On Tuesday, 50,000 young Nepalis queued up outside the National Stadium in Kathmandu to pick up application forms for the Korean language proficiency test. They will be vying for 4,000 work permits to South Korea.

What is it about Nepal that pushes Nepalis to leave, and what might keep them in the country? In Nepali Times this week:

p3 Prashant Jha examines the chasm between what government promises and what government does.

p4 Indu Nepal looks into what Nepali children are looking at on the Internet, and paints a worrying picture for parents.

p6 Artha Beed wants to know what work means to Nepalis. Are foreign masters better than Nepali ones?

p7 Lifetimes helps you settle, for once and for all, the question of which superhero to root for.

p11 Rabi Thapa thinks football is like politics. So does the PLA.

p12 Fiona Ledger asks the question: who does a woman’s body belong to?

p13 Rupa Joshi witnesses the rebirth of Mangalsen Palace, Achham, eight years after its destruction.

p15 Are cables driving you mad? Dish TV is making waves, and now may be the time to get one of those big plates on your roof.
The feudal Rana regime, the absolute monarchy under the Shahs, the Panchayat autocracy, the party leadership after 1990, the Maoists, and the coalition that replaced them last year all have one thing in common. None of them understood that, in the words of Spiderman, with great power comes great responsibility.

Past neglect by Nepal’s rulers have come back to haunt us. The capital valley is being punished for turning its back on the rest of the country. We now see the impact of the revenge of rural Nepal on Kathmandu all around us, the city’s malignantly growth, the horrendous traffic and unbearable air, squatted squatter settlements and fetid rivers, shabby housing and poverty and crime. King Gyanendra believed he had divine legitimacy to rule this country. The political leadership after 1990 felt elections alone conferred them with all the legitimacy they ever really needed. Pushpa Kamal Dahal thought his party was on truth gaving Charismatic legitimacy. All three forgot that to retain legitimacy, rulers have to fulfill their end of the bargain in the people. The real mandate lies in performance.

With the balance of social justice as skewed as it is in Nepal, given the uneven distribution of opportunities, joblessness and underdevelopment, only rulers that seek to redress these multiple crises will be rewarded with legitimacy. Having a majority in parliament is not enough. Madhav Kumar Nepal’s argument that he intends to resign only after the Maoists deliver on their past commitments to the peace process may be legally tenable, but what has his government done for the people lately? Corruption is now so bad ministers don’t even try to hide it anymore. The lame duck syndrome has made it worse; Nepal’s hangovers are on to last while the looking is good.

For their part, the Maoists have not been able to convince the people that their goal is anything but to get to power by hook or by crook. In fact Chairman Dahal’s single-minded obsession with prime ministership has undermined his own authority within the party.

It is not enough for the prime minister and his cohorts to say they have a majority in parliament, and are defending the country from totalitarianism by not resigning. They have to finally prove that the democracy they are protecting is capable of delivering the goods.

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COMMUNIST GURU
Almost all Nepalis who have a fair knowledge about Nepali politics know well that Mr Singh (The Intellectual Dilemma, #508) now has reduced himself to an arrogant and archaic communist Guru. He is hellbent on lambasting the government. It is known to all that the Maoists are true followers of Hitler/Mao. They have no concept of decision making or responsibility for their own future. The thinking was done for them.

I once asked my friend Purna about his long term plans for the future. “Deli, an average poor Nepali gets up in the morning and hopes he will have breakfast and a supper,” he said. “If he gets lunch too, it was a good day.”

And Purna is not even a Maoist! He has a mountain guide with a better perspective on life than many poor Nepalis. When the poor fellows in the camp were asked about their individual plans for the future, the thought had probably never entered their minds. How would they answer the question? Why have these people been left rotting there? A lot could have been done for four years. Isn’t anything being done to actually de-program them?  If there is to be any hope for a re-integration into society, certain steps have to be taken first. Why are there still pictures of old dictators such as Stalin and Karl Marx and Mao on the walls? Why is the hammer and the sickle there? Why are they armed and standing on guard pretending absolutely nothing?

Has anybody explained to them that the communist doctrine was a hypothesis never successfully functioned anywhere; doesn’t exist now and never will exist in the future? They are strong young men and women wasting away with nothing to do. I don’t exactly know what life skills they could feed them and house them until now, or how they could find some money to educate them and teach them some life skills. By now they could have been motor cycle or bicycle mechanics, welders, carpenters, chicken farmers or even manufacturers, anything to support themselves in the future. Only then does a question about future plans make sense.

De-programming someone’s mind is no simple task. No one likes being told that all he knew in his young adult life was a lie. Some might not be re-programmable any more. Maybe all they can do is live in their own mind. Since they have no concept of decision making, nothing to do, but what have they produced their own food. The main difference is that these communes were not military camps. We even fed them food.

We can hate them for the suffering they caused, but that would be ill-directed. They suffer too, not least from destructions, broken promises and the loss of time. It is a depressing picture, but there is lot of room for compassion for these young men and women. Empower them not with guns, but with skills and opportunities to turn their lives around. To break the cycle of suffering, apply wisdom, not hate.

Luba Sirohne

On the blogs
The hungry eye
Nepal Kukur finds a marketer that make a lasting impression. Find out where at nepalitimes.com/blogs/

Total votes: 2,727
Hollow state

The debate on restructuring the state will have to address the gap between state aspirations and to delivery capacity

In theory, the Nepali state governs over a territory with more than 27 million citizens. Its broad mandate, as laid out in the country’s laws, policies and plans, is to provide housing, education, health, jobs, food, security, justice, freedoms and rights for all Nepalis, besides settling disputes and building a cohesive national identity.

