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### **FIRE AND WATER**

espite the deepening deadlock and violence, the disagreements on the constitution aren't intractable. The demands for changing

boundaries of future federal provinces should not be impossible to resolve. All it needs are cool heads, statesmanship to forge compromises, and the ability to look beyond

EDITORIAL PAGE 2 partisan pastimes at the larger national interest. Amendments that address some of the demands of the agitators may be filed by the Saturday deadline, and further changes can be made as we go along. But prolonging the uncertainty is not a good idea in the present volatile situation.

#### Any means necessary The federalisation folly

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#### **Birthing a new** constitution

THE GADFLY

BY DAVID SEDDON PAGE 19



i ne iert out Jan Møller Hansen's picture book and exhibition, *Images of Nepal*, feature black-and-white photographs that are sharp, stark and offer a glimpse of the rough side of town, the dark underbelly of Kathmandu that many of us would rather forget.









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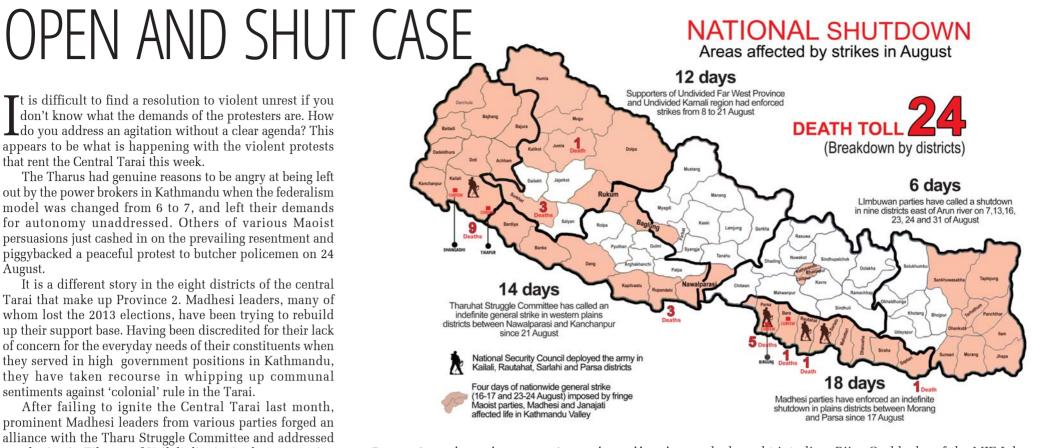
The Tharus had genuine reasons to be angry at being left out by the power brokers in Kathmandu when the federalism model was changed from 6 to 7, and left their demands for autonomy unaddressed. Others of various Maoist persuasions just cashed in on the prevailing resentment and piggybacked a peaceful protest to butcher policemen on 24

It is a different story in the eight districts of the central Tarai that make up Province 2. Madhesi leaders, many of whom lost the 2013 elections, have been trying to rebuild up their support base. Having been discredited for their lack of concern for the everyday needs of their constituents when they served in high government positions in Kathmandu, they have taken recourse in whipping up communal sentiments against 'colonial' rule in the Tarai.

After failing to ignite the Central Tarai last month, prominent Madhesi leaders from various parties forged an alliance with the Tharu Struggle Committee and addressed a gathering in Tikapur of Kailali district in the west urging locals to take up weapons and chase hill-dwellers out to where they came from. We believe it isn't a coincidence that what was supposed to be a peaceful protest on 24 August ended up in the lynching and shooting of eight policemen and a baby.

Now, the violence has spread to the Central Tarai where disparate Madhesi parties including former Maoists like Matrika Yadav and Upendra Mahato are in the fray, competing to be more violent than each other in order to build up support in their constituencies. This is why some of the Tarai towns don't seem to be in control of the more mainstream and relatively moderate Madhesi leaders anymore. More and more, it looks like the agitation is driven by those who want to stop the constitution going through at any cost: an unlikely cabal of the extreme left to the extreme right and everything else in between.

What doesn't help at all is that there is a government in Kathmandu that appears to be in denial, exposing a real disconnect between the capital and what is happening outside. Leaders seem incapable of grasping just how dangerous the situation is turning out to be. When they do look at the Tarai it is only to gerrymander boundaries for added electoral advantage. When these leaders negotiate, they aren't listening to the people and their leaders from



# Despite the deepening deadlock and violence, disagreements on the constitution aren't intractable

the Tarai but talking to each other. Engaging in such cynical power games when there is an urgent need to douse the flames in the plains is a sign of serious political failure and lack of statesmanship at the level of the Prime Minister.

As our map of the past month of unrest shows, more than half the country has been shut down now for nearly three weeks, and 24 people have been killed. The cost to the national economy, the disruption to the lives of ordinary people and the impact on earthquake reconstruction is immeasurable.

