



# CELEBRATING WOMANHOOD

A policewoman joins in the rejoicing (below) with other women at a function this week in Kathmandu in the run-up to Teej on Sunday. It is the day dedicated to women in Nepal who mark it by dressing in red, singing and dancing deep into the night on Saturday.

PAGE 8-9 **DUZZ** 

**SHAKTI** 

PAGE 6

Nepal's first human anti-trafficking activist group set up by former victims, Shakti Samuha, is awarded this year's Ramon Magsaysay Award. Shakti Samuha's Sunita Danuwar says although trafficking to India has diminished, Nepali girls are being increasingly trafficked to the Gulf countries and Africa. Young Nepali women work as entertainers in night clubs in Dar es Salaam.















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#### OFFITENCE COMO HORO

## SKELETONS IN THE CLOSET

The theory of revolutionary violence justifies the taking of human lives in order to overthrow an unjust political order. It has been seen historically as a legitimate, and necessary, means to an end when all other political measures have been exhausted. The argument is that a state that is either repressive or perpetuates structural violence through neglect and exclusion can only be brought down through revolutionary counter-violence.

This Robin Hood doctrine was given the imprimatur of political legitimacy by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Indeed, these three gentlemen were together responsible for the deaths of nearly 80 million people in the last century, justifying the bloodshed through the 'scientific logic' of revolutionary violence to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

History books tell us that the Soviet comrades actually used the term 'revolutionary terror' or 'red terror'. They were just following their guru Karl Marx, who had written: 'There is only one means to shorten, simplify and concentrate the murderous death throes of the old society and the bloody birth pangs of the new, only one means – revolutionary terrorism.'

Marxian doctrine was obsessed with blood and the shedding of it to lay down the justification for 'mass terror' as a weapon to further the class struggle. Leon Trotsky later starting having doubts about the zeal of his comrades for violence, and felt that the end had started justifying the means. But even he believed that feudalism would never reform by itself, and had to be terrorised into submission.

The word 'terrorist' has today been hijacked to describe religious extremists, but neo-Maoist revolutionists are proud 'terrorists' in the purest original definition of the term: terrorising oppressors with torture and executions, and terrorising the populace to toe the partyline by making an example of those who deviate from the revolutionary path.

#### Without justice there is no peace process.



The chief ideologue of the Maoist party, Baburam Bhattarai, told this newspaper in an interview in 2002 that no price in terms of human life was too great for the liberation of the people, and added that the Khmer Rouge genocide was exaggerated and "western propaganda".

The rationale and limits of revolutionary violence, and who should be held accountable for violations of human rights during the insurgency, has now come back to haunt Nepal's revolutionaries. The Maoists took up arms in 1996 against a democratically-elected government, and although discrimination and social injustice were rife in society, this could have been addressed through political evolution. One didn't need to kill 17,000 people to achieve it. Today, looking at the behaviour of the comrades, one is forced to ask: is this want it was all for?

Maoist Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal told BBC Nepali in 2006 that he had given orders to execute enemies of the people with a bullet to the temple. This week, he dared human rights activists: "I gave the order to kill, arrest me if you can." His spokesman, Agni Sapkota who is himself accused of summary execution, fell back on the usual Maoist argument that raking up war crimes would "wreck the peace process".

The Maoists may have suspended their armed struggle, but they have never to date publicly renounced the use of political violence. In fact, they continue to use the residual terror in the public mind of their past brutality to instill fear and acquiescence.

As former Chief Election Commissioner Bhojraj Pokhrel points out in his new book, they repeatedly blackmailed other political forces with a return to war if they didn't get what they wanted. It may be too much to expect Maoists to change their spots, their ideology is intrinsically violent, intolerant and unrepentant of the suffering they caused.

Both sides in the Nepal conflict are now trying to protect each other from facing up to the atrocities they committed. It is now meaningless to segregate war crimes by who perperated them, the guerrillas or the army. Both now represent the state, and it is the state's responsibility to deliver truth and justice to the families of victims like Krishna Adhikari, Maina Sunwar, Dekendra Thapa, the Doramba 18 and Bhairabnath 36.

The Maoists say individual insurgency-era killings should be addressed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), but their government was complicit in watering down the TRC ordinance until it was toothless and meaningless. The former enemies both want conflict era crimes to be buried, but the skeletons are rattling in their closets.

Far from endangering the peace process, addressing truth and justice will protect it. Without justice, there is no process, and there will be no long-term peace.

#### ON THE WEB www.nepalitimes.com

#### DISAPPEARANCES

While the war has become a thing of the past for Nepal's political leaders, for the families of the disappeared, it is still going on. ('Whereabouts unknown' by Bhrikuti Rai #671) I can't imagine the pain and suffering of the people who have lost their loved ones without knowing what they have lost them to, and then to see the guilty walk scot-free just makes the whole thing even worse

#### Meena Lama

 No one is going to get justice in this country especially if the powerful political leaders are involved. My heart goes out to thousands of Nepalis who lost their loved ones during the 'people's war'. Look where the war waged by those select few have taken us the people.

#### Roshan Sharma

 It is clear by now that the foreign embassies in Kathmandu are only paying lip service about their concern for human rights. ('Frozen grief', Editorial, #671) They looked the other way when the Maoists cheated and threatened their way to victory in 2008, and now they have suddenly gone all quiet on the TRC Bill and the plight of the disappeared so that the "peace process" can be protected. The lesson from this is clear, it is that the Nepalese victims of the conflict need to speak up for their own rights, no one else will do it



for us. All the foreigners have done is reward murderers and those who want to break this country into little pieces.

#### Yuba

• Justice will always be inaccessible for the poor and marginalised, especially in a country like Nepal. The former rebels now have tasted power and will never look back to correct their past mistakes fearing future consequences especially when the election is fast approaching. Let us all show them the power of our votes this election

#### Krishna Pant

• What is surprising (or not so surprising) is the hypocrisy of the international community that cried itself

hoarse about human rights violations perpetrated by the security forces, and are completely silent on the case of the murderers of Krishna Adhikari's parents who are in Intensive Care on their hunger strike demanding the arrest of their son's murderers. And they are coddling the Maoists whose Chairman instead of saying sorry and showing some remorse is threatening human rights activists.

• I feel sorry for Ram Bhandari who has been writing so many articles to bring attention towards the plight of the families of disappeared people during the war. ('My missing father' by Ram Kumar Bhandari #671) It is heartening to learn that he turned his

grief to bring together hundreds of

families to fight strongly for justice.

Shyam Shrestha

#### ELECTION

I am not going to vote and I would not be bothered to find out if my earlier ID is still valid as I am yet to get a new one. ('The best of worst alternatives' by Bhojraj Pokharel #671) It is not likely that the infighting among the parties will cease right away. Seeing the trend, things are not likely to get better any sooner either way, with election happening or not happening.

Armugam

 Bhojraj Pokharel has brought this book out only to save his face because this year's election is bound to bring back 2008 election on the comparison chart. And given all the rule-bending he did in the past election, this book is in no way a handbook for any election especially not post-conflict election. But since this time the Maoists don't have arms maybe we can hope for a truly free and fair election.

#### Suraj Giri

• Kunda Dixit is extra kind to Bhojraj Pokharel and his repeated attempts to rescue his reputation by saying that holding elections was more important because we had to protect the peace process. That is like saying a flawed election is ok. The same mistake is being made again as we head towards another election at the behest of Indian intelligence. Just like one cannot be half pregnant, you cannot have a half-clean and semi-free election. Pokharel is trying to cover up and justify the massive cheating and intimidation in

2008 during his watch.

Jang

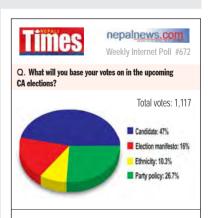
#### KATHMANDU MURALS

Great effort by the concerned to lighten up the valley. Great educational artwork, vibrant and alive. (Colourful capital by Sangam Shilpakar #671). But to some extent it looks out of place and does not "click" with the city. It has got rid of political slogans and what not, but I personally would have left the walls clean and empty. Kathmandu is a very ancient city and these artworks have done nothing but turned it's identity and spirit into an obscure question mark.

Concerned

• Kathmandu has become a dumping ground for the mediocre by-products of Western civilisation. The recent government move to tear down billboards has had a far more positive impact on our streets.

Ram B



Weekly Internet Poll # 673. To vote go to: www.nepalitimes.com

Q. What are the chances of free, fair and independent election?







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# A Raw Deal

India wants elections in Nepal in November, but is too preoccupied to pay attention to crucial details

'ndian Ambassador Jayant Prasad will probably Llook back at his tenure in Kathmandu and describe it as "two eventful years in which nothing happened". Prasad arrived in 2011, following his father's footsteps, and assumed an office that had taken some hard knocks not just in Kathmandu, but even more in



BY THE WAY Anurag Acharya

New Delhi. It wasn't the most popular job in town, to put it mildly.

So Prasad wisely kept a low profile, and didn't get into unnecessary controversy which was probably easier for him because of his more relaxed

personality. Yet, this did not mean that the hidden Indian hand in Nepali politics was not busy behind the scenes.