Now, go to any CDO office, or sit with VDC secretaries loitering around in the district headquarters. They spend a large portion of their days signing papers and certificates for citizens. The CDO is often in fire-fighting mode vis-à-vis political party leaders in the district, deals with people with grievances, entertains visitors from Kathmandu, and attends events. As the fiscal year ends, his office is busy finalising expenditure, giving out contracts, and allotting funds.

In practice, the state’s functions essentially include maintaining a degree of law and order; dispensing patronage and money to politically influential individuals; ensuring coordination between its various agencies to run a few schools and the district hospital; providing citizens with formal documents; and carrying on the pomp and ceremony of officialdom.

This disjunction between what the state is supposed to do, and what it does or can do, is at the root of Nepal’s political and governance crisis.

If you judge its performance based on what it aspires to do, the Nepali state comes across as a hollow entity. It barely manages to complete minimal tasks, let alone meet the enhanced aspirations of its citizens. Its abysmal performance explains the widespread political discontent and the existence of numerous small rebel groups. But the state, in its various avatars, is extremely resilient and has found ways to survive. It has learnt the art of crisis management, based on a network of strong politicians, bureaucrats, small businessmen, big to mid-sized landowners, NGOs, and local media. It can maintain systemic stability even in the face of sporadic killings and abductions.

But the fundamental reason it can maintain legitimacy and deal with threats is because millions of citizens have, for all practical purposes, seceded from the Nepali state. A lot has been written about how the migration of workers to India, Malaysia and the Gulf has kept the Nepali economy afloat. But there is an interrelated point. Migration has helped the Nepali state remain intact. For emigrants, their only interaction with the government is when they have to prepare their citizenship papers and passports; it is the transnational terrain of manpower agencies, airlines, and foreign companies that makes up their world.

Those in government readily admit that this provides a ‘safety valve’ against the unmanageable political unrest that would have resulted had these hundreds of thousands of unemployed men and women stayed in the villages.

The debate on restructuring the state will have to address the gap between state aspirations and delivery capacity. Hollow state

I

still. Those who have fought the state, especially the Maoists, confirm the truth of this.

Dr Baburnam Bhattarai says that migration made it tougher to destroy the ‘semi-feudal’ nature of the rural structures. A young man goes abroad; his parents and wife work on the fields as landless labourers. But his income provides them with a cushion, and reduces incentives for them to rebel against local power structures. This realisation was probably a factor in the Maoists mobilising support and funds from Nepali workers abroad during the insurgency.

The discussion over state restructuring is futile as long as the gap between its aspirations and delivery capacity, and the role of what can be termed the new transnational Nepali proletariat, are not taken into account. If there is no alternative but to be an exporter of cheap labour for the rest of the world, let us focus on building mechanisms that address the concerns of this primary lifeline. But if there is recognition that this is not sustainable or desirable, then the state must change its focus to create more jobs within. Both tracks could be pursued simultaneously, but policymakers would do well to remember their hopeless track record in multi-tasking.

The state needs to figure out what its broader objective is beyond survival, before it decides what it wants to look like.
Who’s watching?

A majority of young Internet users have viewed adult content online. Almost half of them share personal information without hesitation. Are parents paying attention?

A ten-year-old student was throwing up complaining of headaches, and refused to go to school for days. Unable to identify any physical causes for the child’s distress, his father (a child counselor) sat him down and asked him if anything out of the ordinary had happened. After much coaxing, the boy revealed that his computer teacher had shown him pornographic images online.

His might be an unusual case, but it’s not the only one. According to Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre (CWIN, 2008), 79 per cent of young Internet users have seen offensive materials online, either accidentally or intentionally. But few parents are aware of what their children are exposing themselves to.

Most of them stumble upon it in cyber cafés; on Internet windows left open by others, or on bookmarked pages,” says Sumnima Tuladhar of CWIN. It’s not surprising considering the most searched for keywords in Google Nepal’s homepage is ‘Nepali blue film’, which pops up automatically when you search the site, suggesting that people might be an unusual pornography, according to a study in South Africa.

A South African study found that 90 per cent of young sexual offenders had been exposed to pornography, according to the group Stand Up Standing Together to Oppose Pornography.

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With the rise in the use of social networking sites like Facebook, children are at risk from paedophiles and sexual predators, in Nepal and abroad. In March, a serial sex offender was sentenced to life in prison in England after he admitted to kidnapping, raping and murdering a teenager whom he had lured by using a fake Facebook profile.

In Nepal, too, the amount of information children are willing to share on the Internet is cause for concern. About 50 per cent of the children in the CWIN survey said they shared their personal information online, including addresses and phone numbers. More than half of those had met their online friends in person.

“You start falling in love with the person and get attracted to whoever he says or does,” said a young girl. “It’s like being under some kind of spell.”

Add to that an already burgeoning online industry for child pornography, and the situation becomes truly alarming. Child pornography on the Internet increased by 1500 per cent between 1997 and 2005, says Interpol. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation has reported that there are more than a million images of child sexual abuse accessible online and more than 100,000 pornography websites.

The Computer Association of Nepal (CAN) and the Internet Service Providers Association of Nepal work with police to shut down sites containing illegal and offensive material hosted in Nepal. “But we don’t monitor sites because it is impossible,” says Kishor Pant of CAN.