Despite the deepening deadlock and violence, the disagreements on the constitution aren't intractable. As we understand after talking to Tharu leaders, they will be satisfied with taking three Kailali constituencies which they dominate, away from Province 7 to be a part of Province 5. This may anger some Undivided Far-west politicians, but they are all members of the three-party alliance and could

be brought into line. Bijay Gachhadar of the MJF-L has a critical role to play here.

The Central Tarai is more complicated because we really don't know who wants what aside from agitating for the sake of agitation. Upendra Yadav's main grievance is that his constituency is in Morang, which is not a part of the Madhes Province and other Madhesi parties want Sunsari to be included in Province 2. The actual demand of some national Madhesi leaders seems to be for more proportionate representation in future elections so they don't have to face the kind of humiliating defeat they did in 2013. Then there is the geopolitics of water, and the Indian interest in ensuring that future projects on the Karnali and Kosi don't become tangled up with a Nepal split into unstable federal enclaves.

None of these issues should be impossible to resolve. All it needs are cool heads, statesmanship that can forge compromises, and the ability to look beyond partisan pastimes at the larger national interest. On Saturday, a constitution with amendments will be put to the CA for clause-by-clause approval. The ruling parties would do well to address some of the demands of the dissatisfied. If there are still issues, they can be taken up in future amendments.

But not passing a constitution now would prolong the uncertainty, and even take us back to square one.

#### **VOTEBANK CONSTITUTION**

Good commentary and sound analysis ('Votebank Constitution', Editorial, #773). A must read.

#### Sonny I Krishnan

Why blame the politicians only? Many in the media and intelligentsia are equally responsible for the current situation by parroting populist slogans of their patrons, without any serious analysis or research.

Dev Batsya

#### **WHOSE CONSTITUTION?**

Whose Constitution? ('Whose constitution is it anyway?', Anurag Acharya, #773) It was Prachanda who had wanted a new Constitution to start with rather than reforming the existing one. Perhaps, he did not know what reform meant. It was he who had wanted ethnic federalism. So the present turmoil in New Nepal is his making, including the problems with the draft constitution and demarcations.

K K Sharma

Let's remember that those whom this article rails against are the very people chosen by the people and

who have the mandate to write the constitution.

Guruta Shishenga

#### **GROUND ZERO**

Thanks for the article. ('Ground zero in Kailali', Om Astha Rai, #773). As people have amply learnt from similar incidents in many countries with multiple ethnic groups, if local police force comprises different ethnic groups there is less chance of a protest turning violent because locals can trust the police.

#### **DISCONNECT AND DISCONTENT**

Very well written and an honest reflection of the realities. ('Disconnect and discontent', Tsering Dolker Gurung, #773)

Purushah

Very thoughtful and impassioned contribution. Kathmandu's arrogance is perhaps a legacy of the centralised state founded by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1769 that has transcended all the formally distinct polities since then.

Peter Tobin

It is profoundly derogatory to label an entire cosmopolitan city population

under the stereotyped assumption of being unaware, vain and social-media enslaved. Who are you trying to refer to as Kathmanduties anyway? Is it the native indigenous Newars? Do we count the ever growing populace of settlers? Oversimplifying and cramming them together into one category is highly imprecise, if not entirely stupid. State actors and the people of Kathmandu are two separate entities. The indifference and lack of will of politicians is not the fault of the people in Kathmandu. The Kathmandu I know of is accommodating, a place where rural dreamers aspire to make something out of themselves. It also has passionate patriots who are working hard to deescalate tension. I write this comment from the chaotic Tarai, and I am letting the people in Kathmandu know that it's not their fault, we don't blame you.

#### Sushovan Sjb Rana

If our lack of exposure to the rest of the country translates into indifference it does not mean we are hypocrites. It is up to the mainstream media to bring to our attention the Nepal that is out of our reach. Plus, when our outrage doesn't extend beyond social media, it is not because we care less but because we

are not full time activists or politicians with agenda. A blanket labelling of Kathmandu's people as hypocrites won't help.

Bineeta Gurung

#### **CANNABIS BAN**

There are so many problems in Nepal, why would the government and cops care about marijuana, which is essentially harmless to smoke? ('High time to lift ban', Sarthak Mani Sharma,

**Duck Season** 

Yes, hemp fibre could really help to make plastic ban concrete by providing alternative fibre too.

Sushma Joshi

If marijuana legalisation contributes to GDP growth, should we also produce poppy and export heroine to Colombia? Also, marijuana's medical benefits are still being explored and there is no evidence that it is safe for recreational use. We should worry about the social and economic costs of legalising it and also explore better economic opportunities.

