





Sneak preview

Businesses are spooked by what they have seen so far of Maoists above ground

ast week's pact between the seven parties and the Maoists revived hopes for durable peace but recent hardline remarks by Maoist leaders has dampened the mood in the business community.

The rebel comrades have been using their first month above ground to make contradictory and often extremist statements. The government on the other hand sounds disunited, confused and weak. Because the Maoists have better soundbytes, the media has given the comrades wide play.

Although the people have cautiously welcomed all this as a sign that peace is at hand, the statements have spooked Nepal's beleaguered businesses.

Industrialists have serious concerns about the lack of support from both the Maoists and the seven parties in response to the mass closure of factories due to escalating labour disputes.

"The situation is very bad for us," says Rajendra Khetan of the Confederation of Nepali Industries (CNI) which organised a conference on Tuesday to which the head of the Maoist's Economic Department, Deb Gurung, was invited.

Businessmen at the meet accused the Maoists of inciting workers to make unrealistic salary and benefit demands. Maoistaffiliated trade unions are competing with mainstream unions to be more populist, and this has promoted unions affiliated to the NC and UML to also make even more radical demands so they don't lose members.

Dozens of factories have closed in Kathmandu, Chitwan, Hetauda, Birganj and Biratnagar and businesses accuse the government of inaction. "How can we go on like this?" asks Khetan who has shut down his

Himalayan Snacks and Gorkha Brewery units in Chitwan.

Gurung, who is also a member of the Maoist negotiating team, tried to assuage businessmen at the CNI meet by saying he was for capital accumulation.

"Development and prosperity will not happen without industrialisation and wealth Editorial n2

and wealth **Editorial p2** creation," he said. **Give us reason**

But his separate remarks in interviews in newspapers on land reform and nationalisation have not gone down well (See p7). The conference also heard Arjun Narsingh KC of the NC and Bam Deb Gautam of the UML who, aside from asking businesses to "be patient" and wait for the political issues to be sorted out, had no immediate concrete ideas about reopening industries.

Full story p5

More delay

After gender rights groups went on warpath because of the absence of women in the commission set up to draft up an interim constitution, the UML also decided it didn't have a representative and has demanded a slot.

The wrangling has meant that a week has gone by after the Maoist-parties pact and there is only one more week for a draft interim constitution to be ready. Even the Maoists agree that is not possible. Although it will be a cut-and-paste job (throwing out everything from the 1990 constitution that doesn't tally with parliamentary proclamations last month) the parties want the commission to take its time.

The delay means an interim government is at least a month away, if not more. Parliament still exists, and its various committees have been busy electing chairmen this week. Since the budget can't wait for the start of the fiscal year, Finance Minister Ram Sharan Mahat is presenting an interim budget on 7 July.





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We have to move beyond quick fixes to strategic restructuring of the state

W hy should we trust you?

There is a lot riding on last week's peace pact between the seven parties and the Maoists.

If it paves the way to a new Nepal we will see prosperity and development. If it fails, it will be a return to a vicious war which this time will be a fight to the finish.

Kathmandu's social circuit is abuzz with talk of "Munich" "appeasement" and snide references to "peace in our time". There is a perception that the government gave too much away and didn't get enough in return.

To be sure, it does appear as if it is the government that is doling out all the concessions: release of Maoist prisoners, lifting the terrorist tag, dissolution of the house, agreement on an interim constitution. And the alliance hasn't even managed to get a public commitment from the Maoists to renounce violence or agree on a timetable for demobilisation.

But seen from their side, after April the Maoists were beginning to feel redundant. Parliament, through a series of proclamations, had passed most of the demands that the rebels had foght for ten years to achieve. The comrades felt they were deliberately left out of a seat at the banquet table.

In a sense, the Maoists can be seen to have made the biggest climbdown of all: a stated commitment to re-enter mainstream competitive politics. In doing so, the leadership has taken a big risk: not of being marginalised by the parties or decimated by the military, but of sparking a revolt within their revolution.

It's a tight rope walk for Pushpa Kamal Dahal as he tries to sell his plan out west this week: to balance his stated desire to join the mainstream and get his hothead commanders to agree. So when he talks tough, the target audience is his own rank and file.

Even so, the Maoists haven't given the parties and the public much reason to trust them. Wildly contradictory statements ("we're preparing for an October Revolution"), inflammatory and

irresponsible threats ("if we come to power we will ban the NC") and a refusal to atone for past arocities don't help engender confidence that the rebel leadership is serious about reaching a negotiated settlement.

The bottom line here is that the Maoists can't be part of an interim government without a public commitment to renounce violence. An eight-party government can't have two armies.

In exchange for peace, the people seem willing to test the Maoists commitment to guarantee their fundamental rights to life, liberty, property, and free expression. Otherwise why should the people trust them?

epal's resurrected parliament must complement its stipulated objectives with milestones, targets, timelines and comprehensive roadmaps that outline both costs and benefits.

The overarching goal should be heightened public awareness that sets a precedent of informed decision-making through accurate and timely information.

GUEST COLUMN Dipta Shah



Balancing the alleviation of street anger with discrete, achievable objectives is not an easy task. The recently initiated peace talks bring another dimension of complexity. With an indeterminate time-frame and a mandate partially derived from a constitution that is practically nullified, the current government is challenged with placating the general public, an irate civil society, an armed insurgent group and its own constituent parties. In the meantime, the government must also continue to deliver on a full range of governance functions that includes the maintenance of law and order.

Much like a private enterprise undergoing an organisational overhaul, the measure of success for this government will be the

rate at which it meets the expectations to which its mandate is inextricably tied. This is all the more reason for the seven party alliance and the house to move beyond 'quick wins' and serve

up a strategic platform that addresses the state's underlying deficiencies in a structured,

visible and measurable capacity.

For example, the declaration of a secular state could have fared better with full disclosure in terms, acceptable to both the Hindu majority as well the multitude of religious ethnicities. For what reason was the secularisation of Nepal a priority? Was the move designed to demonstrate that armed insurrection need not be a requisite to progressive change? Was it enacted to emancipate downtrodden constituencies and enhance social equality? Was it a symbolic extension of the roadmap to permanently disempower the status of the royal institution? Was it all of the above?

Having declared Nepal a secular state, what are the practical implications of this change? Is the list of public holidays to be expanded to include Ramadan and Christmas? Will Hindu holidays be limited to Dasain and Tihar? Will law dictate a holiday scheme that permits a fixed number of days off, irrespective of religions affiliation? What is the timeline for such changes to go into

Is the deletion of 'royal' from the army where the intended reform ends or will it be supplemented by a systematic revitalisation of the military? If the latter, what are the concrete steps, and how and when will they be implemented? What measures are the political elite taking to accommodate and wield the military as a legally sanctioned instrument of state power?

On the topic of setting expectations, now is as good a time as any, to pre-emptively address the inevitable increase in

fuel prices. The past witnessed attempts at winning political favour by artificially deflating the price of fuel. Funds to be spent on repairing vandalised infrastructure could be saved by outlining the rationale behind why national fuel prices must mirror world prices. A simple yet apt explanation of the magnitude and timing of what is sure to come, could alleviate politically motivated civil unrest.

This rationale applies equally to the on-going negotiations with the Maoists, elections to a constituent assembly, Bhutani refugees and ethnic discrimination. Surely, this government knows the varied social and political agenda from which it derives its legitimacy?

Empowering people through accurate and timely information is crucial to democratic governance and to the perceived success of this resurrected parliament. The more information that is shared with the public on what is realistically possible (versus ideally attainable), in what timeframe and through what mode of operation, the more measured public frustration is likely to be.

Given the context of recent political transformations, the sympathy of the population-atlarge will likely remain with this government for some time, but not indefinitely. The unique circumstances under which it is operating provides both extraordinary challenges and opportunities.

Success in managing risks against rewards requires visionary planning, timely execution and above all, a consistent public message that unambiguously depicts the possible, the probable, the 'why' the 'how' and the 'when'.

A hiccup in the peace process

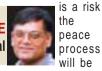
Let's not let our doubts become a self-fulfilling prophecy

n marked contrast to the air of optimism in the countryside, Kathmandu's bourgeoisie is wallowing in doom and gloom. It is deeply suspicious of the deal between the seven party alliance and the Maoists last Friday.

Taking its cue from the gossip of worried professionals, the privileged elite has begun to see red. At parlour parleys, the social acceptability index of scaremongering about an imminent Maoist takeover is at an all-time high.

If distrust of the rebels and ridicule of the government continues at this rate there

STATE OF THE STATE



derailed. In conflict situations, perceptions often turn into reality and become selffulfilling prophecies. The parties and the Maoist commanders are trying their best to emerge out of stereotypes. They shouldn't be forced back to their past roles.

Weapons management of the Maoists is a real issue of concern, but so is the position of the recently-renamed Nepali Army during the period leading towards

elections of the constituent assembly. The The Maoists haven't renounced violence, but then neither has the army accepted its excesses including disappearances.

During these initial phases an air of mistrust is natural. Leaders need to persuade sceptics that just as exceptions can't be generalised into rules, rules shouldn't be minimised into exceptions.

The Maoists haven't backtracked from any of their commitments in the 12-point understanding. Despite intense pressure from right-wingers, the parties have refused to dump the rebels from the democratisation process. A legal framework is necessary to institutionalise the pact, and perhaps that is the reason the committee to draft an interim constitution has attracted the attention of all malefactors. Once the provisional statute is enacted, it will be extremely difficult to spoil the peace process.

Pulls and pressures on transitional regimes are often inversely proportional to their strength. The weaker a government, the more it is asked to deliver. Various interests groups have been pestering the government to address all inequalities. Having decided to share power with Maoists, the government is understandably wary of doing anything that can be construed to function. as violation of trust.