Ultimately the responsibility lies with parents to install filters to protect their children. “There should also be different computer policies for adults and children in cyber cafés,” says Sumnima Tuladhar. Over a year back, police attempted to get cyber cafés to make user registration compulsory and remove partitions between workstations. But with the fast-paced change in technology and ease of access, theONUS is on the parents to take an interest in their children’s online behaviour. Tuladhar warns: “With 3G devices now, the Internet is just a click away.”

What are they doing online?

73.7% of boys and 26.3% of girls have given out personal details to strangers

60.3% of children have met online friends in person; 15.5% of those reported having a bad experience in the first meeting

11% of children admitted to talking about sex online with strangers

36% of children admitted to watching explicit sexual material on purpose

1.7 per cent of children mentioned adult sites as one of their favourite websites.
New strategy

The rift within the Maoist Party was accentuated this week as Vice-Chairman Baburam Bhattarai floated the idea of proposing a new candidate to lead the national government, while hawkish Mohan Baidya argued in favour of abandoning hopes of leading the government. At the party’s politburo meeting this week, Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal, who had earlier said he felt ‘betrayed’ by the prime minister, said there were slim chances of a national consensus government. Bhattarai faction has accused India of being the main obstacle and advised the party to launch a new struggle. Bhattarai is said to have asked to adopt a new strategy for leadership and stick with the current peace process.

Biased development

Finance Minister Suresh Parajuli has said that the funds allocated for various projects were diverted due to pressure from the leaders of various political parties. Almost two billion rupees earmarked for people’s participatory programs in the budget was redirected to the politicians’ home districts in the last month of the current fiscal year, the Public Account Committee (PAC) was told on Tuesday. Various Constituent Assembly members and influential leaders, including Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal, Deputy Prime Minister Bijaya Kumar Gachchhadar, UML’s Chair Jwala Nath Khanal and Nepali Congress leader Ram Chandra Poudel, asked the minister to divert the funds, government officials told PAC. The Commission for Investigation of Abuse and Authority has directed the government not to implement the changes over concerns of irregularities.

A day’s work

Civil servants across the country stopped work for three hours on Thursday morning to protest the arrest of 70 colleagues at the Ministry of General Administration the day before. Nepal Government Employees’ Organisation said they were at the ministry premises to submit a memorandum demanding the government recognize that automatically promoted government employees are on par with those promoted through a regular process. The organisation alleged that officials who receive automatic promotion, based on the number of years they have worked in government, do not have the same level of authority as their other colleagues.

This Week

A day’s work

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Cover Story

Purbanchal Province
A model for prosperity, development and co-existence of the Himal, Pahad and Tarai

Editorial

The PM shouldn’t resign until there is an alternative

Reports

PM in the mood to step down
Ideological feud within the Maoists
Splits in the Maoist movement
Confusion in the Interim Plan
Protecting ourselves from lightning

Columns

Purshottam Dahal on repeating the same mistakes in the CA
Sushil Pant on why the constitution couldn’t be written

Business

NCell’s rebranding
Advertising industry goes inclusive
Invasion of the smart phones
What does work mean for Nepalis?

The serpentine queues to get application forms for the National Proficiency Test filled the front pages of Nepali newspapers this week. The first impression people get is the usual one: there is no future for Nepali youth, so they have to find ways to leave the country. Generations have done it before us, and generations more will do it after us. Bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen, intellectuals, professionals — many tell their children not to come back to Nepal, as there is no future here.

But is it really the case that there are no opportunities for people in Nepal, especially at the worker level? Or is it that we are so fatalistic about Nepal we cannot see these opportunities? This book was written with some of my fellow hazy flooring tile setters as a backdrop of the other day. The overseer was a fellow busy flooring tiles in Midnapore, West Bengal, who are people from his district in Nepal. The day before, he and the fellows busy flooring tiles in Kathmandu, with many complaining how difficult it is to find someone. While good domestic workers are earning around Rs 8,000 to Rs 10,000, we are yet to see a surge in people actually wanting to be employed as domestic help. Why is it that Nepalis don’t want to work as hairdressers, washerwomen or men, cleaners, door-to-door delivery people and lots of other service providers? Why should selling vegetables be considered a menial job? Nepalis would rather sweat in the Gulf’s heat and be exposed to abuse than work for a Nepali in Nepal.

Are foreign masters really better than Nepalis? Even in Nepal you get inklings of this mindset in the way you are served in restaurants frequented by expatriates and the way security guards and drivers with embassies or INGOs deal with their fellow Nepalis. While ‘dollars farmers’ engaged in writing reports may link this to our feudal mindset, it is perhaps a little more complicated. Even in the development sector, Nepalis tend to perform differently under Nepali team leaders than they might under foreign team leaders. This holds true for the corporate sector, too.

So it seems the question of opportunity is more to do with the Nepali psyche than with Nepal’s economy. What Nepali youth requires is not only skills training (which is limited) but also a large-scale campaign that acknowledges that leaving Nepal is fine, but emphasises the fact that there is nothing wrong with working in Nepal if there are opportunities. This business of transformation, in itself, is a huge opportunity for those who see it.

CG Electronics introduced two new models of CG Mobiles - C763 (CDMA) and D990 (CDMA + GSM) to the Nepali market. C763 is a full touch screen mobile with all the features of a smart phone. D990 is a dual SIM slot phone with a QWERTY keypad, with expandable memory up to 4GB.