Kashyap Shakya

#### Times

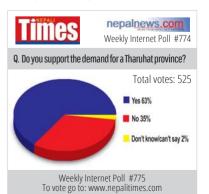


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High time to lift ban by Sarthak Mani Sharma (3,190 views)

Most commented High time to lift ban by Sarthak Mani Sharma (13 comments)



 ${\tt Q}.$  Should consumption and cultivation of cannabis be legalised?





Publisher and Chief Editor: Kunda Dixit

4 - 10 SEPTEMBER 2015 #774

# Any means necessary

The media now needs to create a climate for compromise and put the onus back on the political parties

If ever Nepal needed a diligent, responsible, on-the-ground and vibrant media in the past eight years, it is now. For those of us outside of towns labelled 'tense' and not much else, there is a huge gap in the information that is filtering in.

We hear about rounds of bullets and deaths, but no attempt is being made to provide a larger picture which would explain the sequence of events, the emotions of those involved, the public mood



#### ONE TO MANY Bidushi Dhungel

and response in the areas. For the most part, the general public has been left in the dark as to what is exactly happening in the country.

It's impossible to believe what little the Kathmandu press is actually saying – particularly given that each has its own version of events. Take the Tikapur incident of 24 August for example: while few actually made it on the ground, the majority of news was being churned out from desks in Kathmandu based on either no sources or exceptionally shoddy ones.

There were multiple incidences of exaggerated death tolls, factual errors, opinion being relayed as news and certain groups being openly pitted against one another. Television gets its kicks from pitting opposing views with one another with no intention of promoting a dialogue, but rather a showdown. This, at such an incredibly volatile time and from the supposed pillars of the entire democratic exercise.

One can earnestly hope that it is a lack of resources, of skill and depth of understanding that is the reason for the coverage of the Madhes. However, it seems the media is largely just echoing the mood of the majority of the big shots in Kathmandu: Constitution by the end of the year, by any means necessary.

This is not a pan-Bahun-Chettri agenda that many ethnic activists would have you believe, either. It is a deliberate and dangerous design harboured by a tiny political, economic and social elite in Kathmandu which sees no value in dialogue with dissenters or in an inclusive constitution. To them, Nepal belongs to those in Kathmandu – Singha Durbar in particular -- and Tikapur may as well be Timbuktu, or a bank for votes at best. It's blindingly obvious that the collective political leadership is dragging



Nepal into its next cycle of violence. Yet, the media seems unfettered, still willing to give them the benefit of the doubt at the expense of, well, everything.

The slaughter of policemen and the baby in Tikapur on 24 August was so poorly reported in much of the media that the entire public narrative morphed into a binary blame game. Most media outlets chose the popular narrative of violence against the state, without even questioning the role of the Home Ministry and government in the entire ordeal. On the flip side, the politicised minorities attempted to justify violence as a result of centuries of oppression. The media has simply been playing along, and the 'nuance' as an editor once told me long ago, has been sorely lacking.

The straight up position of all national media should indeed be the condemnation of violence and clarification that no amount of lament over past injustice can justify murder, and that the state must take responsibility for the violence which manifests within its territory. Responsibility would entail identifying the murderers of 24 August and bringing them under the law. Responsibility would entail identifying and rectifying the weaknesses of the Home Ministry for inadequately gauging the security situation in the country. Responsibility would entail at least making an attempt to address the root causes of the violence, which preceded -- and continues two weeks after -- the incident.

Taking responsibility would entail refraining from deploying the Army until all other means to curtail the situation have been explored. Finally, responsibility in the case of the Tikapur incident would also be an apology, at the very least, on the part of the Home Minister for being unable to perform his duty adequately, followed by a formal apology on the part of the Prime Minister for attempting to push through a constitution without due consultation and broad agreement among political actors.

While there is much to be said

about the contradictions and the lack of clarity and feasibility in the demands of the movement in the Tarai, the very idea that the politicos and their henchmen across the sectors in Kathmandu can now offset the determination of so many competing interests is foolhardy. A prominent Tharu activist recently said that "it's too late" to suggest alternatives to the identity-based model of federalism and that Tharus and Madhesis will not stop until the state has "kneeled" to their demands. "With Tharus and Madhesis united" he said, "the Nepali state will have no choice."

And the movement in the Tarai is only the precursor for what is to come. The Dalits, Janajatis, Hindu right wing, women and the Undivided Far-west movements are yet to come out in full force. Soon enough, groups with demands unheard of will surface. This is what you get when there is a crisis in ownership of the constitution.

The media now needs to create a climate for compromise and put the onus back on this government and the political parties. The state, in turn, must come back to the negotiating table. It has no choice. Otherwise, the cost will no longer be numbered only in rupees and dead bodies. 

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### Lessons from India's Patel movement

Nepal's affirmative action should be nuanced enough to avoid quotas for better-off Dalits, Madhesis or Janjatis

The same week that Nepal deployed the army to contain ethnic unrest in Kailali, India had to clamp down on a parallel outburst of violent protests in Gujarat.

