

NAVIN SINGH KHADKA

What does the world's only superpower gain by punishing one of the world's poorest countries? Plenty. It mollifies the powerful Tibet lobby back home and defends controversial United States economic interests. Private investors close to the US establishment, legislators and lobbyists sympathetic to the Tibet cause have been retaliating against Nepal for the

Bhutani refugee in Kathmandu told us.

Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif) who withdrew the garment import bill is the wife of businessman David Blum, chairman of the American Himalayan Foundation that helps Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Citing the deportations in a letter to the Royal Nepali Embassy in Washington, Feinstein wrote: "... under these circumstances, I do not believe I can in good





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deportation of 18 Tibetan refugees last month, and over a payment dispute in the joint-venture Bhote Kosi hydropower project.

A move in the US Senate to withdraw a bill granting Nepali garments duty and quota free imports was already on the cards from powerful Texan investors involved in Bhote Kosi. (See 'The price we pay for power', #142). But the Tibetan deportation was the last straw for legislators backing the garment quota bill.

In this David vs Goliath contest Nepal is being punished with threats of aid cut-off, tourism boycotts, and withdrawal of trade privileges. (See also 'Tibet Tibet' p 3). "The United States uses human rights or terrorism whenever and wherever it suits their national interest," explains political science professor Dhurba Kumar at Tribhuban University. "This latest US pressure on Nepal is designed for that purpose.'

The reaction over the deportations in the United States is seen by some Nepalis as being disproportionate, selective and hypocritical. "Nepal has taken care of 100,000 Bhutani refugees for 12 years, Bhutan is about to wash its hands off them, and yet when 18 Tibetans are deported all hell breaks loose," one



Protester trying to prevent bus carrying deported Tibetans from leaving Kathmandu for Kodari on 31 May.

conscience proceed at this time to move the Nepalese garment legislation in the US Senate."

In Kathmandu, it is clear the deportations were carried out under pressure from Beijing. But the government, already beholden to Washington for military hardware, is in full damage-control mode. A senior cabinet member told us: "We have decided it was a mistake, and are trying to convince the Americans it will not happen again."

The government seems convinced that the bill can be revived if Nepal atones for its sins, but it must do this without putting off China. "The ball is in Nepal's court," says Constance Jones, a US embassy spokesperson in Kathmandu. "It must start lobbying for the bill with Senator Feinstein and the US Congress right away."

But for some foreign policy analysts in Kathmandu, this is classic American arm-twisting. "The Americans know perfectly well Nepal has to live with China," said one source. "But because they can't punish China, they bully little Nepal just to show their domestic Tibet lobby that they are doing somethina.'







EDITORIAL

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by CK LAL

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LEARNING EDUCATION

hy are private schools the target of everyone's wrath? Every time anyone wants to make a political point around here, they force schools to shut. In effect, our way of taking revenge on political rivals is to punish our own children. Very few societies in the world have shown such consistently self-destructive behaviour.

Earlier this month, the five main political parties signed a declaration making schools Zones of Peace. When we asked the parties why it is that they are once more threatening an indefinite closure of schools throughout the land, they washed their hands off it. It's not us, they said, it's the student unions.



How convenient. It has become standard operating procedure for the visionchallenged party leadership to use their affiliated student unions to take aim at schools in order to create maximum social disruption with minimum effort. A few phone calls threatening violence usually does the trick.

The truth is that the student wings of parliamentary parties are competing with the Maoist student wing for the radical edge.

The unions have always been the street wing of political parties, either parliamentary or underground. They have now chosen the most vulnerable target: the one that can't fight back.

It is worth reminding ourselves that one of the main reasons for the rot in our school system is the mismanagement and corruption over the past 13 years by the mentors of the same student unions that are shutting down schools today. Successive elected governments abdicated their responsibility to provide affordable quality education even though the period saw the largest-ever infusion of foreign aid into the sector. So, private schools filled the vacuum. Without help from anyone, Nepali educationists created institutions of learning as good as anywhere else in the region.

The success of the private school system would expose the politicians' failure. So today, we have the parties using their present confrontation with the king to let their student wings paralyse the education system.

To be sure, there is something seriously wrong with an education system in which only 30 percent pass high school exams.

This week we had our annual reminder of just how low the quality of education in government schools has sunk. While many private schools have 100 percent first division rates, most government schools have a 100 percent failure rate. So, do we punish the private schools for being more successful?

Our system stigmatises the 70 percent of the 170,000 children who didn't make it through SLC this year as "failures". Cumulatively, over the past ten years alone there have been half-a-million young Nepalis who have been branded failures. Unless efforts are made to bring them into the job market in Nepal or abroad with skills training, this is going to be a socio-economic catastrophe. This is not the time to linger with long-term plans: the crisis is too serious and a solution is required urgently.

If the political parties, the government or the Maoists are seriously concerned about the future of this country, they should start putting their heads together to figure out what they are going to do to defuse this bomb. After all, it will be ticking no matter who rules.

STATE OF THE STATE

Monsoon session, soon Hints of a house revival have created ripples in the cesspool of Nepali politics.

long with his appointment as prime minister, Surva Bahadur Thapa was invested with executive authority by King Gyanendra. This is an implicit acceptance that the cabinet of Lokendra Bahadur Chand had no such powers. The logic can then easily be extended to argue that most decisions taken by ministers in the outgoing cabinet are legally suspect.

Unless endorsed by the person with executive authority, they may be null and void. Chand's cabinet colleagues may have been competent and clean, but it appears they had no right to do what they did for over six months.

Now that the king has given Madhab Nepal what he has been asking for all along—a government with 'full executive powers'—his agitated statements sound like sour grapes. By dithering to back the campaign that parliament be restored through a political settlement, the UML lost its chance.

In the hopeless pursuit of picking the fruit without resolving the issue of the ownership of the tree first, the UML has wasted six months. When there is no parliament, the king is under no compulsion to pick Madhab over Keshab, or any other Janardan off the street for that matter.

For all his faults, at least Girija Prasad Koirala has been consistent in his demand

that the people need to

reassert their sovereignty. Koirala should have realised by now that more than the constitution itself, it's the intention of the ruler that really matters. To keep the authoritarian intentions of ambitious kings in check, the dispersal of state authority over a number of competing institutions of the state is the single most important issue at present.

But Koirala's political plan of action has yet to extend beyond the demand of limiting the royal 'Shree Panch' title and bringing the Royal Nepali Army under control of parliament. That's like arguing about who owns the tree without figuring out who owns the land on which it stands. Unless the constitution is reframed—either through major amendments or total rewriting-there is no way Koirala's daydreams can be realised any time soon.

The Maoists seem even more confused about their short-term goals. Pushpa Kamal Dahal is warning Nepalis to be aware of American designs in the region. Ram Bahadur Thapa is promising to turn Nepal into another Vietnam. Babruram Bhattarai is saluted smartly by the foot soldiers of the 'old regime' when he is cruising along national highways named after former Shah kings.

It is hard to figure out what the comrades want. They seem bent on scrapping the constitution without a clue about what to replace it with-just like the instant verdicts of their rural kangaroo courts. In their doctrine: if there is a dispute about ownership of the fruit, just chop down the tree.

Nepali politics is a stage where the main actors are all playing their part without any idea of their role in the drama being enacted. Members of the Thapa cabinet appear like zombies traipsing along the corridors of Singha Darbar which are haunted by the ghosts of regimes past. All this would be wildly funny if it wasn't so serious. The only way to resolve the issue of constitutional amendments is to let the peoples' representatives debate it. In any parliamentary democracy, showing one's majority on the floor of the house is the sole way of staking a lawful claim of

Only a legislative body can give legality to a truce reached between the insurgents and the government. The question of executive power will remain unresolved as long as its rightful claimant

Had there been a more assertive Speaker than Taranath Ranabhat, parliament would have revived itself when the government failed to conduct elections for the formation of a new house within the constitutionally stipulated period of six months.

The new government spokesperson and Information and Communication Minister Kamal Thapa may not have spoken for his leader, but there is little doubt that his broad hints of reviving the house has created ripples in the cesspool of Nepali politics.

Re-activating the democratic selfcleaning process is not just an exigency any more, it is a matter of political urgency. Let Sher Bahadur Deuba make a

spectacle of himself on the floor of the house. Grant Koirala his right to retreat from parliamentary politics by telling it first to his fellow lawmakers. And wish Nepal luck as he fantasises about Baluwatar.

Democracy is a lousy political system, but the absolute monarchists and peoples' republicans should realise that the alternatives are worse. \blacklozenge



THAPADOM

Manjushree Thapa's 'Thapadom' (#149) was a subtle but serious mockery of a failed system. Sadly, our state never saw governance as something that should be inclusive. The solution is not in picking the elitist force of Fulbright or

> Oxford scholars to tame policies with oversees generic theories

which only work better in seminars, and not at the grassroots. Maybe even the writer has missed the gravity of the matter. Our system has never been able to escape feudalism. The exclusive elite brigades that have ruled this country over the years have made an impression that sovereignty could only be protected and harnessed by these elite classes. It is hard to believe that a government which is so exclusive would ever be able to deliver development to the Nepali people.

Pramesh Aryal, Kopundole

 I am a Thapa by birth and I am truly proud of my roots. Yet should we be talking 'us and them' in this day and age? What are the implications? Is Manjushree Thapa encouraging racism? I have lived here in the UK for six years and the division between various castes is appalling. Identifying each other through caste and communal

LETTERS

prisms is detrimental to our society. Why should it matter whether anyone is a Thapa or not? I totally disapprove of such inflammatory articles.

Dr Arati Thapa Hamal Wakefield, UK

• I found Manjushree Thapa's 'Thapadom' hilarious. Since Kunda Dixit's 'Under My Hat' has been loosing its comic edge of late, might I suggest that Manjushree Thapa take over this column? Bamsaraj Khati, Kathmandu

 I really enjoyed reading Manjushree Thapa's 'Thapadom'. At the risk of piquing the suspicions of an already paranoid public, perhaps it's the Thapas' turn to rule Nepal for the next 104 years. Manjushree's delightfully flippant under-spin to a potentially cloak-and-dagger subject was indeed welcome at a time when the future of our battered nation is uncertain. Levity-a nectar so sweet and rare for the

despondent—came through refreshingly this past Friday. And speaking of mutterings at family gatherings, if you think Chettris are bad, you should attend one of our Newari family gatherings! We leave no caste, creed, ethnicity, animal, mineral or vegetable verbally unmolested by the time the family gathering has ended. We cut on everyone, including Newars. Our clan are EOMs (Equal Opportunity Mutterers). Thank you, Manjushree. May we be fortunate enough to sample more of your charming tongue-incheek commentaries again. By the way, which side of the block do you come from: Rue de Magars or Chettri Boulevard?

S B Shrestha, Kopundole

 Manjushree Thapa's 'Thapadom' fails to acknowledge the contributions of other groups in serving the nation and scores off the remaining 23 million Nepalis. In a Nepal where 'horizontal society' is becoming

increasingly acceptable, her pronouncements sets us all back by at least a few hundred years.

The nauseating utterances, particularly where she has deliberately and repeatedly distinguishes between a 'Chhetri Thapa' and a 'Magar Thapa' (implying that the former is somehow a superior breed than the latter) is one of the most disgusting racial slurs I have ever observed in Nepali media. I have news: It is only a matter of time when Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' may get on top of the state affairs.

As to the question what non-Thapas make of the appointment of SB Thapa as prime minister, I will play the devil's advocate and argue that in present circumstance, the issue has no rationale. In a bid to resolve a stalemate, the king has appointed 'a Thapa', the same way he had earlier appointed 'a Chand' and sacked 'a Deuba'. I don't think race, caste and social status have been a selection criteria. Let's wait and see what SB Thapa has up his sleeves this time around. I am sure the PM is clever enough not to tread on Manjushree Thapa's dumb doctrine of 'Thapadom'. Or else, his days in the Singha Darbar will be numbered.

