till 24 November. Ashmina will remain in Aomori throughout this period, enjoying the region's famous apples and its unique culture. She will be working on a video of women enjoying themselves at a hot spring (sounds good), and using this opportunity to explore her own creative work, side by side with sound artists, installation artists and performance artists from Portugal, Canada, Finland. Germany, France and Japan. Then it's back to Nepal for her-to conduct art workshops on the hody sexuality and render politics for Nepali women? Hopefully. And maybe even for



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C S C D T V I V S C J D T V S C J				
WE LOST OUR SON II YRS AGO IN 1991 (The last we heard of him was from Nepal)	 Alternative and a strategies of the strategies of the			
Deer Marcus. We love you and worry about you. Please II you are alive con- tact us, so that we know you are healthy and well. We will help you with everything you need. Your mother Erika, Mr. Rohand, your brother Hanal and Ell. Please contact at Home or Skylight (PJ Ld. Tel: 423851 or 415209 Fax: 420789 Email: skylight@mail.com.np	Mercantile Communications Pvt. Ltd GPO Box 876. Durbor More. Kothmandu, Nepal. Phane: 240920, Fax: +977.1-223407. E-mail: sciencitros.com.np. UR: http://www.mos.com.np.			











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rom Kupondole's Friends Club to a German

football club. For Nepali football striker Nirajan Rayamajhi, it will be a whole new club and country from next year as he joins the German football club, Örnek/Türkspor.

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Delights A festival of Turkey in Nepal Enjoy the rich collians and familage of Tarkey this aread as Yisk & Yest.

estating Istachel's top performents 'Apagail thing the singing this and "Israel? die Helly Descing Maintee including an exhibition of Turkish statute, handlandfis & gastrooversical

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La SPEPSI A Contractor



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matches later the 23-year-old had signed on as part of Örnek's D Division for approximately \$1,500 a month. Started by Turkish residents living in Germany, Örnek is considered one of the more competitive and proficient of the many foreign teams based in Germany. Arriving at D Division is considered a success. Professional football starts at the ninth league, clubs have to pass seven phases to arrive at Bundesliga, the top

German league. Come February, the Gokarna resident will be able to show off his skills in stadiums around Germany. He's looking forward to the experience, sure that it will boost his football career. "The honour and affection that Germany shows its football players has inspired me to play my best and to represent Nepal," says a thrilled Nirajan. The only sour note for the player will be leaving his wife behind while he goes on to conquer the football fields of Europe. .

Under My Hat will return next week.

NEPALL SOCIETY



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

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