Spa therapy courses

Tranquility Beauty Academy has launched a six-month diploma in Spa Therapy, specifically aimed at victims of domestic violence, conflict-affected people, single women and people from Dalit and marginalized communities. The academy will also offer job placements after the successful completion of the course.

Laxmi Bank ties up with China

Laxmi Bank has formally established a correspondent banking relationship with Bank of China, the largest commercial bank in China. This will facilitate trade and payments between customers of both banks. Local business representatives of Chinese companies dealing with business in Nepal will also benefit from this arrangement.

Laxmi Bank has also announced phase II of its mobile banking services. It was the first bank to pioneer e-banking in Nepal, through the introduction of Mobile Money. Now Laxmi Bank customers who have subscribed to Mobile Money will be able to access their accounts for cash withdrawals from more than 400 Mobile Money agents located across the country.
Iron Man 2 is Fun with a capital F. Tony Stark (Robert Downey Jr) faces an uphill battle to keep custody of the Iron Man suit, which the government wants possession of to prevent enemies getting hold of the technology. But when he’s attacked by a copycat prototype, manned by Ivan Venko (Mickey Rourke), Stark’s claims that he’s ahead of the game suddenly ring hollow. To make matters worse, the arc reactor that powers his suit and serves as a surrogate heart is also killing him, and there doesn’t seem to be a safe alternative. It doesn’t help that rival weapons manufacturer Justin Hammer has teamed up with Venko to develop more advanced weaponry for a commercial edge. Is this the end of Iron Man?

The movie is packed with juicy action sequences and stunning performances, a rarity in superhero flicks. Downey excels as the charismatic and brainy Stark, a role that revived his floundering film career in 2008. Mickey Rourke convinces as the vengeful Venko, and Sam Rockwell is hysterical as Hammer. The movie also manages depth, as Stark comes to terms with his feelings for his father and girlfriend, without being sappy. Besides, the movie is really funny. Despite a somewhat anti-climactic climax, and some lazy scriptwriting surrounding Stark’s discovery of a new element, Iron Man 2 is a must-watch. If you missed it playing at Big Cinemas, go find a DVD to fill in one of the duller World Cup nights.

Rather than pretending to be a god, far from the reach of his people, Iron Man likes nothing better than to flex his shiny, metallic muscles in front of his fans. How? By throwing the most expensive parties! Love him or hate him, you’re invited.

There are a lot of superheroes who are geniuses and love science, but Iron Man is probably the only one who makes it look cool. While Spiderman is stuck with a chemistry lab and an old desktop, Iron Man churns out gadgets and gizmos that would make Steve Jobs look like a caveman. Wealthy and with a company in his name, he’s a walking, talking CERN facility, only a lot less selfish.

Most superheroes stick to one costume to get that branding going, and to distinguish themselves from all the other flying avengers about. Iron Man, on the other hand, is all about something old, something new. And capes are so passé.
**LIFE TIMES**

**Events**

Discussion on ‘Unleashing Nepal’, Sujeev Shakya discusses his latest book examining the economic potential of the country in the face of its bleak past. Saturday 19 June, 2.30pm-4.30pm, Youth Initiative Hall, Gairidhara

Quiet Crowd, an exhibition of unique coin sculptures by artist Amit Raj Shilpakar. Till Sunday 20 June (except on Saturdays), 10.30am-6pm, Park Gallery, Pulchowk

Tavern Tales, Hamra Hajurama: Our Grandmothers, a rendering of oral storytelling in photographs and narratives, moderated by photographer Satish Sharma. Thursday 24 June, 5 pm sharp, Nepal-Bharat Library, New Road

Putaliko Ghar, a Nepali adaptation of Henrik Ibsen’s A Doll’s House, which has seen more than 180 performances in Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Denmark and Norway. Till Saturday 26 June (everyday except Mondays) 5.30pm, Gurukul, Old Baneswor

Geometrics, an exhibition of paintings about the intuitive responses of elements, geometry and colours in Thangkas by American artist Piero Passacantando. Till Sunday 26 June, 9am to noon, 10pm to 1pm, Siddhartha Art Gallery, Babar Mahal Revisited, 4218048

Saturday’s Farmer Market, a weekly farmer’s market with gourmet food, healthy breakfast, organic fruits & vegetables & lots of socialising. Every Saturday, 9am to 12pm, 1905 Restaurant, Kantipath, 4225272

Film Screening: The Conformist, looks back at Italy’s fascist past to weave an epic modern tale about political and psychological dysfunction. Friday 18 June, 3.30pm, Docschool, Gaurighat, 447104

**The Secret in Their Eyes**

The secret of ‘The Secret in Their Eyes’ is that there is no secret. This thriller laced with romance and comedy is a story about Benjamin Esposito (Ricardo Darín), a former court investigator, who revisits the case of a young woman raped and murdered in her home. The case is resolved but the murderer is released from jail to become a government agent in Argentina’s military dictatorship. Esposito’s journey into the past then becomes an emotional one, as he revisits his old lover, acquaintances and dear friends, and the story of the young girl who is still mourned by her husband. In doing so, he unravels how they have found peace, and how he must do so for himself. The movie, which won the Oscar for Best Foreign Film, may seem like a mishmash of several storylines in the beginning, but comes together in a clean smooth finish.