There are undercurrents of Indian politics that have a bearing on the neighbours: Tamil Nadu politics in Sri Lanka, West Bengal in Bangladesh and in Nepal it is the BJP's Hindutva ideology and the open border. The fact of the matter, whether we like it or not, is that Indian influence in Nepali politics is stronger than what we, as a citizen of a sovereign nation, would like it to be.

India's intelligence agencies are often accused of micro-managing people and institutions through unsavoury Nepali political middlemen much to the detriment of India's own long-term national interest here. However, by and large, the Indians are as



exasperated with our politics as we are, and New Delhi's interest as well as capacity to dictate the course of politics in Kathmandu is often overstated.

Lately, there has been speculation about whether or not the elections will take place as scheduled in November, given how India's own

HIT GROUND RUNNING: New Indian Ambassador Ranjit Rae after presenting his credentials to President Yadav on Wednesday.

elections in May 2014 is already generating heat. There is some wishful thinking among India-watchers that the BJP would like Nepal's polls to be deferred till next year. There is a feeling that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has just too much on his domestic plate to be scratching his head about Nepal.

In past few months, there has been a long queue of Nepal's political figures officially invited to visit New Delhi and shake hands with India's movers and shakers. Each of the leaders came back with exactly the same message: everybody in Delhi wants Nepal to hold elections at the earliest and draft its constitution.

"There is a rare convergence of views on Nepal in the Indian power centre on the need to push for elections," Prashant Jha of *The Hindu* newspaper told me on the phone from Delhi this week. India has done everything it can to send positive signals about the CA elections, and pledged massive logistical support.

After being caught flat-footed in 2008 when the Maoists surprised everyone by winning, New Delhi appears to be courting all political figures, just in case. The Nepali Congress has always been the favourite for India's own Congress politicians, as seen by the

## South Asia shining and suffering

# Region faces huge challenge to generate jobs for its bulging youth population

TRISHNA RANA in COLOMBO

naugurating the sixth South Asia Summit in the Sri Lankan capital on 2 September Pakistan's Minister for Planning Ahsan Iqbal in his keynote address highlighted flagging growth and the gap between rich and poor in the region, a theme revisited many times at the three-day conference.

Despite forging ahead financially in the last decade, the region is plagued by deep-seated inequalities: economies are 'shining', but large populations find themselves outside the purview of this prosperity with incomes of less than \$2 a day.

Host Sri Lanka is an example of this conundrum. Four years after the end of its devastating civil war, roads cratered by bombs have given way to neat black topped highways, new high rises dominate the skyline, and international companies are lining

But what about those left behind? This "challenge of exclusion" should be the focus of the eight countries as they look ahead to the future, Iqbal said.

Given that all South Asian nations share many of these challenges - post-conflict rebuilding, under-nourishment, low HDI rankings - regional cooperation makes sense. Caught up with domestic fire-fighting, there is not as much engagement as



connectivity is even worse, and has remained much the same for centuries. Jagdish Sharma, former vice-chairman of Nepal's National Planning Commission, suggested an 'energy mix' between countries with comparative

advantages to promote greater integration and intra-South Asian trade. For instance, Bangladesh with its reserves of natural gas could swap energy with Nepal, which is rich in hydropower.

Academics, researchers, former government officials, and businessmen gathered at the conference orangised by the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Colombo said the most effective way to tackle the 'challenge of exclusion' is through greater investment in the region's young human capital and promotion of entrepreneurship by easing the process for individuals or groups to start their own business.

One-fifth of South Asians are between the ages of 15-24. More than half of India's 1.2 billion people are under 25. South Asia's youth have strength in numbers and can influence politics, those currently living under autocratic regimes have the potential to

steer their countries to the track towards democracy.

However, the challenges of dealing with this demographic currently outweigh the advantages. Despite making unprecedented progress in primary education, the quality of education and employability of young people remains poor. Schools fail to foster the kind of creativity and originality that is needed for real entrepreneurship. As a result, a staggering 90 per cent of South Asians work low-skill jobs in the informal sector.

The solution lies in rebuilding our education systems so that when young people graduate from schools and colleges they are equipped with skills that matter to the economy and provide competent human capital for the region. States will also have to work on streamlining heavily politicised education and combating malnutrition that affects millions of children every year and inhibit their performance in school, and eventually the workforce.

South Asian countries will also be tested on how they handle their migrant labour population. Governments seem to be using foreign employment as a solution to joblessness at home and to prevent dissatisfaction from spiraling into instability. Experts suggest that the eight countries in the region band together to build migrant policies: a more cohesive,

MORE TO DO: Nagesh Kumar of UNESCAP gives the lead presentation during the special panel on 'A Closer South Asia: Reenergising Regional Economic Integration and Connectivity.'

common South Asian identity that will not only ensure our workers' strength and safety but also promote investments back home.

Even cooperation within trade and business - which should theoretically be easier to deal with than politics – is littered with barriers. The private sector, surprisingly, is reluctant to let go of its domestic market. Strict regulations impede the movement of goods, money, ideas.

A suggestion for the next summit in Delhi in 2014 was to invite policy makers so that deliberations lead to concrete strategies that pave the way for a stronger, more collaborative South Asian union that exists beyond the conference

Trishna Rana represented Nepal as the World Bank Youth Delegate at the South Asia Economic Summit 2013.

redder carpet treatment that Sher Bahadur Deuba and Sushil Koirala got in Delhi compared to the others.

Still, the NC has deep suspicions about the role of Indian handlers in forging a Maoist-Madhesi alliance in which one of their very own party colleagues played an active role. However, although the Madhesi parties may benefit from leverage in New Delhi they still derive a mandate and legitimacy from Nepal's Tarai constituency. The Maoist-Madhesi alliance was based on federalism and inclusion, and unless the NC comes clear on the two issues, New Delhi's backing for Madhesi parties will not really matter.

Talking to BBC Nepali Service this week, retired Indian Army General Ashok Mehta said federalism has not worked for India, and Nepal should not tread down that path either. One may be tempted to read Mehta's words as tacit Indian position on Nepal's contentious federalism debate, but there just isn't enough proof to confirm that this is how official India is thinking.

India is concerned about Nepal, wants elections to take place as scheduled. and has convinced the international community including the northern neighbour about this line. It also wants the constitution drafted at the earliest, so that there is stability. However, the devil is in the details, and that doesn't seem to interest the Indians too much.

The new Indian Ambassador Ranjit Rae will have his work cut out. He is hitting the ground running because he has handled Nepal from Delhi before.

There will be a legacy from his predecessor, there are long-time favourites, but having dealt with all sides now India seems confident that it can negotiate its interests no matter who wins in November.

## Creating jobs



For the past seven years, Global Academy of Tourism and **Hospitality Education** (GATE), a hospitality management school in Mandikatar has been providing vocational and academic education based on the Swiss model of teaching. Nepali Times caught up with CEO Khem Lakai to discuss what the institution has to

offer young Nepalis.

Nepali Times: What inspired you to start this program in Nepal? Khem Lakai: I studied in Switzerland and when I was visiting Bahrain, I met a lot of young Nepalis who were working menial jobs. The skills they possessed were far better than the jobs they were doing. So I decided to come back home and help give people jobs in my own country.

#### What can hotel management graduates in Nepal do?

Despite our political problems, Nepal is still a top tourist hot spot and our cultural and geographic diversity will keep attracting visitors. Tourism will always be one of our biggest earners, but what we need are well-educated, skilled Nepalis who can maintain a high standard of professionalism. There is still social stigma attached to the hospitality sector and we need to change this so that people see it as a dignified profession.

#### How does the Swiss model complement the Nepali education system?

Switzerland is the number one place for hotel management and tourism. They have a strong infrastructure, their tourism products are diversified, and they give a high degree of respect to vocational courses. The people who work in the hospitality industry are not only passionate about their jobs, but also extremely competent. And no matter how unconventional their profession is they are proud and never degrade it. We need to replicate this mindset in our country.

#### How is GATE different from other colleges that provide hospitality training?

The Swiss model is based on two core values: competence and practical knowledge. Rather than just rote learning, we make sure that our students have practical experience and know how to work in the real world.

#### Where are GATE graduates today?

Some are team leaders in Qatar, and some are working in different international hotels across the globe. Some work for event management, in banks, while some have started their own business and are providing jobs.



#### **Branching out**



Laxmi Bank expanded its reach in central and western Nepal with addition of two branches in Bhaktapur and Dhangadi. Both Bhaktapur and Dhangadi branches offer ATM services. With the addition, Laxmi Bank now has 34 branches, 2 extension counters and 47 ATMs spread across the country.

#### New models

Him Electronics, the authorised distributor of Samsung cameras in Nepal has introduced three new ranges of Samsung cameras in the market- WB200F, ST150F,

and ST72. The prices of WB200F, ST150F, and ST72 are Rs 24,990, Rs 14,990 and Rs 13,990 respectively.

#### Dream home

Asian Paints has launched 'Asian Paints Apex Ultima Dream Home Contest'. Cutomers will have to paint their home with Apex Ultima and upload the photo in Asian Paints Facebook page app 'Dream Home Contest'. The winning home owners will receive holiday package in Singapore and Malaysia.