Kiran Chalise, Sydney

SCHOOLS

As a teacher and parent, I fully agree with Sarita Khatri (Letters, #149) against the political targetting of schools by student unions. Let us look at the students' main demands one by one: 1. All private schools to immediately register as trusts and not as private companies. Unless the constitution is changed, it is unconstitutional of the 'student leaders' to make such a demand. 2. Uniformity in the curriculum in private and government schools and text books. All private and government schools are required to take the Grade VIII, X and SLC and therefore use the



government curriculum. To think

ever mind the Maoist insurgency, every politically correct tourist now has a new reason to avoid Nepal. On 9 June, a California-based group called Ethical Traveler (www.ethicaltraveler.com) announced a tourism boycott of Nepal.

Why? To protest Nepal's forcible deportation of 18 Tibetan refugees into China on 31 May. Several major international Tibetan rights groups have endorsed the boycott, including The Tibet Justice Center, Students for a Free Tibet, US Tibet Committee, and The Milarepa Fund.

Ethical Traveler and its director, occasional ex-pat Jeff Greenwald, are right to criticise the actions of the Nepali government and to demand a forceful protest. But they are wrong to think that a tourism boycott of Nepal is the best way to achieve the desired effect.

A prominent Tibetan rights activist called the boycott "a simplistic, kneejerk reaction to a very complicated and serious situation," pointing out that Nepal makes an easy target for the international activist community too intimidated to challenge China directly. If the objective is to ensure Tibetan rights, why not take on the real bully by calling for a broad-based US-led international boycott of Chinese trade?

Would-be tourist-activists must be told that further strangling Nepal's near-dead tourist economy will not encourage positive change on the part of the kingdom's policy makers. In fact, the weaker the economy gets, the greater the incentive for political players of all stripes to curry favour with China in the hopes of reaping future economic and political rewards.

The people most likely to be negatively affected by a boycott are common Nepalis and refugee Tibetans already resident in Nepal who survive off tiny pieces of the tourist pie. Ethical Traveler has claimed that the

Tibet, Tibet



Tibet activists must realise that further strangling Nepal's near-dead economy will not encourage positive change on the part of the kingdom's policy makers.

boycott will have little true economic impact on individual Nepalis. This is a spurious suggestion when an individual shortfall of as little as Rs 100 a day can have serious effects on whole families who exist at the bottom of the tourism totem pole.

In the improbable event that this is right, then why bother calling a boycott instead of using the more effective and to-the-point protest strategy of letter/fax writing? A boycott with no economic teeth seems unlikely to achieve its stated goal of changing Nepali government policy through "direct action". What a lot of good intention wasted.

Ethical Traveler suggests that regardless of its economic effects, the larger purpose of the boycott is to keep the issue alive in the international media. Activists truly concerned about the shared future of Nepalis and Tibetans would do better to consider the Tibetan issue within the larger context of human rights abuses plaguing His Majesty's Government of Nepal. As one long-time Western resident in Kathmandu put it, "The recent deportation of Tibetans is only one symptom of the much broader problem of human rights abuses in Nepal."

Singling out the Tibetan issue as the human rights issue in Nepal that is most worthy of international concern makes a painful mockery of the suffering experienced during the seven years of Maoist-state conflict by thousands of rural Nepalis, people who have rarely made an international headline or been the lucky beneficiaries of touristactivism. It also sends the unfortunate message to HMG that while Tibetans are worthy of more careful treatment, their own Nepali citizens are not.

For this reason, the proposed boycott will spark new tensions between the Nepali and Tibetan communities. Most Nepalis, particularly those who suffer at the hands of their own corrupt and ineffective government, are intuitively sympathetic to the Tibetan plight, though some have asked why there is not a similar boycott of Bhutan for its treatment of ethnic Nepali refugees. Unfortunately, a boycott of Nepali tourism called in the name of Tibetan refugees has the potential to draw stark lines between the two communities, hindering rather than helping mutual understanding.

Instead of alienating the Nepali public by boycotting travel to the country, the international community (tourist and otherwise) should engage with individual Nepalis and the Nepali media to raise the profile of the issue right here in Nepal. Nepalis will hopefully come to see the Tibetan situation as a feature of their own serious human rights problem, and begin to pressure their own government, police, and armed forces to adopt responsible human rights practices across the board.

Concerned foreigners should use their collective influence to join Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch in a fax writing campaign to Nepali embassies, government offices and the media. The high profile of the Tibetan deportation should be used as a platform from which to protest the dismal human rights record characterised by illegal detentions, disappearances, torture and extrajudicial killings which are being documented across Nepal.

Ethical judgements are never easily made, particularly regarding a situation as complex as contemporary Himalayan geopolitics. Truly ethical travellers should take a closer look at the facts for themselves and consider boycotting the boycott. Better still, the morality experts at Ethical Traveler might call it off before the damage is done, and save everyone a lot of trouble. •

(Sara Shneiderman is conducting anthropological research in Nepal and Tibet for a PhD at Cornell University in the United States. Mark Turin is Director of the Digital Himalaya Project based at the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University, UK.)

Strangers in a Strange Land

Excerpts from piece by Jeff Greenwald in the *San Francisco Chroncile*, 5 June.

San Francisco Chronicle

'Landlocked Nepal is in a delicate position with China, its powerful neighbour to the north. Nonetheless, its action violates a central principle of international refugee law. Established by international treaty following the deadly repatriations committed during World War II, the principle—"nonrefoulement" (ie "non return")—obliges nations not to send refugees back to a place where their lives or freedom will be threatened. Nepal has ignored this convention, and its assertions to the contrary are not persuasive.

What can we do? The Berkeleybased Tibet Justice Center (www.tibetjustice.org), along with Ethical Traveler, offer a suggestion: One of our most persuasive diplomatic weapons as individuals, though we rarely exploit it, is our ability to withhold our tourism dollars from oppressive regimes. A popular boycott of travel to Nepal will send a strong message to the kingdom's officials, who draw huge profits from climbing expedition and visa fees. This boycott must be maintained until Nepal issues an apology to the Tibetan community, and an assurance that such a shameful lapse in human decency will not occur again.

It is ironic that this boycott should take place now, 50 years after runners carried word of Norgay and Hillary's monumental achievement from Everest Base Camp to Kathmandu. But the fate of 18 innocent refugees cannot be eclipsed by pomp and ceremony. It is crucial that we honour human virtue and courage in the best way possible—by compelling Nepal's authorities to answer for their actions.'

(Jeff Greenwald, the Oakland-based author of five travel books, is executive director of Ethical Traveler).

that the essence of learning can be captured in just one or two books is a folly only found in Nepal. Why put a cap on knowledge?

3. School fee ceiling.

The government gets its share of tax from private schools, and can plough this money into bringing up the standard of other schools. If the schools are run as trusts, why raise this issue?

4. Full scholarships for 25 percent of students from underprivileged families.

How can this be done if there is a ceiling on fees? Ideally, children who can't afford good education will be subsidised by parents who can.

5. Transparent accounts must be shared with parents.

This demand does not have to be articulated for schools that are under the trust law, and schools under the company act are not obliged to share their transactions and are protected by company law. Parents can evaluate quality and determine whether the education is worth it. 6. Investigation team from Pabson, parents and student unions will inspect schools. The School Supervisor from the District Education Office is supposed to do these inspections and hardly makes any visits. This is the job of the DEO, not some ad hoc political group.

7. Limit student numbers per class.

What is the magic number? Do people making these demands know the correlation between numbers and structure of schools?

8. Extra curricular activities every Friday.

Why every Friday, why not every Wednesday? How long, and what kind of activities? Who will pay? 9. Children of martyrs and victims of war educated free of cost. How many? From where?

These demands show it is not about educational reforms, but about politics, pure and simple. Political parties brought this country to ruin, and the Maoists have made orphans of many children. Private schools have been hounded for doing the government's job. Now they have to come to the rescue, and that too under the barrel of a gun.

Sarad Rai, Satdobato

SNAKE, SCORPION, FROG

Alok Bohara's letter (#148) speaks of "the current political stalemate" for which an analogy may be found in a popular Nepali belief about placing a snake, scorpion and frog together. According to folklore, none would be able to make a move: the snake, terrified of the scorpion's sting, would be prevented from going after the frog. The scorpion, in turn, would not be able to attack the snake for fear of being eaten by the frog, which would not dare bat an eyelid petrified by the snake.

Name witheld, email

BIRTHDAY WISH

What a shock to read that a 200member 'high level committee' has been formed to celebrate King Gyanendra's auspicious birthday for three days. I urge the king through this letter to please ask this high level committee to stop the extravaganza. The kingdom is in crisis now with the western half of the country paralysed by a transport strike, a threatened closure of all schools, and the peace process in serious jeopardy. The king should call a moratorium on all celebrations till peace has been secured, and the peoples' hope for the future is restored. Nepal should be in mourning right now, and even when we turn the corner to better days, the kind of money and energy wasted on celebrations should be spent on reconstruction, rehabilitation and development with the monarch taking the lead.

Deepa Singh, Maharajganj

NEPALI TIMES

Let me thank you for giving us expatriate Nepalis a chance to read your columns and analyses free of cost on the internet. The content gives us an in-depth understanding of what is happening back in Nepal at such a critical period in our history. Special thanks to Kunda Dixit for his biting satire on the shenanigans of our rulers in 'Under My Hat'. Thank you for doing such a good job and keeping our spirits up.

Rohit Gurung, London

BIRTHDAY WISH

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and the peace process in serious jeopardy. What if the king said, "Celebrate my birthday with pomp only when long-term peace has been secured in the country, and the people have hope for the future." Nepal should be in mourning right now, and even when we turn the corner to better days, the kind of money and energy wasted on celebrations should be spent on reconstruction, rehabilitation and development with the monarch taking the lead. Deepa Singh, Maharajganj

CORRECTIONS

• In 'Give us our daily bread' (#149) the name of the proprietor of Pumpernickel Bakery should have been Norbu Shrestha.

• Both photographs accompanying 'Thapadom' (#149) were taken by Nhuchhe Man Dongol.

• 'Being seen' (#149) was written by Wayne Amtzis.

Kotbara still weeps

⊨⇒ from p1

Kotbara village is four hours from Manma, and is still the frontline in the Maoist war. More than a year after the massacre there of 35 people in an army raid, the villagers still appear shell-shocked (See *Nepali Times*, #106). Of the dead, 17 were young men from a single village in Dhading and seven others—all construction workers at Kotbara airfield. Eleven locals were also killed.

Kotbara residents are still afraid to talk, and it is still not easy to piece together what happened here in the morning of 24 Feburary 2002. It was three days after the Mangalsen and Sanfebagar attacks where the Maoists killed 137 soldiers and policemen. The army launched a helicopter-borne counteroffensive northwards.

A woman Maoist fired her rifle at a helicopter as it approached Kotbara. The soldiers arrived soon after. They shot dead a villager who was walking to his house and wounded a health assistant. The army's intelligence about Maoist presence in Kotbara was accurate, but the militia were hiding at the other end of the town. The wounded health worker warned the Maoists that the army had come, and they escaped into the forests.

One eye-witness said some workers were sitting outside the house playing bag chal, all were reportedly lined up and shot. Among the dead was the subcontractor, Kumar Thapa whose brother, by coincidence, was in the army's attack unit. A local woman took him to the bodies, and he recognised his brother among the dead. He paid villagers Rs 300 to bury him along the retaining wall of the runway that his own workers had built. "I think it was because he saw his brother that the rest of us were saved," said Man Bahadur Bista, a local colleague of the dead workers.

Other workers were buried along the perimeter of the airport, and local Maoists prevent us from taking pictures of the village and the airport. The villagers told us the army came back the next day, exhumed the bodies, put some guns next to them and took pictures. They then ordered the bodies to be reburied. Afterwards, the Maoists came and ordered the bodies to be exhumed again. One Maoist militiaman later admits to us that his group took the bodies out, draped them in red flags and also took pictures.

