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FEBY BOEDIARTO

buzz

DAUGHTERHOOD

At a time when the issue of citizenship in the name of the mother, domestic violence and rise of sex-selective abortion is being intensely debated, **Feby Boediartha** explores the relationship between Nepali fathers and their daughters through striking black-and-white images. She asks the fathers, "Why are you proud of your daughter?"

PAGE 10-11



Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015

82% Don't think CA will meet 22 January deadline

42% Don't care what is in the constitution

81% Think ethnicity-based federalism is a bad idea

THE PEOPLE MATTER
EDITORIAL PAGE 2

WHO CARES ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION?

ANALYSIS BY OM ASTHA RAI PAGE 15

THIS IS WHAT WE THINK
PAGE 16-17



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THE PEOPLE MATTER

We have known all along that Nepalis have been increasingly disappointed, disillusioned and disenchanted with the failure of the top political leaders to agree on a new constitution. Two elections and six years later, it looks like we are headed towards another dead-end.

To gauge just how much people feel let-down by their leaders and elected representatives, Himalmedia carried out a public opinion survey in Kathmandu last week. Although the 1,019 respondents were all living in the Valley, their selection reflected their place of origin, caste and ethnicities, and all socio-economic strata of Nepali society.

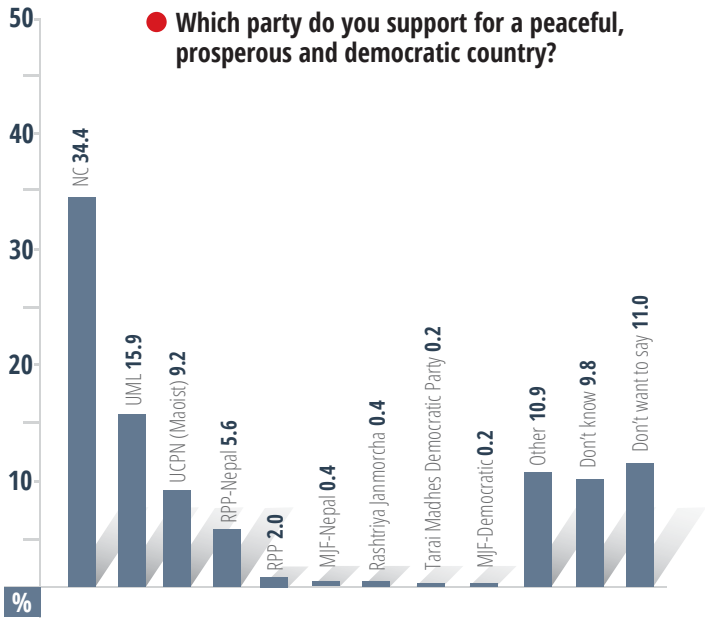
The public's perception of politicians seems to be even more negative than we thought it would be, and they are pessimistic about the top parties being able to pass a new constitution by 22 January: eight out of every 10 people polled said there was no way the leaders would meet the deadline.

In previous Himalmedia Public Opinion Surveys conducted annually for the past 12 years, respondents used to be politically alert, opinionated and hopeful about the future. This time, let down once more, we found them to be uncharacteristically apathetic and despondent. (*See pages 15-17*)

Asked whom they blame for the failure to write a new constitution, more than a quarter of the respondents said the political parties were collectively responsible. But nearly 19% put the onus squarely on the UCPN(M) for the lack of progress. This is also reflected in the low-standing of the main Maoists and their leaders in the popularity ratings. Except for Baburam Bhattarai, Maoist leaders are all in the single digits, with Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal at 3.5% trusted even less than the UML's KP Oli (6.6%) and Hindu-royalist Kamal Thapa (4.9%).

Never has there been such a wide gap between what the politicians say they want and what the people are interested in. In fact, more than 40% of the people couldn't care less

The take-home message from the Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015 is that you can't fool all the people all the time



what kind of constitution is passed, they just want the CA to get it over with. More shockingly, compared to previous years' surveys, the percentage of people who think federalism is a mistake has risen to half and an overwhelming 80% reject federalism based on ethnicity.

But Nepalis have demonstrated their legendary patience and tolerance by telling us: we have wasted so much time it won't matter if you extend the CA to get the job done.

Nearly half the respondents still believe that as long as it is a constitution that adequately addresses the grievances of excluded castes, ethnicities, etc they are prepared to wait longer. They just want a mechanism other than ethnic-federalism in the constitution to make it genuinely inclusive.

If elections were to be held today, a full one-third of the people would still choose the NC despite its fecklessness and weak leadership. For lack of anyone better, they trust Sushil Koirala the most even though they don't think much of his performance in the past year as prime minister. The UML is second with 16%, the Maoists at 9.2% and RPP-N at 5.6%. The Madhesi parties are nowhere in the picture even though people of Madhesi origin were proportionally represented in the poll sample.

Most respondents reject outright the threat by the 31-party Maoist, Madhesi and Janajati combine to take to the streets if their constitution is not written, which shows the lack of popular support for the series of nationwide strikes this week.

The take-home message from the Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015 is that you can't fool all the people all the time: more than half the respondents said they didn't believe disagreement over federalism was the real reason for the delay in the constitution, they were convinced it was because of a power-sharing dispute.

The people also give the politicians a way out: if you need more time on the constitution, go ahead, but announce local elections right away. Nearly 60% of the respondents said we should not wait any longer to elect VDC, DDC and municipal councils.

Most top politicians in Nepal give little credence to public opinion surveys. For them, the people don't matter because they know they can exert pressure with hired goons on the streets to get what they want. But we still live in a democracy in which the people matter, and their message is: you will pay for ignoring us.

YOUR SAY

www.nepalitimes.com

EARTHQUAKE

Earthquakes do kill people and lack of preparedness (including badly built and planned housing) makes them even more lethal ('Unnatural disaster', Editorial, #740).

David Seddon

■ Even if the Kathmandu airport is not destroyed in an earthquake, don't expect relief aid to fly in at least for a week ('Preparing to be prepared', Kunda Dixit, #740). India won't be able to help because an 8 Richter earthquake in western Nepal will also destroy large parts of Kumaon and Garhwal. We will have our hands full in India. Nepal will have to take care of itself. Which is why this article is so thoroughly depressing for an Indian with great affection for Nepal, it looks like the government has no disaster management plan in place at all.

J Mehta

■ An earthquake in Kathmandu would be a sad day indeed.

Sigmund Stengel

■ Everyone in the Valley should be prepared. There will be no organised assistance for 78 hours at least.

@pigreen

■ How and who allowed anything to be built above 3 floors? And even if someone

allowed it - why would anyone build it, less live in it? Have we really lost it?

Namah

■ Helen Clark is right to draw attention to the need for comprehensive long-term planning and preparation in response to climate change and as part of disaster response ('Disaster and development', Helen Clark, #740). While it will never be possible to predict and avoid entirely the disastrous impact of extreme physical events, the effects can be mitigated and reduced by careful preparedness at all levels - national, regional, local and household.

Nepal badly needs to ensure that the large sums of money and numerous programmes and projects deployed add up to a coherent and effective strategy, with appropriate resources available and preparedness at local level in particular. Also, much greater transparency is needed as regards the vast amounts pledged to the various 'disaster funds' set up at national and local level in response to last year's floods and landslides.

DS

CONSTITUTION

As the bone of contention is the restructuring of the 5 districts, Jhapa, Morang Sunsari and Kanchanpur, Kailali ('Spanner in the works', Om Astha Rai, #740) let there be a referendum and let the people decide their fate themselves.

Rajaram

■ KP Oli, keep up the fight against the Maoist and Morcha leaders. I am not fond of communists, but in this case, I praise you. Maoist/Morcha leaders are self centered, opportunists that have looted the wealth of poor Nepalis. Never apologise to these thugs.

Gopal Prasad Upreti

■ These leaders need to man-up and let go of their sensitivity. Even if what Oli said was out of context, the Madhesi leaders need to let go of their ego if they really care for the country.

Hurray

■ Let the residents of Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari decide how they want to form their state. Whether they want to be part of the proposed Madhes or Limbuwan state or establish a separate entity, it is their right to decide.

Daniel Gajaraj

■ No more hartal or bandh, no more ruining the daily lives of poor Nepalis and the whole economy of Nepal ('Sky won't fall but that's not the point', Damakant Jayshi, #740). If the Maobadi/ Khaobadi and Madhise Morcha leaders try to enforce more strikes, they should be arrested immediately and thrown in jail. Nepalis are tired of these leaders. All we want is to live in peace.

Binod Bhattarai

■ Who voted these people into power? There's a lesson there somewhere.

Socrates

■ This is just a chronology of events with very little analysis.

Ganjee

ENERGY

While the need to harness power for our own use as well as for export is well understood, it's interesting to note how water regulation is almost always a footnote of sorts in most of these discussions ('Mirage of prosperity', Bishal Thapa, #740). It could be argued that releasing stored water (from a reservoir style dam) during the dry season may be worth even more than electricity export. The benefits for both southern Nepal as well as India are obvious: given the latter's climate, regulated water could potentially mean year-round crops which is probably even more important to the 600 million Indians living in poverty than electricity.

Don't get me wrong: we need power. But it's critical that we be compensated for inundating our own land not only for electricity, but also for regulated water. Agreements need to be made with India, in an objective and patient way as recommended by the author.

I hope the author will also address other issues such as agreeing to construction of the 900 MW dam on the Arun which would preclude construction of the ideally located 4180 MW dam on the same river in future articles.

Epacific

THIS WEEK



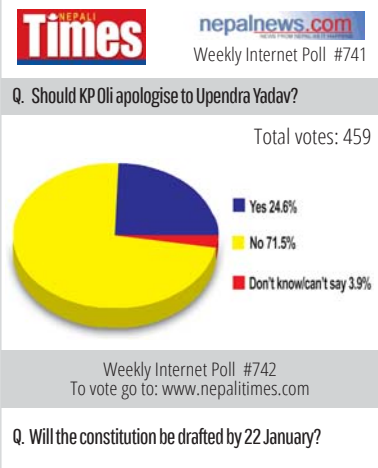
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Preparing to be prepared by Kunda Dixit



The entire nation is undergoing a constitutional déjà vu, as we enter the final week of the deadline imposed by political parties on themselves.

Unlike in 2012, however, the expectations are not so high. That is not to say that the people are disinterested. In fact, the churning of debate



BY THE WAY
Anurag Acharya

has allowed people to develop deeper understanding of contentious positions taken by political parties which has kept the process deadlocked for the last six years.

For those of us who have cared to follow these debates taking place at the very highest level, as well as at the grass-roots, the semantics are quite revealing. Everybody's favourite seems to be whether the nation should adopt an identity-based federalism or not – the single most contentious issue the entire country is passionately debating. So, we know what the parties or their comrades in media (including yours truly) and civil society mean when they argue for and against either.

Having poured millions since April 2008 and another few millions more since November 2013, the international community is understandably frantic about the approaching deadline. But Nepalis watching from the sidelines have grown smarter. They realise gains made post 2006 cannot be reversed, regardless of what the 601 agree or disagree to on 22 January and beyond.

The egalitarian spirit of the social movements including Madhes uprising and Janajati assertion has instilled something more magical in the hearts of the subaltern mass, something few juridical and constitutional provisions can neither give nor take away.

Min Kumari Pariyar from Rautahat has been running her business on the sidewalks of New Baneswor for the last six years, ever since the first CA elections. She is a single mother of two daughters who has no time to waste cursing her stars or the leader whom she voted. "They don't do their jobs in there (points across the street at the CA building), but I still have mouths to feed," she says. On Tuesday, while the political cadres of those who had called a general strike and those against it were scuffling, Min Kumari was trying to earn enough to take care of her family.

Whenever there was a challenge to democracy and freedom was at stake, common people like Min Kumari have



Beyond the deadline

People won't be coming on to the streets even if parties miss the 22 January cutoff

shut down their businesses and come out in large numbers on the streets. Today things have changed — there is more indifference.