#### **Dashain Delight**



HH Bajaj launched its 'Dusavatar' campaign for the occasion of Dashain and Tihar on 1 September. Every customer buying any Bajaj motorcycle

will now receive instant cash prize from Rs 5000 to Rs 100,000 on purchase. A weekly lucky draw prize of Rs 1 million is also on the offer.

**Loyalty card**Etihad Airways has extended BusinessConnect, its loyalty program for businesses to 11 new markets including Bahrain, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nepal, Netherlands, Oman, Philippines, Qatar, and Thailand.

#### **Magnificent Malaysia**



Visit Malaysia Year 2014 was announced at a press conference in the capital which was attended by Amran, representative of Tourism Malaysia for India and Nepal, Fadli Adilah the Charge d'Affaires at the Malaysian Embassy and Subodh Rana,

CEO. Mall Travel and Treks Services. With the campaign Malaysia aims to welcome 28 million tourists.

#### Easy banking

Everest Bank has launched landmark Mobile ATM service across Nepal. With the launch of Mobile ATM, customers who don't have dire easy access to an EBL branch can now open an account at any Everest Bank branch, make deposits and withdraw cash through the network of EBL Business Correspondents reads the press release.



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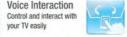






SMACTVIECA







# Sunita's long walk to freedom



#### **DEVAKI BISTA**

S unita Danuwar is now 39, but when she remembers the first five months of abuse and torture she suffered in a Bombay brothel 25 years ago, she still has nightmares.

Born in Dolakha to a family from an under-privileged caste, Sunita was five when her parents moved to India's Jammu and Kashmir state to seek their fortune. They found work in a potato farm, and nine years later the family was still poor and living at the margins of society.

Even before she turned 14, Sunita was helping her family's income by crushing rocks by the roadside. One day, she was tricked by a friend and a truck driver into eating sweets laced with drugs. She was sold and taken on an overnight train to Bombay.

When she regained consciousness, Sunita found out she was in a brothel. The owners tortured her and didn't give her anything to eat or drink, but Sunita says she managed to avoid being forced to have sex with customers. Exasperated, the owner sold her to another brothel for INR 100,000.

"I refused to sleep with their clients, too," recalls Sunita, "but the new madam ordered her male staff to gang-rape me." Most of the women forced into sexual slavery in the brothel UNSUNG HEROES: Shakti Samuha's chairperson Sunita Danuwar (centre) treasurer Lakshmi Puri (left) and member Chari Maya Tamang with the Magsaysay Award trophy in Kathmandu on Wednesday.

were Nepali, and some girls were as young as nine.

Rich clients would pay up to INR 4,000 per hour to take them to private quarters, but the going rate at the brothel was INR 40. Foreigners, businessmen, army and police personnel were regular visitors.

Within five months of Sunita's captivity, activists and police raided Mumbai's red light areas and rescued 500 girls, among whom Sunita was one of

#### Once refused citizenships by their own country, human trafficking victims become national heroes

200 Nepalis. Many of them were helped to return to Nepal where Sunita found she didn't have a home, her relatives weren't willing to help, and she had lost touch with her parents.

The Nepal government refused to recognise them as citizens, and seven of the 12 young women in Sunita's shelter had HIV. They were determined to help other trafficked Nepali girls so they didn't have to suffer what they went through.

Sunita finally got their citizenship papers and turned a new page in her life. She got married in 1998, gave her SLC in 2010, and is currently enrolled in an undergraduate course. She and fellow survivors from Mumbai set up Shakti Samuha in 1997, the first Nepali anti-trafficking organisation run by victims of trafficking themselves.

On 31 August, Sunita
Danuwar the President of Shakti
Samuha and her colleague
Laxmi Puri were standing on
the stage of the Philippine
International Convention Centre
with five other recipients of
this year's prestigious Ramon
Magsaysay Award in Manila. It
was a well-deserved recognition
for a Nepali woman who battled
overwhelming odds not just to
survive trafficking and sexual
slavery, but is determined to
help others like her.

The Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation's citation praised the founders of Shakti Samuha 'for their exemplary work to abolish human trafficking and help survivors to live with dignity and pride'.

On return to Kathmandu on Wednesday from Manila, Sunita said although human trafficking to India was declining, Nepali women were being increasingly trafficked to the Gulf countries. Sunita said she will plough the \$50,000 prize money into Shakti Samuha, but more than the money it is the recognition of the work of her organisation that will encourage her, she says.

Sunita and Shakti Samuha follow two other pioneering Nepali women who have been voted CNN Heroes in the past three years for their work to help destitute women and children: Anuradha Koirala of Maiti Nepal and Pushpa Basnet of the Early Childhood Development Centre.

Other Nepali recipients of the Magsaysay Award are Mahesh Chandra Regmi, Bharat Dutta Koirala, Sanduk Ruit and Mahabir Pun.

#### nepalitimes.com

Two decades of vision, #633, Beyond the digital divide, #392, Mahesh Chandra Regmi, 74,

# DANCING

Young Nepali women find employment in dance bars in East Africa

**SEETASHMA THAPA** in DAR ES SALAAM

he arrived in Tanzania three months ago to work in a dance bar, and looks over her shoulder warily as she tells a fellow-Nepali her name.

Slim, and dressed in a short black dress with golden sequins, she had stood out among the 12 other young Nepali women on stage. She was shimmering and radiant, her eye makeup smoky giving her a seductive look, long black tresses flailing with every pirouette.

She has many admirers in the audience, made up mostly of Indian Tanzanians and Africans. The regulars adorn her with garlands and a fake crown after the performance. That is her only tip.

The Nepali dancers perform to musical hits



from back home like 'Simple Simple Kanchiko Dimple Basne Gala', 'Chyangba oh Chyangba' and 'Musu Musu Hasi Deuna', and the songs have become popular even in the dance bars

Nepalis in the audience get nostalgic for home, but their consciences are seared by the presence of these vulnerable young women driven so far away from home to seek jobs here in Tanzania. The women say they were forced to migrate because of the lack of opportunities back home, they get a three month advance and appear happy enough with their earnings.

Some Nepalis in the audience feel it is wrong. But another says: "Who am I to make judgments saying it is wrong or right just because it makes me sad to look at fellow Nepalis?"

At immigration in New Delhi and Mumbai, Nepali women are singled out for special scrutiny because many of them have poor documentation. "There are more than 50 Nepali girls going to Africa every month," one Indian immigration official told this reporter in Mumbai recently. "If you are a Nepali, do something for them."

For bar-hopping Africans and Indians in Dar es Salaam, 'Nepal' has now become synonymous with 'dancing girl'. The Nepali word 'kanchhi' is part of the vocabulary of Dar es Salaam's nightlife.

There are some 60 young Nepali women in dance bars in Dar es Salaam alone, there are more in Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria and even Congo and Madagascar. In July, 10 Nepali women

dancers in Nairobi were arrested by Kenyan police for being in possession of heroin. They were from Baitadi in the west to Taplejung in the east, and had come to Africa in search of employment. Many have been tricked by middlemen who have promised them jobs in Europe or America, but bring them to Tanzania and Kenya where Nepalis get visas on arrival. They are then forced to work in 'Mujra' bars which are essentially fronts for prostitution and are patronised mostly by Indians.

They make the equivalent of Rs 32,000 a month, and say they could never earn that kind of money back home. "Circumstances have driven us to come here to work," says one of the women, careful to be away from close circuit surveillance cameras. Taking photos is prohibited, and this reporter was asked to leave after taking a picture with her phone of the stage (*left*).

The girls are vulnerable because they work without permits, some are exploited by their handlers and abused, often sexually. Their passports are seized, and they are locked up in closed compounds. It is common knowledge in the bars here that 'dancing girl' is a euphemism for 'prostitute', and customers bid for girls who are most popular dancers.

Nepal's political instability has hurt the investment climate, and the country never reaped the peace dividend from a conflict that ended six years ago. And as long as jobs are not being created back home, Nepalis will continue to migrate abroad at the rate of 1,400 a day. An increasing number of them are now women, lured by middlemen to the Middle East or Africa.

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PRAKASH MATHEM

The inpromptu celebrations at Rangasala had louder echoes on the social media, with Nepalis discussing Bimal's wonder strike late into the night.

"I had been waiting for this moment for

"I had been waiting for this moment for a long time. It is a dream come true for me to score for my team," said Magar to the press after the match. "The massive number of audience at the home ground was very encouraging."

For the U-16 player, the goal was not fluke but a result of years of hard work. Since joining All Nepal Football Association (ANFA) Academy in Butwal at the age of 13, Magar had been training tirelessly to improve his game and earn himself a place in the national squad. In the last three years, the boy from Nawalparasi had left his mark on the U-16 and U-14 matches he had played.

At the recent SAFF U-16 Championship's group level matches, Magar scored six goals in three matches, including a hattrick against Bhutan and a brace against Pakistan. It was his goals that propelled Nepal into the finals before they lost to India.