The villager who told us this shook her head, and said: "Men who never carried weapons were made to do so after they died. Men who were never in politics were covered in flags after death. Neither the army or the Maoists thought it was necessary to treat the bodies with dignity, tell the relatives of the dead what happened, or take care of their widows and orphans."

The airfield at Kotbara was

Kotbara airfield under construction, two years ago.

The house in Kotbara outside where the workers were

reportedly lined up and shot by soldiers last February.

this bridge, cutting off 12 villages on the other side.

some signs of normalcy after the ceasefire.

The Maoists destroyed the new bridge two years ago and had

built this temporary one, now the river has washed away even

The Nepal Telecommunication Corporation's phone centre in

Village women near Jumla plant paddy in their terrace fields,

Jumla which was gutted in the Maoist attack last year and

Clockwise from top:

never rebuilt.

nearly finished when the incident took place, but no one has dared to go back to complete the job. A technical team was there last month, but hasn't made a report yet.

The army is digging the road linking Kalikot to Dailekh, and once it is completed, it will make things easier here in these bloodsoaked hills that everyone has forsaken. That is, if the peace holds. ◆







Jumla Kalikot Dolpa Kathmandu

HERE AND THERE

Weapons of Mass Deception





t's now clear that the pretext for the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq was a sham. That Saddam Hussein—admittedly one of the nastiest fellows on the planet—had Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) primed and ready to blow away Western civilisation was widely proclaimed by the leadership in both Britain and the United States. We heard of nuclear missiles, an array of diseases more deadly than SARS and nerve agents that could decimate a modern city in a matter of seconds. All in freezers and bunkers in Saddam's Iraq.

These quite simply do not exist, whatever President Bush or Prime Minister Blair may still say. The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, made a welcome admission in a recent BBC interview. In a moment of rare candour from a Western leader, he allowed that such was the level of scepticism around the world, few people would believe that the Americans or the British hadn't planted any weapons they may find in the coming weeks and months. I for one doubt that they would do that, but you never know.

Anyway, it's also tempting to conclude that the whole emphasis by the Anglo American alliance on non-proliferation and WMDs—as nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are known—is misleading and capricious.WMDs are indeed scary things. The only country ever to use a nuclear device, the United States, knows this only too well. So do the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the hundreds of thousands of civilians who were vapourised so further American casualties could be avoided in forcing the surrender of Japan in 1945. As for chemical weapons, let us ask the British about them. They are the last Western power to use them against Iraq in 1918 and 1919 to put down a troublesome tribal uprising in a once and future colony. Saddam infamously used poison gas against Kurds and Iranians in the 1980s and for that he is to be vilified. Never mind that at the time, he was backed by the same Anglo-American axis that recently



dethroned him.

Britain and the United States, it seems to me, make such a fuss about WMDs for a variety of reasons, and concern for the world's safety is not first among them. The two countries together dominate the world market in conventional arms and military equipment, and they aim to keep it that way. A recent BBC documentary even pondered whether or not British governments were addicted to arms sales, like a drunkard to the bottle. It's not much of a leap to say that America too finds military spending to be a panacea for many social challenges, and that in itself is a form of addiction. A country that is steadily dismantling policies that overtly redistribute wealth and directly create jobs, uses a bloated and obscene defence budget to prime the economic pump, and to provide work for the poor. And exports are increasingly important.

As for mass destruction, what does the most harm—a putative nuclear

Britain and the United States dominate the world market in conventional arms and military equipment, and they aim to keep it that way.

bomb or the millions of land mines produced and legally sold around the world by firms from Italy, Bulgaria and even the United States? Sarin gas, as horrible as it is, threatens far fewer people than the submachine guns and pistols produced in vast and profitable quantities by Colt, Hechler and Koch and the good people of the Kalashnikov empire in Russia. Anthrax wreaked havoc in America in the aftermath of the 9-11 attacks. Less than a dozen people died—each a tragedy and an outrage—yet in the same period of weeks, some 800 Americans were killed or wounded by firearms. And as that was going on, countless anonymous Africans died in conflicts fuelled by small arms and material sales, largely from Western companies. No mass destruction this, just business as usual for British Aerospace, Armscor of South Africa, Israel's Uzi company and FN of Belgium.

Anti-arms campaigners, who are the most tireless and globalised of international protesters, say the American and British governments in particular, but many other Western governments besides, have become little more than extensions of their arms industries. Hundreds and thousands of domestic jobs and, crucially, votes depend on military exports to the world's poor countries, where conflicts rage unabated. At the same time, Western taxpayers fund development strategies based on conflict resolution and peacemaking. A plane flies in from the West with a cargo of weapons. Upstairs in Business Class sit well compensated conflict resolution and human rights specialists ready to dispense advice.

How about a new concept: Weapons of Mass Deception?



Two funerals for Danraj

This is the story of Danraj Khatri, whose saga is testimony to the suffering, dislocation and misery of the hundreds of thousands of Nepalis caught up in a senseless conflict.

Before the emergency last year, the Maoists forced Danraj to be the ward chairman of the 'people's government' in Garjyangkot, a three-hour walk from Jumla. When the emergency was declared in Novmber 2001, Danraj escaped to the district headquarters in Jumla and turned himself in. The army promptly locked him up for being a Maoist.

"I was beaten repeatedly, and would have died if it wasn't for the help from my cellmates," Danraj recalls. Even though he survived 41 days of torture, rumours spread in the town outside that the army had killed Danraj Khatri by pushing him out of a flying helicopter. Danraj's father performed the last rites for his son in Garjyangkot, and later the army forced him to write a letter home to say he was alive.

After being freed, Danraj went back to his village only to be accused by the Maoists of being an informant. A group of them surrounded his house one night, took him outside and shot him with a revolver. The bullet only grazed his face, and he managed to escape three pipe bomb explosions. The Maoists then went on a rampage, beating up and badly injuring 11 villagers.

Danraj vomited blood and it took all night to drag himself to Jumla. His father, convinced once more that his son was dead, made preparations for a second funeral for his son.

With the ceasefire, Danraj's adventures have been less dramatic. But every day, there are reminders of those days of fear and dread. Later in Jumla, Danraj ran into Prem Buda, the Maoist who shot and tried to kill him last year. "I was angry when I saw him, but then I found out he too was on the run from the Maoists." Buda is now with the police and has been

posted in Rolpa. Last month, thinking it safe, Danraj went back to his home in Gajryangkot to be with his wife. But the Maoists came and told him he couldn't come there if he lived in Jumla. "I looked at my house one last time, said goodbye to my wife, and returned to Jumla, weeping."

(Mohan Mainali in Jumla)

Maimed by mines

KUNDA DIXIT

t has been a little over a year since Bhagwati Gautam of Shoba village in Rukum stepped on an army landmine. After five months in hospital, she walks with a crutch and has turned into an anti-landmine activist. "I was lucky, I only lost my right leg, most others lost their lives," says Bhagwati who was in Kathmandu last week to join delegates from the International Campaign to Ban Landmines as they met government officials, the army, police and Maoist leaders.

Accompanying Bhagwati is Hari Jang Shah, who is also from Shoba village and was injured with four others in a Maoist booby trap four years ago. Both Bhagwati and Hari have got over the initial trauma of their injuries, but are hurt by official apathy to victims like themselves.

Despite the ceasefire, the danger of landmines and unexploded ordnance will continue to be a threat to the lives and limbs of thousands of Nepalis. The Royal Nepali Army admits it has laid approximately 10,000 anti-personnel mines on the perimeter of its bases all over Nepal to defend them from Maoist attacks. But, ironically, most soldiers killed or wounded so far have stepped on the army's own mines. Many others were injured in landmine explosions set off by Maoists on highways, and are still undergoing rehabilitaton at the military hospital in Chhauni.

The Maoists use command-detonated improvised explosive devices (IEDs) made from pipes and pressure cookers which are allowed by international anti-landmine laws, but unexploded bombs litter the countryside. The first step to removing this danger should be for both sides to provide maps of where the devices are located.

According to official tallies, 202 people were killed by landmines and other explosives and more than 500 were injured last year alone. Of the dead, 52 were women, children and non-combatants, and half the total number injured were civilians. Although the number of landmine deaths have dropped dramatically in the six months after the ceasefire, people are still being killed and maimed. In the past week, landmines have killed a woman in Pyuthan and two farmers were wounded in Dhanusha and Salvan. Last month, a soldier who had survived a helicopter crash at the telecom tower in Mahadevdanda was killed when he stepped on an army mine at the accident site. "The difference between landmines and other weapons is that they are indiscriminate, and they remain long after the conflict is over," explains Purna Shoba Chitrakar, coordinator of the Nepal Campaign to Ban Landmines. "The threat in Nepal is not as severe as in Afghanistan or Cambodia, but 702 deaths in a year is huge by Nepali standards." The Nepal Campaign is trying to get the government to agree to



Landmine victims need help to stand on their own feet. Bhagwati Gautam last year *(top, left)* as landmine victim, and today as an anti-landmine activist.

sign the 1997 Ottawa Convention that bans use, storage and transportation of landmines, and the Maoists to commit not to use antipersonnel mines under Geneva Call, the organisation that monitors land mine use by non-state groups.

More immediately, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines wants an inclusion of a clause on prohibiting the use of landmines in the Code of Conduct between the government and the Maoists. "The ceasefire is an opportunity to address the situation on the ground immediately as a part of the peace process," Miriam Coronel Ferrer of the International Camapign to Ban Landmines told us.

Victims of landmines like Bhagwati are not hopeful that Kathmandu

DOMESTIC BRIEFS

Rights groups angry at refugee categories

International human rights organisations have reacted sharply to the results of the categorisation of Bhutani refugees by a Nepal-Bhutan team announced Wednesday. In a joint statement, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Lutheran World Federation, Refugees International, the US Committee for Refugees, and the Bhutanese Refugee Support Group said the decision could render stateless tens of thousands of refugees. Said Rachael Reilly of Human Rights Watch: "This is not a solution, but rather a wholesale violation of their rights."

The results of the categorisation of 12,000 Bhutani refugees from Khudunabari were expected. Bhutani refugee leaders have had no illusions about a process that they say was fatally flawed.

More than 70 percent of the refugees interviewed were categorised as Bhutani who had "voluntarily emigrated". Less then three percent were declared "genuine Bhutanese", and a similar number fell under the "criminal" category. Around 3,000 refugees were found to be "non-Bhutanese".

The refugees left Bhutan 13 years ago, fleeing what they say was persecution by Thimphu and some 100,000 of them have been living in refugee camps in Nepal. In 1996, then home minister Sher Bahadur Deuba gave in to a Bhutani proposal to categorise refugees into four groups and a joint-verification team began work in Khudunabari in 2000.

Many refugees were forced to fill out forms saying they were leaving willingly when they were driven out of Bhutan in 1990-91.

Thimpu used the same documents to prove that more than 8,500 of the first batch of refugees left voluntarily. Thimphu had hinted last month that some of the Bhutani could apply for citizenship. "Since the possibility of hostility in Bhutan is still very high, the refugees will definitely opt to stay back in Nepal," Rakesh Chhetri, a Bhutani refugee leader told us.

Trafficking unchanged

In a hard-hitting report, the US State Department has charged Nepal with not complying fully with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. "Nepal is a source country of women and girls trafficked primarily to India for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation and debt bondage." It says Nepali women in the Middle East have worked in "slave-like conditions" in the past. Internal trafficking from rural areas to cities is on the rise, and poor families place children into debt bondage. The report, however, credits Nepal for making significant efforts to combat the scourge despite resource constraints.