4/5

**Step Brothers**

The story of children caught up in divorce is not the cheeriest of premises. But this is not the case for Brennan (Will Ferrell) and Dale (John C. Reilly), both grown-up men in their 40s who still live under the umbrellas of their parents’ wealth. Their safe bubbles burst when both their parents end up falling in love with each other and tie the knot. And so begins a series of comedy tussles between the two men, squabbling over matters ranging from personal space to house rules, as they struggle to cope with each other. This defines much of what happens in ‘Step Brothers’, with Ferrell and Reilly’s slapstick chemistry really bringing the film to life. Some of their antics are a little clichéd, but the weird mix of characters who fill out the movie make it a worthwhile watch.

3/5

**Ncell Football Lounge**

Lobsters, Kings Way; Moksh, Jhamsikhel; Tamas, Thamel

The World Cup is here. Take off your coat, loosen your tie and go football crazy.

Big screens, exclusive venues and special privileges. Ncell Football Lounge is where all the action is.

**Video Night**

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3/5
Simsime Pani, beat the summer heat with a cool summer package from Fulbari Resort in Pokhara. Refreshing discounts and unparalleled services await you at your destination.

Fulbari Resort, Casino, Golf and Spa, Pokhara. Contact 4462248 for prices and reservations.

Full Moon Camping, leave the little ones behind, trek to Shivapuri, open a bottle of wine and drink to the sight of the full moon. Saturday 26 June, call 2111505 for reservations.

International Music Week Concert, performances by violin students of Narayan Gopal Music Trust and Nepal Sangeet Vidyalaya to mark International Music Day. Monday 21 June, 6pm, Nepal Music Centre, Pingalasthan, Gaushala, 4242832.

An evening with Deep Shrestha, the maestro of Nepali modern music will sing his heart out to raise funds for clean drinking water in Dharan. Sunday 20 June, Pragya Bhawan, Kāmakāda.

Wine festival. Celebrate the 8th annual wine festival at Kilroy’s of Kathmandu plus all World Cup games in the heart of Thamel, 4250440.

Dhokaima Café, the cozy café in Patan will be celebrating summer with chilled vegetable soup and virgin mojitos. Or get a stiff drink at the Rukmini Lounge. Patan Dhoka, 5522113.

Rox Bar, watch the matches on the big screen at the bar and drink special cocktails prepared just for the occasion. For the sophisticates among you. Hyatt Regency, Bouddha, 4491234.

The Factory, a special chef is being flown over to create a menu corresponding with the countries battling it out. There will be games, prizes and pitchers of beer. Thamel, 4701165.

1905. It’s also about the food at 1905 in Kantipath, which will feature a special menu throughout the World Cup with country-themed food or snacks. Expect margaritas, empanadas, and good old-fashioned beans and sausages. Kantipath, 4250672.

Cinnamon Lounge, spacious lounge with a menu featuring grilled meat of various kinds. For the hungry man in you. Jhamsi, 5521339.

International Music Week Concert, a concert organised to mark International Music Day with performances by Kutumba, Dattatreya Cultural Group, Byase Dhime, Manand Haruc Group and students of Kathmandu University. Monday 21 June, 3pm, Dattatreya Square, Bhaktapur, 4241163.

Dauth Khaling Rai, this newcomer in the pop music scene will be holding his first solo music concert. Friday 18 June, 5pm, Crystal Party Palace, Man Bhawan.

Chevrolet Concert Series IV, a jazz concert with classic pieces on piano/clarinet, blues combo and amazing performances by guest bands ‘Stairs of Cirith’ and ‘7th Gravity’ all for free! Saturday 26 June, 6 pm, KJC-Moksh Auditorium, 5013554.

7th Gravity. Music or football? Football or music? House of Music offers the choice of both. Hear music by local musicians and watch the World Cup games on the terrace. House of Music, Thamel.

An evening with Deep Shrestha, the maestro of Nepali modern music will sing his heart out to raise funds for clean drinking water in Dharan. Sunday 20 June, Pragya Bhawan, Kāmakāda.

Dining
The much-awaited monsoon rains are finally here. Satellite pictures reveal a spectacular view of the first cycle of the monsoon clouds moving from the Bay of Bengal and towards the eastern and central Himalaya. The foothills and plains will get a higher share of precipitation, with the rest going to the midhills. The Valley and the surrounding hills should expect about 50mm of rain from the first cycle, mostly at night. Enjoy cool rainy nights over the weekend.

RELIEF? Women rest under a tree for want of beds at Parbat District Hospital, where a free health camp treated 50 women suffering from uterine prolapse, Monday.

UNCOMMON ART. FNCCI chairman Kusht Kumar Joshi with artist Sheelasha Rajbhandari at the latter’s launch of In Between Uncommon Factors, Nepal Art Council, Babah Mahal, last Friday.

ETHNIC PRIDE: Lugumyal Society celebrates Magar National Bhumya Festival in Khulamanch, Tuesday.

WHO’S MY BELOVED? Pakistani pop icon Sajjad Ali charms the crowd at the Army Club Auditorium during the 50th anniversary celebrations of Nepal-Pakistan diplomatic relations, Wednesday.

WEEKEND WEATHER by NGAMINDRA DAHAL
The much-awaited monsoon rains are finally here. Satellite pictures reveal a spectacular view of the first cycle of the monsoon clouds moving from the Bay of Bengal and towards the eastern and central Himalaya. The foothills and plains will get a higher share of precipitation, with the rest going to the midhills. The Valley and the surrounding hills should expect about 50mm of rain from the first cycle, mostly at night. Enjoy cool rainy nights over the weekend.