"Bimal's performance in the last few years have given hope to fans and coaches who were often left disappointed with Nepal's wayward finishing," says Bal Gopal Maharjan, Nepal's U-16 coach, who considers Magar's discipline as his biggest asset.

Although the youngster is far from the finished article, Maharjan is convinced his raw talents can be honed into that of a champion if he is nurtured properly.

The young football star is currently studying in grade 10 and has been living at the ANFA Academy's hostel in Lalitpur for the last two years. A fan of Argentina and Barcelona player Lionel Messi, Magar says he wants to emulate the skills, success, and humility of his hero.



See highlights of the match



#### **EVENTS**



**GUNLA**, the Newari month of festivities is ending this weekend, be alert with your cameras for any last moment street parades. 7 August to 6 September

A People War, an exhibition of photographs that portrays the reality of Nepal through 10 years of insurgency.

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#### **CHILDREN'S**

DAY, remember when you were young? you shone like the sun. 14 September



**Street style**, street art has a new home in Kathmandu.

Tings Tea Lounge, Lajimpat, prasadadtings.wordpress.com



INDRA JATRA, celebrate the founding of Kathmandu City. 18 September, Basantapur Darbar Square

Kachahari Camp and Dash, watch a documentary on Nepali activists who are seeking to transform society through theatre.

6 September, 5.15pm, Russian Culture Centre; 7 September, 1.30pm, Mandala Theatre

The spoken word, slam it, jam it, cram it, wham-bam it with the poetry collective Word Warriors.

7 September, 3 to 5pm, The Yellow

House, Sanepa, theyellowhouse.com. np/contact.html

Miss Vroom Vroom, if you own a scooter and think you set the streets on fire, ride here for a shot at the crown of Scooter Queen.

Rs 1,500, 7 September, 10am onwards, Syakar Safety Riding Training Center, Gwarko, 9841927317

CAN softech 2013, the latest in technology in Nepal. Runs till 7 September, Bhrikuti Mandap



SYMPHONY OF THE SOIL, filmed in four continents, this film examines humanity's relation with soil. 6 September, 5.3opm, Sattya Media Arts, Jhamsikhel, (01)5523486, 9813485716, http://www.youtube.com/

watch?v=K5QYZ-LRXW4

#### DINING

Bubbly Brunch, let the subtleties of Arabian cuisine tease your palate, pasta if you're not too adventurous with food. *Rs* 1,100, 11am to 3pm, Saturdays, Shambala Garden and Club Sundhara, Hotel Shangri-La, (01)4412999 (Ext. 7520/7515)

Mongolian BBQ, gobble generous quantities of roasted meat and wash it down with a glass of mocktail, with traditional music playing within earshot. Rs 1,099, 7pm onwards, Shangri-La Village Resort, Pokhara, (061)462222 Ext. 5055



FALCHA, give yourself away to the twin pleasures of lemon jeera chicken and mutton handi kabab. Jhamsikhel, Lalitpur

Yak Restaurant, serves authentic Chinese food, try the mala tofu, chicken with fungus and spicy pork spare ribs. Boudha, Kathmandu

**Shangrila Kitchen,** try the majestic Gyakok and a wide variety of cocktails. 9am to 10.30 pm, Hotel Tibet International, Boudha

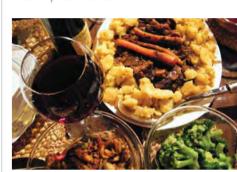
Sal's Pizza, almost round, almost cheap, always delicious, the cheesiest pizzas in town. Lajimpat, behind Jazz **Upstairs** 



**PAGODA CHINESE RESTAURANT**, head to this jade palace if you're in the mood for Chinese. Budhanilkantha, (01)4375 280, pvh@wlink.com.np

Boudha Stupa Restaurant and Cafe, bide your time in the free wi-fi zone as you enjoy wood-fired pizzas, home-made pastas, and the Tibetan gyakok. Boudha, (01)4485585

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Starry Night BBQ, catch Cinev Gurung live as you chomp on your meat stick. Rs 1,299, 7pm onwards, Fridays, Shambala Garden Café. Hotel Shangri-La, (01)4412999 (Ext. 7520/7515)

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**Time**: 2.30pm

Venue: Cafe Soma, Jhamiskhel

http://ktmbookswap.wordpress. com/2013/08/29/september-bookswap/



## Knockout

With the group stage matches done and dusted, the South Asian Football Federations Championship 2013 enters the knockout rounds.

Final - 11 September Dashrath Rangasala Stadium, Tripureswor Tickets: Rs 300 to Rs 700, on sale at venue Live coverage on KantipurTV http://www.youtube.com/user/saffchampionship

Semifinals – 8 and 9 September

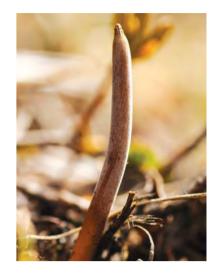


# One day in the life of



What 20 years ago was a strange grass growing on a caterpillar is now Himalayan gold

> RINZIN NORBU LAMA in GORKHA



Livery summer, almost all of the adults and children strong lenough to walk living in the Nepal Himalaya make a difficult journey to the higher reaches of the mountains, risking their lives in search of yarsagumba.

It is a parasitic fungus that grows on a caterpillar hibernating underground and yarsagumba literally means 'summer grass, winter worm' in Tibetan. The fungus mummifies the caterpillar and then thrusts out of the soil. This tiny protuberance looks like a blade of grass, and that is what harvesters spend weeks each spring searching for.

For some, it's two or three day walk to a scenic Himalayan meadow at 4,300 m here in the Tsum Valley of Upper Gorkha. The villagers don't waste any time to pack their lunches, and head up the slopes where a slight misstep can be a fatal fall.

Yarsa has now earned itself the name 'Himalayan viagra' and one quality piece can fetch \$20. The best pickers can find 70 pieces per day, and make a fortune.

Mingmar (pictured right) is 28 and has left his wife, two children and a newly born baby boy back at home, and walks up the mountain everyday from his stone summer shepherd hut close to the snow line with his cousin and their young friend, Kumar.

They crouch and crawl all day in mulled silence, picking through blades of grass and staring at the soil with hawk eyes. A lucky picker lets out an excited cry, as he lifts a yarsa stalk. Others rush over, and the treasured piece is wrapped carefully in a plastic bag.

They break for a brief lunch and some barley brew. "Hey, how much did you find so far?" someone asks Mingmar. "Just a few," he replies. Then it is back to the slopes and every group has their own secret spot.

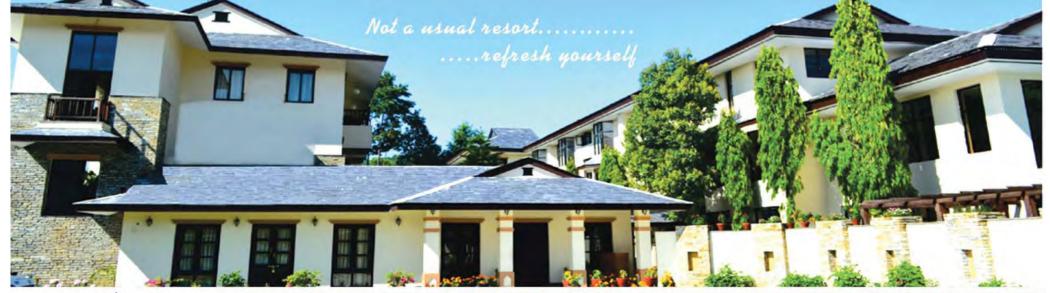
By afternoon, it is snowing, but Mingmar is still focused on his work, crawling up the slope on all fours. He is the sole

38,000<sub>/kg</sub>

\$24,000 A

\$**97,000**/k

ACTUAL SIZE













# Mingmar



breadwinner of the family, and knows that every yarsa stalk is cash income.

"I realise I have to help my parents somehow when they are alive because if they die when I am busy in my studies I would regret that," he says with sadness in his eyes. "I decided to abandon my studies and help them as much as I can."

Even though Tsum has been declared a holy no-violence zone where animals cannot be killed, it doesn't seem to apply to the

caterpillars. In the evening a Tibetan-Chinese middleman, arrives to buy the day's harvest.

He can sell the yarsa for three times the price across the border in China. In this twomonth season, Mingmar hopes to earn up to Rs 3 million.

Life in Transit, a 24 hours long video documenting Mingmar's life will be available online at www.globalives.org end of September.





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# THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY

This week I am writing about one of my favourite directors, the New Zealander Jane Campion. While she is one of my favourites because of her unique feminine sensibility when it comes to her craft, it is not just because she is a woman that I am so enamoured of her films. For anyone who has seen her searingly



brilliant film The Piano (1993) which brought Campion firmly into the limelight and won an 11-year old Anna Paquin and the phenomenal Holly Hunter Oscars for Best Supporting Actress and Best Actress respectively, you will probably have several images of the film indelibly embedded in your head. This remarkable film about a young mute woman, Ada (Holly Hunter) is a remarkable study of the feminine psyche.