Rosie's run

British adventurer Rosie Swale raised Rs 300,000 from her speed trek from Hilsa in west Nepal to Pashupatinagar in the east. She collected Rs 100 from sponsors for every hundred of an estimated total of 2.5 million steps she took during the tour. It took her 79 days to complete the feat. Proceeds will be used for the renovation of Humla's only hospital that presently serves 50,000 people with only one doctor and no laboratory. Swale plans to produce a film on her her trek to collect more funds for the hospital renovation project. "During my trek I came face to face with the stunning natural beauty and the dire poverty of this country," she said in a press meet organised jointly by Nepal Trust and Nepal Tourism Board in Kathmandu on her return. She believes that her film can establish Nepal as a safe destination among Western tourists. Three guides, a medical staff, 10 porters and three supporting staff accompanied the 57-year-old grandmother.



is going to sign the Ottawa Treaty anytime soon, for now they need help to meet medical bills and rehabilitation for other victims like themselves. The government has helped pay for the treatment of civilians wounded in the emergency, but there is a big backlog of reimbursement to Bheri Zonal Hospital in Nepalganj and the Teaching Hospital in Kathmandu. Says Bhagwati: "All we are saying is, help us stand on our own feet."

(Ban Landmines Campaign Nepal ncbl@mail.com.np)



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NATION

SOMEWHERE IN NEPAL

The Road to Mandale

he rancour within the Rastriya Prajatantra Party over Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa's first cabinet appointments reflects the ex-panchas' rapacity. Don't let the ugliness blind you to the elegance of the moment: Deepak Bohara lectures the premier on the principles governing partygovernment relations, Niranjan Thapa expounds the constitutional and political prerogatives that come with the restoration of the prime minister's executive authority, Kamal Thapa sings paeans to press freedom.

These men come from a tribe reared in an unadulterated Panchayat ambience. Unlike first-generation panchas, mainly party leaders and functionaries who were coerced or enticed into the palace-led polity, they were free to choose right from their student days. The conventional wisdom that the Rastrabadi Swatantra Bidyarthi Mandal was a throng of thugs obscures much of the picture. No amount of state sponsorship could have created a formidable band unless the members had some shared values.

Like most of their contemporaries, these students could have become kangresi and communist supporters. Why did they choose to tell on them? Monopolising the patron-client relationship that reinforced the Panchayat superstructure must have been a major motive, but not the only one. Maybe they genuinely believed that if King Mahendra hadn't stepped in first with his partyless platform in the profoundly polarised international

Don't let the ugliness blind you to the elegance of the moment.



and regional climate, one of the key kangresis would have had to become our own Kenneth Kaunda peddling a one-party program.

Few mandales must have been aware of the exigency of the external environment when they converged on Tribhuvan International Airport on 30 December, 1976 to wave black flags at BP Koirala and Ganesh Man Singh and mock their nationalreconciliation plea. The influence was instructive. If Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's state of emergency hadn't hardened South Asia's political

discourse in 1975, the second amendment to the Panchayat constitution later that year might have embraced a wider constellation of kangresis.

The student movement that culminated in the referendum prompted an official ban on mandales. (Politicians who outlaw their ilk to make way for rivals are either paranoid to the core or congenital conspirators.) In their search for space, the mandales made a smart choice. They infiltrated the flocks of kangresis and communists flexing their muscles on college

campuses across the kingdom. Some of these toughies would probably have become ardent multiparty enthusiasts way back in 1980 if the Janata Party was still in power across the southern border when our referendum was held. Indira Gandhi, who stormed back to office five months before Nepalis voted, was a known votary of direct engagement with the palace. The outcome was preordained. In retrospect, the panchas had greater reason to thank Indian voters for another decade of dominance.

Throughout the 1980s, the pejorative "mandale" stuck with the well-built boys of the National Sports Council. The pioneers took part in the two adult-franchise elections and a few became ministers as elected or nominated legislators. Some also headed the leading sports associations that collectively constituted a parallel government. The mandal's founder president, Padam Thakurathi, represented the liberal strain as a newspaper editor. He nearly lost his life for his exposes on an underground fraternity many of us thought he was

part of. In the end, the tribe could adjust to the restoration of multiparty politics so comfortably because they were perpetually prepared.

The malleability of ex-mandales is perhaps rooted in the reality that they didn't have to spend time in prison for their political convictionsalthough some did for their personal misconduct. Unfamiliar with the bitterness that incarceration, exile and ostracism breed, they can speak of consensus with greater ease.

If Presidents Vladimir Putin of Russia and Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland can leave behind their totalitarian communist baggage, don't our right-wing autocrats deserve a chance to reinvent themselves?

The post-October Fourth period provided an opportunity. We don't know whether the RPP's nonconfrontation campaign was responsible for Lokendra Bahadur Chand's resignation, as its leaders claim. The party did become the principle beneficiary.

Maybe the leaders resolved to stay away from the street's raucous discussions on post-monarchy democracy because they visualised Afghanistan and Iran, while the agitators saw images of France and Germany.

To be sure, it will be difficult for the RPP to cast off the M-word. The party should quit trying, because it no longer is the slur it used to be. The word has acquired a generic connotation embodying all those scandalous attributes everybody sees in everybody else today. Time is a great equaliser. ♦

WEEKEND PACKAGE





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ECONOMY

BIZ NEWS

20 - 26 JUNE 2003 NEPALI TIMES #150





Kia ramro Comfort, power and safety: the three-in-one package is what driving the Sorento is all about, according to Korea's KIA Motors. Add to that the relative affordability compared to Japanese cars in the same class and you have a winner. With its well-appointed interiors, a superbly



crafted engine that serves up 140ps of thrust at 3,800rpm, power tilt steering and spaciousness is already winning accolades. Its sturdy body-on-frame design comes loaded with standard safety features that makes driving in Nepali highways worry free. For test drives: Kia Plaza, Continental Trading Enterprises at Tinkune.

Benetton style

Just arrived: the Summer 2003 collection from the United Colours of Benetton. Valley residents can pick up entire ensembles of trendy, informal basics from their store at Darbar Marg, and other outlets in the country. Built around distinct themes, the collection is adaptable to personal tastes. Summer fabrics include lightweight cottons, linen, voile, crushed poplin, tencel, jersey lycra. Prices range from Rs 279 to Rs 3,499.

Mad about Mazda

Two brand new models from Mazda will start turning heads on our streets and highways. Mazda 6 and New Mazda B-series pick up were launched at a ceremony last week. The Mazda 6 has four cylinders, 16 valves and is 1,988cc. It has five speeds and costs a cool Rs 2.8 million. "That's a reasonable price to ask for a midsize sedan car that features the latest technology and has won the car of the year award," says Rohini Thapaliya of Padma Shree



Limited, the Kathmandu-based distributor. The Mazda B series is a five-speed 2,499cc pick up that can easily seat five. Price: upwards from Rs 2 million.

Shine on

Winston Churchill may have received brilliant ideas while polishing his shoes but in today's busy world who has the time for a spit-and-rub? Now, all you need to do is tuck your shoes into Silroad's automatic shoe polisher machine and after a minute they come out shiny like a new paisa. According to the local distributor, Akhil, Silroads's is ideal for hotels, hospitals, corporate houses and even private homes.

More noodles

The Chaudhary Group has introduced yet another noodle, named 'Soaltee', priced at only Rs 10 for two 50g packets that include seasoning. Soaltee made its debut with an International Music Festival held at the Dashrath Stadium in late May.

Chim-chimney

Tired of choking in the kitchen? Install an Elica electric chimney and smoke the trouble out. Available in different sizes, the chimneys are manufactured by the Italian company Elica SPA Akhil and are ideally suited to the urban Nepali kitchen. Elica offers many different models of their strong, durable and virtually noiseless chimneys. The authorised dealer for the nation is Akhil Trading Concern.

A better buy

few years ago, a survey found that tourists expressed interest in visiting Nepal again. They wanted to come back not because of the mountains, the temples or the weather but because of the people they met. Visitors, especially those who had also been to neighbouring countries, talked about being impressed with Nepalis who they described as "friendly", "helpful" and "sincere".

The survey recommended that if the tourism officials needed a face to promote the industry, Nepali people could serve as excellent brand ambassadors to attract tourists to Nepal. But alas! The media campaign that came out soon after was a disaster. It glossed over Nepal, failing to communicate a single compelling theme as to why anyone should visit Nepal.

A similar story can be found in the Nepali handicraft sector too. For some years, handicraft artisans, producers, and retailers have had their own trade association, complete with a building and the inevitable organisational politics. But ask any of them what makes their products unique, what buyers see when they think of Nepali handicrafts or how the producers keep apace with contemporary designs, and you'll get either vague answers or boringly detailed explanations.

It seems that other than doing the production and hoping that buyers will somehow come, the mavens of the handicraft industry—busy as they are mouthing clichés about poverty reduction and helping women entrepreneurs-rarely spend time articulating why anyone should want to buy more of their products.



And you can tease out more such stories when you scan industries for carpets, garments, tea, herbs, Nepali movies and even that of Chinese motorcycle dealers. The business people associated with these industries do not seem to understand that buyers' awareness about the goods and services alone does not translate into more sales. That is because few are told the reasons as to why they should want to buy more.

In this light, the matrix that Nepali industries find themselves in is like this: first, an opportunity to make money is identified. A spurt of growth occurs in the initial phase. This is characterised by the rush of a number of players of varying quality, who, for a brief while, do rather well, attracting even more players to the industry. It culminates in the solemn formation of an all-Nepal association of the industry.

But things start going downhill after everyone gets together for the trade association. Suddenly, there emerges a collective inability to take the industry to a greater level of market sophistication. Growth slows, players

start to quarrel over market shares, personality clashes turn associations into personal fiefdoms, and the politicians are blamed. Once promising industries fail to live off their own earnings, they are doomed to stay inefficient cottage industries that constantly need donor money and government subsidy.

Is there a way out of this? One approach, already adopted by some in the pashmina industry, could be for associations to focus on understanding why anyone would or would not want to buy their industries' goods and services. Once that is established, then the associations could *brand* their products in ways that convey value to customers. For instance, a pashmina company advertisment says their product looks "great at any age". This branding exercise increases demand. The handicraft industry could adopt such an approach by communicating the finesse of century-old Newari craftsmanship. And for tourism, this might mean inviting tourists to be, well, guests of Nepalis in Nepal and then enjoy the mountains and more. 🔶

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STRICTLY BUSINESS









BRUCE OWENS

. find myself once again pressed into service as wine columnist for Nepali Times. Of course, this is a great honour, but as with all great honours, it carries with it a heavy burden of responsibility. Though the publication schedule of one column every three years might appear to lessen this burden, in fact it only exacerbates it. Some local journalistic competition on this topic would help, but it apparently does not yet exist.

The first bit of advice I must provide is to not pay too much attention to whatever advice I offer. Newcomers to the world of wine often remind me of many in the mid-eighties who were just learning to use a computer, they seemed convinced that if they did something wrong, something terrible would happen. Now, of course, computers have been relegated to the same category of appliances as CD players and electric razors: just plug it in and go. But somehow, drinking wine is seen as fraught with threatening obstacles and potentially disgracing disasters.

The words "serious" and "wine" should not be found in the same sentence, with several obvious

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n vino veritas With cheap imported wines, Nepalis are turning from *ela* to vino.

exceptions, such as "Iraq is suffering a serious shortage of wine". If it becomes clear that someone is in fact "serious" about wine, I suggest serving them beer or not inviting them at all. The serious wine drinker is often the rotten cork of a dinner party.

ALENSAC - M

I am encouraged by recent informal research that has led me

THNILL

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to the conclusion that many Nepalis apparently do not suffer from these sorts of inhibitions. A completely uncontrolled survey at a recent large tamasha revealed that 49.7 percent (statistical reliability of plus or minus 100 percent) of those attending chose unidentified red or white wine over the conspicuously imported scotch that was being proffered in sloshing trays of tumblers. So, if wine seriousness and appreciation are not local problems, what's the problem?

Apparently the market has responded to local wine appreciation (and lack of inhibition), and the choices now available far exceed the capacity of the casual researcher to fully assess the opportunities for success (and failure) that now abound.