Nine policemen were killed, the army was on the streets in Kailali. In Gujarat, ten people including a policeman died and the Indian Army was sent out



**AS IT HAPPENS** Om Astha Rai

to quell caste riots. In Nepal the protests were triggered by Tharu community's unhappiness over provincial demarcation in the new constitution, while in India the agitation was spearheaded by the Patel community demanding a share of government jobs and college seats reserved for Dalits and what they call 'Other Backward Communities' (OBC).

On social networking sites, some Nepalis drew comparisons between the Kailali killings and the Gujarat violence because they were both about communities

which felt aggrieved by state policy. But there may be more than meets the eye in comparing India's Patel movement and growing discontent over reservation policy among Nepal's Bahuns and Chhetris.

The Patel movement could be an indication of a future anti-reservation movement in Nepal, too, where Bahuns and Chhetris are arguing that castebased reservation policy is not justified because sections of their community are poorer than Janjatis or Dalits. If an activist like Hardik Patel, the 22-year-old leader of the Patel movement in Gujarat, can succeed in uniting anti-reservation youths, there is the possibility that Nepal's own quota policy too could be diluted. We can be smarter about it by reforming our existing reservation policy, which is flawed and fails to uplift the genuinely marginalised.

In the end, it boils down to making a distinction between caste and class. Although social inequities in Nepal have caste and ethnic characteristics, it is becoming and will continue to be more class-based. Nepal's reservation policy was introduc not only too late but also in haste. After the 2006 Democracy Movement, which was a culmination of years of struggle for an inclusive society, Nepal finally amended the Civil Service Act-1993 to reserve 45 per cent of government job quotas for Dalit, Madhesi, Janajati and women.

But that law did not differentiate between privileged Janjatis and under-privileged Janjatis, or privileged Madhesis and under-privileged Madhesis. As a result, well-off Janjatis, Madhesi, Dalits and women are now able to grab all quotas reserved for the marginalised, breeding resentment among Bahuns and Chhetris who may lag behind economically.

The Janjati umbrella organisation, NEFIN, has categorised Nepal's 59 indigenous communities into five groups: advanced, disadvantaged, marginalised, highly marginalised and endangered. Newars and Thakalis are in advanced group because of their high Human Development Index (HDI) rankings. Newars constitute only five per cent of population but already hold eight per cent of all government jobs. Now, they can get more jobs because of the Janjati quota.

Some Madhesi caste groups

like Rajputs and Kayastha also occupy a disproportionate number of government jobs while other more systematicallyexcluded Madhesi people are still excluded. Then, Bahun, Chhetri or Newar women dominate quotas reserved for women, leaving out women from more marginalised Madhesis, Muslims or Tamangs.

Ironically, in treating all Madhesi, Janjatis, Dalits or women equally we are perpetuating class inequality in Nepali society. The HDI ranking could be the widely accepted way of determining which castes and ethnicities deserve more quotas. We can also learn from how our community forest movement determines the vulnerability of forest users. In most Community Forest User Groups (CFUGs), a Dalit family is not considered vulnerable enough to get priority to use forest products just because it is Dalit. Household income and land ownership are considered, and the whole community decides. If two Dalit families demand timber at the same time, the more needy one gets the priority. Our national reservation policy should also be more nuanced like this.

The policy of reserving

**TALE OF TWO RIOTS:** The Indian Army patrols the streets of Ahmedabad (*left*) after deadly anti-reservation riots last week which had parallels with protests in Nepal's Kailali district against provincial boundaries in the new constitution, which left nine people dead.

government jobs, college seats or higher education scholarships should be accompanied by programs to empower the most underprivileged communities to compete for the allocated quotas. Nepal reserves quotas for MBBS scholarships, but does not empower Chepang, Kusunda, Thami, Majhi or Jirel communities to compete with Newar or Thakali students. If we fail to reform it effectively, Newar and Thakali students will be getting more than 90 per cent of medical school scholarship quotas in the future.

To be sure, not all Newars or Kayasthas may be well off either, but it would be unfair if richer Janjati, Madhesi or Dalit candidates got preferential treatment. This would breed resentment, and lead to a future Patel movement in Nepal, too. It is not too late to be smarter about affirmative action. @omastharai



## The federalisation folly

Nepal's unique geography will deliver only as an integrated whole, not as fragmented enclaves

The killings in Kailali on 24 August, the arson, riots and paralysing protests that have brought large parts of the country to a halt for nearly a month could be signs of worse to come if this foolhardy federalisation idea is not abandoned.