Clearly this is a subject that Campion excels at: her next film *The Portrait of a Lady* came out in 1996 rather surprisingly to somewhat mixed reviews. Adapted from the Henry James novel of the same name, The Portrait of a Lady is a thoroughly engrossing psychological study of a young



woman, Isabel Archer (played by a luminous Nicole Kidman), and the people whose lives she affects. The novel is a disconcertingly astute portrayal of people and their motivations, and the film with its excellent cast more than brings those famous characters to life.

With John Malkovich as Gilbert Osmond, Isabel's malevolent and insidious husband; Barbara Hershey as Osmond's scheming and amoral former lover Madam Merle: Martin Donovan as Isabel's gentle, deeply perceptive but ailing cousin. Ralph Touchett - who has loved her for years; and the ever charismatic Viggo Mortensen as Caspar Goodwood, Isabel's other long suffering admirer, the film is as gripping as the book, following Isabel's evolution from a young

free-thinking, spirited creature into a hunted, proscribed spouse who becomes a shadow of her vibrant, self romanticised being through her own supposedly independent choices.

As in her most recent film Bright Star (reviewed previously in this column), which starred Abbie Cornish as Fanny Brawne (the lover of the poet John Keats), all of Campion's leads are indomitable women with their own flaws, carrying a certain adventurous spirit within their female bodies. It is perhaps this particular trait that captivates Campion's imagination, who, while in search of realising them, makes them in turn, so very vivid to us.

Campion's latest endeavour is a six part series titled *Top of* the Lake, a mini-series starring Elizabeth Moss as Robin Griffith, a detective who is investigating the disappearance of a twelve-year old pregnant girl. It has received glowing praise thus far and is due out soon.

Campion most often concentrates on the unique trials of being a complicated, imperfect woman in this difficult world. As always. I await her new endeavour impatiently, and with a great deal of hope. During the wait, everyone who has missed her films thus far can catch up on the adventures of Ada, Isabel and Fanny. You will be rapt, you may weep, hopefully some of you will be altered forever- that is the power of Jane Campion's cinema.



Watch trailer







JUSTICE FOR ALL: Anuradha Koirala (right) of Maiti Nepal participates in a candlelight vigil organised in support of Ganga Maya and Nanda Prasad Adhikari at Bir Hospital on Monday.



SEA OF RED: People take pictures of the rally organised by Young Communist League near Sundhara on Saturday.



WE DID IT: Bimal Gharti Magar (centre) celebrates with his team members after equalising for Nepal against Pakistan on Tuesday.



WIRED: Vice President Parmananda Jha visits CAN SoftTech 2013 at Bhrikuti Mandap on Wednesday.



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# South Asians who conned Wall Street

merica is either a melting pot or a salad bowl, depending on who is talking, but in The Billionaire's Apprentice it is mainly populated by Indians. Indian Indians, that is, not native Americans. The crooks in this true story are of South Asian descent (Rajaratnam, king of kings, and Rajat Gupta, his apprentice), and the other important players (Preetinder S Bharara and Sanjay Wadhwa) from the US federal government who painstakingly bring them both to justice.

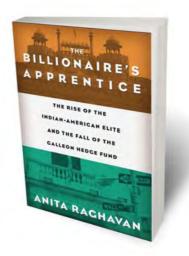
Author Anita Raghavan is also of Indian descent, used to work for the Wall Street Journal, and has done a magnificent job of using tapped phone transcripts that US courts allowed to be used for the first time in a insider trading scandal for her book.

Rajaratnam, a mathematics wizard

originally from Sri Lanka, founded Galleon, a hedge fund company. He has nurtured his talent well in the dog-eat-dog world of Wall Street and has been duly rewarded. He is a billionaire, but his addiction to making more money insatiable. Rajat Gupta is a handsome Indian businessman-philanthropist, who is a millionaire but aspires to be a billionaire by becoming friends with Rajaratnam.

Harvard-educated Rajat Gupta, one of the most accomplished Indian-Americans, sits on the board of many important financial organisations such as McKinsey, Goldman Sachs, and American Airlines. After a board meeting, he would secretly phone his friend Rajaratnam and illegally share juicy financial nuggets prompting Rajaratnam to sell or buy certain stocks and make big bucks instantly.

The exquisite irony is that neither



The Billionaire's Apprentice: The Rise of the Indian-American Elite and the Fall of the Galleon Hedge Fund. by Anita Raghavan Hachette 481 pages \$ 29

Rajaratnam nor his apprentice, Rajat Gupta, needed to be cheats as they were already rich and well respected in American society. from its President (Gupta was a guest at the White House at least on one occasion) to ordinary Americans who marvel at these elite South Asians for making it into the American system.

Rajaratnam comes across as a smart Bollywood gangster type in appearance and actions. The gentle character of Rajat Gupta thus contrasts sharply with Rajaratnam's rowdiness. The two characters represent the people and the generations of South Asians who were "twice blessed": to be born after Indian Independence in 1947 which allowed social advancement and world travel, and the civil rights act in the US in 1965 which did away with limited annual immigration of only 100 Indians to America. More were welcome based on their skills.

For many Indians like Rajat Gupta who had attended the fiercely-competitive Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and were ready to take on the world. America with its changed immigration policy clearly became a beacon of hope in the Indian darkness. Throughout his trial Gupta continues to deny any wrongdoing. It appears he has rationalised his actions. Whiffs of pervasive corruption from South Asia have clearly been transported to greedy, welcoming Wall

To a South Asian audience this book also feels like a cautionary tale from the Hindu Purans of prodigious talent, hard work and immense wealth all turning in to ashes. 💟

Buddha Basnyat

here was a time when I felt unsafe walking through the quiet Krishna Galli at night. But that was a long time ago. The dense bamboos that shadowed the galli are now gone, replaced by posh boutiques and cafes, which have transformed this once quiet street into a swanky new lane.

#### **SOMEPLACE ELSE**

Among the list of new

establishments, the chic Embers restaurant, located right next to Bhat Bhateni, is sure to catch your eve. Perhaps that's why our last reviewer went in to give it a try even before the restaurant had formally opened.

Undoubtedly, Embers has one of the best spaces among restaurants in Kathmandu. An open courtyard welcomes you as you walk towards the white Europeanstyled building. After a tour of the restaurant, which included a large semi-formal dining room, a private roundtable and an open seating area, we settled for the nice cosy sofas next to a fireplace.

The menu at Embers is a mix of continental and Nepali favourites. For starters we tried vegetarian brushetta (Rs 245) and deep fried prawns (Rs 425).





As soon as the brushetta arrived on our table, we knew we were in for a treat. The classic antipasto was packed with all the right flavours. Perfectly layered grilled eggplant, tomato and capsicum topped with sour cream and a peanut based green paste worked gracefully together to give us a flavourful bite.

The fried prawns at Embers

had us competing for each piece. The prawns coated in a golden batter was crispy on the outside and juicy on the inside. And the spicy dip perfectly complimented the prawns.

For the mains we ordered tenderlion fillet steak (Rs 585) and honey braised duck (Rs 645). As we waited for our mains to hit the table, we were asked to try

RESTAURANT

crispy corns. The corns reminded of Bu Keba's Twaaka Makkai and were fun to munch on with the roasted red chillies leaving a nice

The steak was served with organic salad, fries and topped with red wine sauce. The meat was tender and cut into easily. A bite and you could tell it had been marinated well. The creamy red wine sauce had a hint of black pepper that added to the dish.

The honey braised duck was sliced into just the right sizes to share and had good meat and fat ratio. Although the taste was good, I wished the meat had been a little

Despite being packed to the brim, we took a risk and ordered a cheese cake (Rs 285) to share. Even on a full tummy, the cake was delicious, delicious, delicious!

Embers has a lot going for it. Serve good food and maintain the space, and Embers will soon be a crowd favourite.

How to get there: walk along Krishna Galli, Pulchok. Embers is between Bhat Bhateni supermarket and Panchakanya building.



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## Poisoned environment

ne of the deadly chemical agents used in the gas attack on a suburb of Damascus last week was Sarin. This is an organophosphate compound which is also extensively used as pesticides in South Asia, including Nepal.



DHANVANTARI Buddha Basnyat, MD

What may not be known to readers is that organophosphate ingestion is the most common way to commit suicide in our part of the world. When you read of a suicide, either of cotton farmers in India or students who failed exams in Nepal, they will mostly have taken pesticide. Sadly, this poison is available over the counter at ordinary shops, sometimes sharing shelf space with food items.

The 23 children who died in Bihar after eating free school lunch in August were poisoned by food laced with organophosphates. The Bhopal gas disaster in 1984 that killed nearly 4,000 people in India was caused by a leak in a pesticide factory owned by Union Carbide, although the gas in that case was methyl isocyanate.

There is no enforced regulation in India or Nepal of the sale of organophosphate pesticides. The perpetrators of violence in Syria are allegedly using this compound to deliberately kill civilians, but for decades the misuse of organophosphates has caused untold tragedy in our part of the world.