There are numerous wines available in Kathmandu that are good to drink and (considering how far they must come, and how they must get here) are reasonably priced. I have had a great deal of success in the Rs 495-700 range. In Nepal, the most important date on the bottle is not the vintage, but the date of its importation, which is



indicated on the duty sticker. Unless it is clear that a bottle imported in 1997 has led a pampered life in air conditioned comfort, it is probably safe to assume that it has led a tortured existence fraught with heat, cork desiccation, fluorescent lighting (a plague on all living beings), and overall lack of respect.

Wine is a living thing. Though it is true grapes that undergo some duty sticker, you can go on to the second number, the vintage. The 2000 vintage of Bordeaux brings tears of gratitude to the eyes of the Bordelais. Even the cheap stuff can be good. One great red success in this category is Chateau des Sables, a so called "cru bourgeois". What

in taste. I wish I could find this at Rs 495 in the States. Another red Bordeaux worthy of consideration

it lacks in pedigree in makes up for



stress in their growing can contribute desirable character to the finished product, the same is not true of stress endured once the product is finished. So, try to buy bottles imported this year or last. Once you have checked the

Wine facts

is a simple "Bordeaux Superieur



Nepal consumes some 14,000 bottles of imported wines a year, and this amount is growing rapidly as habits and social mores change.

One reason for the popularity of imported wines in Kathmandu is low prices. But how a good bottle of French wine is the same cost in Nepal as in France? Abishek Agarwal of Greenline Centre a leading wholesaler of liquor, says this is because exporters have a special price for South Asia, Nepal's import duty on wine is only 40 percent (compared to 200 percent in India), local taxes and department store margins are much lower here than elsewhere in Europe.

"The Nepali market for high grade wines is very small, most people look for cheaper wines, hence table wines and cooking wines are more popular among locals," says Abishek Agarwal.

Middle class Nepalis are also getting more health conscious and shifting from hard liquor to wines. What is good news for wine dealers is not so good news for the breweries: because wine is so cheap many people are also drinking less beer. "The wine business in Nepal is growing at 10 percent per year, and it is getting increasingly popular in urban areas where people are leaving the home-made brews for wines," says Pawan K Agarwal of PK Impex, the other big importer of foreign wines in Nepal.



bottled by Valensac-Marency for Rs 650. This wine will be better in a couple of years, but in case you don't have that kind of time, a little artificial respiration does wonders. Many people know to let a young red wine breathe by opening the bottle an hour or so before drinking it, but this actually does very little. This is why I suggest taking a more active role with wines that are a bit harsh, and transferring the wine to another glass container: a lot more breathing goes on, and the transformation can be miraculous. More important than the specific vintage, it is more important to

remember that reds age more gracefully than whites. In Kathmandu, one should generally avoid whites over three or four years old.

Two wonderful surprises in the red category that surfaced at a recent tasting inspired by this assignment were an Italian Barbera d'Asti, La Rovere, 1998 (Rs 695) and a Cabernet-Malbec from, of all places, Mexico. The first was a surprise because of the bottle, which was frosted in order to give the appearance of being dusty. I generally avoid wine in bottles that seem to be trying too hard, but this



Made in Nepal

HEMLATA RAI

Twenty years ago, Satya Lal Ranjitkar petitioned King Birendra to promote indigenous wines to increase the income of rural people. The king was impressed and ordered sales tax and excise duty exemption for five years.

Later, the government reversed this decision and forced the industry to close down after labelling it illegal for not paying tax that they had been excused from. Nepal's wine industry has no chance when the government overturns royal edicts and lumps it in the same tax bracket as hard alcohol.

Still, it speaks for the perseverance of our wine makers that they have soldiered on with fine drinks professionally made from Himalayan wild berries and fruits.

was excellent: the lightest of the reds we tasted, but interesting and rich in its own way. I purchased the Mexican El Mecedor (from Baja California, the southern part of California that Mexico got to keep) out of curiosity and as a kind of joke. I had never heard of Mexican wine, much less seen or tasted it, and it seemed as unlikely as Nepali seafood. Wonder of wonders, this Mexican wine (Rs 625) was perhaps our favorite of all: rich, a bit fruity, easy to like, and, as one of the jury said, with "aspirations of greatness". I regret to add that we may have consumed the last (and only) bottle in the Valley.

The grand prize in the white category also came from the 2000 vintage of Bordeaux. This was a humble Chardonnay bottled by Leon Galhaud from the Pays d'Oc region (Rs 667): well made, with a nice balance of fruitiness and dryness. Other winners were from Australia, which reliably produces wines at fair prices that are easy to like. Lindeman's Bin 77 Semillion-Chardonnay blend, 2000, and their Bin 65 Chardonnay, 2001, both at Rs 684, were both a bit more fruity and less restrained than their French competition: hardly a surprise, given who made them.

Though the Valley seems awash in wine (and beer), I must end this article on a somewhat sombre note. Recently, while at a feast, I was offered ela, and was rather disappointed when two bottles of Bagpiper appeared instead of that wonderful local fire water made from rice or baji. On Sankranti, I noticed among the feasters at Ta Bahal in Patan some folks who had bottles of San Miguel sitting on the ground beside their laptes of baji, chhuela, and aluya achar. A bhweis just not a bhwe without ela and thón, the latter being that wonderful not quite bubbly, not quite sweet, not quite sour, milky beverage that was a required part of the finale to long pujas twenty years ago. I wish that there were some way of making these two beverages, in their wonderful authentic and varied forms, available in ways so that they could take their rightful places alongside the Johnny Walkers



"The wine industry has been victimised by those who manipulate public misconception about alcohol for their own benefit," says Maheshwor Lal Ranjitkar of Makalu Wine Industry *(pic, left)*, maker of the famous Hinwa label. The wine is produced by fermenting fruits and contains only up to 17 percent alcohol.

Satya Lal's horticulturist son Madhusudan went to France to learn wine-making and returned with all the skills but they are lying fallow: the legal hassles, official discouragement, and limited consumers disheartened him. Madhusudan now runs a school.

Maheshwor Lal refuses to give up. When the government waived taxes for wine industries in 16 remote districts, he set up MWI in Sankhuwasabha a decade ago. Until the Maoists forced its closure in 2000, MWI was producing 40,000 bottles of wild mulberry wine per year.

But there may yet be a happy ending: the Maoists no longer object to the factory. Hinwa is still available at Kathmandu supermarkets, but it faces stiff competition from cheap imported grape wines.

"Our policies are such that it discourages Nepali wine industry in cost of increased dependency on imported wine," says Shishir Ranjitkar of Fermented Beverage Industry (FBI) which is planning to import its own wines. The roadmap is clear: put wine makers on a different tax bracket than distilleries and protect it with excise exemption like King Birendra did.



Bluebirds, Namastes, and Green Lines (*pic*, *bottom left*) of the Valley, and thus be valourised by the market economy that now seems to be so readily dominated by foreign intruders. \blacklozenge

and San Miguels in the



WORLD

20 - 26 JUNE 2003 NEPALI TIMES #150

by **GIORGIO GOMEL**



mos Oz, one of Israel's best known writers, claims that the current Palestinian-Israeli war is actually two wars: an "unjust" war against Israel and the Jews to establish a fundamentalist Islamic state in an "Arab Palestine," and the Palestinian people's "just" war for an independent state worthy of the name. Conversely, Israel is also fighting two wars: a just war to defend its right to exist, accepted in its integrity and security in the Middle East, and an unjust and futile war to perpetuate its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Jewish settlements located there.

There are about 220,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, excluding the approximately 190,000 people living in the neighbourhoods of Jerusalem that extend beyond the pre-1967 border of the old, divided Jerusalem. Despite the intifada, the number of settlers has decreased in only a few of the 144 settlements, and there are over 7,000 settlers in the Gaza Strip alone, in 16 communities occupying 20 percent of an impoverished land already suffering one of the highest population densities in the world.

Israeli state support for expanding settlements is substantial. In the last ten years, settlements received annual subsidies equal to roughly • 920 per capita, while the development towns have received • 575 and Arab communities in Israel • 430. State funds finance 50 percent of housing costs in the settlements, compared to 25 percent in Israel.



The war over settlements

What is the objective of this policy of expansion in the occupied territories? Why have settlements been established even in areas most densely populated by Palestinians? Those territories that were to be used after the 1967 war as bargaining chips in exchange for recognition of Israel and peace are now permanently occupied in order to prevent the formation of a Palestinian state with the sovereignty and territorial continuity necessary for a small but autonomous state. In reality, the territories are an extension of Israeli sovereignty; the army is there to protect

the settlers and to assert Israel's de facto sovereignty over them.

But the occupation has produced malignant effects: restrictions on freedom of movement, daily harassment and humiliation and road blocks (pic, top). As a result, the occupied territories have become an obstacle to peace and, paradoxically, a threat to the very security of Israel, its citizens and its soldiers. Israelis cannot dominate another people and live in a democratic state in keeping with Zionist ideals unless they "free" themselves of the territories and aim at

the coexistence of two states with recognised borders and good neighbourly relations.

Given magnitude of settlement and the power of vested interests, a forced evacuation of the occupied territories is unthinkable. But any agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, will call for a first phase of evacuation of the at least 50,000-60,000 people living in the more distant and scattered settlements. Three years ago, Premier Ehud Barak proposed a possible solution for approximately 150,000 settlers:

Israel must "free" itself of the territories and aim at peaceful coexistence.

combining some of the large settlements into contiguous blocks and annexing them to Israel along with the sprawling suburbs of Jerusalem, with Israeli land handed over to the future state of Palestine in exchange.

But it is unlikely that the Palestinians would accept such a solution. So some kind of system of incentives must be devised to encourage a large portion of settlers to repatriate and to allow for the continued presence of the others in the territories while respecting Palestinian sovereignty. This will be easier for those settlers who moved to the territories for pragmatic reasons (subsidised housing, the quality of suburban life, tax incentives), because they are basically commuters, with a lifestyle that is not much different than if they were living in Israel.

Today, with the terrorist attacks along the roads and the insecurity, and tomorrow, with the establishment of a Palestinian state, these settlers will probably want to return to live within Israel's borders. Perhaps, in a future of peaceful coexistence and open borders, there could even be Jewish communities with autonomous administrations in the territories, just as there are such Arab communities in Israel now: the Jews that stay on would be foreign residents in the Palestinian

state and subject to its laws.

But the settlers driven by a nationalist-religious ideology, devoted to the myth of a "Great Israel" and convinced that they are fulfilling the biblical dictate of repossessing the sacred land, will oppose evacuation. They will nevertheless have to submit to the democratic decisions of their government. How much would such repatriation cost? Let's make a rough estimate. If 60-70 percent of settlers were willing to return to Israel, this would amount to 130,000-150,000 people or approximately 25,000-30,000 families. On the basis of the average price of a home in Israel (approximately • 280,000 per family), one could estimate a total cost of • 7-9 billion.

Within the framework of an overall settlement of the conflict, a number of countries could contribute to this sum: the United States and the European Union countries, as well as Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states. By purchasing the settlers' homes, they could then hand them over to Palestinian refugees settling in the future state of Palestine. (© Project Syndicate)

(Giorgio Gomel is an economist and a founder of the Martin Buber -Jews for Peace Group.)





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ANALYSIS

by MARWAAN MACAN-MARKAR

A real taste of sanctions



y moving to impose the toughest sanctions on Burma so far of any Western country, the US Congress may finally give the junta an overdue lesson on the economic pain such punitive measures can bring.

The sanctions being put in place by the US Congress, especially the ban on imports from Burma, will hit Rangoon where it counts mostbecause the United States is the principal market for Burmese-made goods, according to a report on the impact of sanctions being prepared by ALTSEAN. In 2001, Burma shipped \$456 million worth of goods to US markets, up from \$443 million in 2000, reveals the report due to be published in July. The European Union, which has been a consistent second after the US market from 1995 to 2001, imported \$404 million worth of goods from Burma in 2001.