Bihari K Shrestha

Nepal's geography and ethnic mosaic is too unique and intertwined and is not suited for federal fragmentation. The current seven-province model is bad enough, but dividing them along ethnic lines would be even worse. Nepal's topography can yield huge benefits to its people and lift living standards, but only if the plains, hills and mountains are an integrated whole. Whoever thought of cutting Nepal into pieces that don't respect river watersheds did not have Nepal's longterm economic interest at heart.

Take the example of the 750 MW West Seti Hydroelectric Project in Doti district in western Nepal that is being projected to be built with Chinese investment. Its 195m high dam would submerge 2,166ha including 619ha of agricultural land and would displace 16,221 people in Doti, Dadeldhura, Baitadi and Bajhang. Its reservoir, however. would release 90 cumecs of regulated water in the dry season to irrigate 270,000ha for nonpaddy cultivation and 90,000ha for rice in downstream districts of Bardia, Kailali and Kanchanpur. The plant would generate an average of 3,636 GWh of energy, yielding a revenue of Rs 15 billion annually.

However, with the proposed

federalisation of the country, the hill districts of one province would be submerged and people displaced while its benefit would accrue to downstream provinces. In all likelihood. West Seti will be the first casualty of the mindless attempt of breaking up the country artificially in the name of federalisation. It is possible that the Chinese would just find it too politically complicated and pull

Nepal's unique ethnography is made up of 125 caste/ethnic groups who mostly live in densely mixed rural settlements. There isn't a community which is not inhabited by at least half a dozen different caste/ethnicities living together with shared membership in forest user groups, mothers'



groups and perma traditional labour exchanges.

Even though the Maoists misled the Magar people promising them priority rights in a future Magarat Province, Nepali ethnic groups live in such intermixed settlements that no one group can claim more rights than others. Nepal's tragedy is that we let a bunch of bloodthirsty revolutionaries use ethnicity to recruit fighters as cannon fodder to propel themselves to power.

It is even more tragic that other so-called 'democratic' parties, disgraced by their own malgovernance and corruption had never even suggested the possible federalisation of the country before they gave in to the Maoists' blackmail. After dragging their feet on the constitution for

the past seven years, the NC, UML and the UCPN(M) aided and abetted by Forum Loktantrik of the Tarai opportunistically seized post-earthquake disarray to quickly come up with a constitution of sorts by shelving intractable federalisation and get on with a new power sharing arrangement. Their eyes were on the billions of dollars that they expected to pour into the country for post-earthquake reconstruction.

The 16-point deal of 8 June would have been a quick way out of the federalisation conundrum once and for all. But once again, it was messed up after Nepali leaders were summoned to New Delhi one by one and came back with instructions to include

> federal demarcation in the constitution. They proceeded to do just that, and all hell broke loose.

By any definition and provisions in the Interim Constitution, President Ram Baran Yadav remains the last hope as supreme commander of the armed forces in safeguarding Nepal's unity and integrity. He knows that Nepal's geography and the ethnic diversity will never

allow meaningful federalisation. The President should also bear in mind that, even in the hopeless context of utter mismanagement of state affairs during the last several decades of Westminster style democracy in Nepal, the fact remains that Nepal has made enormous gains in grassroots action by devolving decisionmaking to local groups.

Therefore, what Nepal needs is not federalisation, but allout devolution of authority to communities at the grassroots. Our hopes rest with the President to step in for the country's longterm national interest. Otherwise President Yadav will go down in history as someone who wasted his incumbency and laid the groundwork for the nation's disintegration. It is not too late. prabba bank

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4 - 10 SEPTEMBER 2015 #774

## Beware of fake news

Inaccurate news of the Kailali killings were an example of how facts can be bent to suit different versions of the truth

#### **BHRIKUTI RAI**

he killings in Kailali on 24
August exposed just how much
of the content on the social web
can be manipulated with fake images.
Interestingly, the violence coincided with
the launch of South Asia Check, a media
fact-checking initiative of Panos South
Asia.

We were putting together our findings, tweaking the online settings of our site, and scrolling and refreshing our Twitter timelines hoping to find clues into some more fact checking when the social media began to be filled with news and images from Tikapur of Kailali.

Anger had been building up in the western Tarai over the demarcation of provincial boundaries for more than a week, and there was a spike in images of arson and clashes being shared on social media. Soon, there were gory images of policemen being lynched or set on fire. The death toll was initially cited in the mainstream press as 21 and later corrected to nine, even though there was no official figure until late evening.

One image that was widely circulated on social media was of a man in flames (*pic*) posted on a blog report about the violence in Tikapur. Although there was no caption or photo credit, the image accompanied a report about a policeman being burnt alive.

At South Asia Check we found that



the image was actually from a US-based website posted in 2012 of some other incident. Digital portals like *Setopati* and *ekantipur* also carried reports about the fake picture, and that magnified our reach and allowed the correct information to spread.

