

Revisited

tion in the district is down by 60 percent because of the drought, according to the District Agriculture Office in Bajura. "We can't grow rice here, but this year the drought even destroyed the kodo and the bears came and ate up the maize crop," says Harka Bogati, pointing at his fallow fields. The out-migration of able-bodied men also means there is no one to farm the terraces

"The number of people, especially from northern Bajura leaving for other parts of the country as well as India is on the rise," says. Mukti Naravan Bhandari, at the CDO office in Bajura which estimates that a quarter of the region's population of 800,000 has already left. Southern Baiura is slightly better

licekly internet Poll #61. To vote go to: www.nepalitimes.com

Did the political parties make a mistake by not joining the council of ministers?

). Which of the following offers the best soluti

interim all-party governmen none of the above

TOP CLASS

off because of access and soil conditions. But even here, the fertilisers have not arrived this year and much of the stored high. yield seeds have been eaten. "Next year looks very bleak," concludes Bhandari. The district suffers an annual shortfall of 7,800 tons of grain. The Nepal Food Corporation (NFC) could only get 780 tons to the district last year. This year there won't even be that. The local NFC depot in Martadi hasn't received a single grain of food this year, and there is now only enough subsidised rice to last



another seven days. The "food for work" programme had in the past provided grain to the needlest farmers. But after the Maoists looted godowns, the programme has been stopped. Then the Maoists destroyed both Sanfebagar and Kolti

airports, and roads are blocked due to security reasons. Even if the situation improved, the road from Doti to Sanfehanar is in such a hard state that only tractors can make it. What little food there is in Sanfebagar moves on human back, or is transported by mules, sheep or even cattle to Martadi. Along the route, there are no police or army to be seen. Maoists from Accham often raid convovs. in September they looted rice ferried on 100 mules.

Now, to prevent food from falling into the hands of Maoists, the security forces allow only small quotas of food on a weekly basis by private traders. But the margins are too small for the merchants to want to make the dangerous eight-day roundtrip from Sanphebagar. It's not just food that is

stopped, the security nersonnel have also hanned hatteries canvas shoes, cooking

oil, instant noodles. "We have to walk barefoot, we have nothing to eat, we are back in the stone age," says Jasiram Shahani, a shopkeeper here.
The food blockade has hit the local people more than

the Maoists. A villager in Pandusen told us: "The Maoists come in groups and force us to feed them at gunpoint. They don't care whether we have enough food." The Maoists also ask for a grain tay from farmers who have no cash, and they are forced to five ten pathis of grain per household to feed the proposed rebel barrack in the hills of Kandha.

At Kolti, we see the charred hulk of the airport control tower, the remains of the NFC godown, the

government buildings that have been torched in the past six months. And then we see a Maoist grafitti scrawled along the side of a building: "Let's con-

Let's get this over with

struct physical infrastructure in the base areas." To avoid a serious famine here, the road from Doti to Bajura has to be repaired immediately. It is the lifeline not just for Bajura, but for Mugu and Humla as well. Security is needed so food can move up. If that is not possible, the food should be escorted and distributed by human rights and relief organisations.

And, finally, western Nepal needs a government that cares. Giri's message: "They have never come to see our hardships since Kolti was destroyed by the Maoists.

Why did they join the public service if they don't care?" 4



LET'S GET THIS OVER WITH

xactly one year ago, on 25 November, the Maoists abruptly walked out of peace talks and broke a four-month truce to carry out a spectacularly devastating attack on the army barracks in Ghorahi in Dang,

The next day, King Gyanendra declared a state of national emergency, the government officially labelled Magists as terrorists, and the army was denloyed. That Friday we carried a headline: "Let's net this over with". We said: "This campaign must be brought to a swift and effective conclusion with the least amount of Nepali blood shed." How naïve we were

More than 5,000 Nepalis (plus minus a thousand-no one seems to know for sure) have died in the past year. More than had died in the previous five years. With inadequate logistics, equipment and manpower, the army has been fighting a vicious guerrilla war against its own people in one of the most difficult terrains in the world. Aside from the headline-graphing attacks on security bases, there is the daily death toll of the innocent. Village leaders, teachers, social and political activists mercilessly murdered throughout the country every day. If murder and mayhem is what the Maoist leaders wanted, they have got it.

In this space exactly a year ago, we said: "The emergency is not going to resolve the crisis. It depends how well we demonstrate that we have learnt the lessons about the past lapses that got us to this stage and begin to correct them. Like restoring the peoples' confidence that there is a government that cares about its people and not just about itself."

Now, we have no parliament, no local elected bodies, the prime minister has been sacked, there is a military stalemate and a political deadlock. But we do have a full council of ministers. Can this team of 22 ex-politicos, technocrats and relics from the Panchayat era deliver where an elected government failed? We desperately hope so.

The main parliamentary parties say their policy is one of "no confrontation and no surrender". How about a policy of unity? The forces of democracy have no choice but to get together. The extreme right and extreme left do not believe in democracy, the moderate centre that does must not be divided. But the signs are not good.

For the past month after he was appointed premier, Lokendra Bahadur Chand went house-to-house trying to persuade political leaders to join his cabinet. It didn't work. So, the king handpicked his own men (and one woman). It shows a geographical and ethnic mix that reflects Nepal's diversity. In normal times this should make up a good team, but these are not normal times. Not only are there Maoists at the gates, but there is a widening rift between the palace and the parties which will stymie efforts at service delivery.

The only people who benefit from this rift are the Maoists and the rightists. And, not surprisingly, both are trying their best to widen the

gap. Nepalis are so muted by mindless violence and a sinking economy that they will go along with anyone who restores peace Their disillusionment with the political parties is complete, and they will give the king and his council of ministers a chance. But the country's problems are so serious and solutions are required so urgently that the government has limited time to show it can deliver peace and develonment in that order

Everyone is waiting to

see if the king can pull a

rabbit out of the hat and announce a ceasefire. If that happens, the people will reward him with a peace dividend and that will translate into legitimacy for his ministers. The bad news is that there is really no reason at the moment for either side to talk. The Maoists are convinced their revolution is on track, and the government will only want to penntiate from a position of strength. The government wants to first intensify military

pressure on the Maoists, for which it needs promised military hardsecurity forces say their objective is to force the Maoists to understand

Everyone agrees there is no military solution to this crisis. Even the this. Having broken the truce once, it is up to the Maoists now to show that they are willing to negotiate in good faith. It would help if the international community and our neighbours leaned on them a little

One thing is certain; the nation can't take another year of this



The marketplace of ideas 🎑 Chhath by the Chapkaiyan Pokhari is a fitting

the rich and famous of Birganj gathered to

offer prayers to the setting sun on Sunday,

hanners promoting masalas, poodles and

ice-creams hang right above the heads of

fasting devotees. Makes you wonder if

deterioration of political morals in this

says Anthony Downs, "are analogous to

economy. So as to attain their profit ends.

entrepreneurs produce whatever products

they believe will rain most profits for the

same reasons." Unlike in the 'minimalist

state' description of political parties,

Politicians of this school do not

morality has no place in the market

mechanism approach to politics.

they formulate whatever politics they

believe will gain most votes, just as

entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking

"Parties in democratic politics,"

there is a link between this and the

pond that gives this village outside Birganj its name is in an advanced stage of decay Water hyacinths have claimed the entire

Its banks serve as a refuse dump during the day and open-air toilet during the night. People cover their poses as they pass by this huge cesspool on their way to Raxaul. But nobody does anything about it, even during the holy Chhath festival. Come to think of it. even Krishna Prasad Bhattarai ignored Chapkaivan when he represented this area in the dissolved

No wonder, then, that very few here seem to be aware of the prolonged illness of their ormer MP. For the Koeris, Kurmis, Kalwars and Mussalmans of Chhankaivan, the games politicians play in the parlours of a faraway capital have little or no meaning. Like the derelict pond, villagers here are resigned to

now they will declare us as Manists and

we will be made to disappear. Why do you

want me to stick my neck out by asking me

In times like this, the presence of the

nearly all mainstream parties have vanished.

people's representative may have kept their

spirits up. Unfortunately, activists from

During Panchavat years, motivators of

parties would never miss an opportunity

interact with the public. Not any more.

the community space vacated by political

sumer culture are everywhere, even during

parties. Trappings of a burgeoning con-

Commercial interests have taken over

like the Chhath festival in the tarai to

Nepali Congress and cadres of communist

to say what I feel?" He had a point.

attach any importance to political parties. For them a political party is an instrutheir fate of total ment of acquiring power. Lacking the nealect anchor of an established institution However, the political entrepreneurs are prone to literate population manipulations by vested interests. Quite often, leaders with ambitions who dump does seem to realise that the direct rule of the them once their utility is over exploit king is now the order of the day. their entrepreneurial skills. But these They are quarded in their comments. enterprising people seldom give up. like against the new dispensation. A rickshaw their compatriots in the world of puller echoed the prevailing sentiment, "If business, they move on to newer we say anything against the government adventures

These are the kind of individuals that help establish political parties. make them grow, and then end up being the cause of their disintegration. The dynamic roles of Rishikesh Shaha Tulsi Giri and Bishwa Bandhu Thapa post-1960 are similar to the fissiparous roles played by Sher Bahadur Deuba Pradip Giri and Bimalendra Nidhi in the re-enactment 42 years later on 4 October

If Comrade Madhav Nepal has so far refused to be a latter-day Keshar Jung Rayamaihi, the credit goes to the cadres of Nepal Communist Party (UML) who have kept their General Secretary under close watch. Perhans i

metaphor for contemporary Nepali politics. Chhath. At Ghariharwa Pokhari, where also shows that there are more invisible hands in national politics than in the

1040€

Entrepreneurial politicians use political parties at their convenience. change them when necessary, and have no qualms about discarding them when such institutions prevent them from taking off at will. Whether they are rightists like Badri Narayan Basnet and Kuber Sharma, or self-professed leftists like Devi Oiha and Kamal Chaulagain, political entrepre neurs find commitment to an established ideological institution extremely cumber-

The faster and higher they fly, the swifter is their downfall. The remedy may lie in bringing morality back to the political market system. In order to do that, mainstream political parties have no option other than to transform themselves into corporations with clearly defined goals and reaching out to the consumers with renewed vigour. Only then may they succeed in driving out unscrupulous political operators through free and fair

competition in the market place of ideas. Until then, we have to put up with the oddity of "independent" leftists (like a Buddhist without faith in the Sangha) and failed rightists masquerading as "clean and competent" political players. Politically. conscious citizens here who once voted for Krishna Prasad Bhattarai are asking why their representative doesn't break his you of silence despite the requirence of the

Chhath by the Chapkaiyan Pokhari is a fitting metaphor for contemporary Nepali politics. On the first day of the Maoist bandh, we pray on the east bank in the fond hope that someone someday will rescue the pond from the killer weed so that we will be able to breathe easy once again. But the ambitious entrepreneurs of the political free-market are unlikely to

engage themselves in this altruistic task. It needs an institutional effort. Even a politician of the stature of Rhattarai needed the Nepali Congress to win a parliamentary seat from Birganj. Time for him to pay his dues to the party.

must do everything to defeat our own "axis of evil", including accepting aid from the US and Britain for weapons, I am using a fake name to protect myself and family from Maoist murderers.

I am concerned that Bhagirath

Yogi's piece. "Peaceniks on the

Warpath" represents the issue

Nepal as one that splits along

suggests that only a few dozen

petition, while in fact, there are

at least 100 Nepali signatories.

It also appears that no Nepalis

who did support the petition

numerous Nepali intellectuals

are cited against the petition.

website, surely any of these

contacted for a quote to counter

the presumption by an unnamed

of the scholars from a rapidly

evolving situation in Nepal may

be making them reach for easy

Simplifying the situation in this

way fails to acknowledge the

Nepali and foreign perspectives,

community concerned for Nepal

and Nepalis working for peace

within their own society. Most

ominously. You's article ob-

scures the dire need for a

genuine discussion of potentia

aths towards peace in Nepal

"us vs. them" rhetoric of Bush's

by echoing the easy dualistic

genuine complexity of both

and drives a false wedge

between the international

and romantic answers".

Nepali scholar that "the distance

individuals could have been

Since these signatures are

available on the petition

were interviewed, while

Nepali/non-Nepali lines. Yogi

Nepalis signed the ANHS

Bhagirath Yogi's piece on your online edition "Peaceniks on warpath" (#119). Although he has tried to be fair in the article, the headline and box "Revolutionary roadshow" indicate that you are trying to make fun of the genuine belief some of us have that by arming both sides to the teeth All we are going to get is more bodies, a longer war, and a more dreadful future for the country

I was uncomfortable with the

slightly derisive tone of

PEACENIKS

Laura Sedloveck Chicago

Nepalis cannot and will not tolerate being ruled by republican revolutionaries who know no othe path but the path of violence. But I wonder whether the helicopters, guns and equipment promised by the US is going to be enough to stop them. A solution must be homegrown, it must have a development component, and above all it must rely on superior intelligence. So far, going by the massacres of policemen last week, there aren't many signs of those things.

There is no doubt that the Maoists need to be defeated.