The eight point agreement signed last Friday is a death certificate for the Maoist rebellion. It's quite unlikely that those who negotiated and finalised such a momentous deal were unaware of the hurdles that its implementation was likely to face. And it's natural for the elite to fear for their priviledaes.

The MPs are also understandably peeved by the decision to dissolve parliament, but they have already played their role by passing our own 'Magna Carta' on 10 June. Some self-important cabinet members leaders are miffed that they weren't consulted during the finalisation of the historic agreement. But they forget that powerful interests are still not comfortable with the possibility of an eight-party alliance that includes the Maoists ruling the country.

The preparation of an interim constitution is not as complex as it is being made out to be. An interim constitution by definition isn't a set of directives, it's a document of descriptions to codify existing practices. The drafting committee can complete the compilation of a workable statute within the prescribed period of 15 days if it is allowed

Laxman Prasad Aryal and his team have enough guiding principles to work on: the initial 12-point understanding of last November that gave impetus to the April Uprising, the royal proclamations of 24 May, the 25-point ceasefire agreement of 26 May, the 'Magna Carta' itself and finally the eight-point agreement between the eight parties. Everything in the constitution of 1990 that doesn't directly contradict any of these documents of trust remains valid until the completion and promulgation of a completely new statute by the constituent assembly.

From what we have seen of Pushpa Kamal Dahal, he sounds naïve and dogmatic. Underground leaders become extremely prickly and self-righteous and Dahal has been out of public glare for 25 years. But he has a valid point when he says Nepal can achieve development and prosperity in next decade "if the peace process becomes successful".

The power to transform that 'if' into 'when' lies in our hands. We must not squander it by magnifying innate mistrust between unlikely partners taking halting steps towards reconciliation. •

LETTERS

MEDIATION

I was pleased to read Ashutosh Tiwari's Strictly Business column ('Dealing with disputes', #302) on the importance of alternative dispute resolution in Nepal. The formal judiciary is inaccessible to most Nepalis. While communities traditionally have relied on informal dispute resolution practices, those have broken down in recent years as society has changed.

For the past six years, a handful of local and international organisations have promoted community mediation as a means to fill this gap. The Asia Foundation and its partners have trained more than 2,800 mediators who currently provide community mediation services in coordination with local government offices in 13 districts. More than 7,000 cases have been registered since 2004, ranging from land disputes to household quarrels. Eighty-seven percent of these cases have been resolved amicably.

Although Tiwari proposes arbitration, the process of facilitated mediation is more appropriate for community disputes. In arbitration, judgements are imposed like in a court. This can lead to flawed and unfair decisions if arbitrators do not have adequate legal knowledge or are biased. A mediator, on the other hand, helps the parties to reach their own agreement. No decision is imposed. The process is conciliatory rather than adversarial and results in longer lasting settlements.

While mediation services are filling an important need in the communities where they operate, sustaining them is a challenge. The Local Self-Governance Act (1999) provides for dispute resolution by VDCs and municipalities but the government program has not yet been implemented. As Nepal now moves towards peace, it is critical to institutionalise and expand mediation services, especially as a means for reconciliation in communities recovering from the conflict.

Nick Langton, Country Representative The Asia Foundation numerous and gigantic steps that the leaders of the seven party alliance and the Maoist leadership have accomplished in just one day. What we are witnessing in Nepal these days, weeks and months is truly revolutionary, inspiring and very unique. But where are the women of Nepal? The intellectuals, writers, politicians, fighters, teachers, parliamentarians, doctors and nurses, mothers, midwives, grandmothers and even mothersin-law. Where are all our didis and bahinis when the country's future is being redesigned, reinvented and rewritten? Are they not going to be allowed a say in this new Nepal? The eight-point agreement supports 'restructuring the state in a progressive manner through constituent assembly elections so that it can resolve all problems including those related to class, caste, region and gender'. What are they waiting for? Where are the women on the government and Maoist negotiating teams? Where are they in the leadership of the seven parties? Where are they in the government's cabinet? Where are they in the 31 member Ceasefire and Code of Conduct National Monitoring Committee (yes, there is one, but really, one out of 31?). And where are they in the six-member interim

constitution drafting committee? *Julia Sanchez, Kathmandu*

DIPLOMACY

CK Lal in 'Diplomacy for dummies' (#302) compares the Nepal Council of World Affairs (NCWA) and the Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA) and says that both are irrelevant and uninspiring. He himself was a member of the executive committee of the NCWA so if that organisation has become senile, Lal himself has to share the blame. As a student of political science in TU, I have been regularly visiting the IFA library at Tripureswor. It has over 1,000 books on various aspects of foreign policy and is one of the best in the country. The IFA also published half a dozen books last year. If the organisation was formed as Mr Lal says, to 'groom the son of the former foreign minister', I don't think it was a bad decision at all. Very few thinktanks in the country organise so many brainstorming sessions or publish so much. Instead, it was a horrible decision on the part of new Foreign Minister K P Oli to remove an energetic youth as executive director of the IFA and not appoint anybody for more than a month. It seems that very soon IFA too will become senile like the NCWA.

Shristi Shreshta, Politcal Science Student, TU

 C.K Lal's 'Diplomacy for dummies' highlights something that generally stays hidden: diplomacy needs preparation and practice to master. A country wedged in between two giants and stuck in a time warp until the 1950s will naturally find it hard to understand the world. India, and to a much lesser extent China, were the only countries until then that Nepal had any relationship with. Now the shell is broken and the light too blinding and confusing. Unlike the United States, which can always go back to being insular if it chooses to, countries like Nepal can afford no such luxury. Nepalis are now permanently linked to countries like South Korea, Kuwait, Malaysia, Australia and the US. But we know little about these countries where hundreds of thousands of our compatriots work.

Edward Said lamented how little the Arab World understood the US even as the latter's influence on the former was increasing. The same goes for Nepal. Ten years ago, people in Kathmandu heard about Maoism taking root in the midwestern hills. We should have realised that the ideology came from a neighbouring

country, which should have prompted us to take a closer look at this phenomenon. I blame centuries of isolation during the Rana Shah period. Mr Lal is right: we need to see things differently now. The business of interacting with other countries should be as important as anything else. Nepal now depends on foreign countries for its survival. Archaic methods will simply not do anymore. Nepal's links to Malaysia, South Korea and other countries are its links to modernity. The isolationism of the past, encouraged by the old order, must be done away with.

Manish Gyawali, email

WELCOME RAIN

Alok Tumbahangphey's 'Here comes the rain' (#301) was relevant and timely. We need to educate every person about the importance of rainwater harvesting. The municipalities should make rainwater harvesting systems compulsory in every new building and house. In addition, the government has to start looking for alternative sources of water. Till then, rain water is the only way to meet our demand.

Rabin Rachalica. Green Team, Bhaktapur

DOG'S LIFE-2

I feel I must take issue with Helen Palmer ('Dog's Life', Letters, 302). Street dogs are often a dreadful nuisance, their yowling and howling late into the night is not conducive to peaceful sleep, especially if they have congregated en masse. My own dogs are evidently equally

aggrieved judging by the racket that they make when a street pack comes sniffing at the gate. One can never condone cruelty to dumb animals but lobbing a rock or two is a temporarily effective way to encourage them to desist. Snipping off and whipping out their canine naughty bits seems to me an expensive and ultimately ineffective way of dealing with the problem. When I lived in Cairo, the local municipality used a much more effective solution: once a month or so the armed policed would make a tour of locales with a large street dog population and shoot them all in the head, effectively culling the population and ensuring that residents of the neighbourhood (and their attendant dogs) could sleep soundly. Surely there are more pressing things than the city's street dog population that require time and money?

Andrew Steele, Handigaon-5

LETTERS

Nepali Times welcomes feedback. Letters should be brief and may be edited for space. While pseudonyms can be accepted, writers who provide their real names and contact details will be given preference. Email letters should be in text format without attachments with 'letter to the editor' in the subject line.

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CEREMONIAL

Enough fuss has been made about GP's stance on the ceremonial king. What's wrong with the remark made by a prime minister appointed by the king himself? What indeed can these republican revolutionaries expect to get just by thumping tables in a house revived by the king himself? How naïve for these parliament people, their cadre, and even the members of the civil society to dream that the king will announce his dethronement just like he revived the house. The selfproclaimed revolutionaries could not even suspend the CoAS who faithfully served the royals by shooting commoners. And where on earth has any king been dethroned by voting alone? Pretensions, mere pretensions.

Divas Sharma Ganatantra Marg, Kathmandu

WOMEN WHERE?

Reading 'Landing' (#302) I couldn't but help marvel at the

Home alone

Who will help the thousands of displaced people who might soon return?



MARTY LOGAN

he ceasefire and recent political progress towards peace have allowed thousands of internally displaced Nepalis to start thinking seriously about returning home.

Many will face the initial hurdle of getting approval from the Maoists who forced their exit in the first place. And if they clear that bar, another challenge awaits: will they have the resources to reestablish their lives?

Human rights group INSEC

has repatriated 357 IDPs so far, with support from ActionAid, DfID and the UN's humanitarian affairs office (OCHA). Twenty each went home to Rautahat and Sindhupalchok while INSEC resettled 317 people from midwest centres, delivering 142 to Jumla last year and 26 to Bajura and 149 to Dailekh last month.

Each member of those families received Rs 3,000 to buy food.
"Their major problem is land,"
INSEC's Rupesh Nepal told us.
"For two or three years no one has been cultivating so they lack the seasonal foods that they need for

survival." Otherwise the returnees will be on their own, getting a follow-up visit from human rights groups only after three months.

Members of a recent mission to eight eastern districts returned alarmed by what they saw. "The conditions for return are really not there for several reasons," Bjorn Pettersson of the UN's Nepal human rights office (OHCHR) told us. One problem was intimidation by local Maoists, despite the rebel leaders' pledge to allow IDPs safe return home.