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Spectacle, not speculation

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every four years, bars and restaurants and living rooms across Nepal transform themselves into mini-stadia for cheers, screams, oohs and ahhs. Even those who shun the merry-go-round of national football leagues find themselves drawn in, and let’s not even talk about the real football fans. If anything, this edition of the World Cup has been marked by even more frenzied ululations.

In 1998, I drew on Italian philosopher Umberto Eco to illustrate how the political chatter so beloved of Nepalis was being smothered by sports chatter (Football, politics and public conscience, The Kathmandu Post, July 8, 1998). Back then, recurring parliamentary shootouts attracted their fair share of attention…until the World Cup carnival rolled into town. But what does this sports chatter really signify? Allow me the liberty of retracing my exposition of Eco, who argues that sports chatter fulfils the role of a fake conscience, absolving us of our genuine interest, our power. What we ordinary citizens experience in our readings and impassioned posturings, then, is the World Cup at several removals. We are essentially discussing the soccer press, and if FIFA was to recruit actors to run around for 90 minutes for the live broadcasts, a fictitious World Cup could theoretically go on undisrupted.

What this all means, basically, is that for us the World Cup is an abstraction – in much the same way politics is. Despite our genuine interest, our discussions of the World Cup are not really linked to the real action; so this debate shifts to a purely political level. We are as removed from what the Colombian coach had to say to Faustino Asprilla as we are from what KP Bhattarai might have to say to our Prime Minister.

Indeed, the structures of sports chatter and political chatter run so parallel that, as Eco notes, sports chatter becomes “the parody of political talk… but to such a heightened degree that it becomes itself political speech”. We discuss what happens in the locker rooms and on the field, the machinations of players and coaches, what should have been done by the “leaders” (the coaches) and the “MPs” (the players) with all the seriousness and concern that characterises our judgements on the parliamentary antics and backroom betrayals of our netas. We thus use up the energy we have raised sports to its zenith of exercising our intellectual energies, and even contributing to the process of development. Fur-fetched? Where, then, have our worries about the Maoist movement, party splits, government stability and even the Humla famine evaporated? Not true, you protest, but it is undeniable that the average human only reserves a certain chunk of his/her waking hours for ‘external’ events. As it is, the World Cup threatens to take over our hours of repose, and the results are both less ambiguous and more satisfying.

In fact, it is well known that such spectator sports are closer to the soul of the crowd, and can serve as timely diversions. The Roman Emperors put the circuses to good use, a tamasha for the impoverished public. But do the citizens of Nepal have a political conscience in the first place? Political chatter comes easy to us all, but then so does gossip. Except sports chatter – as a substitute for political chatter – did not really need to pose as a fake conscience. For political chatter in Nepal itself was the imposter all along, a sport in itself, its presence absorbing all of our social consciences.

A PLA Battalion Commander was quoted recently as saying, “Football in so many ways is like politics.” It remains to be seen whether sports imitates life or the other way around.

Sports chatter is a substitute for political chatter, itself an imposter

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18 - 24 JUNE 2010 #507 NATION | 11
Who owns a woman’s body?

A man is kidnapped; he’s beaten up, tortured even. He’s released. When he returns home, he is welcomed by his family, not least by a tearful and grateful wife.

A woman is abducted. She is forced to work as a sex worker in a brothel in India. Eventually she is rescued and released from her hell. She goes back to Nepal and…she is punished all over again. Her family rejects her as tainted; she cannot find a husband. Her only hope lies in the refuge of an NGO, or in reinventing herself somewhere else.

Let’s return to the scene of the crime. The man has a head wound, he may even have sustained a fracture or two. The woman has bruised thighs, her hymen is torn and there are abrasions to her vagina, and maybe she also has an infection incurred through her ordeal in the brothel.

We have two injured people, but the man’s physical trauma is seen as an unfortunate by-product of the crime; it’s a private condition. The woman’s physical trauma, by contrast, stigmatises her for life. It begs the question: who owns a woman’s body?

At the BBC World Service Trust, we are making a five-part drama on the trafficking of women, Katha Mitho Sarangiko. The main character is played by a former sex worker—a beautiful, sad, tense woman, who gives a heart-rending performance as Phurwa, a victim of trafficking.

When producer Klugendt Lamic’chane asked her if she was married, she gave him a bleak, bitter look and said: “Who would have me now?”

Why is this so? Part of the answer lies with virginity, the jewel that society prizes. It is a prize few women have control over, as it is often common property, the bargaining chip in a complex web of negotiations involving fathers, brothers and families. The issue of male virginity is largely irrelevant, but a woman’s virginity signals moral order in society. In many societies female sexuality is seen as a hidden, malignant force that needs to be controlled. Fail to keep it in check, and untold harm may ensue. As the Laws of Manu declare: ‘It is the very nature of women to corrupt men here on earth; for that reason, circumspect men do not get careless and wanton among wanton women.’ (Chapter 2, para 213)

The fear that women will bring misfortune to men through their sexual wiles, or even by their mere presence, is deep-rooted. In Sarangiko Bhalaksansari, companion programme to Katha Mitho Sarangiko, Bhanu Bokhim interviews writer Chetnatha Acharya about his experience of marrying a widow deemed culpable when her first marriage ended in tragedy, with a bus accident that killed everyone in the wedding procession except the bride.