S Thapa, by email The Loony Left has done it again. So, they want us to turn our other cheek to the Magists. Only, there will be no cheeks left to turn once they blast our heads off with guns. They may not believe it but murderers do not set store by such quaint notions as dialogue and peaceful nego tiations. The only language they understand and respect is that of power. When it comes to the Maoists, we inhabit the Hobbesian world in all its naked brutality and horror. Life is becoming brute nasty and short by the day Was it Hobbes who famously said, "Covenants without swords are mere words"? Those of us who believe in



your editorial ("Un-united nation" # 118) where you quoted sacked Sher Bahadur Deuba claiming to be "the best prime minister Nepal ever had and will ever have". However, I felt a pand of pity for us ìPlinyî, Balaju Nepalis. If this is the best we can get to lead the nation when it is in turmoil, then we're in deep trouble. It was our good fortune the king managed to of support for US military aid to sack him before he plunged us

DANIEL LAK

deeper into the abyss of poverty and uncertainty. Subindra Bogati, Patan

need for our politicians to stand up and face reality ("Last stand", #118). The election scheduled for 13 November could not take place because our politicians were scared the rebels might kill them if they participated. They were united in agreement with ex-Prime Minister Deuba's plan to

Daniel Lak is right about the

postpone scheduled polls, a move legal experts called unconstitutional. Well, I do not think either Maday Kumar Nenal or Girija Prasad Knirala would have called the king's move unconstitutional if they were made prime minister. They would be all praises. They are quarrelling over who gets to sit on the kursi at a time when the people are suffering and the Maoist situation is getting acute. As Lak says, they should stop sitting and start visiting Rolpa. Kalikot and Rukum Kumar Basnet,

Sophia University, Tokyo

"Last stand" (#118) by Daniel Lak is an inspiring piece of writing urging us to stand up or as I see it, wake up. It reminded me of poet Lekhnath Poudyal's 'jaaga na jaaga". The best way forward for us is to encourage democratic leaders to admit to their mistakes, apologise and move on. Progress cannot be haunted by an imperfect pass. We should indeed stand up and mething. It's already late. SK Sharma. Baluwatar

Sara Shneiderman Cornell University

> Daniel Lak's "Last stand" (#118) was wonderful and impressive. Politicians stand up only to give speeches. Their throats are dry now, and we hardly hear a croak from these leaders. We need energetic people to manage the assets of our country. The problem is bringing potential leaders from the fringe back to the mainstream. In my opinion, it would be best for Nepal if the Maoists and the king could work together. The Manists should accept (they may even be willing to) a monarchy in one form or another, and the monarch should accept the social reform agenda of the

> > Khagendra Timisina, by email

FRITZ BERGER Fritz Berger deserves thanks for keeping visual as well as textual representation of selected village folks from Nepal ("Then and now", #118). The iuxtaposition of pictures

taken then and now is touching but I wanted to know more about Mr Berger as well, along with his Nepali subjects. For example, his own family life, his children or lack of them and their occupation. Or, at least, the number of books he has written or things he has done. A comparison would have made a bigger point about modernity. In the absence of his own life story, what we have been given smacks of old anthropology with its divide between the subject and object of knowledge, between the knower and the known.

Pramod K Mishra Illinois, USA

ARTHA REED A South Asian Journalists Association poll in the United States showed that the Nepali expatriates are disenchanted with the Royal Nepal Em bassy in Washingto contrary to Artha Beed's opinion in "Diaspora dreams (#119) In that noll 82 percent of respondents said the embassy "did nothing" to help Nepalis, only eight percent said it "did something" and ten percent didn't know. In my own experience, the staff are rude and unprofessional towards Nepalis. The embassy should also be more proactive in improving trade relations, making visa service more efficient, holding Nepal awareness programs. providing various support for Nepalis to expand their business into the North American market. To borrow the king's own words, this embassy is "asakchyam". ìRitenî, by email

a Nepali enjoying his sun on top of a boathouse in the Thank you for posting the brilliant article "Diaspora Illinois river? In "Rahul" I see a dreams" by Artha Beed well-fed poseur of a kid about to bully someone and (#119) on your site. It was educational. A merger between Nepalis living abroad amicable with his friends. and our clueless government "Dhirai" must hate his family could ensure a better deal for and this country from the our country and our people. hottom of his toes herause he ain't certainly happy about This could probably be an idea worth exploring by the goin' back home after six new government. As for the vears!! The worst of them all is an absolute banal photoso-called "educated people graph of a room titled "Shiva" iving abroad", instead of discussing and complaining The only two pictures that about Nepal from the depths have some sort of a potentia of your couch as you nurse a are "Thanksgiving" and beer or a glass of wine, you should give serious thought "Sony". The picture of turkey and dal-bhaat served toto making an actual contribu gether in Thanksgiving could tion to Nenal It doesn't have have been an excellent to ieopardise your careers metaphor, except one

In Beed's words "Everyone wins-returnees get aluable experience, and Nepal gets professional expertise from its own."

L Mathema, by email SURENDRA LAWOTI

I fail to understand your raison d'être for publishing the photographs by Surendra Lawoti ("Life in a different light" #117) Was it hecause you guys couldn't come up with any worthy centrefold material? If I understand correctly, the artist's purport was to capture life under two different cultures and iuxtapose these cultures side by side. Well, the pictures fail him miserably. Take the picture titled "Suntan" for

FOUR WHEELS GOOD

Regarding the guest of a constituent assembly. CK Lal states that everything such an assembly can do "a sovereign parliament can do better" ("Four wheels of democracy", #118). First of all, a parliament would need the correspondent mandate from the electorate. A normal parliament, like a renewed or a newly elected one, doesn't have this clea commission and thus lacks legitimacy. This is what CK Lal is completely disregarding (but thanks to Puskar Bhusal for his recent clarification in "Revolutionary resolve", #119), By asking for a constituent assembly, the Maoist are not claiming more than any democratic force in Europe. The Swiss people, for instance, would also start an insurgency if they weren't allowed to vote on every modification of their constitution. From a European point of view, the basic fault of Nepali democracy since the jana andolan is it never elected a constituent assembly. In the history of Nepal the people have never been accorded this fundamental right. They could neither choose those who made their laws, nor could they influence national referendum. Redressing this issue will not only legitimise the new constitution, but also drain all legitimacy from the violent Maoist movement. Legitimacy is the key element that needs to be taken more seriously in this debate

Thomas Benedikter, Kathmandu

example: the caption itself

notwithstanding, how on

earth does that picture depict

wouldn't know the ingredients

of a dish captured in this

photograph without reading

the caption. The same holds

true for "Sony": neither the

visible. Bottom Line: Why

temple nor the bride herself is

would a naner of your repute

Sudip Pokhrel, Maligaun

publish such rubbish—that

tno after hiking your sub-

INTENTIONAL HIGGLINGS

#59 as published in the

I was quite surprised at the

results of Weekly Internet Poll

Nepali Times Issue of 15-21

Nov. The percentages as per

the actual poll (still accessible

at www.nepalnews.com) are

presented below with the

published in your paper in

corresponding figures

scription fees?



parenthesis: Interim all-party Government - 24.9% (33.4%)

2 Constituent assembly elections - 33.4% (32.7%)

3. Reinstatement of Parliament - 9% (24.8%) 4. None Of Above - 32.7%

The discrepencies are quite serious. Are the nistakes a result of editing or a result of an attempt at intentional juggling of figures? Bijaya M Sherchan

Baluwata

(Corrected pie chart is on page 1. -Ed.

EL SALVADOR While it is true that there are some parallels between FI Salvador and Nepal, and also a lesson or two for Nepal from the peace process in the Latin American country. Hitman Thapa's article ("How to talk", #119) has some historical inaccuracies. It looks like Thapa has stretched the analogy to fit his argument. Aside from the obvious similarities, there were also other realities which make the comparisons slightly inappropriate. For instance, he has completely overlooked the role of the Roman Catholic church in the peace process, a role which

involved. I don't know what a parallel institution to the church would be in Nepal, but maybe the first lesson for Nepal is to look for a negrown solution?

was probably more pivotal

than any of the other factors

G Gianoli, Kathmandu

HEMLATA RAI in BARA nly patches remain today of what was once a wide ribbon of dense hardwood jungles along Nepal's southern plains. The forests of the tarai are today confined largely to protected national parks. Everywhere else

there is encroachment and habitat destruction. Tarai forests are vanishing at an alarming 1.3 percent a year, and what is more worrisome is that the community forestry formula which worked so well in the hills doesn't seem to do as well here. The reason: recent migrations from the hills have displaced indigenous

groups, and there is a need to meet national timber requirements. "The community forestry concept needs some modifications in the tarai." says Megh Rai Sapkota of the Bara chapter of the

HERE AND THERE

Federation of Community Forestry Users Nepal, "It doesn't have to be scrapped altogether." And here in Bara, a new project is trying to come up with a modified method to let local communities manage forests

Even till 15 years ago, Dakaha in Bara used to be surrounded by dense forest. Over the years, as the population grew and settlements spread forests began to recede. In 1964, forests covered more than six million hectares of the tarai, it has now shrunk to 4.2 million bectares The history of this destruction

can be traced back to the nationalisation of forests after 1960 and their central management. Timber was seen as a limitless natural resource, and the tarai as a limitless receptacle for hill resettlement. More than 100,000 hectares of forests in the environmentally

sensitive Siwalik hills were cleared for resettlement by 1985. Today. the destruction is more from development projects and illegal encroachment When the idea of community

> forestry was tried out, it seemed like this would work just like in the hills. Village groups are leased a patch of forest to be managed, protected and reforested. In turn. the communities have a say over use of fodder, fuelwood and timber from their forests. In the hills, the lesson was that forest protection was impossible without the

involvement of local communities. The community forestry concept involves villagers living in the vicinity of forests as its rightful users and denrive distant villagers of access. In the hills, this is fine since communities and forest patches are usually located next to each other

It's going to take more than luck to rescue the tarai's remaining forests.

resources are cut off, while new migrants who were responsible for deforestation, directly or indirectly, are now the legally recognised

I Infortunately, there is no alternative to mobilising the communities for forest protection. "Since we are not the officially recognised protectors of the forest, we have seen the forests looted before our eyes." says Ganesh Shrestha, a resident of Dumarwana, near Simara, In Kailali's Chhatiwan, 4,000

hectares of dense hardwood sall has been allotted to a community of 1.600 households, most of whom are new migrants from adjoining hill districts. This has deprived the indigenous Tharucommunities. traditional users of the forest from their source of livelihood. There are bound to be problems when a common resource for indigenous groups is shifted to the control of relatively recent migrants.

Studies show one mature sal tree can fetch an equivalent of three year earnings of a labourer and the imbalance can be glaring. The indigenous communities are fighting a case against this ruling, but there is little chance their claims will be reinstated.

"Community forestry in the tarai has helped create distrust and distance between the migrant communities and indigenous communities. If nothing is done this could in future trigger ethnic clashes," says former Bara District

Development Committee chairman Chhathu Prasad Yadav.

There are already signs of this happening, Last August, Tharus and Pahadis had a confrontation in Bara's Biruwaouthi which locals believe was a physical manifestation of this growing distrust. To be sure, the issue had political overtones since the actual clashes were triggered when the Than is blamed the Pahadis of sheltering Maoist insurpents to attack a Thanuparliamentarian. But it was the forest that got burnt.

Involvement of communities is vital for not only conservation but also for the smooth forest management. A Finnish-funded project in the mid-1990s tried to introduce commercial block forest management: compartmentalising the stands and harvesting mature hardwood trees in a 80-year cycle.

Though technically sound this proposal got scrapped because locals were not consulted. The communities realise that without teaming up with the government "their forest" would not be protected from timber smugglers. Seven hundred hectares of tarai and Siwalik forests here are still under government ownership.

Weak management within the official framework and a lack of political commitment is encourage ing illegal felling of trees to supply the easily accessed market south of the border. If properly managed, the country could earn up to \$160 million

The road less travelled

making the handover relatively

forests are bunched up on the

However in the tarai, the

slopes of the Siwalik hills to the

north while the most dependent

away to the south. Indigenous

arouns are in isolated clusters miles

people who were traditional users

influx of hill migrants that began in

of malaria have cut them off from

Good results from the hills

encouraged several of the 20 tarai

communities. Jhapa in the east has

already handed over more than half

management, but the indigenous

Raihanshis have been left out of the

process. Their rights to the natural

their traditional woodlands

districts to transfer forests to

of its forests for community

the 1960s following the eradication

and direct benefactors now no

longer live close to forests. The

straightforward.

here are only two plausible outcomes to acute confrontation: the utter annihilation of one side and its point of view, or compromise This is the situation in which Nepal finds itself right now. It's time to admit that those are the stark choices before the nation. The latest images of fierce fighting should only serve to hurry the ultimate decision that must be made by Nepalis. And by that I mean all Nepalis, not just secret cabals sitting in ornate rooms or jungle glades. The next step to be taken must be with the consent of the people, who are, after all, sovereign.

Choose the first of those two courses of action, and it's more than obvious that even more violence, degradation and despair will follow-a time that makes the previous seven years seem tranquil by comparison. Choose the second and you enter into fearfully unknown territory with the risk of failure ever present. Look around at the world's other violenceprone hot spots and marvel at how long it's taken them to come to their personal fork in the road, their choice between a misty but somehow. hopeful trail over a high pass to the unknown world of compromise, or a descent along all too familiar paths into a valley of fear and death.