Other impediments were the lack of state support and the absence of homes and farms. "We saw several IDP houses that were abandoned—they would need repairs," said OCHA's IDP adviser, Hanne Melfald. Some locals said they would be willing to care for their returning neighbours initially. Others told the mission "we can't really support them".

IDPs' other practical needs might include farming tools and seed, said Pettersson, who added: "The district authorities need to be taking the lead to provide them some sort of support."

The UN's mission last month included 15 people who travelled on foot and by vehicle for nearly two weeks to assess the situation in the region, visiting some VDCs that hadn't seen international workers during a decade of conflict. They found that one or two displaced families from each VDC had ventured home but many other people indicated they were waiting for signs of stability after the Maoists' ceasefire expires in July.

The team's rough guess is that an average of 30 individuals left each VDC during the conflict. Estimates of the number of IDPs countrywide vary widely. UNHCR suggested 200,000 in a document last month while the INGO Caritas said 350,000 when it appealed for \$1 million to help the displaced in February.

In its Supplementary
Appeal, UNHCR critiqued state
inaction. 'The government has
committed itself to assist and
compensate this population,
without having the resources,
and capacity to actually do so.
As a result, many of their
material, legal and psychological

needs have not been addressed.'

Another UN inter-agency mission, to western Nepal in December 2005, concluded: 'The majority of displaced in Nepal are not officially recognised as such by the state and at present there are few measures in place to monitor and ensure that their rights and basic protection concerns are met.'

INSEC is working to repatriate other IDPs in the midwest but this is piecemeal because of inconsistent funding and planning. "Until the government takes the initiative there can't be an overall plan so it's up to the NGOs and INGOs," explains Nepal.

Everyone's major concern is assuring security for IDPs' trips home and resettlement but getting people home includes a lengthy process of obtaining permission from the rebels' district leaders.

"Each district is different," says Nepal. "In some places the Maoists are softer, they want to be seen respecting human rights...but they still have not let some people return—those who have killed one of their members, acted as spies or committed crimes." ●

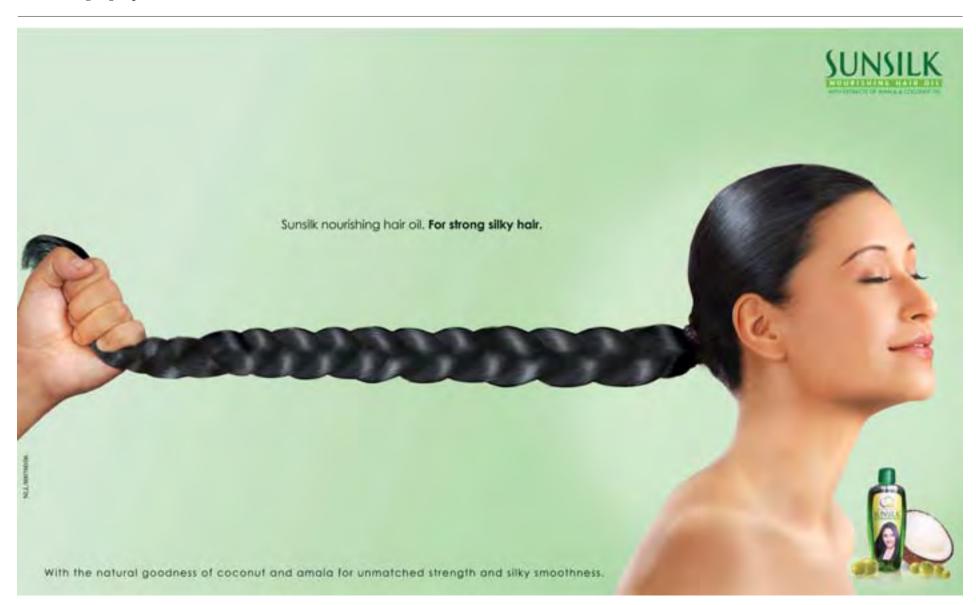
UNHCR IDP Plan 2006*:

Proposed activities:

- Protection and monitoring
- Guidance on registration
- Legal representationCounselling/Information
- Accommodation/Basic needs
- Preventing sexual/genderbased violence
- Emergency Shelter

BUDGET - \$2.4 million
*Partners: Ministry of Home,
Ministry of Local
Development, OCHA, OHCHR,
UNICEF, UNDP, IFRC, ICRC,

Norwegian Refugee Council, Lutheran World Federation, NGOs and communities



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Food aid delivered

The UN World Food Programme (WFP) has started shipping emergency food aid for more than 225,000 people affected by the drought that hit last winter in the far-west and mid-west. Initially, WFP is borrowing close to 800mts of rice from the Nepal Food Corporation. Through the accelerated Food-for-Work program, beneficiaries will earn a two-month ration of rice and fortified wheat flour. The areas most seriously affected are in Bajura, Jumla, Humla, Mugu, Dolpa, Kalikot, Jajarkot, Dailekh, Rukum and Rolpa ('The west is hungry,' #296).

Bank bags award

Everest Bank Limited was awarded the NICCI Excellence Award from the Nepal Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry last week in Kathmandu. The bank's operating profit grew 21 percent in May-June compared to a year earlier, totalling Rs 4,350 million. Deposits and advances rose by 41 percent and 26 percent respectively.

On a roll

Vehicle maker Hulas Motors recently celebrated its 10th anniversary. Hulas specialises in manufacturing pollution free and light vehicles.

NEW PRODUCTS

SLEEK CARS: Hansraj Hulaschand, agent of Premier Motors, has launched the Sigma Express and Roadstar 2500 at its showroom in



Kalimati. The Roadstar is a small truck equipped with a 2000cc diesel engine. The Sigma Express is a cargo vehicle with a capacity of 3.7 kilolitres, which also runs on a fuel-efficient diesel engine.

SIPPING SIZE: Mcdowell's Nepal Limited has introduced the 375-ml Signature whisky pack. The octagonal bottle comes in green and gold with a tamper proof cap and is priced at Rs 345.

TREATING DISEASE: SR Drug Laboratories launched its specialty division CARE, dedicated towards manufacturing drugs for the treatment of cardio-cerebro vascular diseases and metabolic disorders including stroke, diabetes, epilepsy, obesity and hypertension.



COMPUTER PRODUCTS: Cybernetics Pvt Ltd has been appointed authorised reseller for HP and Compaq products in Nepal. With four years experience, Cybernetics recently opened its new showroom in the Computer

Bajar building on Putalisadak.

Economic agenda Please, can we have one?

The heady concoction of euphoria and uncertainty post-loktantra has created a political high. We have leaders coming above ground and firebrand interviews have dogged the

ECONOMIC SENSE Artha Beed



print and the electronic media. The task of seeking pocket money from India is over and so is testing the strength of parliament through a plethora of political resolutions. However, no one still knows where the economic agenda stands.

Are we as a country going to shun the right to property? Is a distinction between inherited wealth and acquired wealth going to be made and taxed differently? Are we going to be so pro-labour that enterprises may just choose to shut down? Are we going to reform tax laws? Are we going to have authorities that will help companies exit through the new insolvency act? Are private social service delivery institutions in healthcare or education going to be allowed? Are we going to leave prices of petroleum products to the market or will the state continue to bear losses? Are we going to allow boosting private capital through state-of-art capital markets? Are we going to signal that earning money is good or bad? Are we going to work towards having a better company registrar's office? Do we have an agenda for the multilaterals and the bilaterals to look at and decide where to help? Are we going to pursue a decentralised fiscal policy or a centralised one? Are we going to allow Nepali

companies to raise capital outside Nepal and become trans-regional or global players? Do we have a plan to heal the wounds of the families and dependents of 13,000 plus people killed during the past ten years?

The questions can fill pages and as this Beed continues to raise them in this column every fortnight, perhaps there are no answers. Pushpa Kamal Dahal's reference to darkness and the appalling state of affairs at his first legit appearance hopefully extends beyond the symbolic light bulb. We are yet to hear him speak on an economic agenda, we are yet to understand the key ten economic issues that the Maoists would like to see implemented. He has an opportunity to emerge as the Buddhadeb Bhattacharya of Nepal but will he choose that or go the Prakash Karat way?

The past 50 years has shown how we have never had an economic agenda and continued to squander economic opportunities. It began with adopting a half-baked-faulty-Nehruvian model and till recent times a completely anti-enterprise labour law that killed productivity and comparative advantage. Economics have just been paragraphs in election manifestos, which are nothing

better than lip service. The multilaterals and bilaterals have chosen to fill in with a constantly changing set of priorities that shifted with the people who arrived to fill their 'hardship' positions in Nepal. Billions of dollars of assistance have resulted in very little positive intervention. The private sector, which should have filled the vacuum by providing thought ful leadership, has been more interested in politics, be it via the plethora of trade bodies or through a direct role in governments.

We need to create economic prosperity. We need more millionaires and billionaires to create more jobs, tax revenues, opportunities and philanthropy. We need an economic agenda that allows creation of wealth without being shameful about it. If there was no Bill Gates, there would have been no foundation, therefore no dollars pouring into the needy sections of the world.

If there is no wealth there will be nothing to be shared so the issue of inclusion and inequality will be meaningless. All debates on an empty stomach are useless. Hopefully Nepal will not have to continue this debate in touristless hotels or in the dark tents of a poor country.

from p1

Budgeting for a political transition

NARESH NEWAR

rospects for peace have never been better, yet there is even less optimism about the future in the business and development communities.

In the Ministry of Finance, work on the budget for the next fiscal year has reached its final stages but there is a sense of uncertainty even about whether Minister Ram Sharan Mahat will actually be presenting it. This insecurity permeates all sections of government, including the cabinet itself which doesn't know its own lifespan.

And despite a slew of visits by senior donors (the latest were the heads of Danish aid agency Carsten Staur, the Asia director of Europe Aid Cooperation Office, Erich Muller and an IMF mission) the international aid community seems to be in wait-andwatch mode.