But despite that, the nation's advance into secularism, federalism and republicanism are irreversible. Whatever threats or challenges remain, are perpetuated by our own democratic institutions: the self-centred political parties, the corrupt and exclusive bureaucracy, overtly biased media and civil society, and the security agencies. No matter how good a constitution, it will still take a generation before their characters change.

As the statute deadline approaches, both sides will mobilise on the streets blaming each other for rigid positions. On the surface, these disagreements over the demarcation and number of federal provinces seem to be driven by call for ethnic identity. But beneath it all, we know there is a larger battle being waged for long-term electoral gains.

Having exhausted all attempts at consensus with the opposition, the ruling NC-UML coalition have decided to enter the CA procedure of declaring the statute by vote. This may have excited some, but it all amounts to little more than tactical posturing.

The only way of delivering a constitution at this point, even if the parties decide to go for a majority voting, is to shorten the entire procedure of taking the draft to public. Both the NC and UML know there is little legitimacy to be gained by declaring a statute in that fashion, especially after the anger that boiled over in the Madhes earlier this week. This means, at the most, the ruling parties will attempt to come up with a draft and a self-declared extension. And once past the deadline, chances are tables will be laid once again for negotiations. Snubbed by the ruling parties, the opposition will remain in the streets, at least for a week, but they will also have their feet

inside the CA.

The only person under moral pressure will be Prime Minister Sushil Koirala, who could neither 'give nor take' as he has been repeating in every speech lately. KP Oli and Sher Bahadur Deuba may try to pressure Koirala to abdicate, but under less

favourable international climate neither will want to create an unnecessary scene, at least not just yet. Koirala has an option of conceding and retiring peacefully, but the old man may still find the juice to win his final political race.

Whether or not Koirala hands

the baton on 22 January any deadline from here on is redundant. The only certainty at this point is that we will have a new constitution soon. We just need to make sure, whenever that is, it does not get torched on the streets. @Anurag_Acharya



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Blurred reflections

Old Nepal hand critiques Canadian aided projects in Nepal

IVAN GYOZO SOMLAI

Relationships between sovereign nations are not always optimal, but what is important is to learn and improve from weaknesses to enhance the future of the relationship. Nepal–Canada relations ought to allow mutual learning, exchange, cooperation and influence. While outwardly so, there have been inequities which strayed into ambiguous moral and ethical territory.

Over the years since 1976, I have evaluated projects in Nepal funded wholly or in part by the Canadian government. One of them in 1994 was intended to reduce firewood consumption, enable women to spend more time at home and reduce eye and lung irritation from indoor smoke.

The Canadian Cooperation Office (CCO) had already written up the successful completion of the Tangbe Micro Hydro and Chhosyaar Micro Hydro in the Mustang District, lauding attainment of its social and health benefits. But nobody from the CCO had actually visited the locations, all information for ascertaining results was compiled from either letters from the related officials in Mustang or in-person discussions in Kathmandu.

On my unannounced arrival in Mustang I was astounded to find a dozen electrical poles in the ground, but no wires nor light bulbs anywhere within the project area. I did finally find rolls of wire and insulators at the Pradhaan Panch's house.

On the Nepali side, a coterie of highly influential, local project applicants and implementers deceitfully breached their contract with a well-intentioned friendly country. However, the Canadian government itself did not follow minimal standard management protocol to verify progress or, at the very least, proper and successful completion of the project.

More fundamentally, even after acknowledging the serious oversight, the CCO refused to take the implementer to task because of fear of political repercussions which could ultimately result in the Canadian Embassy, to Nepal in New Delhi reprimanding the Consul General in Kathmandu for such neglect. The CCO, thus, willfully misspent Canadian taxpayers' money and refrained from censuring the wrongdoers.

This example is not unique, as there are more falsified successes linked to various donors, but it is a blatant illustration of corruption, mismanagement and abdication of responsibilities. Citizens on both sides deserve better.

When a foreign donor acts in this manner it sends a message to host country beneficiaries and bureaucrats that diplomatic and development agencies exist as a façade to appease respective foreign affairs departments and exude a charade of participatory involvement and consciousness

where none really exist.

I have worked with all Canadian Consuls in Kathmandu, starting with the foresightful and culturally sensitive William Young in the 80s. All were well-intentioned, though some not as effective. It is one thing to have a diplomatic relationship in the usual trade, commercial, political and cultural interactions. But there is a line crossed when the relationship includes considerable development functions.

Assistance with true development (one that is locally relevant, participatorily planned and executed, implemented within realistic timeframes and plausible sustainability) requires an appreciation of local culture above that of the average, temporarily-posted bureaucrat anxious to show success before

transferring elsewhere.

Canada closed the CCO in 2013, sending an unambiguous signal about the focus of our ensuing relationship. However, collaboration with or without resident representatives must be undertaken with increased sensitivity. Higher bilateral political levels may be oblivious to ground-level operational shortcomings. Conversely, field-experienced administrators are often remotely managed in incomprehensible ways from either the Embassy or direct from Ottawa.

Such imbalances must be acknowledged, analysed and corrected, both within a consular mission as well as between the two countries. Orientation to local culture must be regarded more seriously, beyond random encounters at social gatherings. A greater level of understanding, leading to mutual shift in behaviour, is required to gain genuine 'social licence' for development projects.

Officials require more empathy with each other's environments, especially consular officials' understanding of intended beneficiaries and project implementers with their respectively encompassing political and social realities. Canada and Nepal must set higher standards of ethical propriety, professional conduct and good management to enhance diplomatic relations, and to exemplify project expectations and delivery standards for beneficiaries and clients. 🇨🇦

Ivan G Somlai has worked in Nepal since 1976 and visited all 75 districts. He lectures at McGill University's Disaster and Humanitarian Response Training Program. globalcollaboration.blogspot.ca/

Mind, society behaviour

Most development policies fail to take into account those at whom the interventions are aimed

Development professionals work for the poor and the marginalised. But most who head development organisations rarely come from the very same background of those they serve. Does this affect the quality of decisions made on behalf of the poor?



CROSS CUTTING
Ashutosh Tiwari

In a refreshing departure from its practice of peddling variations of ways of tying upgains from social development with market access for growth, the World Bank's *World Development Report 2015: Mind, Society and Behaviour* examines how humans — the poor, the development professionals and everyone else — think, and how context affects their thinking.

Drawing on the findings from fields as diverse as psychology, behavioural economics, anthropology and neuroscience, the report suggests ways to design policies and interventions that take into account all the conscious and unconscious human factors that are at play, but often not considered when policies are designed and applied.

To that end, the report lays forth three principles of human decision-making processes. First, our default mode of thinking is simple and automatic — not deliberative, which takes the sort



of effort that most do not want to spend their energy on. Second, we think socially — meaning, we are more influenced by preferences, identities, norms and networks that we see around us than we give them credit for. And third, we think through the lens of our deeply held views and stereotypes that we have of the world, which, when wrong, stay uncorrected for long.

The report argues that most development policies fail to take into account how those at whom the interventions are aimed think as they go about their daily lives. The consequence is that such policies do not achieve their desired results, thereby wasting time and development dollars.

Take financial literacy classes, for instance. Most finance professionals, and your average development do-gooders — all earnest supporters of such lessons — assume that the knowledge imparted through such classes must be useful and results in good savings behaviours. But results from around the world consistently show that the positive influence of financial literacy classes is almost

zero. Still, when financial literacy providers in South Africa took 'thinking socially' into account to develop and air TV programs with characters that viewers could identify with and learn from, the intended audience was found more likely to practice prudent financial behaviours.

Likewise, most poor people do not have cash to pay for mosquito nets, which prevent malaria. Asking them to set aside funds for such products is not helpful when, in reality, every bit of available cash competes to pay for food and shelter. When researchers in Kenya provided poor households with metal boxes, in which money could be saved regularly, the rates of savings and investment in preventive health products went up. The simple metal boxes became an instrument for most to automatically put aside some money for future medical needs.

To be sure, successful private companies have long learnt that it pays to ask themselves what and how their customers think. In contrast, development organisations, filled as they are with theory-heavy professionals, tend to push for interventions — such as financial literacy classes — that make sense from the providers' perspective, but fail to take into account how the intended recipients (with whom the professionals have little in common) think and act.

Injecting these three principles of human decision making into the design of development programs could be one way to make aspirational development policies more attuned to human realities.

prabhu BANK BIZ BRIEFS

Pristine ride

CG Automobile, the authorised distributor of Suzuki cars launched the new Suzuki Ciaz last week. The Ciaz comes equipped with a K14WT engine and has fuel efficiency of 20.73 kmpl. The starting price for the Ciaz is Rs 3.29 million and it comes in 7 colours.



Suit Up

Monalisa Exclusive textiles has announced the opening of its sixth showroom in Darbar Marg. The new showroom features clothing from India's ethnic men's wear brand Manyavar and also provides stitching services.

New kits

Dragonair has launched a new amenity kit for its First and Business class passengers travelling on late night flights. The kit features signature skincare products from Jurlique and will be available on selected routes.



Two wheels

Hansraj Hulaschand & Company provided one Bajaj motorcycle to Makwanpur Traffic Office on Sunday as a part of their social initiative to assist the Traffic police departments across the nation.

ATM Addition

Everest Bank on Wednesday opened three more ATM booths at different locations in Kathmandu. The new ATMs are installed at Sharemarket Complex Putalisadak, Tripureshwor Chowk and Mangal bajar in Patan.



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How not to make a documentary

DAVID N GELLNER

Anthropologist and film-maker Stephanie Spray has been working in Nepal since 1999, particularly on the Gandharva or Gaine minstrel caste. When the credits to her two-hour film *Manakamana* finally roll, it turns out that most of the people in the film are Gandharvas (as the on-line film pack, but not the film, makes clear).

The temple of the goddess Mankamana is one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in Nepal. Nepal's first cable car was built in 1998. Running from the Kathmandu-Pokhara highway to the temple, it has led to a huge increase in the number of pilgrims going to the temple. The film, co-produced by film-maker and cameraman Pacho Velez, consists of 11 segments of about 10 minutes each, the first six shot in ascending cars or gondolas, the last five coming down. There are different sets of passengers each time, the only continuous sequence being a couple who go up with a rooster and come down with its corpse.

The gimmick of the film is that we experience each ascent and descent in real time. We never see the temple, the



queues, or anything outside the small bubble of the gondola. The first ascent is of an old man and a young boy in a baseball cap. They both stare self-consciously away from the camera and say nothing for 10 minutes. One assumes that the camera and soundman are standing in the gondola with them and that they have been told not to look at the camera. At the end of the ascent, the gondola disappears into darkness. The next scene is not the descent of the grandfather and boy duo but another ascent from the base with a new set of passengers.

The second ascent is of a woman in a red sari with a

puja basket. There is no sound except the grinding of the cable car as it passes the pylons and an occasional distant bird or radio. She says nothing either. She smiles at the camera momentarily, then looks away without emotion.

By this time, the audience is restless. Is the director playing with us? But the frame has been set. We realise that the film will only consist of real-time ascents of the cable car, one after the other. Every segment will last the full 10 minutes, with the same view and soundtrack of cable car noises. We are trapped. No one speaks. The people in the cable car also look trapped,

uncomfortable in front of the camera.

And so it goes on, though at last some of the people on camera begin to speak. One ascent has three old ladies, more at ease with the camera. One is a natural-born storyteller and tells the myth of the Gosain and the goddess Kalika to pass the time.

Another ascent has three longhaired rock musicians, who play with their cameras, phones, their hair, and a kitten, while complaining about having to play in bars. One ascent is an open crate of goats. We spend about seven minutes looking at the backside of a goat.

The first thing we have to realise is that the passengers riding the cable cars are not real pilgrims despite the fact that they are going up the hill to worship at the temple. It would have reasonable and culturally appropriate to ask the passengers why they were going to Mankamana temple, if they had been real pilgrims. But -- as one learns from the 'film pack' but not the film -- the film-makers brought old friends and acquaintances of

Spray's and placed them in front of the camera as a kind of experiment. Thus *Manakamana* is not a documentary about the famed temple and goddess. It doesn't attempt to learn, understand, or convey anything about Nepal. This is an art film that challenges viewers with the very tedium of the initial ascents and the repetitive circularity of repeated real-time journeys.