Sri Lanka took nearly 25 years before bold steps, truly bold steps, were taken for peace. The high trail, if you like, taken by Ranil Wickramesinghe's government earlier this year, was chosen through concessus—an election pitted his demand for peace and compromise with the Tamil Tigers against the stance of President Chandrika Kumaratunga's party in favour of more war, more weapons deals, more destruction. So far, Wickramesinghe has obviously made the right choice. Tourism is booming, so is foreign investment. South Asia's most advanced country is on the road to recovery and the somewhat longer journey towards ethnic harmony and

How about South Africa? For years the privileged, white elite resisted calls for racial and economic justice from the black majority. Anyone who was aware of international events in the 1980s will remember the obstinacy and arrogance of successive governments who used brute force against the



will of the majority. The apartheid regime, hugely efficient because it was so undemocratic, was able to use cynical divide and rule tactics against its nonwhite opponents as well, luring Zulu and Xhosa tribes in conflicts awash with blood, wrecked homes and livelihoods. Then one day, FW De Klerk seemed to see the light, the valley of fear and violence was too crowded with corpses and it was time to take a chance on the heights. He released the ntly Nelson Mandela, and the rest is history. The high road again.

Some places managed to succeed, by their own definition, with the first and bloodier option. Peru and the Sendero Luminoso, the Shining Path, fought fiercely for 20 years. The government of Alberto Fujimoro gave extraordinary powers to the army and riddled their Maoist opponents with double agents and informers, turning the tide sometime around 1992 when the security forces captured and ritually humiliated the mysterious and charismatic leader of the Sendero, Abimael Guzman. Until then, the guerrillas ruled Andes, using ferocity and skilful logistics to run parallel

What will we do when we come to the fork in the road?

administrations in their own versions of Rukum, Rolpa and Jajarkot. Clearly, Nepal's security chiefs would dearly love to emulate the successes of their Peruvian counterparts but there are immense dissimilarities between the two countries and their access to resources and intelligence information. So yes, force and quile did defeat the querrilla tactics of the Shining Path. But the cost in lives was immense and the damage to the Peruvian body politic is probably irreparable in our lifetime.

And then there are countries that resist choosing either path but fight on in a horrid dynamic of perpetual bloodshed. This, conceivably, could b our fate here in Nepal but it's not a choice made willingly or sensibly. It comes from ignoring reality and from the mistaken perception that the status quo can somehow suffice. It comes from underestimating the gravity of the crisis or the abilities of opposing forces. Sudan, Africa's largest country, with its long running civil war that has left 2 million people dead Liberia in West Africa, home of the child militia who have chopped hands off 50,000 people so far; Colombia, Latin America's first democracy, now s cocaine-fuelled killing field. Does anyone seriously want to add Nepal to

Perhans I should ston looking for inspiration and choices for this country from around the world, perhaps the globalisation of ideas is spurious, only amoral money matters and we get precious little of that. Perhaps our situation and everything about this place is, as many insist, unique. But as a resident of this land of sorrows. I can only continue to plead for onen minds realistic points of view, and jultimately peace Let's take the high road. ♦



Bara says the biggest challenge

the locals and the hureaucracy

remains a confidence crisis between

control, our forests will never be safe,

says Nirmal Bhandari, a promoter of

community forestry here. Presently,

the government is trying to bring

various groups together to discuss a

"If the District Forest Office net

Sal logs being transported out of Sabbaia forest in Bara district

a year in timber exports, and some forestry management experts believe handing over this resource rich forest to a small community could create an imbalance in distribution and a loss of

government control. Despite a government directive that slowed down distribution of forests to communities three years ann, district level forest offices are under tremendous pressure to hand over more forest patches especially in areas previously identified for potential community forest. SP loshi. District Forest Officer of

Dutch aid group, SNV. This modification of community

forestry for the tarai will, the designers hope, eventually prepare the government and local communities to work together. It would also pave the way to implement operational forest management plans in the central tarai. The main thrust will be on commercially harvesting mature trees to contribute

new concept of "collaborative forest management" under the Biodiversity Megh Raj Sapkota concludes Sector Programme for Siwaliks and that community forestry in the tarai Tarai (BISEP-ST) funded by the does not need to be scrapped despite its flaws. •



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Short Term SUBJECT MATTER SPECIALISTS in Environmental Management Disciplines

The Institute of Environmental Management, presently a component under the HMG/N-ESPS/DANIDA joint sector programme in the Industrial and Urban Environment Sector of Nepal has been actively promoting Industrial and Urban Environment Management in Nepal mainly through Awareness Seminars, Trainings and enterprise based intervention activities. Since its inception in Jan 2000, it has managed to train around 1200 persons from among its stakeholders in voluntary aspects of Environmental Management like EMS, Cleaner Production, Occupation Health & Safety, Energy Efficiency, Electric Vehicles etc. Lately it has received requests from its stakeholders to conduct training courses in the regulatory aspects of Environmental Management also. Hence IEM requires competent Short Term Subject Matter Specialists, for the development of courses in the below mentioned specialties:

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Alternately applications in the soft format can be emailed at training@iem.org.up

DOMESTIC BRIEFS

Cut-off date for SAARC summit

Islamabad has asked the SAARC secretariat in Kathmandu to confirm participation of its members in the proposed 12th Saarc Summit to be hosted by Pakistan in January 2003 by mid-November, according to a report in the Dawn newspaper. Islamabad said it needed time to prepare for the summit scheduled to be held in Islamabad from Jan 11 to 13, sources said. All members except India and Bhutan have confirmed participation. Officials at the ministry of foreign affairs expect that New Delhi would most likely respond after a civilian government was in place in Islamahad. Acting Indian High Commissioner in Islamahad. Sudhir Vyas told the paper he had no indications from New Delhi about the Indian participation in the summit, hinting at some delay in the formal announcement in this respect. "It is difficult to predict," Vyas is minted as saving

Bihar-Nepal bus service

Buses from Nepal and India may soon be able to enter each others' territories in a proposed agreement between Patna and Kathmandu, according to Bihar's transport minister Awadh Bihari Choudhary. He told rediff.com that the agreement will be finalised "soon". Nepali tourist buses and Bihar state-owned bus service will operate routes through border points like Jogbani, Raxaul and Kakarbhitta, Passengers from Bihar will not be allowed to board Nepali buses within Bihar, he said.

Maoist threats

The Maoists have warned anybody found involved directly against their "people's war" of dire consequences. Popular Nepali comedian, Santosh Pant, who was given an ultimatum to resign within a week complied and stepped down from his post as juniour officer at the Department of Military Intelligence at the Royal Nepalese Army. Pant usually plays lead roles in a popular entertainment programme. Hijo Aajaka Kura, aired over the state-owned Nepal Television once a week. The Maoists targetted him for another tele-serial he produces for the army which dramatises actual life stories of captured Maoists.

Cancelled again

Expect delays and disruptions in the services of Royal Nepal Airlines till 25 November since one of its two 757s is in Brunei for a mandatory "C-check". The company has already cancelled all its flights to Dubai and Bangalore till the plane comes back. "Our international flights will get back to normal from 25 November." airline deouty director Dioak Manandhar told us. Meanwhile, the other plane has been trying to make up on existing routes, sometimes even flying to Delhi at five in the morning.

Marathon men

If it wasn't for an encounter with a group of armed Maoists asking for money, it would have been a perfect day for a group of runners taking part in the Annapuma to Everest Marathon. In the latest update, marathon organisers say the race was interrupted between Dhunche and Trisuli. The runners who returned to Trisuli were unfazed. "They were not aggressive and the encounter was rather funny," says race organiser Brunn Driiner. More than 30 runners from eight countries and 5 Nepalis are taking part in the high altitude race from Annapurna Base Camp to Everest Base Camp. Billed as the "ultimate trail" by organisers Himalaya Racers Association and Mandala Trekking, the Himal Race kicks off the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the ascent of the world's highest mountain. Organisers say the runners, who have raced through major Himalayan passes, including Thorung La, Larkya La, Lauribinavak and Chuoyma La, should reach the foot of Everest by 23 November

US citizens warned

The US embassy hosted a meeting for American citizens on 19 October to discuss the murders of two embassy quards and the security situation in Nepal. The Magists reportedly claimed responsibility for the killing of the two guards, Ramesh Manandhar and Deepak Pokhrel, and US investigations linked the murder weapons to Maoist sources, according to US embassy officials. The latest US State Departmen warning on Nepal, undated 4 November, advises that "the random, indiscriminate, and unpredictable nature" of Maoist violence "increases the likelihood that Americans in Nepal could be caught in the wrong place at the wrong time". The US Federal Bureau of Investigation is currently investigating the murders of Manandhar and Pokhrel with local authorities.



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PASSPORT LOST

An Iraqi passport has been lost in a taxi travelling between Thamel and Kalimati in Kathmandu. Finder will be rewarded. Please contact via email: d2j@maktoob.com Name: Lliah Sh. Kandal, Passport number: N00073657, Issued in: Kirkuk, Iraq

Donor fatigue

Has the rest of the world, too, lost hope in Nepali leaders?

he signature campaign in New York City against the 4 October palace intervention shows the size to which our political centre has shrunk. When we were told that Nenalis in the Big Apple wanted the House of Representatives restored, we almost began applauding how Giriia Prasad Koirala had kept his organisational skills intact. Then, it turned out that many

in the audience at Hari Bansa Acharva's new movie le Rho Thikai Bho at Fagle's Theater. Jackson Heights thought their signatures were meant for accounting purposes. (Much like what many Kannresi MPs must have felt during those parliamentary party numbers game). Before you could wonder why

an individual chose to start a prodemocracy campaign when there were so many Nepali organisations in New York, the man himself stepped in. He's furious that the newspaper twisted his story right from the headline.

The Internet petition drive interesting question, though. launched on November *Perhaps the world's disinterest (www.petitiononline.com/ with the affairs of Nepal is demonenal/petition.html) is herause it is not a lucrative heavily skewed against the king's destination for the big corpora personal preferences to pass the tions or because it does not have fairness test. A text that refers to weapons of mass destruction and



not humans?" For a country that was being hailed as a model democracy until the Maoists began arming themselves, the international silence over the palace move is deafening. Not too many governments have come out in full support of the Lokendra Bahadur Chand government. The portentous part is that not too

many have opposed it, either, Has the rest of the world. too. lost hope in Nepali leaders' Corrupt and inefficient governcustoms and excise departments to account for our conspicuous consumption: pilferage of aid money. For long, donors complained that scarce government resources that should be funding health, nutrition and education programmes were being squandered. With foreign aid influenced by political and strategic considerations, we countered. now principled could our absorptive capacities be?

The hattle turned openly nasty when the Nepal Development Forum warned us against falling deeper into the mire of bad governance. When key particinants at the London meeting on political instability and poverty read out the names of Nepal's top baddies, there was no turning back. The new anti-corruption laws acquired a political momentum of their own.

Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority chief Surya Nath Upadhyaya recently explained to The Washington Times (see p. 7) how politicians and bureaucrats steal foreign aid money. "The procurement of goods, estimates for building infrastructure, the contract awards are areas where one can always get some 'skim' out of it.

So everyhody involved in develop ment projects would like to have some share from the public money." Unfortunately, he adds, Transparency International has heen doing corruption studies in many countries (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) but unfortunately, in Nepal, such a study has not been done. (Why isn't he so candid back home?)

This is a double whammy for donors. First, legislators on the appropriations committees and pressure groups back home keep asking why all those billions have made the average Nepali poorer Second, the Maoists and other malcontents think donors are propoing up a decaying state. When the political class tries to shield itself by criticising the callousness of those driving Nepal's development, can you blame donors for shooting their

It's unclear whether, like the peacenikssay, a crackdown on corrupt politicians and bureaucrats would be more effective than cracks of gunfire in countering the Maoists insurgency. There's a lesson. though, for the next generation of Nepali democrats: Don't bite the hand that feeds you. If you have to, be sure you don't bark at it. •



BIZ NEWS

FCONOMY

Teaming up Laxmi Bank Limited, a private sector bank promoted by the Khetan Group, has entered into a Technical Services Agreement with Hatton National Bank (HNB) of Sri Lanka, bank officials announced this week. The agreement provides Laxmi Bank with HNB's technical and managerial expertise and also allows access to HNB's vast network of 450 banks in 80 countries around the world. Employees of Laxmi Bank

will also be trained through exchange programs and on the job training at HNB branches.

Laxmi Bank started its operations in April and became the 16th private bank in Nepal. It has expanded services in Birgunj, Jeetpur and Banepa. Addressing a press meet here Saturday, chairman Mohan Gopal Khetan said that despite the country facing economic hardships, his bank had achieved breakeven position within six months of operation. CEO Suman Joshi says Laxmi Bank had become the first commercial bank in the SAARC region to obtain SWIFT technology, had installed Flexcube. a world class banking software and was all set to launch Internet banking.