Last Friday's pact was a dramatic political compromise but it forced just about everyone to wait at least three more weeks before the interim constitution and an interim government that includes the Maoists is set up. Public disagreement with the pact from members of the governing

alliance haven't helped put doubts to rest.

The IMF pre-budget mission is reportedly satisfied with the macroeconomic scenario, which has been propped up by remittances, but is seriously worried about the slow pace of reforms, the delay in tackling wilful defaulters and the impact of rising fuel prices on the current account deficit. However, as a reward for having restored democracy through people power, the IMF is likely to give the 'budget certificate' on Friday that Nepal needs for the World Bank, ADB and other donors to follow suit.

Minister Mahat is seeking funds for his 'interim development plan' not just for reconstruction, but to take a great leap forward in infrastructure and delivery to prove to the people that the government means business. However, experts are worried about the government's chronic inability to spend money, which has been exacerbated by the conflict.

As signalled in Mahat's White Paper presented to parliament last month, the top priority is a massive investment on new roads. Nearly 15 districts and over 4 million Nepalis still have no access to roads and construction would also create jobs in rural areas.

"No one would dare oppose the pro-poor programs and not even the Maoists would dispute that," says a government official who revealed that the government is consulting widely with all political players, including the rebels, as it readies the budget.

The needs are urgent and monumental:
Rs 140 billion for new investments in hydropower to cover crippling shortfalls this winter, Rs 3 billion to improve access to safe drinking water and billions more for education, health and roads. The government just doesn't have that kind of money, and although there are pledges of support, it will take time for the cash to materialise.

"There will be increase in support but only if the the peace process remains on track," says Mark Mallalieu of the British aid ministry, DfiD, in Nepal. Donors remain concerned about the safety of their staff and are still uncertain about the Maoists' commitment to allow development work. In recent weeks, the rebels have hiked demands for donations and registration of non-government groups.

"Development work should be allowed without any hindrance and it is important that people in the villages mostly benefit from the peace process," Mallalieu told us.

Until now, India has made the single

largest contribution: a Rs 7.3 billion development package, Rs 2 billion in budgetary support, a waiver of Rs 1.6 billion owed by the army and rescheduling of Rs 5 billion owed for petroleum imports.

The Danes announced assistance worth Rs 2 billion next year on top of regular bilateral assistance of Rs 1.88 billion. It also offered Rs 500 million for the ongoing peace process, constituent assembly elections and demobilisation.

Nearly all Kathmandu-based donor offices said they would have problems continuing aid if the Maoists were included in a future government without first renouncing violence. They also need an IMF green light, clarity on budget priorities and a demonstrable decrease in Maoist extortion and threats in the countryside.

"Our direction will be set by how the government's budget looks," says Rajiv Upadhyay of the World Bank.

Questions remain about how the peace dividend from the government's cuts on military spending will be used. Recent arms deals have been cancelled, but the upkeep of a 120,000 plus security force is a drain. Other grey areas include support for the Maoist army so they give up extortion, and who is going to foot that bill.

"One person per house, or Rs 3,000 fine"

Anju Chhetri and Manju Thapa in Samaya, 23 June

"We have suffered enough," says NC district leader Nanda Bahadur Bista of Rukum, "we must make sure the peace process is successful so we don't have to hear the sound of guns and bombs again."

According to Bista's count, 1,500 people of Rukum have died in the past 11 years of war. Of them, 94 percent are men from the ages of 17-40 and most are Dalits and Janjatis. An estimated 4,000 children have been orphaned.

The scars of war are everywhere in the trails leading out to the district capital of Khalanga. In the town itself there are endless stories of suffering from every family of the internally displaced: disappeared family members, bereavement, forced labour, extortion, abductions and rape.

We run into Grade 7 students Bimala Bohara and Krishna Rokaya (pictured) on the trail on 24 May. They were carrying small bags with just enough food for 15 days. They had been told by the Maoists to gather at a house in Gunjil Dhunga from where they were supposed to go and dig a 'martyr highway' in Rolpa. Krishna,13 was still wearing his school uniform. They had to go because the Maoists' edict was: 'One person per house, otherwise Rs 3,000 fine.'

Since there was no one in Krishna's house except for his mother and baby brothers and sisters, he was compelled to go. His family didn't dare say they

couldn't send anyone. Krishna was among about 50 people who marched towards Rolpa that day. Among them was the son of the woman in whose house everyone had gathered. Her Grade 8 son was among those who went. "They say they will return in 15 days," said the mother, "Two days to go, two days to return and the rest to dig the road. I have given him some money so he can buy food to eat. I hope he'll be ok."

She has heard stories of others who have died during road construction or killed in crossfire. "But now there is going to be peace, no?" asks neighbour Lila Rokaya who also had to send her sister who was in Grade 7, "maybe they shouldn't have taken them."

Dil Shobha and Sapana Sunar worked in the highway last year when the Maoists asked for one person from every household. Sapana marched to Rolpa and worked on the road with her one-year-old baby strapped to her back. The Maoists would also make the workers drill, watch cultural programs and sing songs. Both Dil Shoba and Sapana's husbands have married second wives and don't live in the village anymore.

Not even the brother of the Khalanga representative of the child rights centre, CWIN, was spared. He was forced to work on the highway but was caught up in a firefight and was hit in his leg by an army bullet. Very few people go out of their own free will because of the dangers, the villagers have to go whenever called, and they have to march for days from their homes before they reach the construction site.



Khadge Buda, 27, of Athbiskot committed suicide last year when the Maoists tried to force him to go work on the highway. After that the women in the village prevented their men folk from going too.

The Maoists say 13km of the 19km road from Tila to Ghartigau is completed. We ask the local Maoist leader Sarun Batha why his party is using children. "When everyone in the village go to work on the highway, the

children also join them out of their own free will," he reasons, "after all in many of these households 13-14 year olds have to work in their homes. We let them work according to their capacity."

It is clear the children should not be forced to leave school to work on the road. The Maoists should have tried to convince the people about the importance of the road rather than impose a fine on those who don't send one person for the work gang. This could be counter productive for the Maoists themselves.

There have been positive developments for women in districts like Rukum. Polygamy and untouchability have been virtually eradicated. The Maoists have forced Dalits to enter the houses of upper caste people wearing shoes or forced Thakuris to take water from the village tap from Dalits.

"They have become bolder, they speak out against injustice, they are politically aware," says Dilmaya Pun of Chhing village in Rukum.

But other women admit the negative effects of the insurgency outweigh these benefits. Their complaints mainly centre around being forced to attend mass meetings and work on roads, not being allowed to travel freely to Khalanga and the loss of lives and livelihoods.

"In the last ten years, the lives of many women and children here have been ruined," says Sita Oli, a NC activist, "many have been widowed, women are struggling to survive and the children have a lot of mental stress. This has affected their studies.



Jana Aastha, 21 June

Interview with Rabindra Shrestha who was expelled from the CPN-Maoist earlier this year after he publicly criticised party leaders and published an appeal for a 'new cultural revolution'. Excerpts:



Jana Aastha: Are we going the Peru way? Rabindra Shrestha: We feel that Prachanda and Baburam have the same attitude that brought about the failure of the Peruvian people's war. Gonzalo used stubborn, puritanical, individualist and mechanical methods. Prachandaji is doing the same.

What was late Prince Dhirendra's role in

What Dhirendra said was 'lets (palace and

Maoists) unite, deal with the all the parliamentary parties and share power'. We want this letter made public. Second, Dhirendra said that Gyanendra and he agreed but that Birendra opposed it. What does this indicate? Whom did they have an undisclosed working agreement with? Gyanendra or Birendra?

Why this attraction towards the palace?

Both Baburam and Prachanda realised that they could not reach the seat of power without the help of a powerful nation. Baburam started saying we needed India's help while Prachanda wanted to use the palace. After all, Gyanendra had already begun his coup on 4 October. Prachandaji also started displaying neo-Rayamajhi tendencies. How foolish could he have been to expect something that was not given even to the seven parties? The same politburo meet decided to take action against Baburam and raised the issue of meeting Gyanendra. For Prachandaji 1 February was a surprise. If he had tried to hold talks with Gyanendra after that his political career would have been over.

At that time Baburam was accused of being pro-India. He was angry that they took away his chairmanship of the United Revolutionary Peoples Front and only started leaning towards India after his disagreement with Prachanda. But Prachanda definitely began siding with the king and then Gyanendra stepped on Prachanda's back and did his coup. Baburam said, "We need to get together with India and fight against the king." But our point was that India might just use of us. Gyanendra made a fool of Prachanda and India made fools of both Baburam and Prachanda.

Differences between Baburam, Prachanda and Badal came to light during the Bangalore meeting. The fight between Prachanda and Baburam and between Badal and Prachanda became public. We said then that a counter-revolution has begun, our leaders have shown their opportunist attitudes, we need a new cultural revolution. But others didn't agree.

Why weren't any women named to the talks committee? There is a serious reason for this. Pampha Bhusal should have been the automatic choice. But Baburam was against her as he wanted to bring his wife. We'll start seeing the real tussle in this team when the interim government is being formed.

Rabindra speaks out "An October revolution"

Pushpa Kamal Dahal in Nepal, June 18

What's the real reason for the 12-point understanding with the seven parties?

Our party was never into rigid politics. Even after starting the People's War, we emphasised that we were never traditional communists. We are different

Was there any foreign power pushing you or the parties?

The country would have headed in a different direction if only the seven party leaders had the capacity to think independently. If only there were political leaders who could use their own brains. India particularly provided positive support to the 12point understanding.

But seems like your understanding with the UML doesn't seem to be working?

The UML seems to feel it is losing ground and always felt threatened by us entering mainstream

You held talks with India in Rolpa prior to the king's

We had our Indian friends with us and they suggested restoring parliament but we were not in favour of it. The people who rose up against the king did not even demand parliament's restoration, which we only as a tool to reinstate the seven parties to

So are you positive the peace talks will work?