As an art film eschewing explanation, context, history, and narrative, the audience is effectively invited to project onto it whatever Orientalist fantasies they wish. This may, of course, be the point: deliberately to interrupt the viewers' expectations of stories, to torture them with nothing to go on for 20 minutes, so that even the smallest piece of evidence sparks interpretive leaps. Some may find that brilliant.

For me -- and in the end, as the Latin saying has it, there can be no arguing about taste -- because of its lack of curiosity, its insensitivity, its dishonesty (it is not ethnography, the players are not pilgrims), and its pretentiousness, *Manakamana* seems insulting both to the viewers and to the performers. 🇳🇵

David N Gellner is a professor at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford.

Manakamana
by Stephanie Spray and Pacho Velez, 2013
118 minutes
Harvard Sensory
Ethnography Lab

 nepalitimes.com
■ Manakamana, #730
■ Manakamana, the film #699

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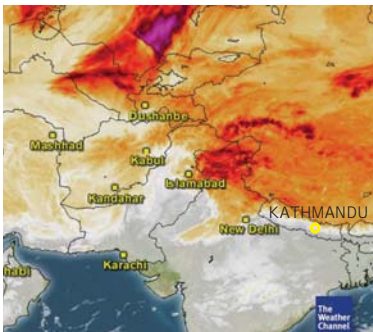
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STÉPHANE HUËT

When a mystical sound of bansuri is heard on the streets of Thamel, it's very likely to be from an album of the Nepali flutist, Manose. Although the musician has been away from Nepal for a long time, his music still resounds in his motherland just as Nepal is a constant inspiration to his career abroad.

"From Russia to Brazil, passing through Israel, many places have become close to my heart," he says. "But wherever I go, I always keep the energy of the beautiful high Himalaya in my heart."

That same energy initially inspired Manose to become an artist. "When I was eight, a mysterious sound came through the night to haunt my soul," he remembers. He searched for that sound, and only the sound of air being blown through a hole in a bamboo pipe came close to what he heard that night. "I found that sound in the notes of the bansuri," he recalls.

Manose has been travelling the world in search of this sound, playing in 25 countries since starting his musical career. He is currently in California returning from a tour of South America. He found Peru to be the closest to Nepal in terms of landscape, culture, folk music and instruments, especially the sound of the Inca pan flute.

Manose first left Nepal in 1998 when he was 20 for a tour with the Nepali tabla player, Homnath Upadhyaya. Like many youngsters of his generation, he went to the West excited to be at the source of a pop culture he idolised growing up. There he found that many artists like The Doors' John Densmore or Sting, have instead been inspired by the musical and spiritual culture from the East. "They were seeking what I had as a boy playing bansuri for hours in the premises of Pashupatinath and

A SOUND HUNTING FOR A HOME

Boudhanath, without realising it," he says.

Sitting in front of holy places of Kathmandu, Manose was playing by intuition and copying tunes from the radio. He later took lessons from Madan Dev Bhatta, his first guru.

"Nepal had so much to offer at that time," he says recalling the opportunity to play different genres with great Nepali bands like jazz with Cadenza, pop riffs with 1974 AD, healing hymns of Ani Choying and classical ragas with Sukarma.

While travelling, Manose still seeks musicians to play with. One of the most meaningful musical relationships he experienced has been with New Age musicians Deva Premal and Miten.

"Sharing with them has opened my mind towards conscious music as well as it's a kind of homecoming," tells Manose. Another much awaited encounter will be with the Slovenian pianist, Zoran Škrinjar.

For now, Manose is currently working on a solo project incorporating nature sounds. "I usually record ambient sounds with a Roland field recorder during my travels," he says, and has recorded thunderstorms in Greece, a brook in Shivapuri National Park, rainforest sounds in Costa Rica, birds singing in Australia.

Manose still hasn't managed to capture the exact sound he heard that night as a child. This quest remains symbolic for his personal journey and creative impulse.

Says Manose: "I guess my inspiration is drawn from the same boy, still haunted by that mystical sound wherever he is."

MAYA WATSON

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EVENTS



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Rs 13,500, 31 January to 1 February, Namo Buddha, www.pranamaya-yoga.com

Book and brass,
An open air concert by Everest Brass Band to celebrate the book release of Joe Niemczura's *The Sacrament of Goddess*.
24 January, 2 to 4pm, Patan Darbar Square, Mangal Bajar, Patan



Street fest,
Head over to Boudha for a street festival to celebrate Losar with local food, games, magic show and music.
21 January, 10am onwards, Boudha

Journeying for art,
Painting exhibition by a promising young artist-Dhwoj Gurung.
11 January to 12 April, Park Gallery, Pulchowk, Lalitpur, www.parkgallery.com.np

Mountain Mystique,
A solo painting exhibition by Binod Pradhan.
15 to 25 January, 10am to 6pm, The City Museum, Darbar Marg



The story begins,
Exclusive workshops on jewellery making, corn husk dolls, felt product design from Nepali social entrepreneurs to mark the opening of The shop with a story, a collective store.
24 January, 11am to 6pm, Baber Mahal Revisited

Southasia Abroad,
Launch of Himal Southasian's latest quarterly *Diaspora:Southasia Abroad*, featuring a reading by Rabi Thapa of his short story from the issue.
16 January, 5pm, The City Musuem, Darbar Marg

Open house,
An exhibition featuring the works of artists Binaya Humagain, Elsa Fraysee and Sabita Dangol.
17 to 24 January, Gallery MCube, Chakupat, Lalitpur

Film making,
Learn basic tools and techniques of documentary film making from creative director Raül Tidor.
Rs 3,000, 20 January to 3 February (except Saturdays), 2 to 5pm, American Corner Pokhara, Pokhara Public Library, Mahendra Pul, 9806559166, www.photocircle.com



Garbage to garden,
Want to learn how to turn household wastes into compost for your garden? Sign up.
Rs 100, 25 January, 10.30am to 4pm, Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC) Teku Office, RSVP_info@cleanupnepal.org.np

DINING



Mulchowk,
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Babar Mahal Revisited, (01)4259801

Manny's,
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Jawalakhel, (01) 5536919



Lao Beijing,
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Lakeside, Pokhara

Fire&Ice,
Serves the best pizzas in town.
Thamel, (01)4250210

Chez Caroline,
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Babar Mahal Revisited, (01)4263070

Bricks Café,
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Kupondole, (01)5521756

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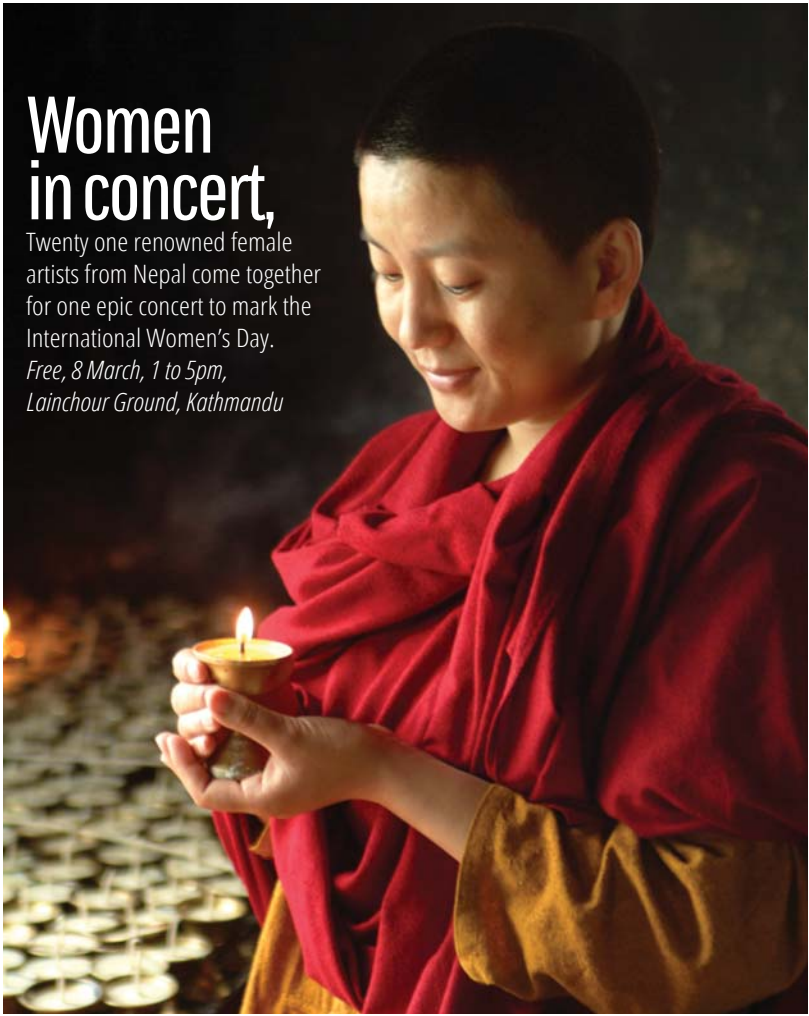
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Nepal Underground,

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Live Music,

Subani Moktan belts out popular hits. Every Friday, 6pm onwards, The Soci  t  Lounge Bar, Hattisar, 9813286869

Gypsy Jazz,

Get ready for a jazzy eargasm with Hari Maharjan. 16 January, 7pm onwards, Nepal Golf Zone (Maan Nam), Bhatbhateni, (01)4412376

GETAWAYS

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DAUGHTERHOOD

“Why are you proud of your daughter?”

Photographs by **FEBY BOEDIARTO**



From femininity

BERNARDO MICHAEL and
GEORGE VARUGHESE

Equity and justice for women should not be held captive to narrowly-defined interests of development

Ensuring equity requires changes in masculine interests, desires, and actions, and it has to begin with socialisation.

What if all these years of frenetic development programming had also resulted in self-aware, self-critical men in Nepali public and private life? Would Nepal's long-awaited peace dividend have had a better chance? Would the morally bankrupt and politically hypocritical non-issue of citizenship by now been resolved? Would we have elected representatives who were more accountable and concerned with public interest instead of populist interest? Would we have a constitution for, by, and of the people of Nepal?

Despite the gains in gender-sensitive approaches to every aid program,

advancement of women in public life is still slow. Poverty alleviation programs that push for a specific percentage of involvement of women in different programs do not address the structural cause of feminisation of poverty, which has more to do with differential access to food, education, money between men and women.

Similarly, the numeric representation of women through reservation in elected bodies does not address the issue of structural barriers to accessing and using power. Thus, many gender proponents are pacified, some remain frustrated by the lack of durable progress, and a few have begun to wonder if men now need special attention. Masculinity is now becoming part of the vocabulary of development chatterati, the number of programs that focus on educating

men about women's rights is increasing.

What constitutes masculine and feminine are socially constructed, porous categories that are dependent on other factors such as class, caste, ethnic origin, age and so on. The advantages men enjoy over women because of the roles, stereotypes, and attitudes foisted upon both through the process of socialisation has created a human order between men and women over millennia, and impacts every decision at individual, community, and nation-state levels. Confessing this and accepting that we need to change is an initial small step in the direction of seeking the elusive goal of equality within the human community.

Indeed the voices of men are critical, men who are sensitive to the power and privilege they have enjoyed should



"In our traditions the daughter is the form of Lakshmi. Without a daughter in the home, there is no beauty, therefore the society gives love and respect to daughters."

"I am proud of my daughter because she is innocent and does not have any preconceived notions. She appreciates my role as her father. I am determined to help her grow her interest and curiosity."