Although the *Setopati* piece about the misleading image was shared almost 6,000 times across social media platforms, it paled in comparison with the hate speech and fake pictures depicting the Kailali killings on people's social media timelines. Amidst all the noise magnified by frantic tweeting/retweeting even by senior politicians and journalists the violence in Kailali had spilled over into social media.

The next day South Asia Check started receiving requests for fact checking from readers of similar misleading pictures being circulated online. Although not all the images could be tracked to source, it was clear that many of the graphic pictures of charred bodies being shared online as depicting victims of the Tikapur violence were not from there at all. Some were so graphic they couldn't even be posted on the South Asia Check website.

Following the violence in Tikapur, the Tharuhat/Tharuwan Joint Struggle Committee released a press statement condemning 'the killings of hundreds of men and women shot blindly during the ongoing protest for autonomous Tharuhat'. Further checks showed that the real figure

was nowhere close to this. Amidst the conflicting number of death reported in media, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights also released a statement condemning the violence but wrongly saying that the father of the two-year-old who was killed in Tikapur also died in the violence.

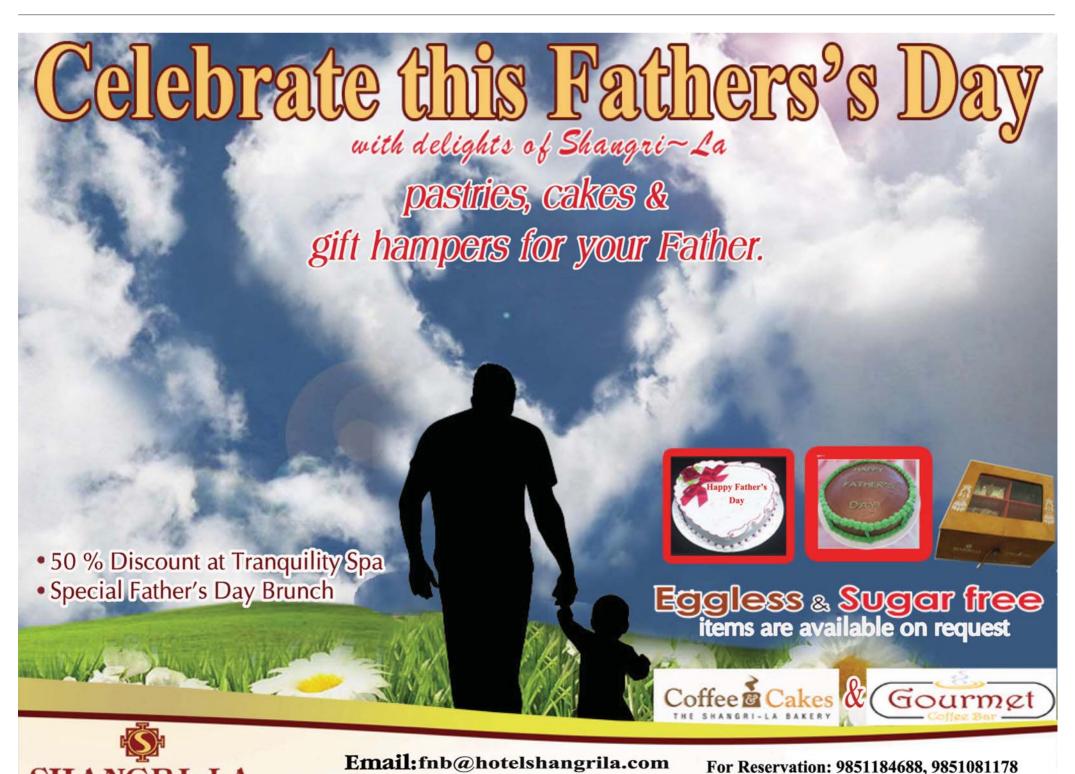
When there is competition to break news first, it often results in inaccurate reports. The coverage of the unfolding violence in Tikapur on Monday last week underlined how easily crucial elements of a developing story are overlooked. Sharing misleading images recklessly on social media can further fan hatred and revenge. Wrong claims by politicians in the media can also aggravate the situation.

South Asia Check hopes to correct falsehoods in public officials' statements, and in the mainstream and social media immediately so as to promote responsible politics and accountability among public officials and the media. Fact checking is an inherent part of the media in many parts of the world, and we hope it will foster the growth of correct and credible information and images in Nepali newsrooms and the social web as well.

Bhrikuti Rai is a reporter with South Asia Check.



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diminishing in intensity over central and western Nepal. The advance of the southwest monsoon in June is now being played out in reverse as the reviving Himalayan jetstream plays tug-o-war with the moist warm air from the Bay. But this is not to write off the eastern arm of the monsoon just yet, there is still plenty of water vapour out there, which is mainly falling as night rain for the moment. But we should expect some daytime precipitation over the weekend. The minima

e monsoon isn't in full retreat vet, but it is certainly













#### STÉPHANE HUËT

s son of famed sitarist Tara Bir Singh Tuladhar, Satendra Man Singh grew up surrounded by music. His early lessons included sitting in on practice sessions and imitating members of Sur Sudha, his father's band.