Ironclad furniture

Decoran, an S Trade House venture, is a new cast iron furniture showroom where function meets form. The imported beds, dining suites, chairs and home accessories are not only fashionable, sylish and trendy but also are very durable. The showroom is located at Bijuli Bazaar, across NB Bank

Turkish delight

The Turkish consulate in Kathmandu brought a taste of Turkey's fabulous cuisine and culture to the Yak and Yeti Hotel for three days this week. The historic Chimney Room was the venue of traditional belly dancing, succulent kebabs and fabulous desserts. The event was well attended by Kathmandu's CIPs (Commercially Important Persons).

Tee off



Surya Nepal Master, Nepal's only international golf tournament, will be held between 26-30 November at the Gokarna Forest Golf Resort, one of the most picturesque golf courses in the world. Top-notch players from SAARC nations will be competing. Launched in 1993, Surya Golf has been integral part of the Asian circuit and has put Nepal on the golfing map of the world.

Local golfing aspirants will be given the chance to rub shoulders with international players at the Pro-AM on 26 November. Surva Nepal Masters has the highest purse of all golfing circuits in the nation at Rs 1.5 million- Rs 80,000 more than last year. Amateur players will also receive attractive prizes. Surva Negal Western Open is scheduled for 22-23 November in

amenities are concerned. The NPC's concept note on the Tenth Plan has admitted resource utilisation in education, which receives the largest allocation of government expenditure, "is not efficient, accessibil ity to primary education is inadequate, drop out rates and repetition still inadequate, there has been a reduction in the budget share for primary health care". The document further admits. that agriculture productivity in Nepal has been "quite low and decreasing" and is largely responsible for the existing higher powerty incidence and severity of it in the rural areas.

Beyond buzzwords

the government towards accountability?

he newly appointed Vice

Chairman of the National

Dr Shankar Sharma has been elaborat-

ing on the "reform package" to redress

the country's ills. When a few days ago

ne discussed "reforms" on one of the

local channels the vice-chairman did

not look very different from when I had

met him fifteen years ago in Singapore,

wherehewasateacher Thevermilion

on his forehead radiated in the studio

light. He demonstrated high profes-

about the planning process with

economicnumos

sional competence and fielded questions

aplomb. On many earlier occasions, we

have seen him fluently discuss macro-

As I watched him on television

was pained by the ritualistic repetition of

the 'reform' rhetoric. Reform consists of

changes and improvements to a law

social systems or institution. The two

keywordsare "changes and improve-

over the last decade has seen anything

but "reform" if we were to use "change

and improvement" as the yardstick to

make the assessment

ments". The state led enterprise of Nepal

Economy industry the financial

sector, agriculture, education, and the

end of the 1980s. In the last twelve

years they have nose-dived to a new

abuss and continue downwards in a

slide. A majority of Nepalis still live in

an earlier century as far access to health.

education, social security and other basic

social fabric were already in tatters at the

Planning Commission (NPC),

Given Nepal'ssocio-economic reality, the NPC should have focused on establishing governmental accountability to provide basic services helped foster healthy competition to enhance efficiency and build responsive societal regulation. Instead, it chose a neo-liberal orthodoxy that conceived the free market as the only engine of moving forward towards universal well-being. The hubris-ridden elements of

this orthodoxy were deregulating the national economy government withdrawing from its responsibility by privatising publicly owned enterprise and basic services, cutting down on social development programs to reduce government spending and shifting nrnduction to external markets instead of nurturing local interests.

In real terms, the process stifled

society voices. The process disenfranchised people and community solidarity while producing a class of political leadership devoid of accountability to society and self-restraints. The political message unfortunately was of "exclusion" This apex body must transcend the buzzwordof "reform" by beginning critical self-appraisal of the ideology that it pursued blindly in the past.

Perhans we could then re-concents alise the NPC's role in order that it genuinely responds to society's and the community's needs. NPC needs to graduate from the present highly bureaucratised neo-liberal cocoon into a people-friendly and transparent body. •

(Ajaya Dixit is a water management analyst with the Negal Water Conservation Foundation



एन.सि.एम. म्यूच्यल फण्ड-१०५८ **NCM MUTUAL FUND-2059**

लगानीकर्ताहरूलाई राम्रो प्रतिफल उपलब्ध गराउने उद्देश्यले संचालन गरिने म्यचयल फण्ड-२०५९ का विशेषताहरुः

★ ६ १० प्रति थनिट का १,००,००,००० यनिट जारी गरी योजनाको कोण र. १० करोड हते छ।

doesn't exist. Don't count on

informed debate, unless you

the parties.

believe lowering of the stature of

the palace enhances the status of

The petitioner raised an

- में बोजनाको व्यवस्थापन एन.आई डि.सी. क्यापिटल माकेंटस लि. बाट हुने र टिप्टका रूपमा नेपाल औद्योगिक विकास निराम रहनेद्ध ।
- ▼ एन.सि.एम. ५०% म्यूच्यल फण्ड २०४० को सम्पूर्ण सम्पात तथा वायित्व सकारी उक्त फण्डका र्यानर इनीहरुलाई वस योजनामा सहभागी हन विशेष प्राथमिकता दिहएको छ ।
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- मुनिट धनीहरुले हरेक आर्थिक वर्षको अन्तमा न्यनतम् ५ प्रतिशत निश्चित लाभांश पाउने ।
- पुनिटहरु नेपाल धितोपत्र बिनिमय बजार लि. मा संचिकत हने।
- यस योजना १० वर्ष अवधिको बन्दमर्ख (Close ended) को रूपमा रहनेछ ।

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एन. आई. डि. सी. क्यापिटल मार्केटस लिमिटेड कमत्रपोधारी काटमाडी फोन ने ४९४९४६ ४ स्वरंगर फवारम न ४२३४०१. E-mail: non-missnort com no

संकलाब केन्द्र तथा अन्य विस्तृत आनवारीको लागि भिति २०५४ कार्तिक १२ मतेको कारितपुर देविक हेर्नुहोला

Project Management Specialist / **Country Coordinator**

The Kathmandu Electric Vehicle Alliance (KEVA) has been formed to improve the air quality of the Kathmandu Valley. KEVA is supported by USAID/Nepal under Asia and Near East Bureau's Clean Air Initiative and the Alliance Partners (PADCO, Winrock International, City and County of San Francisco / San Francisco Clean Cities Coalition, and World Environmen Center). The Alliance works to identify and eliminate constraints to the expansion of the electric-based transportation system. KEVA Office is located in Winrock International (WI). Kathmandy, Nepal

planning / implementation / management, coordination, technical guidance, research.

tolerated a free press. Our post-

1990 leadership was careful on

messed with the elections, but it's

this score. (Okay, okay, they

not as if they were about to

postpone it indefinitely). Was

there something innately local

that riled foreign governments

receipts no longer sufficient to

fund regular expenditures, there

and donors? With revenue

traditional depravity at the

- Master degree in Business Administration, Urban Planning, or Engineering, or related area.
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CIAA can rekindle hope

Surya Nath Upadhyaya, of the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority, is a hard man to get in Kathmandu. But last week Chitra Tiwari caught up with him in Washington where he addressed a USAID and ADB seminar on corruption. Excerpts of the interview published in The Washington Times

Pokhara's Himalavan Golf Course. The prize money is Rs 100,000.

The Washington Times

Washington Times: Nepal has been passing through a violent revolution for the last seven years. One of the causes of the Maoist revolution is said to be rampant corruption in the government. What is your assess-

Surya Nath Upadhyaya: Well, you are right that the country is passing through a very difficult time, and besides so many other issues, the one that is at the forefront right now is the Maoist problem-the security problem-and the second one is the rampant corruption and mismanage

ment of the government.
This has led to the present situation, where political parties have not been able to deliver what they had promised to deliver to the people. Now His Maiesty King Gyanendra has made a pronouncement and constituted a government under Article 127 of the constitution, and the Cabinet is given a very specific mandate: Hold elections, maintain peace and then control corruption. So far as corruption and anti-corruption measures are concerned, my assessment is that the government is committed to improving the situation.

what they see as the Nepal government's lack of political will to crack down on corruption. US diplomats in Kathmandu have indicated that there is widespread corruption. What is the problem? Let me tell you a little bit about this observation. First of all, the assessment that there has not been enough political commitment on the part of government is misplaced. I disagree with this proposition 100 percent. If you look back, say over the past two years, you will see that the government has been really supportive of what the anticorruption commission is doing. Not only that, the parliament passed four different sets of legislation creating a legal regime to empower the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority. The facilities and the resources have been increased. The

Friends of Nepal in the United States are frustrated by

achievements, yes, not much has been done, but I would say that in the last two years, we have moved ahead, and I would not blame the politiciar for their lack of political will. They are the one who came forward in a determined way to improve the legislation and give more power to the

commission. And that is one point. And secondly, so far as widespread corruption is concerned, there is a feeling, of course, yes, the government has not been successful in delivering the goods and services to the people, and we all agree that corruption

You have been in the limelight in recent days following the arrest of a few high-ranking bureaucrats and two former high-profile ministers in the deposed Cabinet of Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba. Is it the beginning of cleaning up the government? Well, I do not know whether it marks a beginning, or it is going to end there.

When I came to this commission two years ago, it was not surprising that the political situation had reached this level. We have been investigating high officials, revenue officials, etc. There were other political issues which were investigated too-charge-sheeted-but this agency, the CIAA was not that active in the past-although if you look at the mandate and status of this agency, it is clearly highly placed as a constitu-

> It has got all the powers that such an agency should have. So, therefore, the strides we are taking certainly will improve the situation. And maybe it can rekindle some kind of hope among the people

> > Please describe the common methods and sources of corruption in Nepal. How much foreign-aid money do you think is embezzled by politicians and bureaucrats, and how do they steal it?

Well, the methods and sources of corruption in Nepal are not very different from other developing countries. Corruption takes place in customs, revenue departments, procurements, in land acquisition and distribution, during the award of government contracts, so on

This is not the end of it. As a matter of fact, there have been some cases here corruption was subtly done under

national policy to enrich themselves. It might look like a political move but the motive behind is not devoid of ill intentions.

There is a link hetween various hureaucrats and politicians-and this is not new in Nepal. So, it should not be difficult for us in the CIAA to dig

What is the size of your organisation? Do you have enough man-

power?
The CIAA is not big. As a matter of fact, people are very sympathetic to me in view of the work I am mounting these days against corruption, the number of trained people—the professionals that I have—is very small. have about 140 people; about 40 to 45 are professionals. My experience of the last two years has been that what we really need is not expansion, per se, but quality manpower and dedication. This is something that normally cannot be done by everybody. You have to have some commit ment and dedication to the country, which is crucial in fighting corruption Determination and dedication to the job are more important than

How many cases of corruption are you investigating now? Will the military also be a focus of your investigation? Have you received any complaints on corruption in the military?

There could be roughly around 40 to 50 cases under investigation. First, we do a primary investigation and then we move to detailed investigation Many cases are dropped at the primary level. We move on to the next level only when it is required. As we go on to the upper level of investigation, the number of cases becomes small. We have investigated nearly

The military also will be the focus of our investigation. I must tell you that under our constitutional mandate, two areas are exceptions to our jurisdiction-the military and the judiciary. When we receive complaints about the military and the judiciary-which we do receive from time to time -we pass them to the appropriate authorities within the military and the judiciary. These two institutions have their own mechanism to deal with corruption in their respective organisations.

How do you initiate an investigation against an official or politician? There are various ways. The laws do not bar me to initiate action against a corrupt official. I get tips from various sources—newspaper articles, telephone calls, formal complaints or anonymous complaints from concerned citizens, etc. I also receive information through e-mails, faxes, etc. and even my residential telephone lines are open to citizens for any tip-off 4

The hush of centuries You have seen the museum, here comes the book. Now you can take Patan Museum home with you.



his is a place like no other. In which other museum in the world would you find visitors bowing to worship some of the figures on display? The elegant exhibits, the harmonious lines of the corridors blending with balconies and courtyards, the painstaking restoration of the outside, all make this museum a work of art in its own right. There are clever little touches like a wind chime that inkles all the time over the entrance because a hidden electric fan is blowing at it, the cushioned sitting area near the windows from where Malla kings must have looked out at Krishna Mandir and their subjects, the gap between the ceiling and the wall in the displa

area to show the way in case the lights go off. The displays themselves are rare and priceless treasures of Hindu, Buddhist and Tantric religious objects, some of them items that were stolen from Kathmandu and recently returned. like the 12th century I Ima Maheswor sculpture brought back from a museum in Berlin two years ago. And alongside humancrafted figures are those made by god: an ammonite fossil 60 million years old which is revered because the shiny petrified remains of the spiral pre-historic mollusc looks like

Götz Hagmüller's book, Patan Museum: the Transformation of a Royal Palace in Nepal is not one of those covers usually sold in a museum gift shop. It is more. The pages tell the dramatic story of the restoration process with many before and after illustrations, guest contributions on Kathmandu Valley on antique thefts, and even on the architectural planning of the café inside the museum. It is not just a museum goer's companion, it is also a guide to the endangered heritage of Kathmandu Valley. The book's being launched on 1 December, and is being produced as part of the Patan Museum project with funding from the Austrian donors. There will be two editions, soft cover and hard cover. In addition, the Austrian government is donating 3,000 soft cover copies to the museum so the proceeds can be used by the museum. The hard over edition is available internationally

Available in the market already is a andier museum guidebook: Patan Museum Guide, which is a shortened version of the more expensive coffee-table book. Its Nepali translation. Patan Sangralava. Ek Chinari will he launched on 1 December. Both are pubished by Patan Museum.