At a time when the issue of citizenship of the children of single mothers is being intensely debated and instances of abuse and domestic violence against women fill newspapers, Feby Boediartha (*left*) explores the relationship between Nepali fathers and their daughters through these striking black-and-white images. What are the expectations of daughters from their parents, society and themselves? Boediartha is from Pitzer College in the United States, and spent four months studying abroad in Nepal last year researching the role of daughters and the rise of sex-selective abortion in Kathmandu. *Chhori Shakti* is her photography project in which she did photo shoots with 11 fathers who were all asked: "Why are you proud of your daughter?" Answers ranged from a few sentences to lengthy paragraphs, but the glow in a father's eyes as he described his love for his daughter inspired Boediartha to learn the great value placed on a daughter's role in Nepal. She says: "It was a blessing to witness the exceptional love and hope a father has for his daughter." www.lovherproject.blogspot.com



"My daughter has been staying at my home for four to five months. She enjoys the Sirutar village and interacts with the family with love. I always wish her success."

"My grandmother raised me, my mother gave birth to me, my wife guides me, my daughter gives me happiness and prosperity. From the laugh of my daughter I receive the whole world."



"In our society, according to traditions people put sons before daughters. I love both equally. According to traditions, daughters are the form of Lakshmi."

"I am proud to have a daughter. Our society today discriminates daughters, but whatever the son can do, the daughter can do that work. I am proud that daughters have kind hearts. They are understanding."



to masculinity

question their complicity in the creation and perpetuation of a male-dominated world. For far too long men have enjoyed advantages over women that are rarely acknowledged by them in education systems, workplaces, media, politics, religious discourse, and so on.

The taken-for-granted privileges that have allowed men to subordinate women are inculcated at a very early age in the family, at school, and in almost every dimension of daily life.

However, these deeply instilled values and instinctive actions cannot be dismantled by merely raising the awareness of men concerning gender issues. Gender sensitivity training, readings in feminist theory, or the pursuit of equity and inclusion goals are necessary but insufficient for bringing

about the kind of institutional and personal transformation required for men to change.

Such change will have to be not just in awareness and knowledge or rhetoric but also manifested in attitudinal and behavioral shifts. Men have to confront their privilege head-on rather than succumb to defensiveness, guilt, or silence.

Men's voices are critical: but what about men's choices or actions? The burden for change needs to be placed on men as well. This could begin with something as simple as consideration of feminine needs when constructing places of stay, study, work, and worship, and committing to send daughters to school. Or it could be about surrendering to the desire to control women or adjudicate on what constitutes a family's and community's sense of honour.

Ultimately, men, because they are born into and raised in a world ruled by men, are not cognizant of the privileges they enjoy or the shortcomings they suffer from: they become even more lost as they progress. The advantages they enjoy over women render men even less able to express emotion and vulnerability, so-called feminine traits.

The current construct of gender roles do not provide the opportunity for men to look beyond their pre-defined roles as 'providers', to address growing aspirations amongst many men to lead more creative and nurturing lives.

Clearly, we need fresh thinking on what strategies might trigger useful interventions that strengthen men's will to change and to reconnect with themselves. This change would not be to cater to the demands of

political correctness or even because we need our fellow humans to be our equals.

Rather, we need this change to understand how male privilege prevents us from being whole human beings, and to then begin the long journey back to a meaningful, shared existence. Until we do, equity and justice, especially for women, will remain captive to narrowly-defined interests of development and social well-being. 🇳🇵

Bernardo Michael is Professor of History at Messiah College and author of the recently released book Statemaking and Territory in South Asia.

George Varughese is Nepal Country Representative for The Asia Foundation.



THE IMITATION GAME

I wish I hadn't known as much about Alan Turing as I did when I started watching *The Imitation Game*, mainly because while the film is marketed as a



MUST SEE
Sophia Pande

historical thriller, it really is just a very good biopic that tells the story of a remarkable man who was instrumental in deciphering the "Enigma" machine during the second World War, an accomplishment that possibly

shortened the war by two years and helped save upto 14 million lives. Turing was an extraordinary character clearly, a brilliant theorist and mathematician who was already a fellow at Cambridge at the age of 27 when he started to work at Bletchley Park, the real life top secret hub of code breakers during the war. During this terrible war, Britain was being pummeled to death by Hitler's submarines and aircraft. London was in shambles, and people in the know had realised that the only way to get a lead on the Germans was to be able to interpret the messages sent by the Germans through the Enigma machine, a highly complex code generator whose setting can be changed whenever necessary to create an unbreakable cipher; unbreakable at least by the human mind no matter how brilliant. Turing is played by Benedict Cumberbatch (of Sherlock Holmes fame) who brings his genius to sparkling life in a film that is as

strong as it gets for the subject matter it deals with. Personally, I think biopics are a major risk for filmmakers in terms of the artistic liberties necessary to create drama where some times it may not exist. In this case, clearly some liberties have been taken if you compare Turing's biography (written by Graham Moore) with some key aspects of the film, which I will leave to you to suss out for yourself in case I ruin the narrative.

Regardless though, as Turing rushes to try and create a machine (something close to a computer) that can help break the Enigma code, he is aided by an excellent group of cryptographers and spies played by the likes of Matthew Goode, Mark Strong, Allen Leech, and Keira Knightley; all at their very British best in a script that was written with a strong ensemble cast in mind. I have deliberately circled around the plot of the film for those viewers who prefer to be surprised and saddened by the various outcomes of this man's story, for it is indeed one that deserves to be told and memorialised. As a parting note, just remember, if things had gone wrong (as often it does in the film world), the part of Alan Turing might have gone to Leonardo DiCaprio - think of that what you may.

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HAPPENINGS



ALL YOURS: Constitutional-Political Dialogue and Consensus Committee Chair Baburam Bhattarai hands over the committee's report to CA Chair Subhas Nembang on Tuesday.



LET'S TALK: Nepal Army Chief Gaurav Shumsher Rana with the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Jeffrey Feltman on Tuesday.



STRIKE VALLEY: A Maoist cadre walks by a group of Armed Police Force in Kupondole using a flag to stop incoming motorists (*not seen*) from driving further during Tuesday's bandh called separately by the UCPN-Maoist led 30 party alliance and CPN-Maoist.



LUCKY SEVEN: The Seven Summits Women team pose for cameras on arrival at the Tribhuvan International Airport on Friday.

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At the launch of his photo book *Nepal: 1975-2011* last week, photographer Kevin Bubriski moved around the room quietly, at one moment speaking to acquaintances in a corner, then chatting with friends the next. Once he was seated, he barely flinched, staring blankly into space as his work was praised in front of a crammed room full of fans and aspiring photographers.

It was only when he started describing the stories behind his photos of villagers living in extreme poverty in rural Nepal that we saw him truly come alive.

Kevin's passion for documenting the lives of Nepalis is not unknown. It is the reason long time friend Michael Gill describes him as a "real humanist".

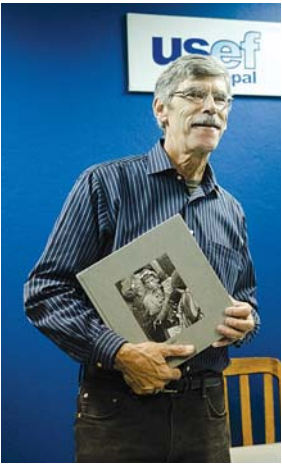
"His photos are full of the happiness, sadness, joys and challenges that Nepalis face," said Gill.

Kevin, 61, first came to Nepal as a Peace Corps Volunteer in 1975 and was based in Karnali. His stay there inspired him to begin telling Nepal's story through his lens.

"I was among the first few outsiders to arrive in the village," he said.

The best viewfinder for Kevin was living in close proximity with the locals. With his 35mm camera, Kevin started taking portraits of villagers.

Documenting dukkha



KEVIN BUBRISKI

THROUGH HIS EYES: American photographer Kevin Bubriski at the launch of his photo book *Nepal: 1975-2011* in Kathmandu last week. (right) This image from the book was taken in Jumla during the king's visit in 1978.

"In the first section of the book I wanted to show the gruelling lives of the people in Nepal. I focused on the mountainous areas where there are food deficits, high infant mortality rates, poverty and lack of healthcare," said Kevin.

In fact, Kevin constantly refers to his photos

as capturing the "dukkha" or difficulties of life in Nepal. .

While on a trek, Kevin stumbled upon a barefoot porter carrying a sick man in a *doko*.

"Do I take a photograph or help the porter?" Kevin asks, rhetorically.

He ultimately decided to take the

photograph because it was vital to shed light on the arduous lives of people in rural Nepal.

Despite spending almost four decades documenting lives in Nepal, Kevin still does not think his book is 'the whole Nepal story'.

"It is just one American photographer's impressions of Nepal," said Kevin.

Kevin confesses that he is still very much an outsider in Nepal in many ways. "I don't really fit in," he said. Fortunately, being unaware of cultural stereotypes meant that he could chronicle the country without any prejudice.

Once on a cold winter day, Kevin invited a Dalit into his tent, only to be stopped and dissuaded by his Nepali porter who said he was 'untouchable'. Dissatisfied that he couldn't bring him in, Kevin helped start a fire outside for the Dalit.

Though he wishes to continue photographing Nepal for as long as possible, he concedes that his work is merely one person's perspective of what happens in Nepal at one point in time. 🇳🇵

Cynthia Choo

Nepal: 1975-2011

by Kevin Bubriski

Radius Books/Peabody Museum Press 2014

224 pages

Rs 6500



Hannah's Cafe

Tucked behind a little-known guesthouse and beautiful garden, Hannah's cafe can be easily overlooked by tourists and locals. That is the intention behind the location of the café, according to eponymous owner Hannah, who prides on the café being a "low-profile" and "quiet" place for diners.

Walking through the beautiful Parisian front yard with flowers in full bloom, al fresco dining seemed to be the obvious choice. However, I would soon find out that having breakfast inside the café would promise an equally unforgettable experience.

Dining inside was akin to

eating comfortably at home.

The interior of the café was reminiscent of a typical living room, with dishes stacked away in drawers, window ledges lined with photo frames, a fire place framed with potted plants, complete with two long sofas perfect for a lazy afternoon with books and a cuppa.

The food tasted and looked similar to a homemade breakfast, served without pretentious and unnecessary garnishes like coleslaw or parsley.

I went for the classic Big Breakfast (Rs 475) and it did not disappoint. The sunny side-up eggs, served on multi-grain toast

were seasoned perfectly with sea salt and crushed pepper. With the usual works like fried bacon, sausages and grilled tomatoes, the breakfast was filling and surprisingly not very oily at all.

The loaded sandwich (Rs 395) stayed true to its name as it had ham, omelet and cheese packed in every bite. My only gripe was that the toast had lost its crunch by the time I dug into the second half of the sandwich. The star

of the sandwich dish was the side salad. It was none of that usual half-hearted side of wispy lettuce with acerbic lemon juice as dressing — Hannah uses only



PICS: KENJI KWOK

fresh hydroponic salad greens like rocket leaves, arugula and red-leaf lettuce with sweet vinaigrette.

Choosing to use quality ingredients — even for "supporting" dishes like the salad — clearly paid off. I distinctly remember myself perusing the menu another time to check if they served that salad as a main dish. I was glad to find out that they do.

For Rs 225, you can have a breakfast salad with your choice of bacon, ham or egg. It was too bad

that we were too full for another dish, but now I have another reason to take a trip back to Hannah's.

The coffee, however, failed to pick up where the dishes left off. The cappuccino (Rs 160) had a slightly acidic aftertaste and the mocha latte (Rs 160) erred on the sweet side, so much that it could pass off as hot chocolate. When served, the coffee was barely aromatic, and did not suffice as a morning "pick me up".

Displeasure did not brew despite the lacklustre coffee because ultimately, eating at Hannah's was such an enjoyable experience.

The waiter did not rush us, and would keep busy with other duties while we ate heartily. Hannah would pop out of the kitchen occasionally to ask if we enjoyed our meal, leading to conversations about how she taught herself to cook through Jamie Oliver's recipe books.

That "Oliver" influence is obvious in Hannah's cooking and is perhaps what sets Hannah's café apart in the burgeoning café scene in Kathmandu — her insistence on using only fresh, quality ingredients, fuss free plating, and keeping the café a quaint eatery that serves good old, honest fry ups. 🇳🇵

Cynthia Choo

How to get there: Hannah's café is in Dhobighat, right below Bethel Guesthouse .