Between 1995 and 2001, Burmese exports to the United States, European Union, Australia and Canada increased by an average of 435 percent, the report states. "While the SPDC is making

Burma from international financial institutions such as the World Bank. These sweeping measures were never the case in the past, when Western governments talked about the threat of sanctions or imposed "tough measures" to bring about political change in Burma. Even when Washington banned new US investments in Burma in 1997, the prospect of Rangoon crippling under the economic strain was not amply evident.

The measures sought by the US Congress "will cause a stir because the language is so strong," adds Debbie Stothard of the Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma (ALTSEAN), a regional group lobbying for human rights and democracy in Burma. "A lot of US companies managed to bypass the

1997 law, although campaigns in the US by groups like the Free Burma Coalition have led to some companies pulling out of Burma," she says in an interview.

But the tough US moves may well make it easier for other Western governments to take more action against Burma, or at least put the spotlight on the economic ties that other Western nations have with Rangoon. For instance, Britain has spoken out against the military regime, but has not put the brakes on its investments in Burma. By 2000, Britain had close to \$1.4 billion worth of investments in the country, according to ALTSEAN's findings. Burma's Southeast Asian neighbours, too, opted for "constructive engagement" to nudge the junta toward openness. But in the wake of the US Congress' moves, it may soon prove embarrassing to be seen cuddling with Burma's strongmen for the sake of profits and talking the language of democracy at the same time.

On 30 May, the military regime triggered global outrage after Suu Kyi and members of her party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), were attacked by individuals linked to the junta while they were visiting supporters in a town north of Rangoon. Noble laureate Suu Kyi and 18 NLD officials were subsequently whisked away by the junta and are being kept in "protective custody". ♦ (*IPS*)

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Dodging queries

CANBERRA - Months after a row erupted over the Australian government's role in the 2001 sinking of a boat carrying asylum seekers from Indonesia, a government minister and the head of the Australian Federal Police (AFP) have refused to discuss crucial details of what was known about the ill-fated voyage.

Codenamed SIEV-X by the Australian military, the boat sank on 19 October 2001 in international waters off Australia's northern coast, drowning 353 mostly Iraqi and Afghans. The Australian government claimed it had no prior knowledge of the location, time of departure or where the SIEV-X sank. The release in February 2003 of a previously secret diplomatic cable, which the Australian Embassy sent the day after the sinking became public knowledge, revealed that officials were aware of those crucial details.

This week, AFP Commissioner Mick Keelty and Justice Minister Sen Chris Ellison invoked "public interest immunity" rather than answer critical questions about their knowledge of the boat's voyage. (IPS)

Little camel jockeys

KARACHI - The use of young boys as camel jockeys has been a controversial issue for years. Most boys come from the subcontinent. Many are brought by their parents, others are smuggled and sold into the trade, which activists have called "inhumane". The UAE has a 1993 law banning the use of small children in the national sport of camel racing. Last year, the government said it would enforce a ban on jockeys younger than 15.



But the demand continues to see young boys headed for the Gulf.

Mushtaq Ahmed of the Overseas Pakistanis Foundation says parents are so poor that they are willing to sacrifice one child so that the rest can live off him. The solution he believes lies in setting up small cottage industries or microcredit schemes. Almost all the wards at the Edhi Home in Korangi want to return to the UAE to race camels. The \$54 they were paid per race is far more than they could otherwise earn. Run by the Edhi Foundation, the home estimates nearly 2,000 boys are working as camel jockeys in the Gulf. (IPS)

SNV/Nepal Vacancy Announcement

SNV/Nepal, a Dutch non-government development organisation, has been working in Nepal since 1980. SNV Nepal focuses on capacitating key institutions at the district, regional and national level with the ability to serve the interests of marginal areas. SNV's sectoral niches are in governance, private sector development and natural resource management.



Nepal

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concerned efforts to develop trade regionally, it would be difficult at best to replace these major markets," it says. "This [US ban] is serious, because no one else has banned imports from Burma," says Stothard. "It will drastically reduce the flow of US dollars, which the SPDC needs."

The US Congress is also pushing for a freeze of assets in the United States belonging to the regime and its leaders, and for Washington to oppose any loans to

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Organisation Development Centre (ODC) GPO 8975 EPC 443, Jhamsikhel, Kathmandu, Nepal. Phone: (977-1)-5551979, 5524540 E-mail: <u>odc@odcentre.org</u>

Applications are to be sent to the above address along with a cover letter with the latest curriculum vitae. Your daytime contact number and the names of two referees along with their contact address/telephone numbers are essential for processing your applications. Only short listed candidates will be notified. Applications will be accepted till 5:00 PM on Wednesday, July 9, 2003.

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2 from the Nepali press

THIS PAGE CONTAINS MATERIAL SELECTED FROM THE NEPALI PRESS

20 - 26 JUNE 2003 NEPALI TIMES #150

Immunised impunity

Shiva Gaunle in Himal Khabarpatrika, 15-29 June

More than a year after Hemant and Anjali Shrestha were hacked to death at their rented Kathmandu apartment, their murderers have not been caught. The police know who they are—people who visited the Shrestha couple before the incident—but have not been able to bring the culprits to justice.

Two years ago industrialist Tulsi Agrawal's kidnapping from a Biratnagar market made national news. The public heard nothing after his dramatic release six weeks later. Silence from Agrawal is natural under the circumstances, but the reticence of government agencies is a mystery. Especially or perhaps because Umesh Giri, a close aide of former home minister Khum Bhadur Khadka, is rumoured to have had a hand in the crime.



Only last month Ramesh Sharma of the UML suffered severe injuries in one eye at the hands of the police. The party's general secretary Madhab Kumar Nepal and Nepali Congress president Girija Prasad all expressed their sympathy, but the state did not find it necessary to investigate.

The assassins of late Inspector General of Armed Police Force Krishna Mohan Shrestha (*pic, top*) and his wife Nudup Shrestha have gone unpunished. In the name of creating a conducive environment for the peace talks, the government released them as soon as they were arrested. Prem Kumari, the murdered officer's mother, was shattered by that decision. "I grieve over the loss of my son and daughter-in-law, but am deeply saddened by the fact that the killers walked away freely. How can the state be so indifferent?" she asks.

Seventeen labourers from Dhading who were building an airport at Kalikot were killed by security forces who mistook them for Maoists. Two years after the incident the government has not even begun an investigation into the matter, let alone punished those who were responsible.

These incidents send a message: Nepali society is not safe, it denies justice to victims and allows crimes to go unpunished. This impunity marks our history too. Those guilty of the Bhandarkhal and Kot massacres did not end up in jail, but were rewarded with the reigns of power. The Namita-Sumita scandal nearly three years ago and the recent murder of musician Praveen Gurung are examples of even the palace siding with impunity.

Even more dangerous is the state's indifference to the over seven thousand lives lost, thousands 'disappeared' and physically handicapped during the Maoist insurgency. "In the name of arresting terrorism, the state itself encouraged impunity that is becoming the culture of the nation," says Human Rights activist Krishna Pahadi. "This encouraged the police and army personnel who tortured civilians."

Impunity in Nepal was included in the Amnesty International 2002 report which expressed concern over the escalating number of killings, torture, arrests, kidnappings and disappearances by the security forces and the Maoists.



Deuba's undoing

Tarun, 16 June

हिमाल

The curtain is slowly drawing up to reveal India's role in the ousting of Sher Bahadur Deuba from the position of prime minister. The inside story reveals how our southern neighbour instigated the king against Deuba and allowed the Maoists to use its territory to transport arms and ammunition.

Last September, Deuba was all set to sign a treaty against landmines in a meeting at Canada. Just before he left, he decided to replace the Royal Nepali Army's SLR rifles with standard NATO issues. During his first tenure of premiership eight years ago, Deuba had imported 3,000 pieces of M16 NATO standard commando rifles. Some MPs close to South Block raised concerns. For one thing, India was the RNA's main supplier of SLR rifles in the past, benefiting from a side trade in Indian bullets too. Deuba's decision meant a loss for the Indian munition suppliers, which began the Indian game of dislodging Deuba.

In the meantime, amidst mounting Maoist destruction of public infrastructure, many foreign governments sent aid to the RNA. China donated communication equipment, the UK sent helicopters and the US provided tactical equipment. Not to be outdone, India sent two Chetak helicopters and 90 trucks.

What India actually had in mind was to weaken the RNA through Maoist attacks, and force the king's hand into ousting Deuba. The government entered into a five-year military agreement with the US and plans were afoot to form a special commando team within the army. When India came to know that the US was planning to train Nepali would-be commandos, it made a deal with the king. He would remove Deuba and New Delhi would give him a Maoist ceasefire. It worked and Sher Bahadur Deuba found himself out of office.

Break up

Budhabar, 11 June

The recently published report of the UML's Seventh National Convention shows the majority of its leaders and workers are highlyeducated youths. Out of the 1,012 convention participants 44 percent held university degrees. The largest percentage, 27.5 percent, hold bachelors' degree, master's degree holders were 16 percent and less than one percent had doctorates. About eight percent chose not to mention their academic qualifications. It is estimated that the majority in this category boycotted "bourgeois" education and are self-taught. Only two percent of the participants belonged to the 24-29 age bracket, 30 percent came from 30-39 age group, while 45 percent belonged to 40-49 age group. Less than 1 percent of the participant were older than 70 years. The vast majority, 76.5 percent, are younger than 50. The UML report also labels itself a truly representative party. Seven percent of its cadres are peasants, 13 percent are women, two percent are dalit, 12 percent are janjatis and seven percent are madhesis.

Party woman

Ghatna Ra Bichar, 18 June

Five months into the ceasefire, Hisila Yami, Central Working Committee member and chief of the Women Department of the Maoist party, recently attended a meeting in Kathmandu. It was her first public appearance in eight years after she went underground.

The meeting was organised at the office of Asmita Women's Publications and was attended by the UML supported All Nepal Women's Association (ALWA) chief Goma Devkota, United People's Front supported ANWA chief Shashi Shrestha, National Women's Commission chief Durga Pokharel, Mukta Shrestha of *Mulyankan*, author Sudha Tripathi along with three women representing ANWA (Revolutionary), and Yami's sister-in-law Durga Neupane.

During the three-hour session, the women discussed the formation of a joint "women's



front" of female leaders from political parties and independent female intellectuals to ensure the success of the on-going peace talks. Although Durga Pokharel agreed to the proposal no concrete decision was made.

Yami said nearly 33 percent of the Maoist army were female, and that two had risen up the ranks to become brigade commanders. "In some cases men have abandoned weapons and run from encounters, but women have never done so. We won all the battles that involved a large number of women guerillas," said Yami.

The party not only arranges weddings between members but has also set up "childcare centres" around Rukum, Rolpa and other Maoist hotbeds. Literacy among Maoist women is highly encouraged. Yami also confirmed the recruitment of homosexuals. In a short conversation regarding monarchy, Yami said the crown could never be a symbol of Nepal's unity. Yami wore military green shirt and pants. There was a conspicuous lack of personal bodyguards.

Quite contrary

Pradeep Giri of the Deuba Congress in *Punarjagaran*, 17 June

We all said that it was a big mistake when Lokendra Bahadur Chand was made prime minister. The king should have corrected his error, he had time to do it. But one fine morning, he woke up and Chand fell out of favour. Now Chand, GP Koirala and the media all have different theories on what led the king to make that move How Surya Bahadur Thapa succeeded Chand and what role the political parties played is something that is slowly becoming clearer.

We respect Thapa but he is a Panchayat-era leader. To illustrate my point is a modified version of an old tale: King Gyanendra, out on a drive late one night, reached Singha Darbar. "Everyone is on horseback and I have to stand," he heard someone mutter. To his surprise, it was the statue of King Prithbi Narayan Shah. "Bring me a horse right away," Prithbi Narayan ordered. The king called Surya Bahadur Thapa to tell him what happened. Thapa scoffed: "How can a stone statue speak?" but went with the king to see for himself. On seeing Thapa, the same voice said, "I asked for a horse, and you brought me an ass."