Hagmüller's passion for his subject shows in the books, his careful attention to detail from the brass cire perdue museum sign to the planning of earthquake-resistant steel brackets so that it would be in harmony with the surrounding carved wooden pillars.

Hanmüller has also taken a chapter to compare the dimensions and spaces of the Keshav Narayan Chowk complex with the Hapsburg-era National Library in his native Vienna, and the author tries to imagine the motivation of the Malla kings and the imperial Hapsburgs. He muses why people always sit on the benches outside Patan palace in the afternoon sun, and not in front of the buildings in

Not that this Austrian connection to Nepal is anything new. In fact, it goes back to 1660 and the visit to the Valley by the Austrian Jesuit priest, Johannes Grueber. The traveller presented Pratap Malla with a telescope, a deniction of which can still be seen on a stone relief at Hanuman Dhoka where a child on the lap of the queen is peering through the eye-piece. Several centuries later, we saw the arrival of Austrians like Carl Pruscha and Eduard Sekler who cultivated a respect for the living heritage of Kathmandu Valley and shared a worry about its future.

Hagmüller is the last in this line of illustrious Austrians passing through Nepal. He is often asked why he has decided to live and work in Kathmandu Valley. One of his answers is: "It is the semidarkness between shadow and light that inspires.

And you can see that interplay of light and shadow in the sacred spaces of Kathmandu Valley in the ancient palace complexes, and they have also been delicately woven into the restoration of the Keshah Narayan Chowk into a museum. When direct sunlight does come in it is on the monochrome ochre of the brickwork and the tiles of the courtvards so that the ambience is bathed in a soothing pink afterglow.

The pages of Hagmüller's book walk us through these courtvards and corridors of the old palace. and we are told by Usha Ramaswamy in one of the chapters of how we brush against "the hush of

Haamüller was helped by curator and authority on Himalayan art. Mary Slusser, who has written several chapters on why the museum was designed as it was: the debate over light and dark, over spaces and how much intervention is possible while still being honest to textures and layers of history. The project's intention was to create a museum "within the cultural context of its collection as an integral aesthetic whole". And how marvelously they succeeded in doing that.



The Transformation of a Royal Palace in Nena Götz Hanmüller Serindia Publications, 2002 ondon Price: Rs 3.800 (hardback in hook stores

Rs 2,400 (soft cover only at Patan Museum)

Patan Museum Guide Patan Museum, 2002

Lalitpur







local leftists who ran the municipality

otz Hagmüller remembers driving around Ring Road in the early 1970s when it wasn't a traffic cloqued artery, but a beautiful circuit of endless paddy fields and poplars that rushed by in a blur of fresh air. Three decades later, the Valley is an assault on the 63-year-old Austrian conservation architect's

But unlike most others who just complain. Hagmüller decided to stay on and do something about it. It is the work of people like him that we have been able to save what is left of the unique patina of Kathmandu's urhanscane Here and there in the niches of the bahals and alleys of Patan and Bhaktapur you can still see Kathmandu's ancient heart. And it is still beating.

Hanmüller came to Nenal 30 vears and to work for the Germanfunded project that transformed the ancient kingdom of Bhaktapur into a World Heritage Site. Over the next 12 years he worked with Nepali and German engineers to restore 200 monuments, and the project helped upgrade the city's water supply. sewage, planning, and economy so that the conservation work would be Fortunately, help came from of

The Nenal Workers' Peasants Party in the communist hotbed town took over in an uncanny resemblance to the leftisi municipal governments in Rome and Bologna. The proactive policy of Bhaktapur's government has helped keep the Malla period urban ambience of Bhaktapur intact. That political will was critical in making Bhaktapur the best-preserved town in the Valley. They have been audacious enough to bar traffic from the city center, charge a \$5 entry fee and then increase it to \$10. Though it is a bit steep, it has helped the local government generate revenue which in turn is used to maintain and conserve the city. "Monument preservation is continuous work, which constantly requires maintenance and renairs " saw Hanmüller

Hagmüller's next project was much smaller and much more focussed: the restoration of Patan Museum. Today, the museum is a must-see for Nepali school students, tourists, local expats, visiting dignitaries and heads of state. A medieval palace, the courtyard and the buildings were painstakingly restored to their early glory, the interior completely redone into a modern

Shrestha is filled with a sense of pride. "We're small but we're unique You'll find everything you wanted to know right here, very clearly and very easy to understand," says the museologist in charge of the

Since he took over as director of Patan Museum when it opened in 1997, Shrestha has overseen the management, exhibitions, and the maintenance of this semi-autonomous, self-sustaining project. Till a year ago, the museum had an annual surplus of Rs100,000 from entry fees, sales from the museum shop, the restaurant, and publications. But earnings this year have gone down because of the tourism slump

Even so, Shrestha is happy with the response of visitors. Nothing deters dedicated culture enthusiasts, large groups of school children, and an increasing number of young Nepalis from visiting the museu Last year 75.000 children from schools around Nepal visited. Besides being a repository for rare religious objects, the musuem has a very strong educational role. Exhibits include an entire section on the cire perdue lost wax process and the repousse method of metalcraft, a comparison of the various monuments in Kathmandu Valley, the spread of Buddhism in Asia and one on stupa architecture The museum's strength is in its architecture, the display of exhibits, and the clear, precise bilingual labels to all exhibits by art historian Mary Slusser.

Shrestha has a degree in Nepali history, culture and archaeology, and has one complaint. The Lalitour sub-metropolitar city recently decided to collect entry fees to Patan Durbar Square right next to the useum premises. "It's not a very good idea and discourages potential visitors who might want to visit the museum but feel that paying two entry fees just within a couple of feet is a waste. We've asked the city that if they must collect town entry fees, it should be



museum housing Hinduand Buddhist artefacts. (See review of

Today, the museum is governed by a semi-governmental board and is self-sustaining through funds raised. from entry fees, a restaurant, a museum shop and an exhibition hall Hagmüller, who still pops in to see that the display shelves are dusted the premises maintained and the ilets spotless, can't avoid a twinge of concern. "If the management gets corrupt and careless then it's hound to collanse," he says

Hagmüller's current project is also funded by the Austrian government and is the restoration of an urban area not from the Malla but the Rana period: the Keshar Mahal Gardens in Kathmandu. The nardens stand at the entrance of Thamel, the Valley's lucrative tourist strip, and the government had planned to tear down a neo-classical façade to erect a row of commercial shutter shorts

"If some of us hadn't walked by that day, it would have been gone, he recalls. The restoration is scheduled for completion next year, and Hagmüller who strongly believes in combining heritage conservation with the means to maintain it, hopes the entrance fee and a small onsite café will beln in the upkeep.

Hagmüller's determination to restore and preserve Kathmandu's rich cultural and architectural heritane is sharmened by his resignation to the changes brought about modernity and unplanned development. Despite conservation efforts, illegal, ugly unplanned structures are still flouting zoning aws and building codes, while a toothless and poorly-funded Archaeology Department looks on helplessly. "Kathmandu is looking more and more like Vladivostok."

Conservationists like Hagmüller have long given up trying to save the whole of Kathmandu. It is too late for that now. And it is challenging enough ust to save the old urban cores of the three towns and the smaller villages in the valley. But even that will be quite an accomplishment.

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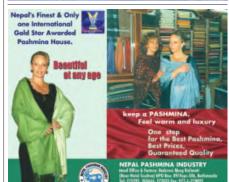


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BEIJING - China's Communist Party, the world's largest political

revolutionary party committed to violent class struggle in favour of the

more mellow representative party of the whole nation. After a week-

long congress, the party announced policies embracing capitalists

and elected a younger generation of leaders. The 59-year-old Hu Jintao, an enigmatic party apparatchik who, under the outgoing party

chief Jiang Zemin was deputy general secretary and vice president,

heads the new party leadership. The Politburo Standing Committee,

committed to turning China into an aggressive, high-technology market economy. Despite a softened stance towards capitalists, the

handpicked leaders pledged to adhere to Marxism, Leninism, Mao

Zedong thought and Deng Xiaoping theory for "a long time to come"

Outgoing Communist Party chief Jiang's 'Theory of Three Represents

was praised for fostering what Hu describes as "a fine image of a

W DELHI- Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, considered

the moderate face in his pro-Hindu, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), moved

western Gujarat state and the Election Commission, a constitutional body.

Lynodoh ordered a ban on religious processions in Guiarat-the scene of

a pogrom against the minority Muslim community earlier this year-in the

run-up to state assembly elections scheduled for 12 December. Leaders

of the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) condemned I ynodoh as

"anti-Hindu" and VHP leader Pravin Togadia announced the 'Vijay Yatra' or

victory procession would take place despite a state ban. This is the first

minister, has taken a firm stand against Hindu fundamentalist groups such

party. The VHP called for 6 December, six days before election day, to be

time Vaipavee, in the nearly four years since he first became prime

as the VHP, which have provided the muscle and the ideology for his

observed as "victory day" marking the tenth anniversary of the

demolition of the Babri Masiid. (Jes

Tannery pollution

to defuse a confrontation brewing between fundamentalist groups in

The crisis began after Chief Election Commissioner James Michael

party that advances with its times". Jiang retains a key position as

airman of the powerful Central Military Commission. (IPS)

Vajpayee takes a stand

China's highest ruling body, was expanded from seven to nine

members, all men in their fifties and early sixties who are deeply

movement with 66 million members, is changing its image of a

Change of guard

authoritarianism among those who rule, coupled with a growing unrest of the ruled.

hestrides his country's elected Druma merica's mid-term elections provide the latest example of like Gulliver over the Lilliputians A provide the sales..... Howand why has this happened? democratic governments that face How, in particular, can this situation no effective challenge by an be explained in view of the fact that opposition. More precisely, this today's unchallenged heads of phenomenon entails the growing government are, for the most part. number of democratically elected not towering leaders whose charisma political leaders who do not shields them from opposition? One confront alternative leaders able to reason is the ongoing personalisation gather the disaffected into a viable of politics that is taking place opposition

everywhere in the world. The phenomenon is by no Whether someone is charismatic means confined to what once was or not, voters want a figurehead, and the political right. Britain is preferably one with celebrity value. This 'celebrity' may be based on nowadays experiencing what can almost be called the self-destrucpersonality, as with Blair and tion of the opposition Conservative Berlusconi, or on circumstance, as Party For the third time in seven with Rush and Schroder and Putin years the Tories are devouring their but it is part, and parcel of the new own leader, without any viable politics of media appeal. alternative leader for the party Behind this, however, lies a

anywhere in sight. deeper change to democracy. The In Germany Gerhard end of idealogy has been invoked so Schroeder's narrow victory is made often that one hesitates to repeat secure by the intense soul-searching the phrase. Still, it is a fact that in all now underway among the defeated cases of governments without effective Christian Democrat opposition, as opposition it is not easy to formulate well as because of the moral an electorally viable alternative policy collapse of the CDU's junior to challenge the leaders. partner, the Free Democrats. Even Mr Putin is perhaps the most more starkly unbalanced political

externe in this regard, but Blair and landscapes can be found in France Redusconi are not far behind in and Italy, where neither President possessing this "policy immunity" Chirac nor Prime Minister Berlusconi They could form coalitions with need fear their challengers; indeed anyone, not least with each other neither has a challenger to speak of. whatever their traditional political Moreover this situation is not affiliations may be It is difficult to trip confined to Europe. The selfthem up by offering alternative destruction of the Congress Party has policies in any field

However, this condition may not last. In at least two respects. alternative policy options are



(as President Putin's did recently) to

The tale they tell is one of the failure

of democratic institutions as they now

stand. This tale is further underlined

by the growing role of "the street", of

focusing on particular issues but really

The result is a worrying combina-

demonstrations of public irritation

tion of creeping authoritarianism

unrest of the ruled. As so often the

against this syndrome. However, the

opposition is evident. Governments

without opposition pose a threat to

democracy itself. To defend our

liberty we need domestic democ-

racy at least as much as a readiness

to attack whatever "forces of evil"

(Ralf Dahrendorf, the author of

numerous acclaimed books is a

member of the British House of

London School of Economics and

Lords, a former Rector of the

also a former Warden of St.

Anthony's College, Oxford.)

(Project Syndicate)

may exist elsewhere in the world.

•

crying need for an effective institu-

tional, usually parliamentary,

case, there is no patent medicine

among those who rule with a growing

directed against unchallenged

try and curb freedom of expression.

one day dominate public debate. Domestically, there is an obvious difference between advocates of a "European model" of social and moral capitalism and others who adhere to the neoliberal "Washington consensus" that Europeans associate with America's economic model. Internationally, the clash between unilateralists and multilateralists is not confined to the United States. Some see it, in present circumstances, as a clash between peace by negotiation and active,

even pre-emptive intervention. Then there are the great unspoken issues. Law and order is on the agenda of most governments, but many voters feel that it still does not have proper prominence. Immigration is regarded as a deep threat by many people, so that demagogues are increasingly able to marshal resentment and grassroots support.