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On shaky ground

We are often reminded of the January 5, 1934 earthquake that shook Kathmandu violently killing thousands and injuring many more. Take a look around the city and it is quite clear we have not learnt our lesson.



DHANVANTARI
Buddha Basnyat, MD

The 2010 Haiti earthquake that killed almost 160,000 people and destroyed 250,000 houses should have been a wakeup call for Nepal. Experts agree if a similar powerful earthquake strikes here, the damage will be even worse.

The draft Disaster Risk Management Act that facilitates

the coordination of earthquake response and preparedness hasn't been ratified by the parliament even after five years of tabling it.

Nepal as a nation does not seem to believe in Murphy's Law which states that anything that can go wrong will go wrong, which in this case is the high probability of an earthquake. Rather than taking concrete action to avoid the catastrophe, we believe that a little help from astrology and the usual 'Ke Garne' attitude will be sufficient.

With only few hospitals having adopted retrofit measures, many will be destroyed in the earthquake creating a huge gap in the medical services. It is thus important for hospitals to retrofit as it is to set up triage teams to determine appropriate

type and level of care for admitted patients.

Another important concern is whether the hospitals (those who survive the quake) will have the necessary amenities and resources for a large number of complex surgical and medical needs. Rhabdomyolysis, a condition where the breakdown of muscles due to crush injuries releases myoglobin into the bloodstream, damaging kidney, was one of the most common injuries after the 2010 Haiti earthquake. Depending on how promptly fluid therapy is started, dialysis may be necessary to treat a patient with rhabdomyolysis. Although dialysis is now commonly performed in Nepal, the system may be greatly overwhelmed due to vast number of patients that may require the treatment due to crush injuries.



Another common aftermath of earthquake is crush injury that could lead to gangrene of the limbs, which may require amputation to save the person's

life. In addition to proper wound care and fracture repair, the patients will also need sufficient amount of crucial medical supplies. Another common health issue after a disaster is mental health issue and post-traumatic stress that can lead to depression and suicidal thoughts.

It is vital to increase awareness about earthquake preparedness to avoid deaths of people and damage of property. For instance, during an earthquake take cover under a safe sturdy place and protect your head and neck. Do not try to run outside during an earthquake as the likelihood of being injured by falling debris will be very high.

If you are outside, move away from buildings, steep slopes and utility wires.

It is difficult to question our commitment to safety as we continue to build tall buildings in an earthquake prone region. They say 'live and learn' but unfortunately in our case we may not live to learn. 🇳🇵

GIZMO by YANTRICK

Theatre at home

Watching movies and playing games in full surround sound is a dream many of us, gadget-aficionados, have. However, it is one that only some of us ever go on to fulfill due to the perceived high cost and complicated setup that a home theatre warrants.

Home Theatre in a Box is the solution to the above, and LG's BH6340H is pretty close to being the answer in terms of simplicity of setup, decent price point, and stellar sound.

The BH6340H is able to produce 5.1 surround sound from its five speakers and one sub-woofer which deliver up to 1000W of total power and feature wall-mountable Aramid fiber speakers that enable distortion free sound. These speakers deliver distinct sounds from different directions to produce precise and immersive audio.

The integrated Blu-ray player supports 1080p video playback and can play 3D movies when paired with a 3D television and 3D glasses. Bluetooth is also built-in for wirelessly streaming audio from sources such as smartphones, while onboard USB, digital optical and auxiliary inputs



allow to you connect to wired audio sources. The built-in Wi-Fi connectivity allows you to take advantage of Internet entertainment access from any available Wi-Fi connection, and also to access the LG Smart World app.

The LG BH6340H features a Private Sound Mode that allows you to stream audio directly to Bluetooth-enabled headphones or to the headphones on your smartphone/tablet,

especially handy for those late night movie/gaming sessions.

The Bass Blast Plus technology on the BH6340H fills your room with thumping bass, while dynamic and crystal clear sound clarity from the speakers is something that has to be heard to be believed.

The LG BH6340H also allows direct USB recording so you can extract audio tracks from

CDs or record audio from FM programs and transfer them to a USB device, while its External HDD Playback capability gives you easy access to your media content from your portable storage device, and can access your images, music and videos stored in it.

If you are a regular Dish TV viewer, then the LG BH6340H's DTH Connection features allow the sound from the Dish TV to be routed to the home theatre system. The LG BH6340H is able to play sound formats including but not limited to LPCM, Dolby Digital, Dolby Digital Plus, Dolby TrueHD, DTS, DTS-HD, DTS-HD Master Audio, while it is able to play any video formats which include MPEG2, MPEG4 AVC, SMPTE VC1, Divx, Divx HD, MKV, AVCHD, M4V, WMV, FLV, 3GP, MPEG-1, MP4, MOV and VOB. 🇳🇵

Yantrick's Verdict: The LG BH6340H system retails for Rs 53,590 and is worthy of gracing any home theater setup. Available at CG Electronics outlets across the country.

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हिमाल

ग्राहक योजना

१ कार्तिकदेखि

हिमालको साथमा
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३ वर्षे

ग्राहक शुल्क रु ५२५० मा
नगद छुट रु २५०

TITAN नाडी घडी



२ वर्षे

ग्राहक शुल्क रु ३५०० मा
नगद छुट रु १५०

गोल्ड स्टार शू को
रु.१००० बराबरको गिफ्ट भौचर
र साथमा पाइलट पेन सेट



१ वर्षे

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Who cares about the constitution?

Nepalis are more concerned about inflation, unemployment, corruption, lack of water and electricity than the constitution

Newspapers are awash with coverage of the constitution, tv and radio are abuzz with the federalism debate, but most Nepalis couldn't care less. They are more bothered by everyday problems like inflation, unemployment and lack of water and electricity.



ANALYSIS
Om Astha Rai

Less than one-third of the respondents to the Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015 consider 'delay in constitution writing' as one of the top three pressing problems facing the country.

Inflation tops that list for more than 64%, followed by unemployment (42%) and lack of water, electricity and roads (38%). Corruption (36%) is another issue that people are concerned about. Only 29% of the respondents are bothered by the delay in constitution writing.

Himalmedia conducts annual nationwide public opinion surveys, and this year's poll was conducted in three districts of Kathmandu Valley with Nepal's caste-ethnic composition, geographic regions, gender and socio-economic status proportionally represented among

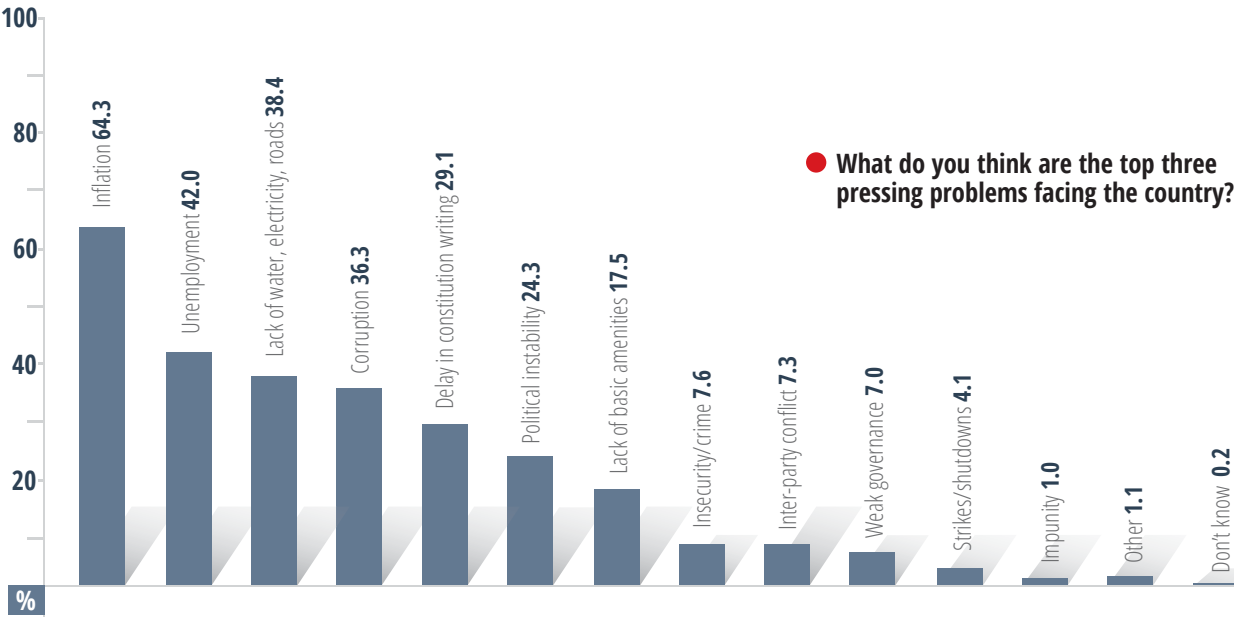
the 1,019 respondents.

Disaggregating the data shows that women (70%) are more worried about inflation than men (58%). And men (33%) worry more about constitution than women (24%). Literate and educated people are more concerned about constitution than illiterate ones. Likewise, Hill Dalits and Muslims care more about the constitution than Hill 'upper' castes. However, across caste, ethnic and gender lines, the constitution is not deemed as important as the price rise, joblessness and shortages of daily commodities.

In Bhaktapur that lags behind Kathmandu and Lalitpur districts in terms of physical infrastructure and literacy, only 10.3 % people consider the delay in constitution-writing as one of their three major problems. Relatively more people seem concerned about constitution in Kathmandu (32%) and Lalitpur (28%).

What an elderly Dalit tailor in Anamnagar of Kathmandu told one of the poll enumerators sums up the public pulse. Dhan Bahadur Nepali, 71, said: "What I care about is to work freely during the day and sleep well at night."

That most Nepalis worry more about their daily problems than the constitution is not a new revelation, and reaffirms the results of Himalmedia surveys in previous years. In every survey over the past decade of political



upheavals, the people seemed more preoccupied with taking care of their families and surviving than politics.

However, compared to previous surveys in which most respondents saw a glimmer of hope in CA elections or in the peace process, we sense in this year's survey a growing sense of indifference about the constitution. Nearly half the respondents feel that the country's general condition is worsening, and more than 40% say they don't really care about the new constitution.

Through this year's Himalmedia opinion poll, Nepalis have once more voiced their rejection of violence and intimidation. At

a time when the UCPN(M), Madhesi and other fringe parties are calling general strikes to stop the NC and the UML from passing the new constitution by using their combined two-thirds strength, most Nepalis say 'no' to the shutdowns. Nearly 84% of respondents said the UCPN (M)-led alliance of opposition parties should call off the street protests. Fewer than 10% supported the current street agitation.

The survey also shows that Nepalis do not believe a new conflict is possible. As many as 73% of respondents said Netra Bikram Chanda 'Biplav', who recently split from the Mohan Baidya-led CPN-UML, is incapable

of waging a new war. They know that the country is no more ripe for revolution as in 1996 when Chanda's original party, the then CPN (Maoist), took the country into a 10-year insurgency in which 17,000 people were killed.

When asked if Biplav could do what the CPN (Maoist) did nearly two decades ago, Sharan Bahadur Rai from Bhojpur who has been living in Kathmandu for the last few years, told a Himalmedia poll interviewer: "The road to the jungle is closed."

@omastharai

For a more complete analysis of poll results in Nepali see Himal Khabarpatrika on Sunday.

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THIS IS WHAT WE THINK

Summary of the results of the Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015



DAMBAR K SHRESTHA

OM ASTHA RAI

Most Nepalis think a constitution by 22 January is a lost cause — they mostly blame the UCPN(M) for this — but they are willing to give the CA some more time if they can pass a genuinely inclusive constitution.

That is the message of the Himalmedia Public Opinion Survey 2015 conducted last week as we approach another deadline to pass a new constitution. This year's annual survey was conducted in Kathmandu Valley among 1,019 respondents representing proportionally Nepal's geographic regions, castes, ethnicities, gender and socio-economic status.