Chetnatha navigated the sea of ill will and married this woman, his family welcomed her. But in the village close to where the accident happened, people fabricated their own sequel in which the woman became betrothed to a second man and the same thing happened. It is as if in every woman lurks the witch. The widow is doubly suspect: she is sexually experienced, but has lost her husband, the owner of her body. Who can control her now? She must be ostracised.

A woman’s body is flesh and blood, just like a man’s. Her wounds are as significant or insignificant as a man’s. Her body should be hers to squander or nurture as she pleases. But to accept this has serious implications. It means re-evaluating her crucial position—an keystone—in the architecture of society’s moral order.

Who can share the burden of society’s morality with her? We should perhaps ask her gatekeepers: her brothers, father, family, and community, to share that responsibility, and renounce the urge to see a woman as a scapegoat.

In our story this week, Phurwa, a former sex worker, is redeemed by the love of her parents and that of an honest man, Chandre. A fairytale ending, but one that in the real world is all too rare.

Katha Mitho Sarangiko plays on 103 Mhz on Fridays at 8.15pm, and Sarangiko Bhalaksari on Saturdays at 8.15pm, in the Kathmandu Valley.
always had a strange affinity for Mangalsen Palace, even before I ever visited Achham district. My introduction to the historic building, which stood guard on the northern flanks of the mountain above Kailash Khola, was through photographs sent to me by colleagues in Achham. The three-storey brick building housing the District Administration Office always featured as the backdrop in district-level activities, and the red brick against the pristine blue sky caught my fancy.

It was in February 2002 that I read about the Maoist attack on Mangalsen. It was one of the most brutal attacks of the armed conflict. The siege of Mangalsen, just after midnight on 17 February, took the lives of nearly 140 soldiers, policemen and civilians (including the Chief District Officer), in addition to an unknown number of Maoists. The Maoists also shelled and torched all government buildings in Achham district headquarters, including Mangalsen Palace. All that remained was a smouldering building, its red bricks blackened by fire.

When I finally visited Achham in 2008, the building I had become so attached to had been reduced to huge rectangular stones at plinth level, already overgrown. Scoping away the dried winter grass over the ruins, I could see a layer of charcoal, testimony to the inferno that brought the building down. It was not a just a district administration building that was reduced to ashes on 17 February. The nearly 150-year-old palace had been a real survivor, and symbolised the importance of Mangalsen, once within the barsey rajya that fought against the Gorkhali army.

Going back to Mangalsen recently, I was in for a pleasant surprise. The palace was being rebuilt! A board at the site said the building was supposed to have been completed by mid-June 2010, with a budget of Rs 2.25 million. So far the construction has only crept up to lintel level. But being built it was, with walls of brick and lime mortar and solid doors and windows.

Most of the government offices that were destroyed that fateful night have found new homes in Mangalsen. The collapsed skeletons of some buildings still remain, a sombre reminder. But Mangalsen Palace is moving on. There were a dozen or so boys practicing karate near the construction site. These youngsters, many of whom would not remember the battle of Mangalsen, were carefully following the commands of their instructor. They looked full of hope as they learned how to defend themselves.

Mangalsen seems to be casting off its old skin. Peace and stability may still be out of reach for much of the country, but perhaps the rebuilding of the palace is a sign of things to come. Slowly but surely the phoenix is rising from the ashes of Mangalsen.
Postal services are often the only mode of communication in rural areas. But in Jajarkot, locals have not even had postal services for the last nine years. Locals of Nayakada, Sakla, Ramitanda and Rokay villages have to walk for three days just to post a letter from district headquarters Khalanga, as the postal service ceased to operate during the insurgency. The fact that this hasn’t been rectified years since the conflict has ended only indicates how indifferent Kathmandu is to the periphery. As flawed as the postal service may be in Nepal, rural Nepalis should not be deprived of their right to communicate with the world. The postal department should resume services immediately.

A huge number of trees are being illegally felled and sold under the patronage of local authorities in the Tarai. Rampant felling is underway in districts such as Kailali, Bardiya, Banke, Dang, Sarlahi, Bara and Rastahat with the collusion of the District Forest Officers (DFOs), forest officials and community forestry user groups. These officials have appropriated huge sums by auctioning timber to contractors at a rate lower than the government’s. Minister for Forests and Soil Conservation Deepak Bohara has also been found to be involved with the DFOs in the timber racket. Journalists, activists of political parties and local goons have also earned hefty sums through commissions, while government revenue has suffered. Earlier on Monday, Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal demanded clarification from Bohara and the Director General of the Department of Forests, Madhav Acharya, for not taking action against the accused DFOs. In Amlekhganj and Ratanpuri, 150,000 cubic feet of timber has already been logged from a dozen community forests though permission was only given for 100,000 cubic feet. The market rate is Rs 800 to Rs 1000 per cubic foot, but here timber is being sold from between Rs 350 to Rs 500. The extra money is divided among the DFOs, forest officials and community forestry user group officials. Contracts are also given without notifying the market. Sources claim that DFO Mohan Koirala has distributed Rs 500,000 to local and national papers so they don’t report on the issue. Koirala has shrugged off the accusations, saying government cannot intervene in the work of community forest groups.