Thus, despite today's political quiet, major cleavage between apparently unchallenged leaders and shifting popular moods may be gaining strength below the surface Another takes the form of "opposi tion by media". This has become an issue in a number of countries, and it has led some governments

Indian enrolment up

WASHINGTON - India has become the largest source of foreign students in US universities and colleges after 11 September according to the annual report, 'Open Doors', from the Institute of International Education (IIE). About 67,000 Indians were enroled in US tertiary-level schools in the last academic year, up by 22 percent over the previous year, surpassing even China. The total number of foreign students grew to a record 583,000 last year, an increase of 6.4 percent over the 2000-2001 academic year. Overall, the most popular fields of study for foreign students last year were business and management, engineering, mathematics and computer science. About half of all foreign students specialised in those subjects. IIE reported declines in the enrolment of students from predominantly Muslim countries, mainly from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Less dramatic falls were reported for Kuwait, Malaysia, and Egypt. Slower processing of visa applications from most of these countries and greater concerns about personal safety in the US may have affected enrolment. Institutions of higher education in Canada, the UK and Australia are likely to be the chief beneficiar ies of this trend. (IPS)

Mum's the word

MONTREAL - Concordia University has banned all public discussion of the Middle East since a planned speech by former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in September was cancelled after clashes with police. Netanyahu's speech was cancelled after pro-Palestinian protesters, including some non-students, rushed the doors to the hall, clashing with riot police who used batons and pepper spray to repel them. The highly unusual ban on speeches, rallies, posters, exhibits and information tables about the Middle East has been controversial.

University officials are now going to court to block a talk on 'Peace and Justice in the Middle East' by two politicians, MPs

Svend Rohinson and Libby Davies and well-known activist Judy Rebick, who were Concordia Student Union (CSU). All supporters of the Palestinian struggle CSU President



Student demonstrations usually proceed peacefully at Canada's universities, but Concordia in downtown Montreal, a city with large Jewish and Arab populations, has a reputation as one of the

Sabine Friesinger said they opposed the moratorium and believe the tensions between pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli supporters should be brought into the open.

own ranks. In Russia. President Putin

left India's government unworried by

any political threat from outside its

Brain drain is good for you

Senormously. Innovative and entrepreneurial French Huguenots contributed mightily to the launch of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, American universities benefited mightily from refugee German Jews fleeing Adolf Hitler. Today's Silicon Valley would not be what it is without its brilliant Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs.

The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETH) has the highest number of Nobel Prize winners of any institution in the world, no doubt partly due to the fact that 35 percent of its faculty is foreign. From Cordoba 1000 years ago to California today, the most intellectually stimulating places are crossroads for bright people from different cultures.

Societies that fail to attract foreign brains stangate. Take Japan, Japan's homogeneity helped create the economic nationalism that drove the country for several decades, but today most of Japan's universities, research institutes and laboratories, think-tanks and elite publications, suffer from sclerotic inbreeding. Japan's current lethargy is due, in part, to the in-bred langour of Japanese intellectual life

But doesn't the process impoverish countries that export their "brains"? It depends. Spain, for example, saw its best minds drained away for five centuries, notably following Fascism's victory in the Spanish Civil War. When Franco died in 1975. Spain's future path was not obvious, as evidenced by the attempted coup of February 1981.

Spain's transition from a poor, dictatorial, marginalised state to a prosperous, thriving democracy with a reversal of the brain drain is one of history's success stories. Indeed, many of Spain's best minds have returned home. More importantly, foreign brains now drain to Spain!

Historically, Ireland has been a big exporter of people. Poverty and the rigid social control of a reactionary Roman Catholic Church made the country inhospitable to intellectual life-to Britain's and America's great advantage because both received many bright Irish fleeing the stultifying intellectual life of their homeland. As generally happens, the less intellectually endowed



surpassed its former colonial master in GDP per capita. Becoming a committed European player, fostering foreign direct investment, including venture businesses, promoting financial services and IT resulted in a formidable

After Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan in 1949 to form the Republic of China in opposition to Mao's People's Republic, he sought to maintain his dictatorial regime but was made to recognise the importance of building Taiwan's economy so as to strengthen the island. Thanks to generous US aid—Taiwan was for several decades second only to Israel in the amount of American aid received.—Taiwan could send its best university.

students especially engineers to study abroad Now Taiwan has the highest proportion of engineers to total population in the world. Many Taiwanese engineers studied in prestigious American universities, with the result that in Boston people sometimes refer to MIT as "Made in Taiwan" rather than the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. As late as the 1980s only two out of 10 Taiwanese who studied in the LLS returned home, due to its bleak social, intellectual and political environment.

"Måde in Taiwan". No more.

......... Taiwan did several things right. By establishing science parks it provided a good environment for R&D, followed by deregulation. Last, but emphatically not least, it ended dictatorship to usher in democracy. In the 1990s, thanks to its returning brains. Taiwan became a high-tech powerhouse

South Korea's story over the last 50 years parallels Taiwan's story. The military dictatorship established by Park Chung-hee in 1962 adopted an aggressive economic development policy, partly to contain North Korea. The Park government recognised the importance of investing in education. including primary, secondary and tertiary.

The problem for a dictator in building universities is that students are needed, and students often protest! Once Korean students overthrew the dictatorship of Park's successor. Chung Doo-hwan. Korean scientists. engineers, economists, and others, returned home en masse, bringing

knowledge acquired in the US with them. So a brain drain can be a good thing for recipient countries and also for brain exporting countries. Good, that is, if the drain is reversed one day. Most people everywhere prefer to stay home, or return home, rather than live in permanent exile. Kimchi is simply not as good in Los Angeles

as in Pusan, nor is chapathi as good in Manchester as in Hyderabad. Brain drains put enormous pressure on brain exporting countries to improve their governance, their institutions, and their economic and their social freedoms. Such improvements are the ultimate test of a successful society.

(Project Syndicate)

(Jean-Pierre Lehmann is Professor of International Political Economy at IMD Lausanne Suitzerland and Founding Director of the Evian Group a coalition for global liberal governance.)

Three cheers for the "Three Represents"



President Jiang Zemin theory of the "Three

Represents" is rife. Pundits scorn

Communist party should not only

represent workers and peasants but

also society's "advanced productive

forces, culture and interests." They

deem it wholly inadequate to

democracy.

China's mounting problems of

inequality, corruption, and lack of

These critics are right to point

out the theory's shortcomings, and

the nauseating way that "Jiang

Zemin Thought" is promulgated

does remind us of Mao's Cultural

Revolution. But they miss the leap

forward "Three Represents" marks

of training and other services.

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computer, c) Gender and Poverty orientation, and d) facilitation.

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Financial services and private sector linkages

the theory, which says that the

President Jiang Zemin's

by seeking to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today China faces a choice between the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" or the "Three Represents". The choice

The big contribution of the "Three Represents" is, for the first time, a ruling communist party. gives up-of its own volition-the idea of class warfare. The gist of the policy isn't protecting the interests of capitalists at the expense of others, but ensuring capitalists aren't automatically excluded from China's political process.

Of course, the status of capitalists will improve once the "Three Represents" is imple mented. But it will not be at the

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Alliance Nepal, PO Box 8975 EPC 655, Kathmandu

work with different partners and organisations, b) Commanding skills in the use of

expense of China's working class. At present, private firms employ more of China's working class than (SOEs). With a fraction of the

Jiang Zemin's parting gift may offend some

price to pay to make the future more secure

democratic sensibilities, but it's a trivial

and peaceful for a billion plus Chinese.

resources of the state-ownedenterprises (SOEs), private firms employ much of the proletariat, produce goods demanded by proletarian consumers, and because of their superior performance, safeguard the interests of proletarian savers by actually paying back their bank loans. Why most pundits miss the fact that workers are protesting not in

the liberal provinces of Zheijang and Guangdong, but in the socialist hastinns of the northeast, is a mystery. Workers don't protest against menial jobs in capitalistic Wenzhou but against no jobs in socialist Shenyang. The government can't pay unemployed workers their pensions because socialism has bankrupted its finance. Indeed, in contrast, in many Chinese regions, the tax contribution of a single

private firm can exceed the combined tax revenue from all

Moreover, describing Chinese private entrepreneurs as a "plutocracy" is grotesque. The term is commonly applied to Russia's oligarchs, who grew rich through political connections, corruption and shady business deals. Of course, some private entrepreneurs in China grew rich that way. Most however, became rich through hard work, innovation and efficiency.

Some of China's biggest private entrepreneurs come from extremely humble backgrounds. Many, like the Hope Group in Sichuan, hail from China's impoverished interior and rural areas because in the 1980s and 1990s, the central government curtailed private sector activity in urban centres as to minimise competition with SOEs. The countryside was left with more freedom because the central government never thought that repreneurs there could succeed.

Those who think that entrenre neurs ont rich because of their political connections commit a classic analytical error: they reason backward on the basis of outcomes rather than the processes that produced those outcomes. They fail to realise that cozy relations are often the result, not the cause, of business success. Those who succeed command respect and leverage with the government because of their business acumen and the fact that they beat their competitors. Only a few entrenreneurs "make it". Many as everywhere else in the world, fail on the way. training providers in order to strengthen their institutional capacity, improve communication

Detractors of the "Three and linkage between the training providers and entrepreneurs, and to enhance the quality Represents" also have their ideas ahout democracybackward. Theyfail to see the dictatorship of the Alliance Nepal/SDC is looking for some dedicated and professional staffs (Programme proletariat was as much a Officer level) for the implementation of the second phase of TfE (January 2003 to strainhtiacket on workers as on December 2006) in following professional areas and required performance competencies: everybody else

> Only a vibrant private propertied class can some day bring democracy to China. A market economy based on private property rights is an economic democracy, and it is only a matter of time before political democracy follows. This optimism is based on the idea that democracy comes from forcing the state to share power with those it cannot directly control. Capitalists control wealth and wealth creation. They are able to demand returns on their tax contributions in the form of greater accountability from their governments

The "Three Represents" may offend the sense and sensibility of some. But it's a trivial price to pay in order to make China's future more secure and peaceful for millions of Chinese.

 (Project Syndicate)

(Yasheng Huang is an author and an Associate Professor at Harvard Business School)

DHAKA – Hazaribag, a densely populated 25-hectare residential area at the western periphery of Dhaka, has become a dumping ground over the past half century for some 200 riverside tanneries that crowd the area. The government shelved plans to construct a central waste treatment plant in favour of a relocating the entire industrial complex outside the city perimetre, but no one knows how long this will take, or if it will actually happen. Experts say Hazaribag tannery waste is killing the Buriganga river with chrome and other chemical residues, n in the river water. The corrugated iron sheets used as roofs and walls of the lower-middle class houses in the area are corroded by hydrogen sulphide and ammonia gases generated during tanning. Workers are directly exposed to health hazards from various chemicals, but factories rarely give them gloves, masks and boots. Even when they do, workers are careless about using them. I eather is one of Bangladesh's top export earners, bringing in \$250 million annually. Around 90 percent of the country's leather goods are processed in Hazaribag. Most factories are medium or small-scale ventures and lack the resources to invest in a waste treatment plant. (IPS,

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sworn in as the Minister for Education and Sports, former senior UML leader Devi Prasad Oiha spoke his mind in an interview.

Jana Astha, 20 November आरुशा

I don't see any relevance to discussing the royal move of 4 October. The situation has none too far since then. His Maiesty made that move because our political parties failed to play a decisive and

The communists in Nepal must not forget that our country has got its own characteristics and situation. The UML believes in the constitutional monarchy. To accept constitutional monarchy is the objective reality of our country

If the role of the monarchy is oriented towards the interest of the country, moves in a constitutional manner and is committed to the people and political parties running the state, then I don't see why it is necessary to talk about forming a republic.

I disagree with the opinion that the present Council of Ministers doesn't enjoy executive authority. As an executive body it must have executive powers, otherwise they would be told they are a commis sion or a committee. If it is not an executive body, then nobody should ask the government to hold elections and resolve the problem of the Maoist insurgency. What can we get out of these debates when the nation is in flames? Our first priority must be to work together to extinguish the fire.

Personally, I don't mind being defined as someone 'close to the royal palace' or someone who is allied to political forces within the country. But my allegiances never been close to any foreign

I have had opportunities to speak with the king several times. His Majesty granted me an audience recently, after the Dashain vacation. We discussed many issues including the Maoist insurgency, the role of political parties and people's aspirations. I have always felt problems in the country can be resolved through dialogue and talks. His Majesty is aware of my point of view.

I don't see any rationale behind a constituent assembly. Some people demand such an assembly only to satisfy their political egos It will nobody. They should discuss the obstacles and hurdles in the existing constitution. We can then work towards removing them. Nobody could stop the political changes of 1990. Similarly, if the situation is ripe then nobody can stop the formation of a constituent

Regarding the issue of holding talks with the Maoists, I think both the government and the political parties should feel responsible towards finding a peaceful solution to the insurgency. We won't reach the right destination if we choose the wrong path. The insurgency won't be resolved unless the Maoists present themselves in a pragmatic and objective way.