If the king carries on his present path, the people will demand a donkey if he brings a horse and vice-versa. In the past, I have counselled the king on the temperament of the people. If the king does not make a timely decision, the people will demand a constituent assembly if he prepares to reinstate the parliament. And when he nods at the constituent assembly, there will be cries for a republic. If the king agrees to that, the people may ask for his exile.

We are pro-monarchy and our party has earned the name of "royal congress". But our colours are changing, and this is something we don't want. Why did the king not invite our party? Why did he remove Deuba? Those were rash moves, and he must be regretting them now. (Excerpted from a speech delivered at the Deuba Congress rally in Kathmandu 13 June.)

Friday tenant.

Robin Sayami in *Himal Khabarpatrika*,15-29 June.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

The peace process has already been broken. It just has not been declared. But we are patient, we have not given up yet.

- Ram Bahadur "Badal" Thapa, member of the Maoist negotiation team. Spacetime, 15 June.

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SLC failures

Kantipur, 16 June

कान्तिपुर

The good news is the government could bring out the School Leaving Certificate results on time this year. The bad news is that only a third of the total examinees got through the 'iron gate'.

Who are these unsuccessful students that make 70 percent of the failures? Do they come from urban or rural areas and did the students go to government or



private schools? What is the socio-economic status of their parents? These are not easy questions to answer but one thing is for sure: the recent SLC results drew a line between the haves and have-nots, a fact that the United Nations and other NGOs confirm. Children from a lower economic strata get stranded on the SLC slope. Many parents of those who failed had to cut corners to send their child to school, often depriving themselves of basics like food. It will jeopardise the future of this country if they conclude that making their children plough the fields is far better that sending them to school. And disillusioned youths become easy prey to extremist ideologies. The people already have had a bellyful of that. We cannot blame these dismal results on students alone. Teachers, parents and the government's

We cannot blame these dismal results on students alone. Teachers, parents and the government's education policy are equally responsible. The latest SLC results puts two challenges to the government, society and policy planners. The first is to ensure higher education opportunities for the 30 percent who made it through the high school exam. The second is to create an environment where the failures get a chance. Schools that have a low pass percentage must be held responsible. It is the job of the department of education and SLC office to investigate why 70 out of every 100 students failed this exam. Something has gone terribly wrong.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

NEPALITERATURE

Buddha Sayami **The voice of the times**

by MANJUSHREE THAPA

The Nepal-Bhasa poet Buddha Sayami is one of the most poignant chroniclers of our times, expressing the prevalent desire of progressive Nepal to be done with the conservatism of the past, and to establish a new order. Sayami's unafraid voice echoes the sentiments of the masses, calling for change faster than it is being, or has ever been, delivered. This call is clear in his first iconoclastic poem:

Let me tear apart your seal

I am no prince to take satisfaction at my father's death

Yes I am discontented by my room filled with smoke Yes in me lies a rebellion against our way of staying silent of pretending not to notice all that is plain to see

I am my mother's agony of rape or the sign of her consent to pleasure My father the cause of my arising I am not your new edition: The cover alone has been changed I cannot carry around your life the way an official refers in haste to the above-mentioned

I cannot breathe in your prayer room with its stench of murder Your statues of great compassion stand as obstacles to my footsteps The value of your belongings have diminished in my eyes Father Why do I see parasites in the medals that decorate your chest?

Father I cannot live the way you do Letting vultures pounce on your belongings while you swallow your own saliva chewing up all your desires Innumerable roads writhe at my feet today My throat scratches in the urge to express itself

Father Let me tear apart not you but the seal of your culture and thinking

This is where I lie captive

The second poem, below, speaks to all those who have ever occupied a podium in Nepal, spewing out (more often than not) hollow words. Sayami addresses himself—a poet and writer—but his judgment applies equally to politicians, academics, experts, and dignitaries, both native and foreign...In asking us all to adopt egolessness and to acknowledge the collective nature of our project, Sayami invokes a Buddhist ethics in this poem.

No need for embarrassment, I'm unmasking my own face (not yours)

(Neither feet nor hands nor even the eyes The meaning of feet alone—is the end of their movement)

I am perhaps the greatest admirer of my own form I am perhaps the most ardent devotee of my own statue Here 'we' are merely horses that 'I' ride

'l'—a pox and yes, an epidemic in waiting Any place where "I" am raised becomes putrescent Ah! How many maggots of "I" and "me" squirm within our bodies One individual one island separate alone Each "I" taking pride at its height When the thick clouds shift the illusions dissipate from tender glances There isn't just one mountain here The illusions dissipate The closest mountain isn't the highest one The illusions dissipate 20 - 26 JUNE 2003 **NEPALI TIMES #150**

The Administrative Officer The World Bank P.O. Box 798 **THE WORLD BANK** Kathmandu **KATHMANDU OFFICE** Email: <u>rkunwar@worldbank.org</u> **VACANCY** No telephone or personal inquiries please.

<u>Rural Development Economist position based in Kathmandu Nepal</u>

The World Bank is seeking applications for a Rural Development Economist position based in Kathmandu Nepal.

The World Bank seeks to strengthen its contribution to rural development in Nepal through an integrated approach. This entails building meaningful consensus with a broad spectrum of stakeholders on rural development strategies, agricultural policies, productivity, rural access, and natural resources management; promoting rural decentralization and community-based development; ensuring selectivity in assistance based on comparative advantages; scaling up best practice; emphasizing learning and knowledge transfer in both grassroots and government institutions; fostering sustainability and governance; supporting inter-sector coordination for an integrated approach to program implementation; and forming inter-sectoral task teams to help develop integrated approaches to projects and programs.

Principal Accountabilities

The South Asia Rural Development Unit is seeking to recruit an outstanding person who, based in the Nepal Country Office, can motivate policy dialogue with the Government on a wide range of rural development issues on a continual basis and follow through with implementation of agreed programs and projects to support the Government's reform process. The person is expected to have proven analytical and operational experience in leading cross-sectoral teams in sector policy analysis, advisory services, strategy formulation, and implementation for a variety of areas such as: rural development, agriculture policies, irrigation, decentralization, rural access, natural resources management, and institutional reform. The person in this position will report to the Sector Manager in the Rural Development Unit in South Asia. For the purpose of the coordination of activities in the country office and general local administrative issue he will need to refer to the Nepal Country Director.

The main areas of responsibility are:

1. Contribute to the discussion and formulation of sectoral strategies and country policy analysis. Engage the Government as well as the Bank's own Nepal Country Team on strategic issues, policy dialogue and program developments in the sector.

2. Take the lead or participate as team member in the preparation of sector work or analytical and advisory services.

3. Take the lead or participate as team member in the preparation and supervision of rural development projects or components.

4. Take the lead or participate as team member in developing stronger coordination with other units in the Bank on rural development related issues, such as rural access, rural electrification, rural drinking water and sanitation, education, health, labor market, and social inclusion.

5. In this regard, as necessary, work on related economic and policy issues to support the work of other units.

6. Provide feedback and comments to policy notes, discussion papers, briefing notes, reports, etc.. so as to facilitate on-going sector dialogue and knowledge.

7. Serve as liaison between the client and the Bank on projects that he/she will be assigned to, on the rural portfolio and dialogue in general. Maintaining good contacts with counterparts, following up on requests and participating in meetings and missions as required.

8. Maintain good contacts with the NGO community and other donors, actively pursuing coordination and dialogue.

9. Prepare and manage cross-learning activities, such as workshops, field visits, etc. Ensure the preparation and dissemination of periodic reports on the projects to ensure that both clients and Bank remain informed about the projects experiences.

To achieve the above he/she will have to (i) interact and coordinate with development partners (bilaterals, multilaterals, associations) and professional organizations on issues pertinent to the Bank's assistance; ii) promote and monitor sectoral initiatives, identify regional and cross-cutting sectoral issues for Country management attention and ensure that links across sectors are strengthened to promote cross-sector teams as needed.

Qualifications

* High degree of integrity, dedication and commitment to obtain results in sustainable rural development and poverty alleviation, as well as ability to inspire trust and build partnerships with clients, team members, colleagues, and management;

* A minimum of a Master's degree in agricultural economics, applied economics, or in a related field;

* A minimum of 8 years of relevant professional and operational experience in sector work and project analysis in the

Light doesn't comes from mountains Light is but the call of the age Oh poet writer important person oh "I" presiding over the mike on the stage: what of the welfare of the girls and boys who are supporting the weight of this stage? The girls and boys who remain invisible in order to hold up the stage: What of their aspiration?

How eager is

the young "I" who lacks the child's experience to clear a place for one's seat amid heads bowed down in devotion How shameless to let loose the bulls of 'I' and 'me' on the just-sprouting seeds of the yield of collective labour area of rural development, agriculture policies, natural resources management;

* Demonstrated relevant experience in Rural Development/Natural Resource Management sector analysis, preparation of reports and discussion notes, and proven ability to conceptualize and deliver high quality major economic and sector work;

* Demonstrated experience in leading complex multi-sectoral and interdisciplinary missions and analytical skills in policy analysis and formulation;

- * Strong written, oral communication, listening and interpersonal skills;
- * Ability to manage and resolve complex issues, while demonstrating cultural sensitivities;
- * Demonstrated experience in outreach and working with a wide range of stakeholders and donors; and

* Demonstrated leadership skills, ability to coordinate and manage multi-disciplinary teams, mentoring skills, ability to supervise consultants, as well as strong orientation to being a team player and working in a team-based, decentralized, multi-cultural, cross-sectoral and matrix management.

The World Bank is an equal opportunity employer and does not discriminate with respect to gender, religion, ethnic origin or caste. Female candidates are strongly encouraged to apply. Applicants should send their applications by July 16, 2003 to:

CITY

20 - 26 JUNE 2003 NEPALI TIMES #150



ABOUT TOWN

FESTIVAL AND EXHIBITIONS

- * Pictures from Modern Life in Nepal photographs by William Mebane till 4 July at Siddhartha Art Gallery, Baber Mahal Revisited. 4411122
- Walking photographs by Ashok R Shakya from 17-22 June at Park Gallery, Lazimpat. 981055263. *
- Jewellery from North India and Nepal exhibition and sale. 10AM-5PM on 21 June. Maya Rana 4371571
- The Story of Nature paintings by Devina Malla at NAFA Hall, Naxal till 22 June. 4411729
- Soham silver jewellery by Shruti. 22 June till 6 July at Gallery Nine, Lazimpat. 4436994

EVENTS

- Imaging Everest photographic exhibition from the Royal Geographical Society, London, in association with The British Council, Kathmandu. 8.30 AM-4.45 PM till 31 July at the British Council, Lainchour.
- Hyatt Opens Tennis Tournament 19-21 June. For registrations: Hyatt Regency Kathmandu 4491234 ext 5165
- Beauty workshop by Yatan and Jojo. 11AM-4PM on 23 June. Rs 3,000 including lunch and tea. Hyatt Regency Kathmandu. 4491234

MUSIC

- Cadenza live 7.30PM every Wednesday and Saturday. Rs 200 entry. Interested musicians welcome to jam. Upstairs Jazz Bar, Lazimpat.
- 1974 AD live at Rox Garden, Hyatt Regency on 20 June, 8PM onwards. 4491234
- Live Music Friday at 5.30 PM, Saturday movie at 4.30 PM. Jivin' Joe's Restaurant, Kupondole.
- Live Acoustic Jam 7PM on Saturdays at Himalatte Cafe, Thamel. 4256738
- * Full Circle acoustic jam every Friday at New Orleans Café, Thamel. 4427311
- Thunderbolt with Ram Shrestha and Sabu Lama. 8PM onwards Wednesdays and Saturdays at the Red * Onion Bar, Lazimpat. 4416071
- The Jazz Bar presents Abhaya and The Steam Injuns. 7PM onwards, 20 June. 50 percent discount on * food and drinks. Shangri-la Hotel, Lazimpat. 4412999
- International music day Free concert at the Alliance Française. 12PM till late on 21 June. *
- Chill out Friday jazz and club music 7PM onwards. Free entrance. The Club, Bhat Bhateni. 4440163 DRINKS
- Fusion offers over 100 cocktails. Happy hour from 6-7PM. Dwarika's Hotel.
- K-too! Special Tropical Khukuri drinks Rs 125 or Rs 750 for every 1.5 litre. Free Irish Coffee with every * main course. K-too! Beer & Steakhouse, Thamel. 4433043.
- The Piano Lounge & Bar features the Trio Givone for the best Gypsy music, cocktails and snacks. Hotel Yak & Yeti.