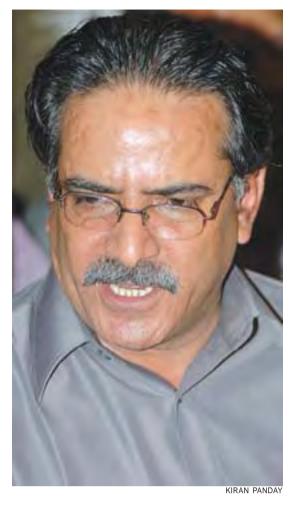
We want a peaceful resolution but the parties are creating unhealthy atmosphere by doing all inappropriate things without respecting the sentiments of the people. We still want to continue pressuring from our ground level and want to increase that even at the high level. There will be an October revolution if the talks fail again and we are ready to take the lead in that.

You're ready to wait until October then?

Frankly, the situation will move towards revolution in October if the seven parties fail.

Do you doubt Koirala's sincerity?

It's not his sincerity but his political stand that is more important. During my first meeting with him three years back, I had told him we are ready for multiparty system if he agreed to a republic. In that way, there will be a new Nepal. He promptly responded that NC would never do that. He is still where he was three years ago. He still talks of ceremonial king and this shows how rigid he is.



There could be no constituent assembly elections as

That is true. We are talking about forming an interim constitution until now. But the parties in the present government are already panicking about dissolving parliament.

What happens to the People's Liberation Army?

Even with the 30,000 PLA and 90,000 NA soldiers, we still will not think of fighting with China or India or any other country. Only our own people would be killed. National security is possible if the whole population is turned into a militia. With compulsory military training, we will have an army strength of 27 million people and they will help to protect our country in case we are attacked by India or China. I have already proposed that both armies should reduce their size and rather give militia training to the citizens who will then maintain law and order. The army should be kept only to give military training to citizens.

"Land to the tiller"

Deb Gurung, head of the Maoists' economic

division, in Abhiyan, 19-25 June

- The only way to economic transformation of society is through an industrialised economy. In the past this wasn't allowed to be developed. Past policies favoured foreign multinational companies, allowed them to establish markets take away cheap raw material and sell their manufactured goods here. This shouldn't
- Our view on the free market is to encourage competition between domestic capital, national industries, or cottage industries. If domestic capital isn't allowed to develop in the name of a free market economy then it won't have a chance to compete with big capital coming in

through multinational companies. Outside capital has to be regulated for projects and investments.

- We're not saying we don't want multinational companies, or to ban them from investing here. We have to see where they want to invest, and we want to first see under what conditions they want to invest. Is it in the national interest? Only then should we allow them in.
- We want to encourage domestic manufacturers and industries so that they become robust so that we can encourage them to invest more and make the economy stronger. We want to promote them in a planned and strategic manner. Instead of supporting servile capitalist enterprise or foreign broker capitalism. We would like to encourage a self-sufficient domestic economy by using locally available resources. We want to encourage and assist mercantilist class and industrialists and go hand in hand with them into the future.
- Our program of revolutionary land reform is focused on the tarai. There are many families there who farm someone else's land since the time of the Ranas and Shahs. In these places we will implement the policy of giving land to the tiller, the property deeds should be completely handed over to them. But landlord capitalists are also citizens of this country and we have devised a formula whereby they will be allowed to keep 10 bighas of land for their own upkeep.



Don't do that! That will send a wrong message to the people! Men's backs: Power greed Seven Parties

Abin Shrestha in Samaya, 22 June

QUOTE OF THE WEEK



Our party played a key role in coming to the 12-point understanding. But Prachanda started attacking us even before the ink had dried.

UML leader Bharat Mohan Adhikari in Budhabar, 21 June

ney deserved Two historic Newari houses in Patan are mo

KUNDA DIXIT

ike hundreds of other residents of Patan's historic heart,
Debendra Shrestha could have torn down his ancestral home and replaced it with a concrete highrise and earned lots of money renting out apartments. But the Shrestha family decided that their 18th century Malla-era home was too precious, so they collectively decided to restore it. They were looking for money when in 1997 the German aid agency GTZ came along to promote urban development through local initiatives. It was making an inventory of buildings that deserved to be preserved



and the Shrestha household was included.

The Department of Archaeology then secured support for restoration from UNESCO, which had in 1979 declared Patan Darbar Square one of the seven monument zones in the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site. UNESCO had been getting increasingly worried about urban sprawl eating away at the old buildings and of the Valley losing its architectural and cultural heritage.

UNESCO worked with the Patan Tourism Development Organisation and found a unique formula to turn the restored private houses into bed and breakfast pensions. It took five years but the Shrestha's house was reborn on Wednesday as Newa Chen.

Like Debendra, Uday Rajbhandari's ancestral home, which is adjacent to a 2,000-year-old Kirat-era excavation site, was also crumbling. The Rajbhandari House was also inaugurated on Wednesday as a tourist inn.

"Preservation of architecture is an integral part of Kathmandu Valley's culture which is under great threat from urbanisation," said UNESCO's Nepal representative, Koto Kano (pictured left at Newa Chen). "The Shrestha and Rajbhandri houses in Patan are models for rehabilitating traditional buildings and also how they can be sustainably preserved through tourism." The National Federation of UNESCO Associations of Japan raised money for the restoration of the two houses.

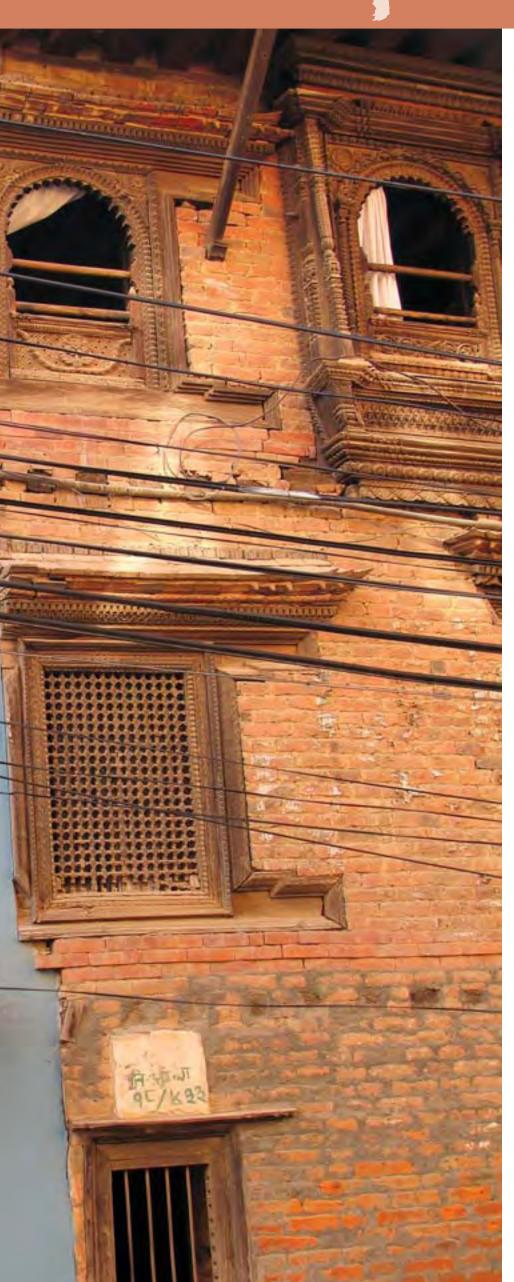


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Newa Chen

The Shrestha House is located in Kulimha Tol on the ancient road leading from Patan Darbar Square down to the Bagmati at Sankhamul. It is built of brick and timber in the traditional Malla style with three wings around a sunny courtyard. The rooms have been functionally restored and are cosy—although tall guests must be warned not to get up suddenly or they will bump their heads on the ceiling. The suite and bedrooms are minimally stylish and are ideal for long-term guests. hyaamo@gmail.com

to be preserved dels of good restoration



The two inns have modern amenities, but keep the traditional ambience of Newari houses with their low ceilings, mortar and brick walls, warm subdued lighting and quiet courtyards. Newa Chen and The Rajbhandari House are open to tourists as well as long-term residents. But more than just preserving two houses, Debendra and Udaya both hope other old buildings in Patan can also be similarly restored.

Kathmandu Valley heritage expert, Anil Chitrakar, says he is convinced the word will spread as the inns start making money. "The good thing is that it is not only bad things that are contagious in Nepal, good things are also contagious," he adds. Indeed, the trend of bringing back the brickwork facades is spreading in Patan and Bhaktapur.

The restoration of the two private houses shows that support is now available not just to restore temples and public buildings but also private houses of architectural importance. It also shows what can be achieved when local communities get together for a common cause.

Says Dilendra Shrestha of the Patan Tourism Development Organisation: "In Kathmandu Valley the formula is: monuments minus the surrounding residential buildings equals no tourists. That is why it is important not just to preserve the temples and darbar squares but also the historic core of the towns."

There are two kinds of restorations going on in Patan these days. The first is the tearing down of low, old buildings which are replaced by high rises with traditional brick facades. This trend has been encouraged by the municipality giving subsidies on construction material for buildings with historical looks. However, many of these buildings look disproportionately tall on the old skyline.

A much more harmonious way is to restore the old buildings like the two inns, strengthening them structurally and keeping true to the original in dimension, looks and building materials. And a useful side benefit is to turn them into hotels so they earn their keep.