Talking about talks Maoists and India Front-page editorial in Nepal Samacharpatra, 17 November

The main problem today is not that Perhaps for the first time, a senior who should rule the country, but Maoist leader, Krishna Bahadur how to compel the Maoists to Mahara, has spoken on camera and come to the table for penotiations pleaded to the international Nobody should have illusions that a community through CNN that his group indulging in activities like organization, the CPN (Magist), is ambushing passenger buses, killing children, murdering former MPswould be willing

not a terrorist organisation. At the same time, a fresh to come to negotiations on its own. The Maoists are not likely to gain anything by taking part in the peace talks right now. They can't also hope of establishing a republic by holding talks with the vernment. All the Maoists want by repeatedly talking about talks is to cheat the peace-loving Nepali people and not to get boycotted from the world community. For them, talks controversy has kicked off on the or elections to the constituent issue of Nepali Maoists on Indian assembly are nothing but a ladder soil amid the possibility of Mahara

being present in India.

CNN, Nepal and the wider

After Mahara's interview on

international community including

are likely to scan India's role vis-à-

against "Maoist terrorism" and has

provided every possible assistance

to Nepal in this regard. This is true

the US and the European Union

vis Nepali Maoists once again.

India has repeatedly said it is

THIS PAGE CONTAINS MATERIAL SELECTED FROM THE NEPALL PRESS.

Yubarai Ghimire in Kantipur

18 November

to the success of their bloody Everybody knows the Chand administration doesn't have the capability to protect either the common people or party leaders. The government must include all major political parties that means the CPN (UML) and the

Nepali Congress too.

the cabinet for them.

The people are frustrated

with the corrupt and comfortto some extent, but after Mahara's seeking tendencies of our rulers interview on CNN, foreign They don't really have any dinlomats have started raising complaint towards the (multiquestions privately on India's role party) system. The king gained The recent statement issued by popularity when he relinquished the Kathmandu bureau of CPN his executive authority. Every-(Maoist) taking responsibility for body now knows there are only killing two security staff attached to two forces left in the country: the US embassy in Kathmandu is those who believe in democracy likely to have very serious repercuswith a constitutional monarchy sions. Mahara's recent "diplomatic" and the republicans. There is no campaign could be nullified and even alternative for the king and aborted if the Maoists are formally parliamentary parties other than enlisted along with the al-Qaeda and to work together. The political Taliban. Perhaps, the Maoist narties must join the government leadership would deem it necessary to and the King must make room in further clarify this point

Envoys recalled Nepal Samacharpatra, 18 November

The new government has called back half a dozen envoys who have completed four years or more in office serving abroad. According to foreign ministry sources, the government has recalled Royal Nepalese ambassador to Thailand Janak Bahadur Singh who has completed five and half years in office. The list includes Royal Nepali ambassador to Saudi Arabia Badri Prasad Khanal, Singha Bahadur Basnet (UK), Indra Bahadur Singh (France), Kedar Bhakta Mathema (Japan) and Shambhu Ram Simkhada (Geneva). Mathema has served for over six years in Tokyo while Simkhada has headed the Nepali mission for the UN in Geneva for seven years. Former envoy to the US and incumbent Royal Nepalese ambassador to India. Bhekh

continue, sources said. Thapa recently completed five years in office at New Delhi. Vying for power

Rahadur Thana has been asked to

The third general assembly of the Rastriva Prajatantra Party (RPP) is scheduled for the third week of December in Pokhara. As three RPP leaders, Pashupati Shamsher Rana Prakash Chandra Lohani and Rabindranath Sharma, vie for the post of party president, a division in the party is obvious. Soon after Rabindranath Sharma and Prakash Chandra Lohani announced their candidature for party president. party general secretary Rana also announced his decision to stand for the same post. Rana made it clear that he would increase the influence of the RPP and ensure a major status in future general elections. The RPP central committee meeting held last week criticised Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand for not being able to fulfill his responsibilities as prime minister despite promises. During another meeting, held earlier, the party had

The majority of members at the central committee meeting made it clear that the failure of the government would reflect hadly on the RPP and preventive measures should be taken soon. Sources say Prime Minister Chand, who was also present at the meeting. remained quiet

In the lurch

Deshantar, 17 November वेशान्तरशाप्ताडिक The recent resignation of Chair man of the Education Service Commission Rishwanath Sankota has not only affected the day-today running of the commission, it is also bound to test the patience of 230,000 permanent teachers awaiting their teaching licenses. The chairman's resignation has

also delayed the results of examinees sitting for the commis sion's teaching examinations from the last six years. Months after the seventh amendment to the Education Bill ruled individuals without a teaching license would be disregarded as incompetent, the commission has been unable to grant licenses to working teachers. Sapkota resigned from his post following the CIAA's investigation into a decision regarding the Bakraha river embankments when Sankota was Secretary for Water Resouces. Former minister Khum Bahadur Khadka (below) and



Irrigation Department Amodananda Mishra are in iail while the CIAA investigates further. Sapkota sent in his resignation from the US where he is undergoing medical treatment. According to the Education Bill. individuals who have taught for five years are entitled to receive a temporary teaching license which becomes permanent if they pass a

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

*From time to time they would tell us that Prachanda was dead. Rahuram was dead. Badal and Mahara were dead. They tried to break us emotionally.

—Journalist Ishwar Chandra Gyawali in Sanghu, 18 November, 2002. Gyawali spent nearly a year in jail on the grounds of being a pro-Maoist activist.



Relief package

Rabin Sayami in Himal Khahamatrika 17 November - 1 December 2002

committed to supporting Chand. Children sell tabloids to make ends meet

Sancharika Lekhamala in Aparanha, 14 November 33 CI215

"Here it comes! Telecom tower destroyed! Five killed on the spot! Bank ransacked! Read it all, now!"

Uttam Ghimire is a student of Class 4 at Saraswoti High School in Koteswor, and he is shouting out the day's headlines at the top of his voice. And his paper is selling like hot cakes. He has skipped his classes to sell afternoon tabloids in the streets. He is more worried about selling his newspapers faster than other street hawkers than his exams in school the next day. The nine-year-old Ghimire earns as much as Rs 90 a afternooners. "Half of that goes to

sahu and the rest to my father." says Ghimire with smile in his face, "And, I am left with nothing."

Uttam's father, Gvan Prasad Ghirnire, brings with him a packet of afternoon newspapers from Ratna Park in the capital everyday and distributes them among his three sons for street hawking. I Ittam's 12 and six year. old brothers. Ariun and Takdir, also can be seen out in the street reading out newspaper headlines loudly and trying to attract attention of as many passers-by as possible. The youngest of them, Takdir, has areceived slans a counte of times from their father for huving

chocolates worth a couple of upees. Their only sister. Iswori. hasn't had an opportunity to go to

Originally from Gairimudi VDC in northern district of Dolakha, the Ghimire family arrived in the capital a few years back in search of a livelihood. Uttam's mother, Radhika, works as a maid for his landlord. His sister helps their. The sunnlemen tal income from newspaper selling is critical in balancing the Ghimire family budget.

Around one hundred children work as newspaper hawkers in the streets of Kathmandu. Nearly 70

percent of them are school dropouts while the rest are believed to be still attending schools. According to surveys, 21 percent of the total population of Nepal (2.6 million children) are engaged in various forms of child labourers. Chairman of Child Workers in Nepal Concern Centre (CWIN), Gauri Pradhan, says that the government must introduce compulsory and free education for children and launch campaigns for socia awareness, "Though the education is said to be free at the primary level, in practice the situation is quite



don't let us sit in neace even on holidays " An indelicate reproach emerged from his mouth. "We got a letter from the government saving that we have to make this peace rally a success. The Principal Saheb's orders are to the same effect. So, what to do?

The other one asked me, "And you?"

I said, "I came out on a morning walk, and am staying around to see what a peace rally looks like." Actually a sense of anticipation about this peace rally

had grown in me. At this time another crowd of children added. Now the rally was gaining shape. The policemen started to be active again. And the leader type of person also reappeared. He lifted the head mike and shouted, "The peace rally is about to begin. Dignitaries, please stand in line. The peace rally is about to begin."

Then he disappeared again. I quickly finished my tea and stood in line. A child standing in line behind me wanted to pee. He said to his teacher, who had finished drinking tea and was coming this way, "Sir, I need to pee."

The Sir asked a policeman. The policeman said, "I don't know " and snat out some chewing tobacco. I too suddenly wanted some chewing tobacco. I

rounded my lips and asked, "Police Dai, do you have any chewing tobacco?"

In response he glared at me. I had no option but to shut up. The peace rally hadn't yet begun. It was as though it

was about to begin. Then again, who knows what happened? I too suddenly needed to pee. So I slowly got out of line. And without taking part in the peace rally. I walked rapidly

Originally published in Kantinus

The peace rally is about to begin

Translation of a satire by Bimal Nibha. Loot nervous seeing policemen all over, but no sooner did I try to leave the place, a staffwielding policeman said, almost in reprimand, "Did you come to take

part in the peace rally?" Not understanding him, I stayed where I was. "Go there. There." He pointed

with his staff. I went to the side. A few people were gathered there. I added myself to them. I looked around They numbered seven. Eight

including me. A middle-aged man with a slick head was letting off billows of cigarette smoke. With him was a woman of the same age. In thick makeup. A young man too. In a yellow round-necked t-shirt. Another skinny young man was also standing next to him, to be a young woman. I had been betrayed by

chattering away. When I went closer it turned out the boy's cut hairstyle. It would have happened to others as well. There was a red faced old man too. He had a chain in his hands. And a big sized dog with the chain. Shaking its tail rhythmi cally. I looked at the don with interest. In response it looked at me too, snarling. I turned away. In the meanwhile one or two others had

After a while a leader type of person manifested, carrying a head mike. And began to shout loudly, "The peace rally is about to begin. Please abide a while. The peace rally is about to

He disappeared after saving this. We were indeed abiding. What else was

> With a far-reaching yawn I looked at my watch. Exactly five minutes past eight. The same staffwielding policeman from before came, twirling his staff, and said, "Respected peace lovers, form a line. Alright, alright, form a line. Don't just stand anywhere." He pushed a destrian who was walking along the nath into the line After that he went to a nearby

restaurant to have tea. I too felt a craving for tea. So I also headed towards the restaurant. "Hey respected peace lover,

don't come here, stay over there in line," another policeman drinking tea cried in a

A crowd of schoolchildren was coming in my direction, carrying banners of various kinds. A police van was following them. Seeing the police van, the policemen drinking tea sped out of the restaurant. The restaurant's manager stood bewildered, not having received his

navment Two people who looked like teachers, who had come with the crowd, placed the children in line and came to drink tea at the restaurant. This time I too joined in. I asked one of them, "Where

did you come from?"
"From a nearby government school. They

The Himalayan at 1

BHAGIRATH YOGI ↑ I hen The Himalayan Times was launched in Todayhired the Kathmandu market editors and exactly a year ago, sceptics reporters. predicted it didn't have much of a future. The advertising cake was

just too small, they said.

sceptical. Selling 12 pages, half of them in colour, and all that for a newstand price of Rs 2 how could they ever make money? But a year down the line, the newspaper has carved out a niche for itself, if not financially at least in terms of readership and reach. "We are number one among the English language newspapers in town and sell 20.000 copies every day." says Ravin Lama, managing director of International Media Network Pvt Ltd, the publishers. Lama says his

and frustrations "We wanted to go for something completely new, offer a different kind of package, value for money. We wanted to inculcate the business of reading, especially among the youth," Lama told us in the paper's Anamnagar office, "In that sense, we have notched success. But the frustrating part is that our counterparts did not want

to face the challenge.

paper's first year was "both exciting

It took time, but the competition did respond. The Kathmandu Post has been at it for ten years and is owned by the very successful Kantipur Publications group. Eight months after The Himalayan Timesrolled off the nress the Postadded four names and redesigned its masthead and layout adding new departments and columnists. Although it kept its newstand price at Rs 4

The other English dailies in town also responded: Space Time The Kathmandu Post

the venerable thirty-Nenal went colourand put on a new get-up

One dehate that has failed to die down is the controversy

The Himalayan Indian connection Asia Pacific Communications Associate (APCA) Nepal Pvt Ltd is a joint venture between Indian and Nepali investors and owns Lama's International Media Network Nepal Pvt Ltd. Editors and Publishers of rival broadsheets formed an association. Nepal Media Society, to Jobby the government to cancel the *back room entry" of foreign direct investment in media in Nepal because it would "jeopardise the

national interest* But APCA seems to have its legal side pretty much sorted out. Lama insists that the controversy should now be laid to rest as his company has been registered and doing business complying fully with the law of the land, "Our critics saw some sort of hidden agenda in launching of this newspaper. But I must tell them that the only hidden agenda behind this publication has been the six-letter word 'profit," he guipped

profit? Parsuram Kharel, forme editor of The Rising Nepal says: "The market for English language newspapers now is too limited and too crowded. Right now the Kathmandu market may be suitable for a couple of dailies and a couple of weeklies only." Would mean that a shake

But will running an English

newspaper in Nepal ever bring

The Himalayan

down is overdue? Not necessarily says Lama, who is now planning a new Nepali sister broadsheet. *In fact it is the Menali nublication and butter," he adds. Yubarai Ghimire, editor of

Kantinurand The Kathmandu Post, agrees that English language media needs time. "Most are subsidising their English publications with other editions " he says Ghimire claims the Post is still the number one English paper in town and sees a bright future because English readership in Nepal is growing rapidly in an era of nInhalisation.