By the time he turned 13, Satendra was already taking over his father's classes, teaching the basics of the stringed instrument to students twice his age.

"Even though I knew how to play the sitar, I didn't really know the meaning of music back then," says Satendra who has studied tabla under German musician Gert Wagner, who is now the head of Department of Music at Kathmandu University.

Although Satendra was already gaining name as a sitar prodigy, he was unsure of his skills and wanted to study further. At 24, he enrolled in Prayag Sangeet Samiti in Allahabad, India, graduating with a Master's in sitar.

"It was only after graduation that I began to take my music seriously," says Satendra. For years he practiced 12 hours a day, turning to other musicians for inspiration.

Though the practice hours have now been reduced to seven, Tuladhar has stuck to his ritual of playing sitar in front of a mirror. "It helps me notice my flaws, correct my posture and concentration which all goes towards creating the right stage presence," he explains.

The sitarist, now 44, acknowledges that classical musicians of Nepal still struggle to find audience and receive payment.

"Compared to our devotion and the time we spend on our music, the payment is minimal," he says. He also feels disheartened by the lack of interest among Nepali people in classical music.

It is ironic that while Tuladhar's name might not ring a bell for most Nepalis, he's booked every year to perform at venues across Europe, where he also conducts classical music workshops.

Tuladhar believes classical music can still regain its prestige in Nepal. "I think children should be initiated into classical music at school, so it will have a better interest in the general public later," he says.

He is happy that his two children, 17-year-old son and 13-year-old daughter showed an inclination towards music from an early age. "They both play sitar and

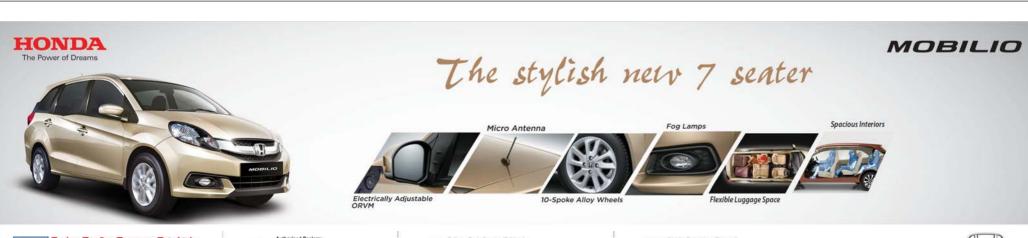
tabla, and my son is becoming really good at the guitar too," he says.

Last summer Tuladhar played at ten different venues in Europe and is now working on new compositions for his tour next year. He is also looking forward to new musical projects.

"I would like to try to mix Arabic and Spanish sounds in my own music," he says.

Tuladhar's dream project is to perform across countries as father and son, but says that may have to wait until his own son finishes school. And that would make three generations of classical musicians performing together.

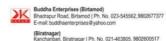














#### **EVENTS**



### Ncell App camp,

Call for mobile app developers to submit their ideas to compete at the second edition of Ncell App Camp Application deadline 20 September, 9802772267, www.ncellappcamp.com

#### Art Market,

A place to sell and buy paintings, prints, posters and design products. 5 September, 12pm to 4pm, The Yellow House, Sanepa, ange@image-ark.com

#### Homage,

British artist, Martin Travers explores the concepts of identity and selfempowerment through painting. Till 6 September, 11am to 5pm, Siddhartha Art Gallery, Babar Mahal Revisited, (01)4218048

#### Where to now?

A lecture by Nepali Times editor Kunda Dixit on the state of Nepal, organised by Cultural Studies Group Nepal. Rs 400 for non-members (includes tea and snacks), 4 September, 9.30am, Moksh Café, Jhamsikhel, csgninkathmandu@gmail.com



#### Activist documentaries,

Screening of A World Beyond Humans and *The Invisible (R)evolutions.* The screenings will be followed by an interaction with the filmmaker Philippe Borrel. 5 September, 3pm and 5.30pm, Alliance française of Kathmandu, (01)4241163, (01)4242832, general.afk@gmail.com, www.alliancefrancaise.org.np

#### Building better.

A workshop and discussion on the benefits of earthbag building and earthquake resistant design. 4 September, 10am to 5pm, The Summit Hotel, Sanepa



#### Images of Nepal,

An exhibition of black and white images taken by Jan Møller Hansen before and after the 25 April earthquake. Inauguration 9 September, 5.30pm, till 22 September, Siddhartha Art Gallery, Babar Mahal Revisited, (01)4218048