In Bardiya, more than six trucks of Acacia trees have been logged. Assistant Conservation Officer of Bardiya National Park, Ramesh Kumar Thapa, says over 1,800 such Acacia trees have been intercepted. Wide-scale logging is also taking place in Kailali in the name of distributing timber to freed Kamaiyas. More than 150,000 cubic feet of wood is to be logged for this purpose. Over 800 hectors of forest will be cleared for Kamaiya settlements this year.
The government recently granted six companies authority to operate direct-to-home (DTH) Dish TV. Dish Media Network, Marigold Entertainment and M Vision are launching Dish Nepal together while Satellite Channel is launching Hometv. CG Techno Dreams and Telco Investment have also acquired licenses.

Via DTH, customers receive satellite data directly with the help of a personal dish. Unlike cable television, which in Nepal is all too often a chaotic, shifting package of arbitrarily assigned channels, DTH subscribers can choose the channels they wish to view, along with data limits. Needless to say, DTH is an altogether different beast from the unwieldy one or two channel dishes to be seen on rooftops back in the 1960s. DTH entered the Indian market in early 2000, and Nepalis living close to the border have been using Indian DTH services. The import of Indian dish antennas shot up recently, chiefly because of the World Cup. Raju Maharjan, a technician who has been fixing Indian dish antennas to urban homes in the Kathmandu Valley, says he has installed about 300 sets of DTH in the past six months. “People can do this themselves, so this number could be a lot higher,” he says.

The best part of DTH for some will be its interactivity. Go shopping, pay your bills, watch videos on demand or book concert tickets? It may seem unlikely, but many such on-demand applications may soon be available, says Laxmi Prasad Paudyal, Managing Director of Dish Media Network. The clarity of DTH is of course a good reason for many to make the shift. Mobility and flexibility are other advantages. Portable set top boxes (STB) to process satellite signals can fit any antenna. DTH uses digital signals instead of analogue streaming, which is why image quality is superior to that of cable channels. If Nepali DTH picks up, the monopoly of cable operators and Indian dish TV will soon be at an end.

Hometv will start test transmissions on 23 June while Dish Nepal will be launched in July. According to Ramesh Sapkota, Sales and Marketing at Hometv, they will start regular transmission from July on. “We will also provide internet services through DTH three months after regular transmission starts,” he says.

There are two million cable subscribers in Nepal. The market is wide open. ☞

**Dishing it out**

Direct-to-home Dish TV is not new, but its clarity and interactive features could make it a new television experience

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**Dish Nepal**

- Installation package: Rs 6500 (exclusive of VAT)
- Monthly charge: Rs 200 for 50 channels, Rs 400 for 70 channels
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**Hometv**

- Installation package: Rs 9,340
- Monthly charge: Rs 250, 35 channels
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The World Cup frenzy is already taking its toll on the Ass, what with all the late nights the donkey just hasn't been able to keep up with the gossip. But there isn't much to rumour-monger about anyway, everything is drowned out by the relentless sound of vuvuzelas from Sucker City. The Umpteenth High-level Political Mechanism-Cum-Committee (UHPMCC) set up to find ways to implement the Three-Point 28 May Agreement decided to go to Nagarkot to get down to brass tacks away from the football, only to find that Club Himalaya was projecting the opening ceremony live on the big screen. So they all ended up watching South Africa vs Mexico and to hell with the future of the country.

Assome was determined this week to ignore the latest in the endless spat between Baddie bosses PKD and BRB. But the sidekicks of both comrades are feeding such juicy tidbits to a ravenous media it's just too tempting to ignore. Laldhoj's folks are openly critical of Bhayanak's personality cult and his edict in the ongoing politburo meet that only his soundbites will henceforth be regarded as official party policy, and that "the only alternative to Pushpa Kamal Dahal is Prachanda". The gag order officially pulls the plug on senior comrades holding forth at the Reporter's Club about fallback candidates for PMship.

BBB's lieutenants, for their part, are souring at PKD sending out trusted emissaries Biplop and Mahara to meet royalists like Gen Cutwall and Pepper Man Singh, and not even trying to do it secretly. And it probably isn't a coincidence that in the midst of all this Kamal Thapa lets the cat out of the bag (or is it the rabbit out of the hat?) to say that Awesome was always for retaining a Hindoo kingdom and making Gyancha a ceremonial monarch. Even the fork-tongued chairman will now have a hard time explaining that to his jaded card-carrying cadre. So it's now boiled down to PKD accusing BRB of being an Indian stooge and BRB accusing PKD of being a closet monarchist. All paparazzi eyes are now on Manisha Dahal's wedding banquet next week when Kangresis, Raja Badddies and Khasa Badddies are all expected to mingle.

So, the rightwing of the extreme left is getting into bed with the leadership, the Kangresis have suddenly got it in their head to revive the Taroon Dusta. The grey-suited goon squad 'skirted' Sher Budder and Khum Budder to the Baddie heartland of Barabise last week in a show of force intended to sow terror in the hearts of the Khaobaddies who want a larger share of the Khasa smuggling pie. The Kangresi with the most common sense now seem to be no more other than Bishal Koirala who not just vetoed the Taroon Dasta idea but has also been telling wannabe netas not to start a leadership stampede just now. And Auntie Suzy must be completely out of it because she has decided to go on a thinly-disguised medico-pilgrimage to India. That set off a huge row with Baluwatar, which vetoed her request for one million roops for trip expenses.

As YCL activities simmer down because of pressure on the leadership, the Kangresis have suddenly got it in their head to revive the Taroon Dasta. The grey-suited goon squad 'skirted' She Budder and Khun Budder to the Baddie heartland of Barabise last week in a show of force intended to now terror in the hearts of the Khaobaddies who want a larger share of the...