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

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EVENTS

- * French Film Festival organised by Alliance Française of Kathmandu, dedicated to the portrayal of women in French cinema. 28 November-1 December at the Russian Cultural Centre, 241163
- Pass the Butler. The Sterling Club HAMS presents a comedy by Eric Idle at the British Embassy Hall. 7PM, 5-7 December. Tickets: Rs 800 (including dinner). All proceeds to the AWON Scholarship Fund. 410583
- AWON Holiday Bazaar Gift items, children's games, food and drink. 10AM-5PM, 7
- December. Entry: Rs 50, free for under 12s. Hyatt Regency, Kathmandu. Summit Christmas Bazaar Textiles, wood carvings, ceramics and barbeque. 4-9PM,13 December. Free entry. Summit Hotel. 521810
- Surya Golf 2002 Pokhara 22-23 November and 26-30 November Gokarna Forest Golf

- Live music by Catch 22, Friday nights at the 40,000 ½ ft Bar, Rum Doodle Restaurant, Thamel, 414336
- . U2 live in Boston with dinner and drinks at Moksh, Lalitpur, 22 November, 528703

- * The Coffee Shop, Hotel de l'Annapurna introduces a fine range of world class coffees from Kenya, Brazil
- Paddy Foley's Irish Pub A wide range of drinks and food. Live music on Wednesday,

- * A Taste of Africa experience a night of music and food at La Soon. 7PM till late, 30 November. Dinner and dance-Rs 699 per person. 535290
- . Winter Specials with Chef Kilrov, Smoked salmon soufflé, duck breast, hot mulled wine at Kilrov's of Kathmandu, Thamel, 250440
- . Italian Food Festival with special Italian Wines. 11:30 AM- 4:30 PM from 16-24 November. Patan Museum
- Café and Summit Hotel 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
- * Tukche Thakali Kitchen Buckwheat, barley, bean, and dried meat specialties. Also brunch with porridge and pancakes, all raw material from Tukche village. Darbar Marg.

- * 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
- . Birdwatching, short hikes at Bandipur. Rs 1,850 per person with dinner and breakfast, Rs 925 per child 5-14 years Shivapuri Heights Cottage, info@escapes2nepal.com. 370616
- Writing Retreat Full board package. Aesthetic living, innovative thinking, creative riting and nature at Park Village Resort, Budhanilkantha. 375280
- * Bardia Bonkers Freshwater dolphins, giant tigers, elephants, safaris, rafting, evening cocktails, traditional food, junglebasecamp@yahoo.com.

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



BROTHERS AND SISTERS MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF THE LAND DO NOT COMPROMISE WITH EDUCATION



Generally fair throughout the subcontinent, as you can see in this satellite picture taken on Thoursday ndo-Gangetic plains which is a seasonal feature and likely to get worse as the minimum temperature lummets. We detect a faint westerly front over Afghanistan, but it seems to be moving north-east wards towards the Pamirs. A low pressure area noving into the high plateau may bring precipitation next weekend. For the valley, look for chilly mornings with mist, and afternoons with weak sunshine.









Journeys: an Anthology Robyn Davidson, ed

Picador India, 2002

Journeys departs from the predictable routes of the travel genre to explore varied terrain. We encounter an astonishing assortment of people—at leisure, at war, in grand luxury and great discomfort, running away and coming home. Contributors include Simone de Beauvoir, Elizabeth David and Vincent van Gogh.

Women and Governance: Re-imagining the State from a Gender Percective (Nepal Chapter) Indira Shrestha. Krihna Hachhethu Shtrii Shakti, 2002

The authors discuss how relations between the state and women have changed at historical junctures. A vital issue is whether the socio-cultural milieu allows women to be politically mobile. Their feminist stance questions the position of women to use opportunities granted by a liberal political atmosphere.



The New Revelations: A Conversation with God

Neale Donald Walsch

Hodder and Soughton, 2002 Rs 640

Seventh in the Coversations with God series, Walsch offers solutions to the aggression and dogma troubling the world. He attempts to understand the crisis facing the world and optimistically teaches change is possible, not through political or economic means, but by opting for the Five Steps to Peace.

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

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M. Night Shvamalan is the "Master of Suspense" for a whole new generation. Signs, his latest movie succeeds in bringing us an oldfashioned suspense thriller, a refreshing detour into the twilight zone, in an era when special effects is king. Graham Hess (Mel Gibson) is a preacher turned farmer, a single parent raising two children after the death of his wife. One morning, the family awakes to spherical symbols mowed into their crops. Is it a prank, a sign from god or circle-happy aliens? Hess is compelled to investigate, changing the lives of his brother (Jaoquin Phoenix) and the children (Rory Culkin and Abigail Breslin) forever.



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BBC on FM 102.4 Mon-Fri 0615-0645 BBC World Today 0615-0645 BBC Reporting Religion Sat Sun 0615-0645 **BBC** Agenda Daily 2045-2115 BBC gkfnl ;]f Daily 2245-2300 BBC akfnl ; If Sun-Fri Ps\5q\-/\80f\ klqsf_ Sun-Fri 0800-0830 8anl -lj ifout c6t/lqmof_ Sun-Fri 2000-2030 cfhsf s/f -: d: fdlos || ifodf ax; Sat 0800-0830 zflft cleofa 1930-2000 cfrf/ lj rf/ -e|6frf/lj?4 ; xsfo{ Sat 2000-2030 sballts d-r

Tel: ++977-1-545680, 545681, Fax: ++ 977-1- 530227 E-mail: radio@radiosagarmatha.org, www.radiosagarmatha.org We all make each other.

Our culture's riches and penury



Exhibiting haldness I'm offering helief a past leave belief, a coming belief

beliefs of many colors we can't ourselves believe belief is adhering somewhere as a root one belief is enough for me one present time is enough for me to come and go in it, to see the face of endlessness Mohan Koirala, "The Roots of a

Wayne Amtzis's photographs show us the faces, gestures, clothing and expressions of the discarded of Kathmandu—and they offer us a chance to see ourselves honestly. They are elegant but also direct they do not let us dodge. They

insist that we acknowledge our

Pumpkin Plant

most personal failings as they manifest in others.

We all make each other. The person on the street becomes an art object and creates us, elite gallery viewers. At the gallery we view a photograph of a person we wish to fix as art. The relationship is an unequal one, and we are right to feel exposed in our culture and refinement, for it is in our culture and refinement that we have used others.....we have overworked them undervaluing their labor, violating their rights, and though they hav served our purposes we have made but a marginal place for them in our midst. It is in our culture and refinement that we have made the

homeless, the hungry, and the

hapless of our land. In their culture

The subjects of Ann Hunkins's photographs, by contrast, include some of the most distinguished personalities of Nepal: writers and poets, playwrights and men and women of letters. Daulat Bikram Bista, Dev Kumari Thapa, Banira



Giri, Maniu Kanchuli, Dhruba

Sapkota: these are the men and

women entrusted to speak for

The streets which are exhausted

having led many sons to border

these streets by now shattered in

yes, all these streets

l carry on my shoulders

Bairagi Kainla, "The Mountain"

questions that haunt us, our

having returned many fathers from

having taken many children to school

trenches

their offices

accidents

Kedar Man Vyathit by Ann Hunkins and two Kathmandu vigr.

us all.

and refinement they have (so far) let

What was revolution? What did it look like? How would it come? And once it came where would it stay? What would it eat? I Incle always explained without any irritation, as much as he could: "See, after the revolution there'll be democracy in our country. And after democracy everyone will get to study, to learn how to read and write. Everyone will be able to eat sharing their portions with each other. No one will stay hungry, no one will die helplessly because they can't buy Ramesh Vikal. "Gvanee Uncle"

Their literature captures the perplexity of our times, the

If we were to be political, we could say that Amtzis is giving representation to the subaltern: his body of work poses a challenge to our body politic. The day laborer poses a challenge to the art lover, the blue collar worker, the intellectual. If we were to be more personal, we could say that Amtzis is encouraging us to maintain a fearless view onto ourselves and our society. Looking straight at weathered hands and cracked heels, sun-stained faces and work-stunted bodies could open our hearts if we let it. We could leave the gallery wanting to restor

dignity to those we have cast off.

moments of disappointment and deliverance. Hunkins is intimate and imaginative in the way she portrays each writer, capturing them at moments garrulous. reflective, interior or watchful. Her nortraits highlight the individuality of each person, and remind us how lucky we are to have these writers amidus, enriching our times with their work What complex worlds reside in

each of these writers....live renositories of our culture? And what complex worlds reside in the dispossessed who idle in Kathmandu's public places—also live repositories of our culture?

Ryeyhihiting Amtzis's and Hunkins's photographs side by side Siddhartha Art Gallery allows us to celebrate our contemporary culture's riches and to account for

Things are so far gone nowwith each new birth a martyr is born a frineral march is horn a shroud is born You're seeing all this, aren't you? Dinesh Adhikari. "The Other Side

Review by Manjushree Thapa

(Wayne Amtzis's "Rite of Way" and Ann Hunkins's "Writers Seen" are on display at the Siddhartha Art Gallery Babar Mahal, till 4 December. Amtzis and Hunkins will give a poetry reading at the gallery on Sunday, 24 November, at 4 PM.)



alive & cooking



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Under My Hat | NEPALI SOCIETY by Kunda Dixit

Two wheels good, four wheels bad

scribe and other like-minded pharisees were busy

last week voluntarily and totally out of our own free will observing a three day pen-down strike which thankfully enabled me to wriggle out of writing this column. (Ha! Fooled you into thinking I'd emigrated to New Zealand, didn't I?)

For this, we owe a debt of gratitude to the Organisers. Let's hear a round of applause, ladies and gentlemen,

for the Organisers. So instead of sitting around uselessly trying to bring out a newspaper, we zoomed around the empty streets in motorcycles with license plates covered by signs that said: "Off To My Inlaws To Feast On Poleko Masu And Beer And Play Marriage For Three Straight Days, And If You Have Any Problems With That, Well, You Can Go Stuff It." Or words to that effect.

This is the beauty of living in a democracy: we can get away with saying anything ridiculous that comes to our minds, even if it makes absolutely no sense at

all. And everyone has a fundamental right to declare a three-day national holiday just for the heck of it, and as a carefree and freedom-loving people there is nothing we like better than to actually have to do no

But, we must remind readers that democracy is facing grave threats. There are forces right here amidst us who wanted to take away our basic human right to go around the city using improvised explosive devices to blow up garbage dumps every morning. That is why we at the weekly Red Corpuscle (motto: "The pen is mightier than the penknife.") approached Comrade

Carbuncle for an interview so he could elucidate on some of the finer points of the forthcoming indefinite holiday season

Q: Mr Comrade, sir, you have said that last week's three-day holiday was a grand success. Would you care to elaborate?

A: First of all, let me use this opportunity to thank the Red Corpuscle for giving me a chance to hold forth on the party line, and also greet all readers on the 88th anniversary of the Great October Proletarian Revolution. What was the question, again? Q: Never mind, what exactly are the rules of a bunned?

A: It's very simple: two wheels good, four wheels bad. 2: How about three wheels? A: Both good and bad. Anything that has three wheels, and has wings is OK. Everything else

Q: How about rollerblades? A: Only if you are wearing a helmet and elbow quards. Q: I see. And is it all right to only half-open a shop?

A: That's right, you can let customers come in through the back door, or keep the shutter half open. Just don't push it all the way up.

Q: And can I take a sick relative to the hospital on a

A: Sure. Just cover your license plate with a sign that says you are going to your in laws to feast on poleko masu and beer and play marriage indefinitely, and don't let the cops catch you.

Q: Thank you, Comrade Carbuncle, and have a nice future

maybe because you are) you will be glued to the television set when Sumitra Kayastha comes on screen. Her programme, Jeevan Ek Rang Anek (Life's different shades) profiles interesting personalities. So, for a change, we thought

Sumitra has

never been

As anyone who has watched Jeevan will tell you, Sumitra is not just a pretty face. As anchor she has the knack of bringing out

ven if you are not a coach-potato (or

we'd profile her. the best in every for the interview And, would you believe it,

formally trained in this line of work?

Married at the age of 15 when she was a student in high school, Sumitra worked hard to pursue her education as well as build her career. Five years ago, her daughters encouraged her to take part in the Mrs Nepal contest, a beauty show with difference. Thanks to her confidence and charm, the crown was soon on her head. Since then, as they say, there has been no looking back.

She dabbled in radio for a bit, but Sumitra is a personality naturally suited for television, and she soon migrated to audio-visual. Jeevan delves into various

aspects of the lives of her interviewees: their struggle, their effort to adapt, fit in, or rebel as the case may be. What keeps her going is the tremendous feedback from her viewers: from people who are encouraged, enthused and inspired by her and the people she Sumitra wants to try new things,

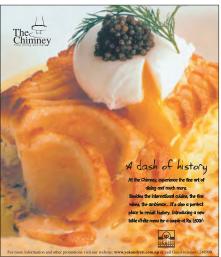
and she is coming up soon with another program, Prasna Chinha (Question Mark) also on Channel Nepal which will mainly

> "It's basically going to be a talk show to discuss social discrimination against women in out society," she said. Is she going to interview men, too? "Sure," she says, "it is the men who need more to be sensitised."

focus on gender issues.



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