In most major hospitals in Nepal, half a dozen patients at any given time are admitted with



10 PER 100,000 SUICIDES IN NEPAL (HIGHER FOR WOMEN)

46 PER 100,000 SUICIDES IN SRI LANKA (HIGHER FOR MEN)

18 % OF ALL SUICIDES BY POISONING

96% OF POISONING BY ORGANOPHOSPHATES

organophosphate poisoning. As the doctor takes the history and examines the patient with this affliction, a truly preventable human tragedy unfolds. Many patients are young women who have tried to inflict self-harm because they had a quarrel with their husbands, or were abused by in-laws.

Local brands of organophosphate compounds go by names like nuvan, metacid, dalf, and suchlor. Medical students use the acronym 'SLUDGE' (salivation, lacrimation, urine incontinence, diarrhoea, gastrointestinal cramps and emesis or vomiting) to help remember the effects of this

pesticide in patients. The chemical inhibits the natural destruction of an enzyme called acetylcholine in the human body which then sets off a cascade of secretions.

Organophosphate has been classified as a chemical or bioterrorism agent, especially after the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway in 1994 when the victims complained that "their world went black" followed by all the symptoms of 'SLUDGE'. Sarin is a vapour form of organophosphate that first causes injury to the eyes leading to pupillary narrowing and partial blindness after exposure. These symptoms can potentially be fatal depending on the amount ingested or inhaled and just how promptly the treatment was started. The main cause of death is respiratory depression triggered by the undestroyed acetylcholine which is widely distributed in the

The most essential drug used to treat organophosphate poisoning is derived from plants (datura, deadly nightshade, mandrake, among others) from the Solanaceae family and is called atropine. Atropine effectively blocks the effects of acetylcholine. Ironically, the word atropine comes from Atropos, one of the three Fates in Greek mythology, who decides how someone should die. In the case of organophosphate poisoning, atropine is clearly a life-saving antidote. It is easy to imagine how atropine could be in short supply in war-torn Syria.

In South Asia the organophosphate poisoning tragedy can be prevented in large measure if there is political will. So long as a teenager that has fared badly in her SLC exams can go to a general store and easily buy organophosphate pesticides, we will continue to witness these preventable tragedies unfold here in future.

#### nepalitimes.com

Self-destruct, #489

#### GIZMO by YANTRICK

## Gaming delight

Released in June 2013, the Nvidia Shield is an Android based premium portable gaming device from the legendary gaming graphics card manufacturer Nvidia. Although at first glance, the Shield might look like a screen stuck on an Xbox style gamepad, a lot is going on underneath that simple exterior.

The Nvidia Shield sports a flip up 5-inch HD touch screen (720p) on top of the physical gamepad, and you have the option of controlling the device either by using the touch screen, or via the gamepad. While the Shield's HD screen allows for an impressive display, making the games look splendid, the 1.9 GHz quad core processor, 72-Core Nvidia GeForce graphics processor backs it up with a powerful performance.

Android users will find themselves familiar with the look and feel of the Shield's operating system as it runs on Android's Jelly Bean version (4.2.1). A huge catalogue of games is available for download from Android's Google Play store, or from Nvidia's own Tegrazone store (some free, others paid), although not all games are compatible with the gamepad. But worry not for these games are playable via the Shield's touch screen. At the moment, only a couple of hundred games are compatible with the gamepad,

with Riptide GP 2 looking particularly impressive but the number continues to soar as Yantrick types this review.

An attractive feature of the Shield is the option to connect the device to your HDTV via a Mini HDMI output at the back, and using the HDTV as the display. Another unique and impressive feature is its ability to stream and play games from your PC to the device over Wi-Fi, given both devices are connected to the same network. However, be aware that your PC needs to be equipped with an Nvidia GTX 650 or higher video card to utilise this awesome feature.

A device with the capabilities of the Shield requires serious juice. Sporting an immense 7350mAh battery (compared to 2600mAh battery on the Galaxy S4), the Shield is capable of 5-6 hours of intense, graphics heavy gaming / videos and 10 hours of casual gaming, internet browsing, music, and videos.

The handheld gaming scene has traditionally been the playground of Nintendo's Gameboy and Sony's PSP. But with the Nvidia Shield priced approximately at Rs 31,000, things may be changing soon for good.

Yantrick's Verdict: This high-quality device with killer specs and stellar performance is here to stay.





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#### 6 - 12 SEPTEMBER 2013 #672

# The anatomy of radicalism

The politics of riot and terror have a long evolutionary history in India

**T**hen the Indian Mujahideen's bombmaker, Yasin Bhatkal, was caught in Pokhara last week, there was justifiable jubilation in India. Yasin spilled the beans on interrogation, revealing that Nepal's scenic lakeside resort has become a hideout of choice where Indian extremists can lie low.



But few know that Yasin was radicalised by what he erroneously believed was just retaliation to the 2002 anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat. Pogroms and terror require an ambience and ideology to flourish. Hindu and Muslim communal politics date back to decades before India's independence.

There was the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which defined Indians as those whose holy land and fatherland were the same. Muslims and Christians, therefore, were not Indian. The RSS's aim was to build a Hindu nation in which Muslims and Christians would not have citizens' rights.

Political power was vital for the RSS to realise its avowed goal of Hindu Rastra. Masquerading as a cultural organisation, it spawned a bewildering variety of outfits, each assigned to play a specific religious role and electorally bolstering its political wing: the Jan Sangh earlier, and now the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The agenda was thrust into the public consciousness through agitations demanding a ban on cow slaughter, and participation in periodic communal rioting.

The mirror image of the



Jamaat-e-Islami, which drew its inspiration from Maulana Maududi, who wanted to capture political power to establish an Islamic state and shariah. But at partition Maududi migrated to Pakistan, leaving behind a rump which was renamed Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JIH). It continued to harp on its original goals, absurdly unmindful of the demographic reality of divided India, and declared participation in elections un-Islamic.

Roundly rebuffed in two Indian general elections, the JIH rescinded the ban on Muslims, other than those constituting its cadres, from casting their ballots. Subsequently, it redefined its goal as Iqamaate-deen, or establishment of religion. Now, much like the RSS, it floated its own political outfit. However, the JIH's worldview remains sharply religious and socially conservative.

These groups and their divisive ideologies were mostly confined to the margins of the



brought to centre stage in the 1980s. In response to growing militancy in Punjab, Indira Gandhi, on return to power in 1980 but still anxious about the durability of her support base, began to play the Hindu card, thereby legitimising what had been decidedly the RSS's policy till then.

It was also the decade in which Hindu-Muslim riots occurred with alarming frequency and severity. Ultimately, the opening of the lock of the Babri Masjid in 1986 and its eventual demolition six years later sparked off countrywide tension which the Sangh Parivar rode to become the principal alternative formation to the Congress. The rise of the Sangh-BJP

and the palpable partiality of the Indian state in tackling the riots stoked the anxiety of Muslims and had an impact on Jamaat politics. Earlier in 1977, the JIH floated the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) as its youth wing which

IN NET: Indian Mujahideen co-founder Yasin Bhatkal was arrested in Pokhara on 30 August

turned increasingly strident as a reaction to riots in India, and broke away from the JIH in 1982, describing its leaders effete.

In 1996, SIMI issued a statement declaring that Indian secularism and democracy had failed the country's Muslims, leaving them with no option but to struggle (jihad) for the establishment of the Caliphate. Thus, the old idea of jihad was back in currency.

Post-9/11, the BJP-led government banned SIMI, and many of its activists went underground. Among them was Yasin Bhatkal. The Gujrat riots radicalised this group further and was born the Indian Mujahideen.

In the weeks to come, we will be provided deeper insights into Yasin's motivations. Nevertheless, this much can be said: the politics of riot and terror are linked through ideas Muslim ideologues had propounded decades ago. Such ideas are reinterpreted and applied to contemporary reality.

You can scarcely counter ideas of jihad until the ambience in which it thrives is also transformed. Eight months away from India's general election in May 2014, the RSS has been trying to keep the communal cauldron in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh simmering. Narendra Modi, suspected to have allowed the targeting of Muslims in 2002, is flaunting his prime ministerial ambitions. One wonders what India's radicalised Muslims are thinking. ashrafajaz3@gmail.com









## **16 NATION**

# TALE OF TWO SLRs

Juna Rai (*right*) looks back at her life from a teenage guerrilla to the young soldier and mother that she has now become. "It only seemed like yesterday when Sagar Dai took that picture," she recalls.



It was 2006, and Sagar Shrestha (above) saw Juna on lonely sentry duty on a foggy morning in Daburang Bhanjyang of Bhojpur, guarding a Maoist base. He took the picture with his Nikon SLR, but never expected it would become so famous. Juna's war weary demeanour came to symbolise battle fatigue among fighters, and the role of women in the Maoist army.

"She was looking on as her comrades took part in morning drill," recounts Sagar, who submitted his photograph for the book, *A People War* and also to Associated Press.

"We had to take care of our weapons more than our lives back then, that is the only reason I was holding on to the SLR so tightly," explains Juna, "but I still wonder why people find the photo so fascinating."



#### BHRIKUTI RAI

Juna Rai, appears for a rendezvous at Kapan in a grey sweatshirt and military haircut, looking much more petite than expected. It is impossible to tell she is the Comrade Chunauti of photojournalist Sagar Shrestha's famous image of the Nepal conflict.