Debendra's wife, Saraswoti, hopes that the tradition of restoring old homes will now spread. She adds: "This is not just an old house. This is who we are." ■

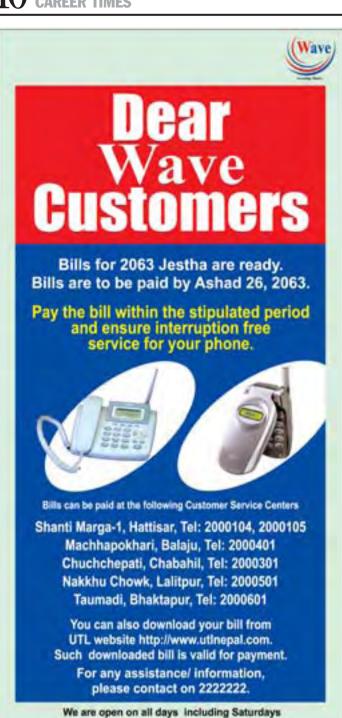


KIRAN PANDAY



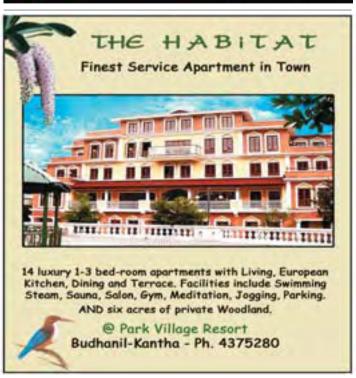
The Rajbhandari House

In Kwalakhu adjacent to an ancient Kirati religious site which is being excavated by the Department of Archaeology, the house is located in one of the squares within the Patan Monument Zone and has a courtyard and a garden. Rooms on three floors are accessed through elaborately carved wooden balconies. It is an oasis in the middle of bustling Patan, perfect for retreats for authors. rajbhandarihouse@gmail.com





UTL United Telecom Limited



What are you going to be when you grow up?

Stop worrying, immerse yourself in the field you love

a lot of career concerns. As my students prepare to enter working lives that will last 50 years or more, practically all of them try to be futurists in choosing the skills in which to invest. If they pick an occupation that declines in the next half-century, they may deeply regret it. They know that a mid-life

COMMENTRobert J Shiller



career change is difficult, so they want to make the right choice while they are very young.

From what my students tell me, there is a widespread fear of commoditisation of jobs in the modern, information technology-driven global economy. They worry that in coming years even highly skilled people might be

thought that computers will replace only low-skilled jobs, my students remind me otherwise. Medical expertise is in some ways being replaced by computer-based diagnostic systems and much of the work that engineers once did has been replaced by computer-assisted design systems. My students worry that such trends may continue, reducing job security, lowering rates of pay, and even eliminating some of the jobs altogether.

Should students really be worried about commoditisation? In their recent book *The New Division of Labour: How Computers Are Creating the Next Job Market*, economists Frank Levy and Richard Murnane, using job descriptions that go back to 1960, carefully classify jobs according to the kinds of cognitive skills that they require.

decades, and that these jobs have indeed tended to be replaced by computers.

In an important sense, their research confirms that my students are right to be worried. But these trends tended to persist within occupations, industries, and educational attainment levels, thus providing little guidance concerning what occupation to choose or how much education to pursue. The important issue, according to Levy and Murnane, is that the most promising future careers will be those grounded in either expert thinking or complex communication skills.

Expert thinking means understanding how to deal with new and different problems that do not fit the mould of past problems. Complex communications skills entail



MIN BAJRACHARYA

hired and fired indiscriminately, bought and sold like so many tons of copper or cases of frozen turkeys. Job satisfaction would suffer accordingly. After all, if the job requires nothing more than knowledge of existing technology, then it can be done by anyone anywhere in the world who has learned this technology, or, worse by some computer.

Indeed, while it is often

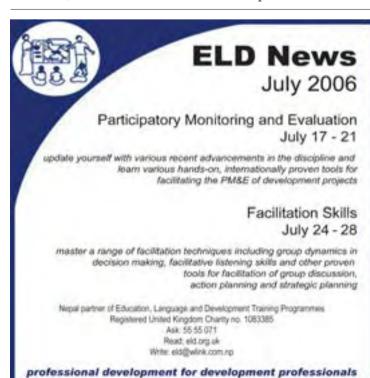
They were particularly interested in identifying jobs that were routine, even if complex and difficult, which could in principle be replaced by a sufficiently well-programmed computer. They then show evidence from the United States that jobs involving both routine manual work and routine cognitive work have become much less plentiful in recent

understanding ideas, how to evaluate their social significance, and how to persuade – tasks that no computer can accomplish.

The important point for students to bear in mind is that they should motivate themselves to attain deep understanding, not rote memorization, of the subjects that they study, in order to fulfil the role of a true expert in whatever field they ultimately choose to pursue. At the same time, they should invest in acquiring the communications skills that will be similarly crucial to a successful career.

Achieving this kind of education probably means pursuing what one naturally finds interesting and engaging, whether that is finance or physiology. Students should stop worrying so much, immerse themselves in the field they love, and learn to appreciate the people who populate it. What may appear to them to be an unaffordable luxury is really a necessity that they can't afford to reject. • Project Syndicate

Robert J Shiller is Professor of Economics at Yale University and author of Irrational Exuberance and The New Financial Order: Risk in the 21st Century.



REVIEW

23 - 29 JUNE 2006 #**303**

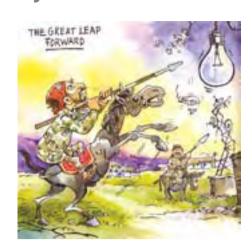


moustache and owlish spectacles. With Sher Bahadur Deuba it is his permanently smug smirk. Batsyayan tears apart Koirala's arrogance and tolerance of corruption, Nepal's flip-flopping and Deuba's shameless kowtowing of the king and his army. His biting cartoons attack the Maoists' cynical justification of violence for political end.

Batsyayana's real name is Durga Baral and he never started out being a cartoonist, he is a painter. Living in Pokhara, he kept an eye on the shenanigans of the capital from a perspective that the people of Kathmandu lacked. What he saw was so funny, he just had to make fun of it.

Baral's son Ajit has compiled his father's best cartoons of post-1990 Nepal in this elegant volume and writes in his preface: 'We want this book to be a sustained visual history, warts and all, of post-1990 Nepal...' The book went to press in March 2006 and includes some cartoons from the post-February First period of censorship. But mostly it reminds us of the hope and hopelessness of the past 15 years of Nepali history: a sobering reminder to the same politicians who came to power after People Power II not to make the same mistakes again.

Last year, at the height of royal rule and the republic vs monarchy debate, Bastsyayana's famous cartoon of Koirala carrying away a horse's corpse labelled 'constitutional monarchy' (above) appeared on the front page of Kantipur. The paper got threatening calls and the minister of



information vowed to take action. The government mouthpiece Gorkhapatra wrote a scathing editorial and the king's henchmen even asked for the death penalty against the cartoonist.

The fact that Batsvavana's cartoon of Girija and the dead horse is more relevant today than it was a year ago goes to prove just how prescient and timeless his drawings are.

For that reason alone, this book which is being launched on Sunday 25 June is a must-have.

Kunda Dixit



Batsyayana & his barbs A Cartoonists's Take on Post-1990 Nepal FinePrint, Kathmandu 2006 148 pages Rs 700



ooking back at the April Uprising and analysing media coverage of the last days of royal rule, what seems to have played a bigger role than bricks and barricades was the power of ridicule.

In Kirtipur, a formerly unknown student recited satirical poetry entertaining an audience of thousands for hours. Even riot police within earshot burst into laughter at the mockery of monarchy. Elsewhere, a student did impersonations of the king imitating his regal gestures and was greeted by gales of laughter.

And then there were the cartoonists. Every day, as the palace dug itself deeper and deeper into a hole of its own making, the illustrations got more and more daring. A cartoonist depicted the king burying his head in the sand with his crown next to him, or showed him sawing off one of the legs of his own throne.

It was risky because lese majeste laws were still in place and punishment was harsh. But cartoonists became more and

more defiant, caricaturing the king's face, his wrap-around shades, jowls and a frowning visage.

Although Batsyayana did not directly depict King Gyanendra his cartoons on the front pages of Kantipur and Kathmandu Post his cartoons lampooned a morally bankrupt regime and helped bring it down. One of Batsyayana's memorable drawings from last year is of a soldier escorting an underfed and near-naked farmer carrying a Rolls Royce into the royal palace.

Because he is so famous, Batsyayana doesn't have to prove himself and be overtly contemptuous—his subtlest cartoons are his most scathing. He sets aside his sharpest barbs for sycophants, yes-men, opportunists and hyprocrites that infested post-1990 Nepal, the ones who through lust and greed squandered the gains of the 1990 People's Movement and thus set the stage for the conflict.

With his prominent proboscis Girija Koirala seems to be Batsyayana's favourite cartoon character, Madhab Nepal is a close



12 MOUNTAINEERING

Back from the death zone



BILL BIERLING

BILLI BIERLING on the RONGBUK GLACIER

n 17 May, Ang Temba Sherpa collapsed on descent from the summit of Chomolungma and was forced to spend the night at 8,600m while his team carried on down to the safety of Camp III.

At a time when news about the controversial death of a British climber and the amazing rescue of an Australian mountaineer dominates media headlines, the tale of Ang Temba Sherpa seems to be forgotten.

Ang Temba has been speaking about his

ordeal and told us he just wanted to sit down for a quick rest as he felt exhausted coming down from the summit, which he reached at 12.22 PM.

"I must have fallen asleep as when I woke up it was dark and I had run out of oxygen," he recalls. "I couldn't carry on down as the batteries of my headlamp were flat and it was too dark."

In the meantime, Ang Temba's team, which consisted of four Japanese climbers and two other Sherpas, were expecting their leader, who had fallen behind on the descent down the north side of the mountain.

"The team thought Ang Temba would

Sherpa survives night near the top of the world

walk into camp shortly but he fell asleep out of exhaustion," says Dinesh K Magar, the team's trekking agent, who was at Advanced Base Camp at the time.