Although some political leaders say consensus on the contentious issues of the new constitution is still possible, an overwhelming majority of people think otherwise. As

many as 82.2% of people have given up hope in seeing the new constitution before next Thursday's deadline. The national mood of pessimism pervades all age groups no matter which gender, caste and ethnicity, class or whether they are literate or not.

Only 12.6% of people say they are still hopeful about the CA coming up with a constitution. But the people were slightly more optimistic when asked if the parties could somehow reach a broad understanding on federalism, form of governance, model of judiciary and electoral system even if they couldn't finish a constitution by 22 January.

More than 27% of the respondents thought it was possible for the political parties to come up with a rough draft of the new constitution by the deadline. Even so, 62% were skeptical of even that happening.

Who to blame for this dismal

failure? Nearly 27% of the respondents spread the blame equally among all the parties, but they single out the UCPN(M) for most of the responsibility (19%). Surprisingly, and despite the fact that the NC and the UML are in the governing coalition, the two parties are largely absolved of blame. Only 9% and 3% of the people respectively named them specifically as the guilty party. Only 2.4% said the Madhesi parties, which are currently waging crippling strikes across the Tarai, were to blame if the CA fails again.

Even though chance of consensus on the issues of federalism and state restructuring looks slim, 61% of respondents insist that political parties should try harder to write a new constitution on the basis of consensus. Still, a full one-third of the people say the new constitution must be promulgated on the basis of two-thirds majority in case political parties fail to

forge a consensus.

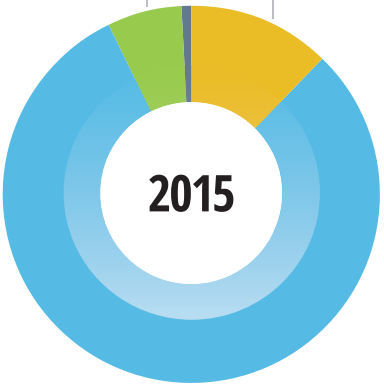
The poll results suggest that people are losing their patience and are not willing to wait any longer. More than 41% of the respondents do not care what the new constitution is like, they just want it over and done with.

However, a slightly higher percentage of people (44.5%) say they can wait 'a little longer' but the CA must promulgate a constitution that addresses grievances of all castes, communities and ethnic groups. On the other hand, there are some respondents (10%) who are convinced there will never be a constitution that will satisfy everyone.

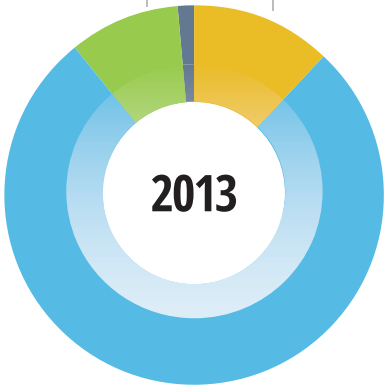
Top political leaders often say the reason behind their failure to write the new constitution is their differences over federalism and state restructuring. But, nearly half (48%) of the people don't believe them, and are convinced that the real reason is that the political leaders are haggling over

● Should federal units be carved along ethnic lines?

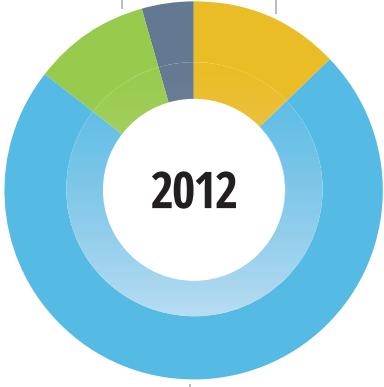
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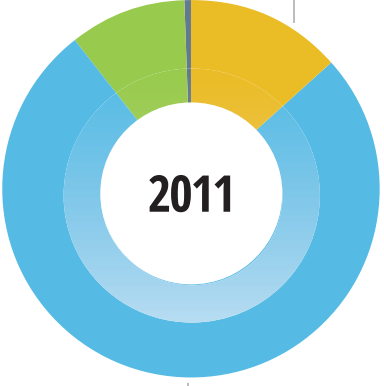
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Don't know 10.1% | Don't want to say 4.2% | Yes 13%



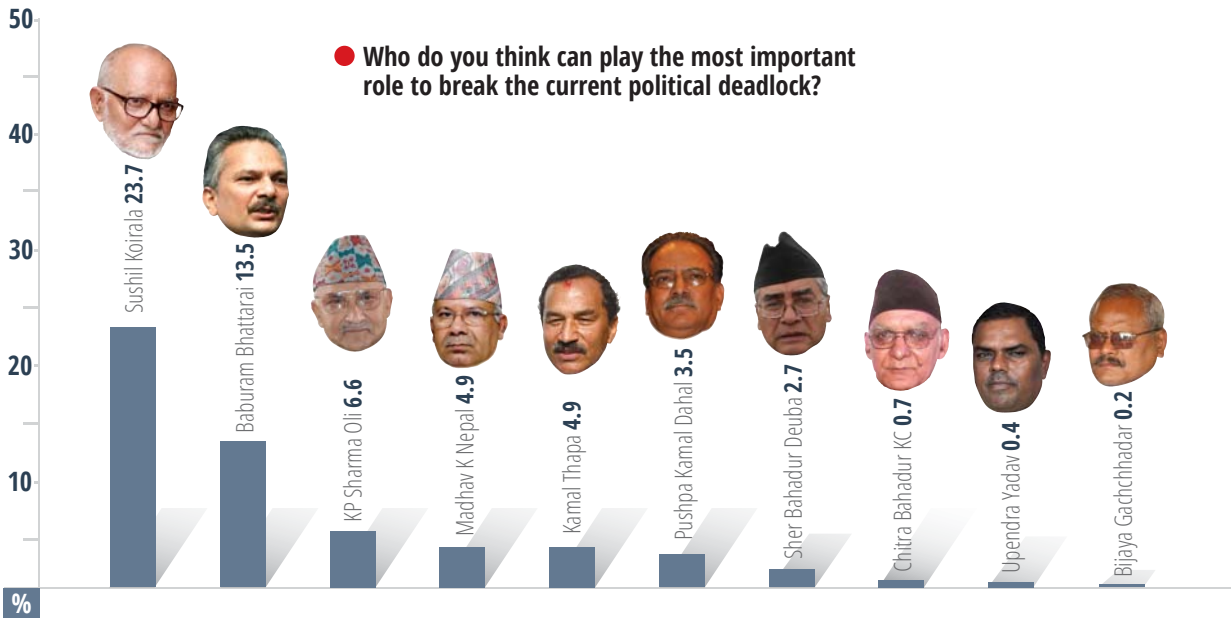
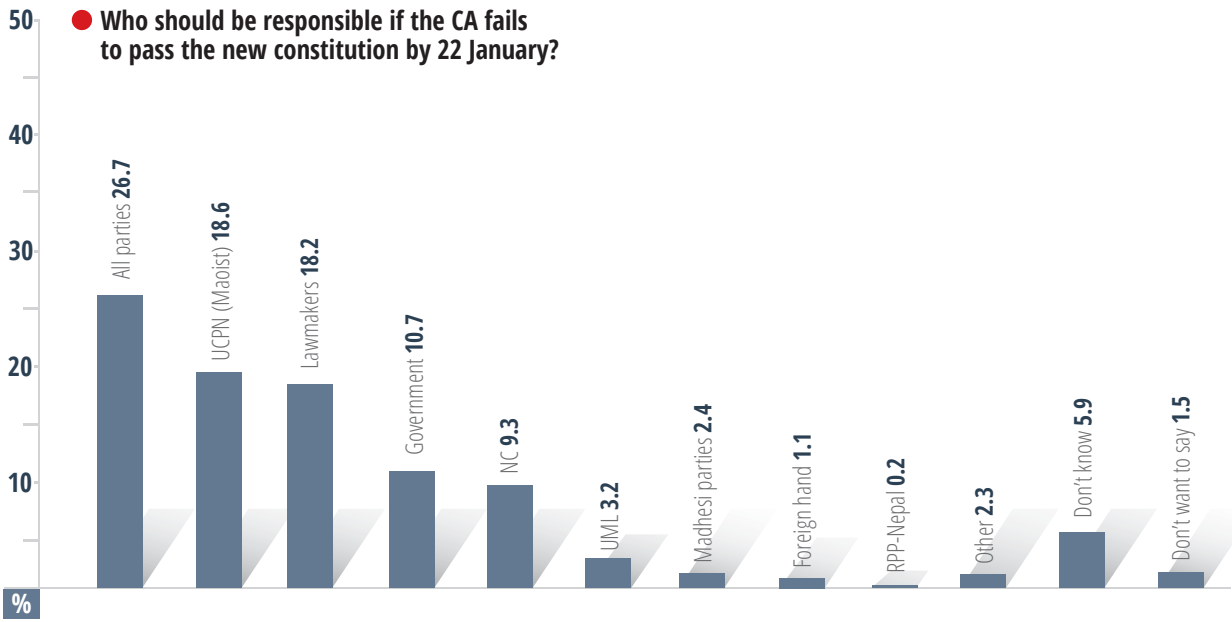
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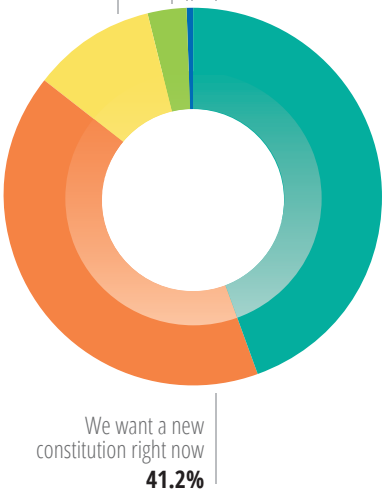
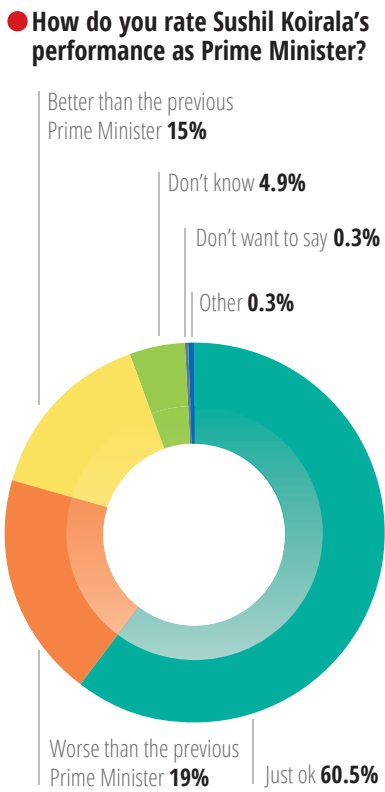
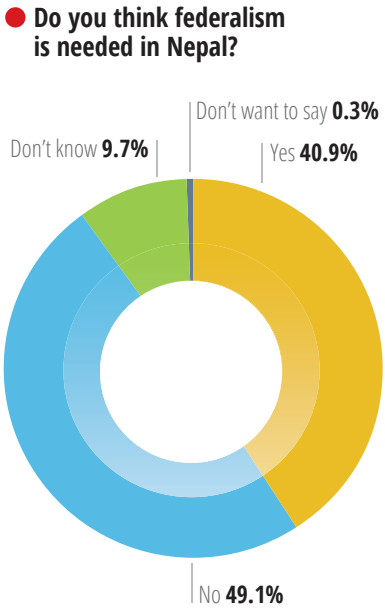
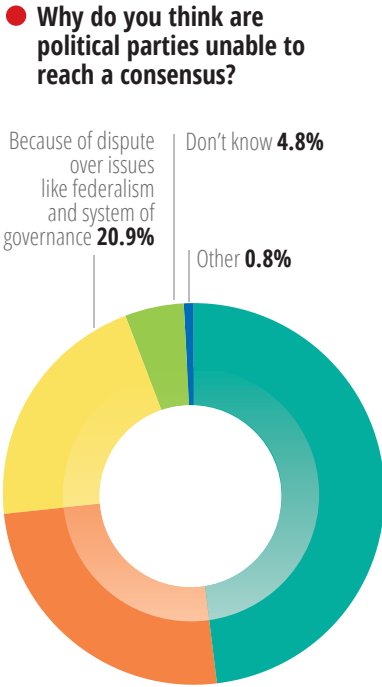
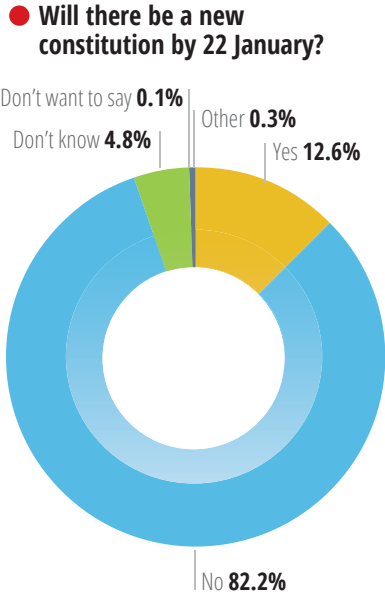
The UCPN (Maoist) is losing its pulling power among the people, while the NC is maintaining its lead as the most trustworthy political party. Altogether 34% of respondents say they would choose the NC to build a peaceful, prosperous and democratic country, followed by 16% for the UML. The UCPN(M) is down to 9%, only slightly ahead of the royalist-Hindu RPP-Nepal (5.6%). All major Madhesi parties have scored less than 1%. Prime Minister Sushil Koirala is often criticised for his indecisiveness, but 24% of