Shrestha took the picture in Bhojpur in 2006 as Rai was on sentry duty at a Maoist base, huddled against the cold and keeping her SLR assault rifle warm.

The photograph was included in Kunda Dixit's book, *A People War*, published by nepa~laya in 2006.

Juna's Rai's iconic picture has gone around the world, toured the country as part of a travelling photo exhibition seen by 500,000 people, and has been used in movie posters and lately even in Kathmandu's new street murals.

It was only when Dixit's sequel, People After War, came out in 2009 did it become known that Juna's brother, Bhuwan, was in the Royal Nepal Army. The siblings actually took part in the battle of Bhojpur and Diktel on opposite sides, and could have ended up killing each other. Nepal's conflict wasn't just a civil war, it was a sibling war.

After languishing four years in the Udaypur cantonment, Juna was among 1,422 former guerrillas inducted into the Nepal Army last month. She has lost her long tresses, and is proud to call herself a 'soldier' now in the same army as her brother.

"There are no words to describe how happy I was during

the passing-out parade in Trisuli," says Juna, showing us pictures of the ceremony. Inspired by her family's martial tradition (her grandfather was in the British Army and uncle in the Indian Army) Juna always

> fancied herself in uniform. As a lance corporal in the Nepal Army, she is now undergoing a bridge course to receive her insignia and was in Kathmandu this week for a short break.

> "It is difficult to believe that life still turned out good after all those years, and I am glad







- Sagar Shrestha's famous photograph of Juna Rai on sentry duty in Bhojpur in 2006
- Looking at her own pictures at the Shanti Sangralaya in Patan this week.
- Juna at the passing-out parade for ex-guerrillas inducted into the Nepal Army in Trisuli last month
- Juna on the cover of the book, People After War, reunited with her father and brother, Bhuwan in Khotang in 2008.
- Juna at her home in Kathmandu for a short break from the Nepal Army.

# THE PEOP END OF A SIBLING WARD युद्धपछि जनता पर्वतनका अवस्थाहरू PEOPLE AFTER WAR

## A brother and sister who served on opposite sides during the conflict are now part of the same army

the bloodshed is over," she says, looking

Juna decided to join the Maoists in 2003 after hearing a rousing speech by a Maoist recruiter in Khotang who promised equality and a society free of discrimination and exploitation. She was in Grade 8, and didn't even tell her father when she left home with some friends. She was nearly killed by an exploding grenade during the battle for Bhojpur in 2004 in which her commander and 20 others were killed. A deep leg injury still reminds her of that battle.

Four years ago, speaking to this paper, Juna was optimistic about joining her brother Bhuwan in the same army. "Luckily we didn't encounter each other, or else we may have killed each other," she said. During the conflict Juna and Bhuwan prayed for each others' safety even though they were on opposing sides.

Bhuwan is currently posted in Jhapa, and Juna will probably be assigned to the army unit guarding the Sukla Phanta Nature Reserve in western Nepal. Juna says Bhuwan tried to dissuade his sister from joining the army because he said it

was hard work. But Juna says: "I joined anyway, because I realised nothing in life comes easy. I have never shied away from challenges."

Juna is now 27 and married to Kumar Tamang who was also a guerrilla who took voluntary retirement because of injuries. Their seven-year-old son Sachin lives with Juna's sister Guna in Sunsari. Having lost her own mother when she was two, Juna talks to her son every day. "I hope he will understand that I am in the army only to ensure a better future for him," she says.

Juna has no regrets about joining the

Maoist army, and believes she was fighting for justice and equality. "The changes we fought for will take time, but at least we prepared the ground for it," Juna says. She admits there were misgivings among her comrades about joining what they were trained to regard as an enemy force, but everything went smoothly.



#### nepalitimes.com

Bhuwan and Juna, #454 Brother and sister together again, #454 Watch video of Juna Rai

**NEPALI TWEETS** 

डा महतः लेपाली खेलाडीहरूलाई वधाइ...जितर नमात्तिनु नी, अझ मेहनत गनुपर्छ । फलानोः डाक्टरसाप, हामी नेपाली चुनाव जितेर मार्च

Phalano: Doctor sahab, we Nepalis let success get to our head only after winning

लेपालमा रामो लेखे कि न एजेस्ट र माफिया छन कि

त १ नम्बरका जड़याहा।रामा आचरणका लेखक ज्यादे

"Good writers in Nepal are either agents, mafia or a big time drunkard. Very few writers with good conduct." Completely flipped out

when I heard this at Sajha bus.

Dr. Mahat: Congrats to Nepali players, don't let the victory get to your head, need to work

# What they really, really want Himal Khabarpatrika, 8 September



**Ram Baran Yadav** Says: Elections on 19 Nov

with CPN-M Wants: Neutralise rightwing by bringing CPN-M on board



**Pushpa Kamal Dahal** Chairman, UCPN (M) Says: Elections on 19

Nov with CPN-M out, but postpone if they reunite. Wants: Advantage if CPN-M doesn't take part in polls, and brownie points with international community for

being pro-election.



**Sushil Koirala** President, NC

Says: Hold polls on 19 Nov even if CPN-M keeps out Wants: NC benefits if CPN-M boycotts or takes part in polls since it will weaken UCPN-M



**Jhalnath Khanal** Chairman, UML

Says: Hold polls on 19 Nov whatever CPN-M decides Wants: UML benefits from split vote bank if CPN-M takes part or doesn't



**Mohan Baidya** Chairman, CPN-M

Says: Postpone elections, all-party meeting to decide on main points of constitution

Wants: More time to prepare for polls and come out stronger than UCPN(M). Buy time with demand for all-party roundtable meeting.



**Madhav Kumar Nepal** 

Says: If Baidya comes on board, postpone polls. Wants: UML can beat UCPN(M) if CPN-M takes part by splitting Maoist vote and weakening party in the Madhes.



**Sher Bahadur Deuba** 

Savs: Postpone elections to give Baidya time to take part Wants: Will be seen as a consensus-builder, and Baidya takingpart will benefit NC vis-a-vis UCPN(M)



**Baburam Bhattarai** UCPN(M)

Says: Put off polls to convince Baidya to join Wants: More time to strengthen party by reuniting with CPN-M



Ram Chandra Poudel

Vice-president NC Says: Postpone polls if CPN-M agrees to polls, otherwise hold it on 19 Nov Wants: Baidya taking part will benefit NC by dividing Maoist vote bank



**KP Oli** 

Says: Polls in November with or without Baidya Wants: Will personally benefit from Nov polls while strong within party



**Bijay Gachhedar** Coordinator, UDMF

Says: Polls in November with or without Baidya Wants: Advantage of early polls and coalition with UCPN(M) to self



**Upendra Yadav** Chairman, MPF-N

Says: Polls on 19 Nov with or without Baidva Wants: To benefit from unpopularity of fellow Madhesi parties, and take credit for having got the HLPC to expand CA seats



**Mahant Thakur** Chairman, TMLP

Says: Polls on 19 Nov Wants: Will bring stability to country, will keep India happy, benefit from united front of federalist parties



**Kamal Thapa RPP-N** 

Says: Polls on 19 Nov with or without CPN-M Wants: Benefit from surge in popularity, take advantage of backlash against secularism and ethnic politics



**Ashok Rai** FSP-N

Says: Postpone polls Wants: More time to campaign on basis of ethnic politics



# Neighbour's keeper

Navin Singh Khadka on BBC Nepali, 2 September

BBC

At a time when the international community is being accused of supporting divisive federalism in Nepal, what do Nepal's neighbours think? Do India and China also support federalism in Nepal? Raj Kumar Lekhi, former head of the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities says: "The interests of India and China are different from western and European countries. They don't say it directly, but we get the feeling that they fear federalism in Nepal is going to create problems in their own countries."

British ambassador to Nepal, Andrew James Sparkes (in pic above, greeting people in Ilam this week) has a different take on this, with the following example: "In the recent visit by Maoist leader Prachanda to both India and China, neither of those countries told him to drop federalism. In fact, they wanted to know what kind of federalism was being proposed. Everyone knows these two countries are concerned that Nepal might have more states than feasible, because they have their own issues which they must address."

India plays a big part in events that transpire in Nepal. Its bureaucracy and, more importantly, intelligence agents have become increasingly active. But Kamal Thapa of the Rastriya Prajatantra Party says he isn't surprised about this.

"All the internal power centres were always in one way or another influenced by external power centres," says Thapa. "Everyone talks about India, but even the Indian establishment has various departments. Among them, RAW has been active and has had more influence than anyone else, especially since we know that they even gave the Maoists military training."

Former minister Ghanshyam Bhusal of the UML agrees with Thapa. He says: "It doesn't seem that India's political class is responsible for all the unwanted meddling in Nepal. Events show that it is India's intelligence agency that is most influential here."

Even though India says that Nepal has a strategic importance, it has been years since an Indian prime minister visited Kathmandu. I asked Ashok Mehta, former Indian Army general and Nepal expert why.

"This is a failure of Indian politics and diplomacy," says Mehta. "But India has legitimate security concerns because of the open border. And this was highlighted by the detention within Nepal of leaders of Lashkar-e-Taiba and Indian Mujahideen."