At 4AMthe next morning, Pasang Tendi woke up and when he noticed that his uncle still had not arrived he started to cry. Meanwhile, Ang Temba, who had spent the night moving his fingers and toes to prevent frostbite, gathered his last strength and started to descend at dawn.

"When the sun came up I knew I had to move on in order to survive and even though three Tibetans told me they would bring me down after summiting, I did not wait for them and started walking," Ang Temba said.

At about 8AM an international team of mountaineers, who had abandoned their summit bid due to a sick member, found the exhausted Sherpa at 8,400m.

"When we came down we came across this guy who was all tangled up in the rope. He seemed very uncoordinated," said Phil Crampton, leader of the team. As Crampton was busy looking after one of his own clients who had developed celebral oedema, the team's sirdar Jangbu Sherpa helped his worn out compatriot down towards Camp III.

Even though he was left in the death zone overnight, Ang Temba has no hard feelings about his team. "Nobody could have come up from 8,300m to look for me on summit day," he said, "it would have

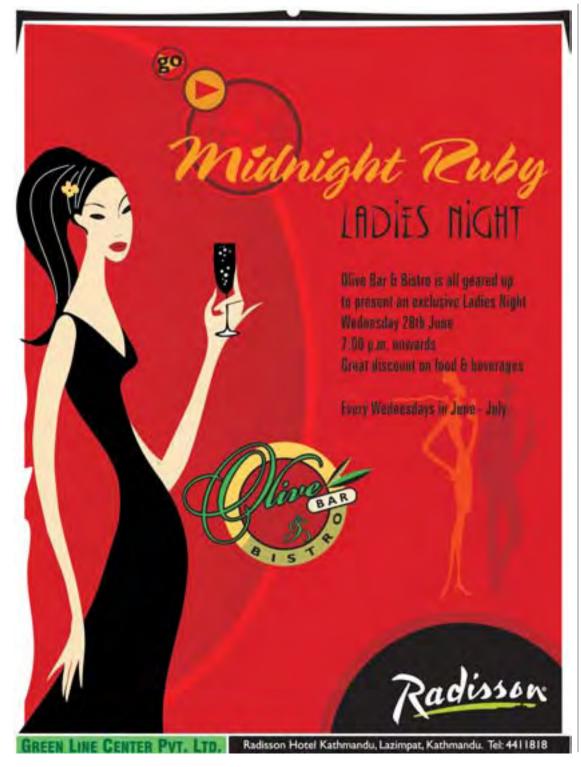


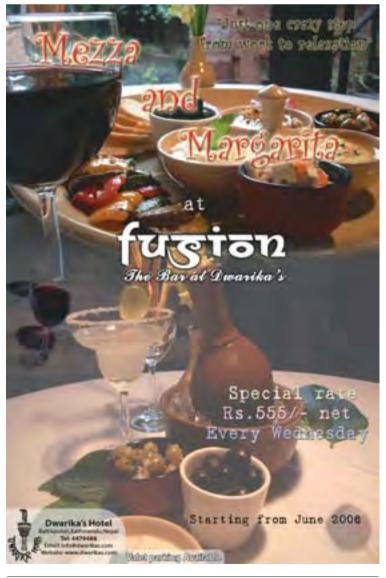
AFTER THE STORM: Chomolungma from the north had a coating of new snow last month after the storm that nearly killed Ang Temba Sherpa (third from left, above).

been too tough for anybody," said Ang Temba, who is from Rolwaling and has a wife and two children. His fingers and legs were paralysed when he got to Base Camp on the Chinese side, from where he was rushed to Kathmandu.

Ang Temba got very ill on the road to Nepal and the team had nearly given up hope on his survival. He stayed in hospital in Kathmandu for nine days and recovered. "I had lost my memory completely. I did not recognise my wife or my two sons. It was horrible," he added. The Sherpa regained his memory after five days and miraculously didn't lose any of his fingers or toes.

The 46-year old does not think he wants to go back to climbing eight thousanders but he needs the money. "You earn much more on Everest than on smaller peaks," he says.







This is it?

Coke football commercial stirs controversy

n a windy Himalayan plateau a football game is in full swing between local Nepalis and African players. They crack the ball, which soars in the high thin air and sprint with snow-capped peaks in the background. Eventually, the smaller Nepalis triumph and celebrate their victory while guzzling the energy drink Powerade, a Coca Cola product.

The commercial for which the mountain football match was filmed in Jomsom in March has already been launched in Europe to accompany World Cup coverage. But after 10 days of shooting and just when the commercial airs in Asia, some of the actor-players are complaining.

Initially Indian ad makers Highlight Films were going to shoot with only Nepali players but the African footballers were brought in at the last minute. Ten Nepalis were chosen from more than 100 who auditioned,

accepting Rs 3,000 a day while the African footballers got Rs 4,000.

For the B division Nepali players it was a rare treat: they made more in 10 days than what they could normally earn in a year. Besides, the world would see them. But it suddenly hit them afterwards that they may have been paid too little.

"We should have got more considering how much Coke makes but it was a lot of money for us," says Raj Kumar Ghising, who plays for the Manang Marsyandi Club. The African players were not available for comment since they have left after the end of Nepal's football season.

But Chijioke Akuneziri, coach and manager of the African United Club, is furious. "What they paid the

players is nothing to what they will make. The Nepali players got far less than what the African players did," the boss of last year's league winner told us.

BRIAN SOKOL

Highlight Films Producer Shiela Chatariee denied there was anv discrimination between the African and Nepali players. "For one, they were all paid more than what they asked for," she said, "the African footballers we used got paid more than the Nepali players since they were from the top teams and the Nepali players got paid more than their average salary."

Alok Tumbahangphey

Winning ways

Collapse at the US Open, consistency at Gokarna



olf's major championship, the US Open, was marked last weekend by the sudden and complete collapse of leader Phil Mickelson's game on the final four holes. But here in Kathmandu, Sanjib Rajbhandari (receiving trophy on Saturday, above) displayed consistently superb skills to capture the 8th Gokarna Open at Le Meridien Gokarna Forest Golf Resort & Spa last

TEE BREAK Deepak Acharya



Saturday. Playing a 15-handicap allowance, Sanjib scored

43 stableford points for a 3-stroke victory over his closest rival Ang Tsering Sherpa. The runner-up hit 11 pars and two birdies to finish three points back. YD Kwon topped the ladies field, followed by Puspa Rai while Le Meridien Gokarna Chairman

Prem Sachdev took the seniors' trophy with 37 points.

The weekend's drama was really at Mamaroneck, NY, site of the US Open. For those of you who were too engrossed by the World Cup to watch golf live or even catch the highlights, let me sum up Mickelson's collapse.

The 32-year-old had a two-shot lead with four holes to play but miscues plagued his final round, including missing 16 of 18 fairways. His tee shot on the 18th went far left and rattled through the trees into the trampled rough. Instead of playing out to the fairway and trying to get par, Mickelson went for the green but hit a tree, the ball advancing only 25 yards. His third shot sailed left of the green and got buried in the bunker, plugged so badly that he could only escape the hole with a double bogey.

That opened the door for Australian Geoff Ogilvy, who displayed some exceptional shots in his closing holes: he chipped in from a distorted rough on the 17th to save par, then overcame a miserable break on the 18th when his tee shot came to rest in a divot. His approach shot faltered as it reached the wrong side of the green but Ogilvy followed up with a splendid chip shot and sank the putt for a par.

Scot Colin Montgomerie had the best chance of his career to take the major title but his dreams died when he double bogeved the last hole. He wasn't alone. The Winged Foot course punished many players, including Tiger Woods, who missed the cut by shooting 12 over in two rounds, ending his streak of making the grade in 37 consecutive majors.

Deepak Acharya is a golf instructor and Golf Director at Gokarna Forest Golf Resort & Spa. Kathmandu. prodeepak@hotmail.com



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1970 CUP Trivia: Which team did Brazil beat 4-1 in the 1970 Final? a.Nepal b.USA c.Mexico d.Italy - see answer below by turning paper upside down and looking like a dork...







KE GARNE? WHATEVER But pay ur bills if u are a cable company. "The World Cup is an event in which we actually see goals

being reached. -- Kofi A. Annan, seventh Secretary-General of the UNITED NATIONS, discussing Millennium Goals.

new HEROJIG HONDA 125cc. your name clo Editor Nepali Times to enter lucky draw for a Trivia Answer: d. Italy - if you answered a. Nepal then submit

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ABOUT TOWN

EXHIBITIONS

- People's Power 1990-2006 by Ragini Upadhyay Grela at NAFA, Naxal till 25 June, 10AM-5PM. 411729
- Steel Butterflies a solo photography exhibition by Sarah Schorr till 25 June at Gallery Nine, Lajimpat. 4428694
- Paintings by Grace Asirwatham at Sirjana Contemporary Art Gallery, Kamaladi 25-27 June. 4247889
- Bagmati River a photo exhibition at Gallery Café, Lajimpat till 11 July.