the respondents still thought he was the best of the lot. Baburam Bhattarai scores second (13.5%) on trust. Everyone else is in the single digits: including firebrand UML Chair KP Oli (7%), the UML's Madhav Kumar Nepal (5%), RPP-Nepal Chair Kamal Thapa (5%), UCPN (Maoist) Chair Pushpa Kamal Dahal (3.5%), the NC's Sher Bahadur Deuba (3%). Madhesi leaders like Bijaya Gachchhadar, Upendra Yadav and anti-federalism leader Chitra Bahadur KC all score less than 1%.

a power-sharing deal. Nearly half the public, therefore, seem to have understood that political leaders care more about what ministries they get after the constitution is promulgated. Almost one-fourth of the respondents believe that the political leaders do not want to write the new constitution at all. Even more surprisingly, public opinion looks sharply divided over whether Nepal should be a federal country at all. While 41% think federalism is necessary, more than 49% say it is not, and 10% don't know. An overwhelming majority of people (81%) reject the idea of ethnicity-based federalism, and this is consistent with surveys in previous years where more than

three-fourths of respondents thought ethnicity-based federalism was a bad idea. As for system of governance, most people seem to have lost their faith in the existing Westminster parliamentary system and want it changed to a directly-elected president (25%), directly elected prime minister (27%) and 19% want the president and prime minister elected by parliament and sharing executive powers. Only 17% want the present parliamentary system to continue. Whatever the new constitution contains, and whenever it is passed by the CA, most respondents thought the country should not wait for local elections. Nearly 59%

of the people want elections to local councils right away to allow accountability and spur development. However, 27% still think local elections should be announced only after the next general elections. More than half the respondents think Nepal's democracy is now in danger, and all blame persistent wrangling among major political parties as the major threat. The UCPN(M) is seen as an enemy of democracy by 22%, while only 2% of the respondents feel former king Gyanendra is undermining democracy. The percentage of people believing that foreign interference has grown in Nepal is higher than 70%. Even though most people



see the NC president Koirala as the man who could play a role to break the deadlock, not many people are impressed with his performance as prime minister. Only 15% think he was better than the previous prime minister and 60% feel he is just 'ok'. The UCPN (M), Madhesi and other fringe parties have taken to the streets with strikes to prevent

the NC and the UML gearing up to announce the new constitution by using their combined two-thirds majority. A decisive 84% of respondents think this is wrong. When asked about the chances of the breakaway faction of the Maoists under Netra Bikram Chanda 'Biplav' to take up arms, most respondents thought it was highly unlikely. A more complete rundown of the public opinion survey results will be published on Sunday's edition of Himal Khabarpatrika.

nepalitimes.com

- A wide open field, #647
- The terrain shifts, #604
- An extended CA and a Maoist-led government, #500

What is Drop, Cover, and Hold on ?

Drop

Large earthquake may strike any time. If we adopt safe behavior during earthquakes our lives can be saved. "Drop, Cover, and Hold on" is one of the effective ways practiced worldwide to be safe from earthquake while you are inside home, office or school.

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Fax: (977-1) 5592692, 5592693
E-mail: nset@nset.org.np, Website: www.nset.org.np

An initiative under NSET implemented program "Promoting Public Private Partnership for Earthquake Risk Management (3PERM)" supported by USAID/OFDA

Rs 1 billion charity

onlinekhabar.com, 9 January

Melbourne-based businessman and president of Non Resident Nepali Association (NRNA) Shesh Ghale on Thursday announced a charity trust worth Rs 1 billion. Ghale's MIT Group Holdings has also invested Rs 8 billion for construction of Sheraton Hotel in Kathmandu.

An excerpt from Ghale's speech during the press meet:

Today is the happiest day of our lives. My wife, Jamuna and I feel glad to be giving back to society a small portion of what society has given us. We owe what we have and who we are to Nepal. Although we have been involved in various philanthropic activities through different organisations in the past, we felt we needed to coordinate and consolidate it for greater impact. MIT Group Foundation is the result of years of preparation under which my wife and I will invest a portion of our earnings for the development of health and education sectors in Nepal.

Both my wife and I know what it's like to go through life without



resources. We were both born in rural Lamjung to poor families. Even though our parents were uneducated, they understood the importance of education and enrolled us in schools. I remember the hard work my father had to put in to send me to school. And, it was only because of the available scholarships that we got a chance to study further. I studied engineering on a scholarship and moved to Australia in search of better opportunities. If it wasn't for a fair system of rewarding those with merit we wouldn't be where we are today.

We plan to invest in education so students in remote parts of the

country do not have to drop out of school to earn for their families. We will provide financial aid to students from economically weak families as well as help schools with infrastructure and resources. People in remote areas of the country still don't have access to basic health care services. I know how it feels to lose a family due to lack of health services.

Rs 1 billion is not enough, but we will add more resources as we go along and in partnership with other organisations. We will be fully transparent and the selection and impact of the project will be done as per international standards.

Jailed abroad

Bhawani Bhatta, Kantipur, 15 January

Kanchanpur resident Mandara Rana Chhetri (pic) left for Lebanon with a lot of dreams. Chhetri was hopeful she would earn enough from her job as a domestic helper to pay her debt and even manage to save to buy a property back home.

For the first six months, her dream didn't seem impossible. She was paid on time and her employers were good to her. Then the pay stopped and the torture began.

"When I couldn't bear it any longer and asked for my salary to return home, they accused me of theft and got me arrested," recalled Mandira this week at a press conference. The 23-year old spent four months in jail before her family could arrange for

her release.

Mandara's family began enquiring about her after they couldn't reach her. On 28 December they found out she was in a prison in Lebanon. The family then registered a complaint with the District Administration Office (DAO).

Acting on the complaint, the DAO started investigations against Deep Kumar and Indira Shrestha, the local agents who had arranged for Mandara to go to Lebanon.

"As soon as the investigations started the agents hurriedly paid Rs 75,000 to get Mandara out of the jail and within a week she was here," said district administrative officer Krishna Chandra Adhikari.

According to Mandara, Shrestha used to send women from her village to her aunt Somati Moktan in Lebanon. Moktan would then send the women to work as domestic helpers to Lebanese homes in return for a hefty commission.

Mandara's husband Prem Bahadur is in the UAE. According to Mandara, another Nepali woman Kalpana Pariyar from Jhapa is still in the same jail.



Aye, aye, captain!

Risheeram Kattel, Himal Khabarpatrika, 11-17 January

When Kailash Pandey (pic) first landed in Australia seven years ago from Devdaha, Rupandehi, he had never seen a sea before. Today, he

commands cross-country ships and is the first Nepali to be employed as a captain with renowned Australian cruise company, Captain Cook.

Kailash, a management student, was working at a café when he saw a cruise ship for the first time and instantly fell in love.

He knew the life of a seafarer was his true calling. So when a vacancy was announced for the post of a steward, he applied straightaway.

Starting in the hospitality department, Kailash worked in the Marine department and as a deckhand before becoming the first officer. After a year and a half on the job, Kailash was sent to the TAFE Institute of Maritime Studies from where he received his captain's license.

He credits his achievement to hard work and good luck.

"If you want something and work diligently towards it, you will succeed," says the 31-year old. "The day I became a captain was the happiest day of my life," he adds.

He has worked as a captain for three years now and is training to be a rescue helicopter pilot, a job he can take up once back home in Nepal.

"I am probably the only Nepali captain around. But I am willing to help anyone who wants a career at the sea," says Pandey.



Door: Constitution
From both sides: "Open Up, it's January 22."

कान्तिपुर

Batsayan in Kantipur, 15 January

QUOTE OF THE WEEK



“Some people say the UML is neutered. It is time we show which gender the party belongs to by writing the new constitution before 22 January.”

CPN (UML) lawmaker Ram Bir Manandhar, www.onlinekhabar.com, 13 January



The Madhes saga

Navin Jha, onlinekhabar.com, 12 January

onlinekhabar.com

While parties in the capital are busy with the federalism debate, the Madhes is once more mired in uncertainty. Leaders are busy forming alliances and intensifying protests on the streets. The UCPN(M), the Madhesi Morcha and CK Raut (despite his broken leg) with his cadres are all campaigning against the promulgation of a new constitution.

Top leaders in the region JP Gupta and Matrika Yadav have announced an alliance and are busy with preparations to stage major demonstrations across the Tarai.

The main dispute is over federalism. The NC and UML want to merge the eastern district of Jhapa, Sunsari and Morang and the western district of Kailali and Kanchanpur with the hills. But the Madhesi parties want these five districts to be part of the Madhes province. The Madhesi Front which originally wanted a single Madhes province has agreed to a two-state model. But the NC and UML are trying to drive through their proposal with their two-third majority.

While NC and UML leaders in Kathmandu claim to be the official representatives of Madhes, they seem to be unaware that local leaders from their own parties are in agreement with the Madhesi parties on the subject of federalism. Many NC and UML leaders had previously left their parties to join Madhes based parties during the Madhes uprising.

The latest protests in the Tarai may be an indicator of bigger conflicts to come. Many are worried that the Madhes, mired by violence from various rebel groups, may once again be on the verge of a violent uprising if dissatisfaction over the constitution isn't addressed. Maybe that is why national political players have been active in the plains of late: the RPP-N, NC, UML and even ex-king Gyanendra have all completed their rounds of the Madhes. UCPN(M) Chair Prachanda promised support for the region during speeches in Simraungadh and Janakpur.

The latest round of violence clearly shows how unstable Madhes is and how it has become the epicentre of national politics. Without a constitution that addresses the demands of the region and its people, there will be continued instability.

Sky won't fall but there may be surprises

Short of a miracle, the constitution will not be finished by next week.

Will the Nepali Congress and the UML muster enough courage and stand up to the politics of blackmail by the UCPN (Maoist) and the Madhes-based parties? Hard to say, but we would be fortunate if we get some kind of draft by 22 January, which would then be sent to public for its



THE DEADLINE

Damakant Jayshi

opinion and comments.