Nepal's efforts to address Indian security concerns was most apparent during the Baburam Bhattarai-led government, and some say the planned handing-over of Tribhuvan International Airport to Indian management was also a part of this. But Mehta says: "From 1950, through 1990, and right up to 2013, India has not changed the way it sees Nepal."

Nepal's government has repeatedly said it tries its best to address India's concerns. Bhusal says, "We wanted to discuss these things. Upgrading the airport and addressing security concerns is no big deal. But until there is a formal proposal, we will never see eye to eye and this delay in the transition process will continue."

Listen to BBC Nepali podcast (()

Lenin Banjade 'युद्ध अपराध'का अभियोगी कर्णेल कुमार लामाको बहुसमा मात्रै ५ करोड छुट्याउन सक्ने सरकारले डा चित्रप्रसाद शर्मा वाग्लेको आँसु पुछन सक्दैन ?

शब्दचित्र

If the government can set aside rupees fifty million for Colonel Kumar Lama who is accused of war crimes why can't it lend support to Dr. Chitra Prasad Sharma Wagle?

#### **WEEKLY BAZAR POLL #26**

In weekly polls conducted with the support of The Asia Foundation, Himal Khabarpatrika asks 375 respondents in 12 cities across Nepal every Monday for their opinion on contemporary issues. This week's result of interviews is about Nepalis' opinion on the upcoming elections.

What do you think is more important, holding elections on 19 November or postponing if Baidya's party will take part?

Holding elections 54% Postponing 31.6% Don't know 12.8% Won't say **1.6%** 

Do you think elections will still take place on time?

Yes 44.4% No **35.4%** 

Don't know 19.4% Won't say 0.8%

Will Nepal's politics be more complex if the CPN-M does not participate?

Yes 43.5% No 14.8%

No. if major parties have unity 27.8% Don't know 13.3%



Fast Unto death "We want justice."

कालिपुर Batsayan in Kantipur, 5 September

#### **QUOTE OF THE WEEK**

We gave the orders to kill. Catch us if you can.

Maoist Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal quoted in Nagarik.





# **Combatants to captains**

"We made immense sacrifices to come this far, the parties too need to also sacrifice their self-interest for the greater good."

s Ganga Maya and
Nanda Prasad Adhikari
continue their hunger
strike in Bir Hospital for the fifth
week, an entire country awaits
in anticipation to see whether
the state will follow through
with its promise of prosecuting
their son's murderers. The
couple's struggle is emblematic
of the deep-seated impunity



that has plagued Nepal since the end of conflict. How fairly and efficiently the government handles this case will set the precedent for thousands of other families.

Post-war reconciliation and justice for victims and their families remain painfully slow, but we finally managed to end one aspect of the peace process this month. On 26 August, 70 former Maoist combatants became captains in the Nepal Army they had fought a decade long war against. As Chairman of the Interim Election Council, Khil Raj Regmi, handed over insignias to the new graduates, those gathered at the military academy in Kharipati heaved a collective sigh of relief.

Nepal's messy, protracted transition has taken us seven agonising years. But from squabbling over the number and ranks of combatants to the opposition of the Army in admitting 'politically indoctrinated' individuals, the country has come a long way. The successful integration, management, and rehabilitation

of the PLA is undoubtedly a notable achievement.

More than 17,000 Maoist soldiers languished in seven cantonments across the country for years. Keeping them there any longer would not only have run the state's treasury dry, but increased the potential for future unrest.

"Six years in the camp was the worst time of our lives, we were treated like prisoners," recalls Bimala Pant, who graduated with her husband Ram Bahadur Lama from Kavre. "It was far more terrible than the war because we joined the PLA of our own accord and were ready to die for the cause, but we hadn't signed up for this."

The couple list the 2006 People's Movement, transformation of Nepal into a secular republic, growing political awareness and participation specially of women and marginalised communities and their demands for increased recognition as major accomplishments of the conflict. But they are quick to point out that army integration is not the end of the peace process as everyone has been so eager to claim.

Lama told me, "Writing a constitution is not easy. There are many players and it is natural for the process to be delayed. We made immense sacrifices during the 10 year conflict and the parties too need to sacrifice their self-interest for the greater good. Nepalis deserve a new constitution, the leaders owe it to the people."

Two months before

elections and countless High Level Political meetings later, the big four and the fringe parties seem to be finally nearing an agreement. Disillusionment among voters – many for the first time – is growing. At this late hour, the political parties need to think beyond winning and losing because the constitution is neither a competition, nor an end goal. It is simply the first step among many that will help us build a more inclusionary and fair society.

Those who actually put their lives on the frontlines have swapped their uniforms for a new, stable life. They are keen to leave their past behind and want Nepalis to judge them based on what they now do with their future.

Says 30-year-old Keshav Raj Dhami from Bajura who was the winner of the best male cadet award, "We set a peaceful precedent by becoming the first country to bring together former warring sides into the same army. Now we need to take this a step further, draft an inclusive and just constitution, and close the chapter."

Yet reckless leaders like Mohan Baidya continue to threaten - from the comfort of their offices - a return to bloodshed if their demands are not fulfilled. Even if another large-scale armed conflict seems quite unlikely, using it as a political slogan shows just how out of tune some leaders are with the aspirations of ordinary Nepalis.

When we are trying to draft Nepal's modern history, why do the political parties insist on standing on the wrong side?

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## Vermicultural revolution

To the class warriors that they claim they be, the Baddies sure have a knack for shooting themselves on the foot. Pukada once told GPK during the war he wouldn't talk to the "servant" when he could talk directly to his "master", viz: Kingji. BRB has repeatedly insinuated that comrades in the UML were a) "impotent" b) "politically promiscuous", c) third-gender, or d) all of the above.

It may be because they remembered this slight that members of the LGBT community decided this week to join the bi-sexual UML en masse. The homophobic Maobuddies once again went to town poking fun at the alleged sexual orientation of the United Marxist Leaning comrades. We all knew Sunil Babu had no love lost for Babu Ram, but why did he chose to join the UML? The reason is that a rival faction of the gay lesbian bi-sexual and trans-sexual community was kangres-leaning. The big question now is just how big is the LGBT vote bank in Nepal and whether they are made up of lefties or righties, or both.

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The Baddies aren't just insensitive to the gay community, they have also demonstrated their speciest



attitude towards the animal kingdom, and that could be because it hasn't been declared a republic yet. PKD has often passed objectionable and derogatory remarks about chicken, comparing them to the Nepali Congress. What an insult to roosters in general and cocks in particular. And he went on to compare his party to the eagle. What an insult to eagles.

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We often hear such speciest language in ever day political discourse, and as a Nepali Ass I consider it my duty towards fellow mammals, reptiles and molluscs to lodge a complaint against proponents of hate speech that deliberately malign us in this way. Ever since biped primates climbed down from the acacia trees in the Rift Valley, shed their prehensile tails, and started riding around in mopeds, humans have treated us animals abominably. In referring to Nepal's current political scenario as a "snake pit" think of how disparaging it is towards our hissing comrades. Similarly, in describing the constitution-writing process as moving at a "snail's pace", we underestimate and belittle the velocity of gastropod

locomotion. And we show a singular lack of sensitivity to the feelings of Mr Blitzer when we say we "wolf" down hors d'oeuvres. As a public service to readers, therefore, the donkey offers below a guide to replacing objectionable language with formulations less disparaging towards other species with whom we share this beautiful planet of ours:

WRONG: Comrade Yummy said the earthworms she amassed during road-widening would not be sufficient to finance her election campaign. CORRECT: Vermiculture experts at the CIAA still don't know who first used the word "earthworm" to mean "bribe". WRONG: The only fly in the ointment was that Baidya still refused to take part in elections.

CORRECT: Finally, towards the end of the cocktail reception, the host mustered the courage to whisper to the Dash Baddie that his fly was open.

WRONG: Nepalis have now realised that you can't teach an old dog new tricks.

CORRECT: Kathmandu's canines yowled with joy on being told that the country was going to the dogs again.

canines yowled with joy on being told that the country was going to the dogs again. WRONG: It is quite acceptable in politics to lick the ass of one's coalition partner. **CORRECT:** ...but only if he has been a visionary statesman for donkey's years.

**WRONG:** The Chief Justice selfishly kept a lion's share of the portfolios. **CORRECT:** The Censor Board

has decided to allow Lion King to be screened only if it is renamed Lion President. WRONG: Reporters at the press conference behaved like

vultures.
CORRECT: The popular
Vulture Restaurant in
Nawalparasi will henceforth
offer dining birds cloth

napkins.

WRONG: Birds of a feather flock together in the Cash Maoists.

**CORRECT:** Except chicken.

മാരു

Big Plop air dashes to China and on return, he has suddenly toned down his rhetoric from threats of Armageddon to threats of unity with the Mau party before elections. But because he has burnt his bridges with PKD, it looks like the Dhobighaut alignment with BRB is being revived, much to Awesome's consternation. Quite a formidable combination it will be of Comrades Big Plop, Hit Man



and Horrible.