EVENTS

- Wave Kick-off Cup media vs. celebrity match at Dashrath Rangasala, 24 June 2PM. 5523845
- Globalisation discussion with Chaitanya Mishra at Martin Chautari, 24 June, 4-6PM. 4238050
- Bagmati River Festival 3 June 20 August. 5011013
- Japanese Tanabata (Wish) Festival food, activities for the kids, live music and more at U Café, 1 July.
- World Cup Action at Soaltee Crowne Plaza, Rodi bar 9 June- 9 July. 4273999
- Communication and leadership program with Toastmasters, meeting every Tuesday at IEM building, Tripureswor. 9841307447
- Alcoholics Anonymous problems with alcohol? 9851016079
- Kathmandu International Mountain Film Festival 2006, 7-10 December, calling for entries. Forms available at: www.himalassociation.org/kimff

MUSIC

- Heartbreakers live every Friday at Rum Doodle Bar & Restaurant
- Cadenza Collective live every Wednesday and Saturday 8PM at Upstairs, Lazimpat
- Live Music at New Orleans Café. 4700311
- Uncork the good times with Ciney and Par-e-jat playing every Friday from 7PM o at Fusion bar at Dwarika's Hotel. 4479448
- Jatra Friday nights, live music by Siron. 4256622
- Unplugged sessions with Strings, Jatra Saturday nights. 4256622

DINING

- Floats and Fantasies mocktails and desserts at Juneli Bar till
- Brunch from the east weekend brunch till 29 July.
- The Fun Café for set buffet breakfast, lunch or dinner, Olive Bar & Bistro, Radisson Hotel. 4411818
- World Cup at K-too! games available with meal and free Irish Coffee. 4470043
- Mezza and Margarita at Dwarika's Fusion- the bar every Wednesday, Rs 555
- Vineyard Gallery Lounge for wines and cocktails at Babar Mahal Revisited.
- Mango Masti at all restaurants in Soaltee Crowne Plaza. 4273999
- Beat the heat with milkshakes and smoothies at Hvatt Regency, 4491234
- Momo & Sekuwa Revolution every Saturday at Tea-House Inn. Wet & Wild Summer Splash at Godavari Village Resort, a
- special package of Swimming & Lunch. 5560675 Breakfast at Singma Restaurant. 8.30 - 11.00AM daily.
- 5520004

GETAWAYS

- Tiger Mountain Pokhara Lodge, relaxation and massages in Pokhara. 4361500
- Junglewalks rafting, elephant rides all at Jungle Base Camp Lodge, Bardia. junglebasecamp@yahoo.com
- Park Village, Budhanilkantha, Full room Rs 1,600. 4375280
- Nature Retreat at Park Village Resorts & Spa. 4375280
- Escape Kathmandu at Shivapuri Heights Cottage. 9841371927

Sean Boswell is a loner whose only connection to the world around him is through illegal street racing — which has made him unpopular with the local authorities. To avoid jail time, Sean is sent out of the country to live in a cramped apartment in a lowrent section of Tokyo. There a simple street race has been replaced with drift racing, a deadly combination of brutal speed on heart stopping courses of hairpin turns and switchbacks. For his first unsuccessful foray in drift racing, Sean unknowingly takes on the 'Drift King,' with ties to the Yakuza, the Japanese crime machine. The only way he can pay off the debt of his loss is to venture into the deadly realm of the Tokyo underworld.

Call 4442220 for show timings at Jai Nepal www.jainepal.com









Includes:

"The Fuzzy Logic of Maoist Transformation'

by Kanak Mani Dixit

NEPALI WEATHER



by MAUSAM BEED

Just as farmers were beginning to fear a repeat of last year's rainless June, the monsoon has suddenly revived. The onset of the monsoon is essentially a tug-o-war between the moisture-laden warm winds from the Bay of Bengal versus the westerlies. When the jet stream delays its annual summer migration north of Himalaya, the monsoon is delayed.

After a ten-day tussle, the monsoon is now surging westwards along the midhills again, as this satellite picture taken on Thursday morning shows. The storm on Tuesday evening, dumped 20 mm of rain in the Valley. Western Nepal has only got a third of normal precipitation so far, but that is likely to change for the better. The Bay arm of the southwest monsoon is now active again and the weekend should see some brisk showers.

KATHMANDU VALLEY











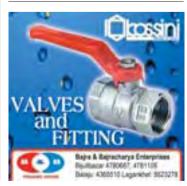




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KIRAN PANDAY

KILLING TIME: A Maoist cadre (left) and policewoman wait outside the prime minister's residence in Baluwatar during the summit talks last Friday.



TELLING IT TO THE WORLD: The BBC's Charles Haviland interviews Bhutani refugees staging a relay hunger strike in front of the UN building in Pulchok, on Tuesday, World Refugee Day.



AYO NOON: Sushil the Magician turns paper into iodised salt at an event at Patan Darbar Square on Tuesday to mark Indian assistance for iodine deficiency and goitre control.



TRADITIONAL TUNES: Newar girls perform traditional music at Shiva Parbati Dabali on Wednesday to mark the occasion of World Music Day. Shiva and Parbati watch from window overhead.



SUMANY

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Foot ball for the kids



hile the rest of the world celebrates the biggest sporting extravaganza by staying up late into the night watching the World Cup, a small orphanage is struggling to keep itself running so the children can have a better future.

Well what better way to raise funds for them than by celebrating the spirit of teamwork and sportsmanship through the beautiful game itself? And that's exactly what our sister publication, Wave, is doing by organising a football match between various members of us in the media and Nepali celebrities including

musicians, singers, actors, RJ's, VJ's, and even models.

The Wave Kick Off Cup is being held Saturday at Dasrath Stadium and will raise money for the Mayadevi Orphanage in Rupandehi. The orphanage is run on local resources by Baburam Pyasi, a local resident who started it two years ago as a child shelter. Today, the orphanage is home to 47 children who live in the temporary shelter built of bamboo sticks and tin roofs on two acres of Pyasi's own land.

The children attend school but the organisation is in dire need of financial support and even a little money can go a

long way. A child living in the orphanage recently died when a bomb that the Maoists had carelessly left exploded in the nearby jungle. Two other children were severely injured in the explosion.

After the match, a dinner will be held at Himalmedia football field in Sano Hatiban where prizes will be given to the winners and a World Cup match screened on the big screen.

Wave Kick Off Cup 2-4PM Dasrath Stadium 24 June, Saturday Party: 7PM onwards at Himalmedia, Sano Hatiban For tickets call: 9851011937





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Moving the goalposts

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

We Apologise to Viewers That We've Had To Poach The Signal For This World Cup Broadcast From Myanmar TV Because ESPN And STAR SPORTS Have Refused To Honour The Decision Of The Honourable Patan Appellate Court For An Interim Stay Order Requiring Them To Not Block The Live Relay Of World Cup Matches To This Cable Network Even

Though We Haven't Paid Their Stipulated Fees. We Regret This Inconvenience To Our Valued Customers Which Is Caused Entirely By the Unreasonable Demand of ESPN and STAR SPORTS To Try To Get Us To Actually Pay for Their Service. What Do They Think, That Money Grows on Trees in Nepal or What? Proletariat of the World Unite! You Have Nothing To Lose But Your

World Cup Coverage.

This message brought to you by Tangle Cable Network (Pvt) Ltd, Tangal

After watching the Czechs playing the Stripes till three in the morning last night I'm actually writing this week's column in my sleep, so I would appreciate it if you didn't make any loud noises or sudden movements while reading it. But wake me up when this evening's games start.

Is it just me or are some of you also falling asleep while watching the World Cup? This is much more worrying than being unconscious at work. It is an indication that something needs to be done quickly if we are to preserve the interest of Nepalis in football and stop people from flicking

their remotes to watch Comrade Prachanda's interview instead.

The problem has always been that there just aren't enough goals in football to maintain viewer interest. There they are, 22 self-important

adolescents in ponytails running amok around a field kicking balls for 90 minutes and the score at the end is 0-0 and they shake their hands and go home. Something has to be done quickly before the nation goes into coma.

UNDER MY HAT

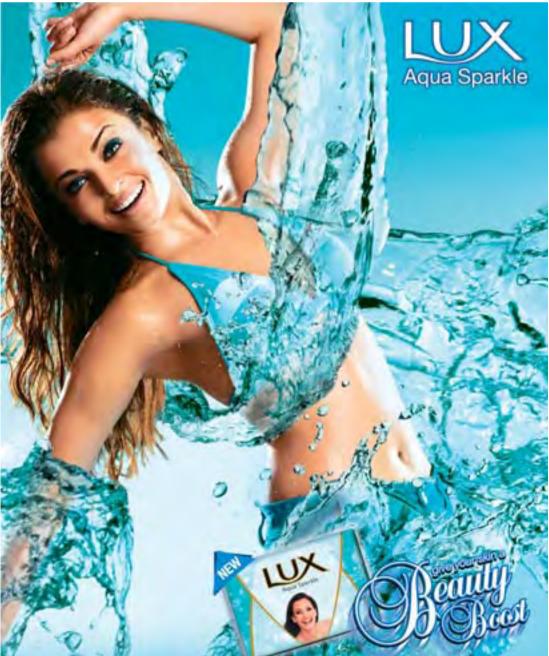
Kunda Dixit

I have been in email touch with FIFA President Sepp Blatter and after hard bargaining have agreed on a 12-point MoU which has been distilled from my original 157-point demand and a 40-point final ultimatum to make the game of football more thrilling. Here is the gist of our final 8-point agreement:

- 1. Move the goalposts. In fact, increase their width from 9m at present to 25m so there are more chances of goals being scored. What we want to see are scores like Argentina 73-Serbia 9.
- **2. Remove goalkeepers.** These spoilsports unfairly block hard-earned free kicks with this hands and keep the score down.
- **3. Don't level the playing field.** Incline it at an imperceptible 5 degrees to give the stronger side the advantage of running downhill and scoring more goals.
- **4. Allow offsides.** Strikers will be allowed to hang around the enemy goal post waiting for a long pass, thus making more goals possible.
- **5.** There are just too many stoppages for fouls and misconduct. Players will be allowed to tackle, use Thai-style boxing and Greco-Roman wrestling techniques to bring down enemy players and the referee as well if he doesn't behave himself.
- **6. God gave us hands.** But hands are allowed only for throw-ins. What a waste. Let's grab the ball and hit the ground running.
- **7. Get the balls.** Defenders setting up a wall to face a free kick near the penalty area will not longer be allowed to protect their crown jewels with their hands. It's a disgusting habit.
- **8. Sack the referee and linesmen.** We don't need them, they just slow the game down by stopping play at the slightest excuse. We have democracy now, so let players settle things with fistfights.







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