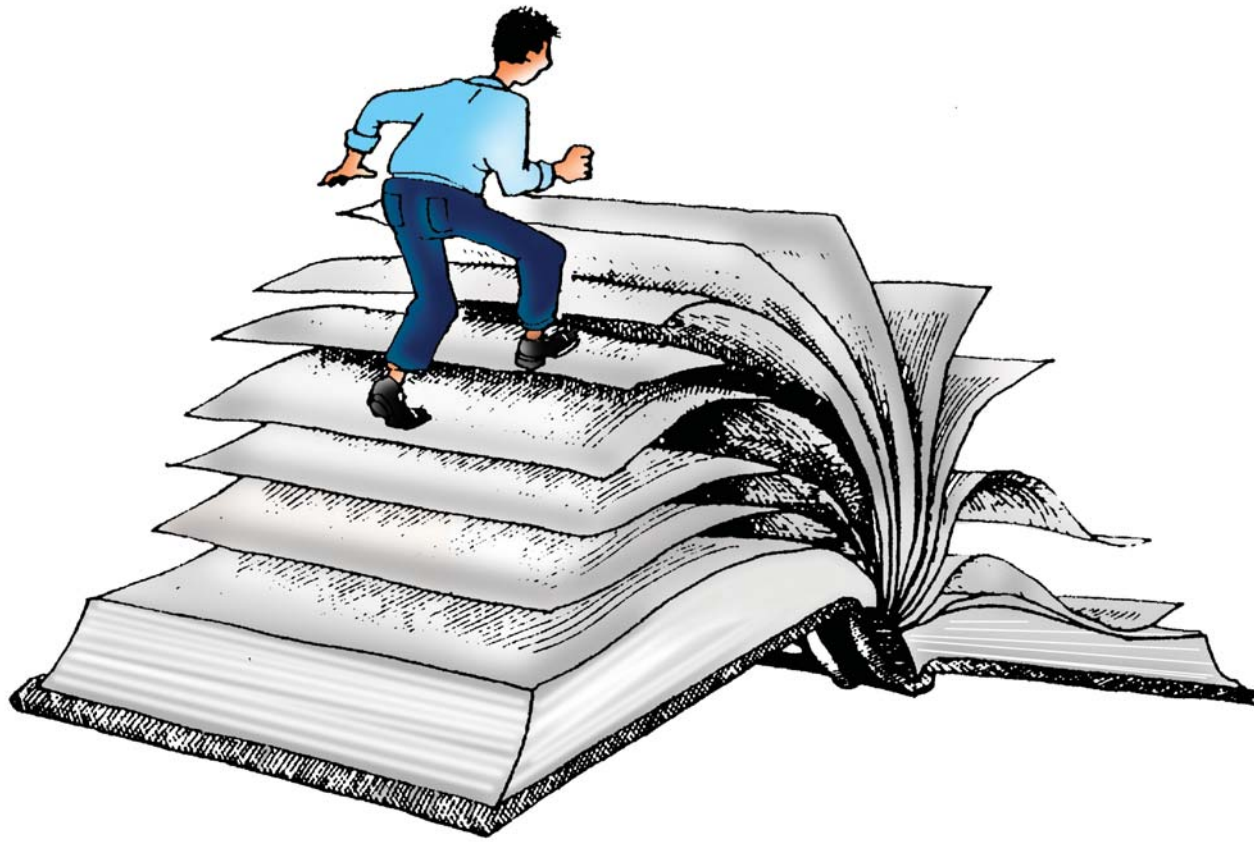
With the ruling parties fast-tracking the CA regulations schedule and the opposition parties' cries for shutdown raising the heat, something will have to give in the week ahead. The parties have a track-record of doing nothing despite extending deadlines repeatedly, but they also have a habit of springing surprises at the eleventh hour, so there is still some hope.

Some politicians, like Baburam Bhattarai, have of late started sounding optimistic that some sort of a document can be passed by the deadline. But even if it isn't ready, he has said: "The sky won't fall."

No, it won't. After all, we have been waiting for the constitution since 2008 when the first CA was elected. So the wait for the statute is nearing seven years, not just 12 months. Some more of the waiting period would not be unusual, but can the parties justify another extension of the deadline?

The behaviour of the political party leaders so far does not elicit much hope. The differences on federal structure, model of governance and electoral system have remained wide, masking the real jockeying for power inside closed doors. Telling the media scrum outside "a consensus would be reached in three days" has been the norm. We have seen countless such "three days" pass by.

Part of the delay rests on Bhattarai's shoulder for



not calling a meeting of the committee after ruling party members in the PDCC collected signature against his functioning. He also did not allow the committee to prepare the mandatory questionnaire with a 'yes' or 'no' section for voting. This is what the regulations specify and the larger CA instructed PDCC, twice, to do so. Both times the instructions were ignored.

Bhattarai, naturally, was criticised for his dubious role in all this, which is why he is now trying to back-pedal furiously and show that there is still hope. He is a politician who is convinced he can do no wrong, and seethes at criticism, but he is conscious about which way the public mood is swinging and is resorting to another gimmick.

The UCPN (M) and the Madhesi Morcha have issued threats against constitution passed by a majority vote. For the Maoists and the Madhesi parties there is no sense of urgency to pass the constitution through this CA. The only issue would be losing the trust of the

people if the CA does not have anything to show. For some NC and the UML factions, it would mean a failure of their party rivals and they can take advantage of it.

The stance of UCPN (M) is dubious since it already agreed in its manifesto before the November 2013 election that there would be voting to decide on the

constitution if consensus fails.

The onus, thus, is on the NC and the UML leaders on meeting the deadline in some way – be it an agreed draft, or even a preamble to the new constitution. This is not impossible because on fundamental values like democracy, republicanism, secularism, and federalism, the

four political forces are on the same page. Only the fourth single largest party, RPP-Nepal, has serious differences on at least two of these principles. So passing a preamble with an overwhelming majority – much bigger than the mandatory two-thirds one – would demonstrate some progress.

It is not just the NC and the UML which should worry about the consequences of repeating the failure of CA 1. The Nepali people have demonstrated ample patience and forgiveness. The parties need to remember the promises they made to the people. If not that, at least the risks of failure in drafting the statute in time should goad them into action. There are forces that will get active if the major political parties fail. Who will take responsibility if some nasty surprises are foisted on us?

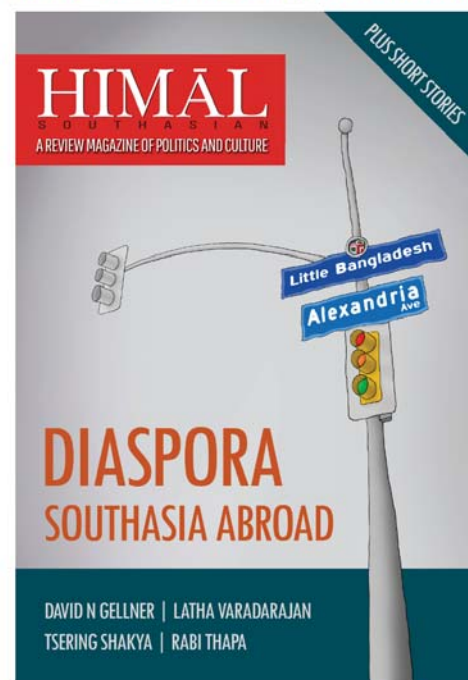
On two occasions in this space in past issues, I have written that the parties need to accept and acknowledge that they cannot have a win-win consensus on disputed issues. They will stick to their own ideas, at least in public. That will not change.

The NC and the UML should at least get a draft passed by the CA and continue the negotiations. That way the sky won't fall.

@damakant

TODAY

(DATE AND TIME CHANGED TO 5PM, 16 JANUARY 2015, FRIDAY)



Himal Southasian invites you to the launch of

Diaspora Southasia Abroad

The event will feature a reading by **Rabi Thapa** of his short story from the quarterly, followed by a Q&A session with the author.

This is a public event and open to all. Seating is first-come, first-served.

RSVP

Himal Southasian
info@himalmag.com
5552141/5547279

When: 5pm, 16 January 2015, Friday

Where: The City Museum, Yak & Yeti Road,
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Dog’s own country

So, let’s say for the purpose of argument, that a dog bites man. That is not news unless the canine in question is a female perpetrator in which case the headline would read: ‘Bitch bites man’. On the other hand, as has been known to happen in the heat of the moment, if some people of the male persuasion end up biting dogs, then the story deserves a breaking news treatment:

Man Bit Me, Alleges Mongrel

BY OUR MEDIA WATCHDOG

LALITPUR - Police took a Cash Baddie into custody Friday night after a Dash Doggie lodged an FIR that he (the man) had chewed off part of his (the dog’s) ear lobe during a street fracas.

“I wasn’t trying to grab headlines,” the man said in an exclusive interview from his jail cell, “I was peacefully setting fire to a motorcycle to enforce the bund and this mongrel said today is his bund, and my bund is tomorrow. So I bit his ear off.” The dog, which was reportedly in critical but stable condition, did not return calls and could not be reached for comments.

But his lawyer told journalists at the Reporter’s Club (chaired by Rishi Dhamala) that the dog was only trying to liven things up on a slow news day. “If my client had bitten the man, it wouldn’t be news would it?” he asked rhetorically.



But maybe I have gone a bit too far with all this dog-bashing. Let me assure you mongrels out there that it is nothing personal, it is something professional. I offer profuse apologies to canines of both the Dash, Cash and Bash persuasions who felt alluded to. There is nothing to do but beg for forgiveness in lieu of the affronts real or imagined that were knowingly or unknowingly perpetrated against Dogdom. You guys are all right, just a tad sycophantic.

How thoughtless of me to make light of the infinite contribution made by you revolutionary hounds to this nation’s long-term development by steadfastly refusing to wag your tails at the international community, by snarling at each other, and guarding our territorial imperative by never shirking in your duty to conduct regular patrols and watering the perimeters of your proposed federal provinces. Just learn to get along with the Cats in the CA and you will be all right.

and aroma. As they say, every dog in this country has his day. And as a Sitting Member of the Standing Committee of the CA reminded us the other day: “We were forced to take to the streets because the other side has a two-thirds majority. Our bandh is totally non-violent, we set fire to a couple of taxis and beat up the drivers who dared to defy our peaceful threat to keep off the roads.”

In conclusion, I would like to once more thank the canine sector of the Feral Zoological Republic of Nepal for trying its best to write a new constitution with the motto: keep on trying until the cows come home.

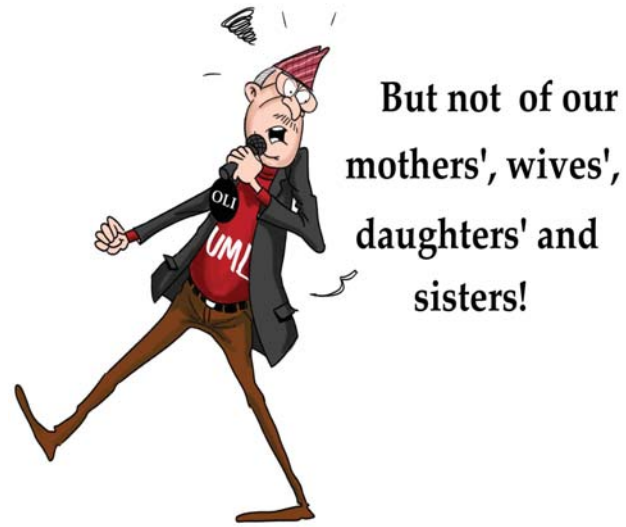
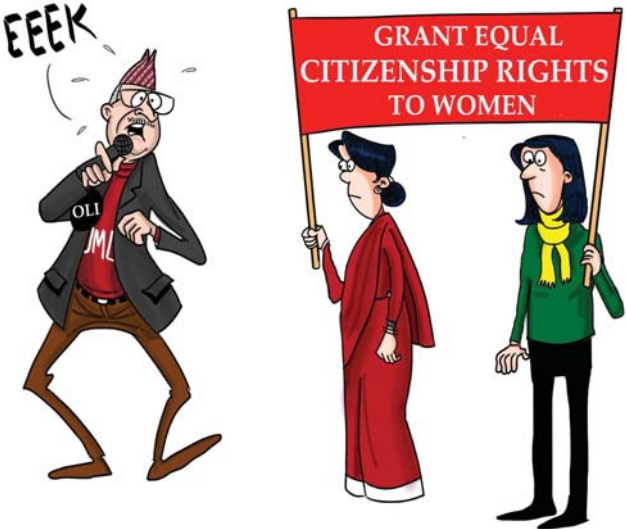
Asstounding asstonishing torn assunder Madrass Antecedants lie in Assyria assures its readers Assembly. Ass assures fellow members he will tear it asunder as many times before.



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