FOOD

- Friday BBQ at the Summit Hotel with mouth watering 10 different delicious salads. 6.30 PM onwards. Rs 500 + tax. 5521810.
- Traditional Nepali Thali lunch at Patan Museum Café inside Patan Museum. $\dot{\mathbf{v}}$ 11AM-2.30 PM. Cocktails and snacks from 4-6.30 PM. 5526271.
- Mexican Food festival from 13-22 June. Dinner for Rs 750 + tax. The Café $\dot{\mathbf{v}}$ at Hyatt Regency, Kathmandu. 4491234
- Weekends BBQ at the Shambala Garden. 50 percent off through June. * Shangri-la Hotel, Lazimpat. 4412999
- $\dot{\mathbf{v}}$ Summer specials smoked salmon soufflé, shrimp newburg and crispy duck breast. Kilroy's of Kathmandu, Thamel. 4250440
- * Naachghar Revisited with Myrna, an international exotic dancer, and North Indian delicacies. Every evening from 7.30 PM onwards. Rs 749 per person. Hotel Yak & Yeti, Durbar Marg.
- Wood fired pizzas, Baskin Robbins icecream, cocktails and coffee at the Roadhouse Café, Thamel. *
- World BBQ Nite 27 June at Dwarika's Hotel. Singaporean satay, Persian kababs, Churasqueria. ÷ Rs 699 + tax. 4479488.
- Weekend breakfast: Smoked salmon scrambled eggs and filtered coffee Rs 100. 9AM-12PM. Thomas * Kilroy at 1905, Kantipath. 4225272
- Saturday BBQ Lunch at Club Himalaya Nagarkot. Rs 500 per person. 4680083 $\dot{\mathbf{v}}$
- Papaya salad, seasonal vegetables with fillet or chicken and Italian icecream at Singma, Jawlakhel, Lalitpur. 552004

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- Shivapuri Heights a traditional cottage with modern facilities. Rs 1,850 pp. www.escape2nepal.com, Email: info@escape2nepal.com
- Great Godavari Getaway special weekend packages. Godavari Village Resort. 5560675
- The secret of Kathmandu Overnight package \$99. Dwarika's Hotel. 4479488

BOOKWORM



The Complete Atlas of Wine Stuart Walton Anness Publishing Limited, 1997 Rs 850

This is a comprehensive, authoritative and accessible guide that will provide those new to the subject with the assurance to explore it in greater depth. The author tells you what to look for in the wines of each country and region. Accompanied throughout by vivid photographs and carefully illustrated maps, this is the complete guide to understanding and appreciating the wines of the world.

The Book of Tea Flammarion

Rs 4,500

The history, myth and rituals of tea growing and tea drinking from the tea gardens of Burma to the tea rooms of London is charted by Anthony Burgess and a group of historians, writer and journalists in this beautifully designed book. Its exceptional selection of archival and contemporary documents makes a delightful contribution to our understanding of the world's



most popular beverage.

Brilliant Barbecues barbecues Silverdale Books, 2001 Rs 250

> Essentially a guide to the art of barbecue, this book takes it from the basics to twelve sensational menus for alfresco dining. Each menu is accompanied by a work plan to make planning, preparation and serving easy. The recipes are simple, come with clear and concise instructions, and are illustrated by photographs.

Courtesy: Mandala Book Point, Kantipath, 4227711, mandala@ccsl.com.np

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The genius of the Wachowski brothers returns in the Matrix Reloaded. There are better special effects and action sequences as the sequel journeys deeper into the Matrix where more humans world. Crisis strikes when the Machine Army lays siege on Zion, the last real-world city. Neo (Keanu Reeves), Trinity (Carrie Anne Moss) and Morpheus (Laurence Fishburn) have to save the day.

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by NGAMINDRA DAHAL

Better late than never. This satellite picture taken on re subcontinent in heavy branches of the assing along the Arabian the Bangladesh coast les have moved, a week alayan midhills. After a on to gather a second nificant feature of this dumped more rains in ximum temperatures to lins.



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plenty of water-most of which goes to waste. But we could learn a thing or two from houses right here in the Valley that promote rainwater harvesting. The most basic method is to put a container out in the rain, even an upended umbrella will do. With prudent use, vast inroads could be made into weeks of laundry.

There are reasons to celebrate monsoons in Kathmandu.

Let it pour

TRISHNA GURUNG

 \Box

rains.

century ago an Englishman

in the subcontinent as

"positively rude". When it rains it

usually pours. And it's almost de-

forgotten how to appreciate the

rigueur to complain. In fact the habit

For one thing, it means water.

For parched Kathmandu where the

underground water table is dropping,

partially due to the hundreds of wells

that locals have sunk into their

backyards ,the roof becomes a

rely on Nepal Drinking Water

fountainhead of the precious fluid.

Twenty-four hour running water

service is an unheard of luxury if you

Corporation. More often than not it's

temperamental taps that burst forth

at odd hours of the early morning.

Come the monsoons and there's

has become so ingrained that we've

described the monsoon season

Another monsoon bonus will be sweeter smelling fellow-commuters. In the past few weeks anyone who had to spend more than five minutes in close confines with fellow citizens needed facial masks. The desperate hoardes ran off to the pool at Satdobato or Tripureswor for a quick scrub-up (surely, you didn't think it was actually used for swimming, did you?). No more:for the next three months if you want a shower, just take a walk in one.

The monsoon is when we have the country to ourselves. No

tourists, and the local expats have all left for their summer hols. The trekking trails are empty, since most guidebooks advise visitors to return only in autumn just in time to see the natives celebrate a series of big festivals. Don't believe the guidebooks. This is the best time to visit Nepal. The hills are emerald, there is water everywhere, the air is clear and leeches don't go above 3,300m!

There is a reason why our agricultural ancestors planned Dasain for later. Rain means regeneration and rural Nepal (that part of the country which begins just outside the Ring Road) is ankle deep in fertile, muddy sludge, planting paddy under skies that are pregnant with grey monsoon clouds. The city receives a makeover too. The dust that films every surface is washed away, wilting gardens take on a robust new verdancy and visibility



improves. After a shower the potholes become little lakes, and are easier to make out from a speeding bike.

Another thing that is wont to blossom at monsoon time is love. Wet hair and clothes, especially damp chiffon saris, are part of our lexicon of the sensual. While it could be a steady diet of Bollywood song-and-dance routines in the rain, many a happy couple find a socially acceptable way of demonstrating affection by surreptitiously cuddling under an umbrella. The monsoon rain can be gentle, filtered through mellow sunlight to become a flattering soft-focus frame for one's beloved. Matters are further improved by the humidity that plumps up the skin, imparting a healthy glow, no doubt often attributed to love.

Love is in the air, and so is a strange perfume: the scent of the first drops of rain hitting dry earth. We ought to take a new look at the monsoon. This season you can begin with a simple, radical step: stop complaining and start living. And if you dare, leave the umbrella indoors. Step into the rain. Feel the mud ooze between your toes as raindrops fall on your face. 🔶

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NEPAL PASHMINA INDUSTRY

Under My Hat NEPALI SOCIETY

by Kunda Dixit

Shakespeare in the Valley

aving been appointed Special Envoy to Nepal, Sir William Shakespeare has been making frequent trips to Kathmandu to help us figure out whether the drama unfolding here is a tragedy or comedy. With his vast literary skills and his first-hand experience in writing about intrigue and conspiracy at the highest levels of government in post-democracy England for the last 500 years, Sir William is the right man for the job. We caught up with him for a breakfast meeting at one of the local hotels for an exclusive interview:

[Alarums. Enter Waiter.] Sir William. Hark, thou knave, wherefore be'th our cheese omelette and OJ? Waiter. It is still being cooketh, m'lord, gird up thy loins for it shall arrive anon. Sir William. Have you no wit, no manners, no honesty, but to gabble like tinkers so early in the morn? Waiter. Wait. Methought this was supposed to be a newspaper interview. [To Reporter] Why don't you ask him some questions and shut him up?

Reporter. Yes. Sir William, as the world's most noted bard, what is your take on the power struggle here? Sir William. It does remind me of my friends, the Romans and countrymen. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff, Yet they say they are ambitious And they are all honourable men, Yond Cassius, for instance, with his long nose and pantaloons, has a lean and hungry look, He thinks too much, such men are dangerous. As seemeth by his plight, of the revolt the newest state, What bloody man is that?

Reporter. Speaking of blood, how do you view the current cessation of hostilities?

Sir William. Albeit the quality of time and quarrel Have given us bloody argument. Pox on't. How dost thou, man, Belike you slew a great number of your people? The offence is not of such a bloody nature. A rascal, and eater of broken meats, worsted-stocking knave, one-trunk-inheriting slave, shag ear'd villain. Thou art the best of the cut-throats. Avaunt and quit my sight! My masters, are you mad? Or what are you?

Reporter. Right. How do you respond to allegations that a Foreign Hand is active in the kingdom?

Sir William. Foul whisperings are abroad, Unnatural deeds do breed unnatural troubles bring.

Is this a hand I see before me? I have thee not, yet I see thee still. Art thou but a false creation? Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?

Out, out, damn spot.

Reporter. What are your thoughts on the fifth and decisive phase of the anti-regression street protests? *Sir William.* Drive away the vulgar from the

streets. Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods, Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds. And let our hearts as subtle masters do, Stir up their servants to an act of rage. What we took from them, for traffic's sake Most of the city did.

Reporter. Before I bid thee adieu, any personal observations on Beckham being sold to Real Madrid? *Sir William.* Wherefore art thou, traitor? Et tu, Beckham? Then fall, England. *[Exit all. Curtains.]*



igers and rhinos have Chitwan, our wild elephants have Bardia. But where can the snow leopards call home?

Lama Karma Sonam Rinpoche has good news: snow leopards are making a comeback in Manang. The monk has been involved in conservation for the past 45 years in the remote Phu village, and his persistence is paying off.

Born in Kham, Eastern Tibet, the rinpoche spent the first 25 years of his life studying and meditating, many of those years near the base of Mt Kailash. Eventually, after the Chinese came into Tibet, Lama Karma's family and 40 other households came to Nepal. En route, all their 70 yaks and 500 goats perished. In 1959, when the lama first

arrived in Manang, blue sheep were rare and the locals had killed off most of the snow leopards to protect their livestock. For years, Lama Karma tried to convince the villagers of Phu that the Buddha teaches respect for all living beings. "All life is interconnected. What comes from the earth must return in a natural way, and killing does not permit this natural progression," he told them. With the snow leopards becoming increasingly rare, Lama Karma announced he would leave Phu for good. Reluctant to part with their guru, the villagers promised not to kill again. They have kept that promise to this day, and both the blue sheep and the snow leopards are back. On World Environment Day

earlier this month, Lama Karma was invited to Kathmandu by the World Wildlife Fund to receive the prestigious Abraham Conservation Award, which recognises the contribution of dedicated grassroots conservationists. Spinning his prayer wheel steadily, the redrobed 70-year-old priest observed the gathering through his round spectacles, an island of calm in the press of dignitaries.

Kunjyo Tenzin Lama, a villager and companion to Lama Karma, has no doubt who gets the credit for the return of wildlife in Phu valley. Kunjyo looks on in pride as his guru receives the award. Nodding, he tells us, "It's due to Lama Karma's hard work that the leopards are back. He taught us to respect life in all its forms." (Sraddha Basnyat)





स्वस्थ मुटु आजको आवश्यकता यसलाई साथ दिन्छ



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