#### Climate + Change,

A dynamic exhibition exploring the effects of climate change on the Hindu Kush Himalayan region. Till 30 September, 9am to 5pm, International Mountain Museum, Ghari-Patan, Pokhara, (061)460742, www.internationalmountainmuseum.org

#### Swing dancing,

Learn to swing dance for free. 5 September, 3pm, House of Music, Thamel, 9851075172, sanzey@hotmail.com



### Climbmandu.

The biggest climbing event in Nepal. 12 and 13 September, Astrek Climbing Wall, Thamel, (01)4419265, info@astrekclimbingwall.com, www.astrekclimbingwall.com

#### Run for Nepal,

A 5k virtual race to raise fund for Oxfam Intermón which is helping victims of Nepal earthquake.

12 September, www.irunfornepal.com

#### Call for submission,

Photographers, curators, photo-based artists, historians, anthropologists are invited to submit works and ideas for digital projection, discussions, performances on the theme 'TIME'. Deadline 15 September, www.photoktm.com

#### Help rebuild,

A special fund-raising print sale to contribute towards the rebuilding of heritage sites in Patan by Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust (KVPT) www.photoktm.com/#support

#### Nepal Cup 2015,

A charity football tournament to raise funds to rebuild quake-affected schools in Nepal and promote the country as a tourist attraction.

2 to 4 October, Dasarath Rangasala Stadium, Tripureshwor, info@nepalcup2015.com, www.nepalcup2015.com

#### Quake photobook,

Nepal425 launches a crowd-sourcing drive for printing a coffee table book featuring 700 pictures of the earthquake. All proceeds from the sales will go to the quake-affected. www.nepal425.com

#### Wholeness.

Artist Puran Khadka whose work is a meditative abstraction full of spiritual awakening exhibits his paintings. Till 30 October, Park Gallery, Pulchok, (01)5522307, contact@parkgallery.com.np



#### The Yeti Run,

Test your strength, stamina and teamwork at Nepal's first obstacle race. 26 September, St Xavier's School, Godavari, 9841226397, pareshkshrestha@gmail.com

#### DINING



#### Manny's,

Head down for some delicious Corn Fritters, Pad Thai Noodles, Crispy Crunch Potatoes and don't forget their signature Manny's Spicy Wings. All served with fine hospitality in an excellent space. Jawalakhel, (01)5536919



#### Mulchowk.

Select your special dinner from set Ala-carte menu or regular menu while enjoying classical fusion, and folk music by Mul band. Babar Mahal Revisited, (01)4259801

#### Mongolian BBQ,

Mouth watering veg and non-veg barbecues accompanied by a live performance by Ciney Gurung Rs1,799 nett per person (includes a glass of beer or a glass of wine or soft drink or juice), every Friday, 7pm, Shangri-La Hotel, Lajimpat



#### Downtown.

Go Indian at this restaurant, although it serves Chinese and Continental food too. Don't miss out on the Biryani. Pulchowk Road. (01)5010751

#### **MUSIC**

#### Open mic.

Calling all aspiring singers. Every Tuesday, 7pm, House of Music, Thamel, 9851075172, sanzey@hotmail.com

#### Midnight riders live,

Enjoy a mix of classic rock, blues, 70s retro disco and contemporary hits. 4 September, 8pm, House of Music, Thamel, 9851075172, sanzey@hotmail.com



#### Jyovan Bhuju,

This young, talented and soulful singer doesn't disappoint.

5 September, 7pm, House of Music, Thamel, Thamel, 9851075172, sanzey@hotmail.com

#### Baulu Jatra,

Put on your shoes, gather your energy, and get ready for the 'Slamming brutal death metal' bands.

26 September, 1pm to 6pm, Purple Haze, Thamel, 9843695278, 9803145286, 9813041899

#### **GETAWAYS**

### Park Village Resort, Far away from the maddening crowd, yet

so close to the city. Budhanilkantha, (01)4375280, pvh@wlink.com.np

#### Mum's Garden Resort,

Head out to Pokhara for a peaceful and comfortable stay in beautifully designed cottages surrounded by a lush green garden with great views of Phewa Lake and the Annapurna range. Lake Side, Pokhara, (06)1463468, www.mumsgardenresort.com

#### The Yellow House,

Bed and breakfast for the light traveller. Sanepa, (01)5553869/5522078, www.theyellowhouse.com.np



#### Mango Tree Lodge,

Culture walks, rafting in the Karnali, wildlife exploration, and jungle safari at the Bardia National Park. Bhetani, Bardia, (84) 402008, info@mangotreelodge.com.

#### Tranquility Spa,

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### NEPAL WHEREVER YOU ARE.



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# Festivals galore

#### **Metal For Nepal**

**What:** Metal bands from South Asia come together for a fund raiser concert to benefit the victims of 25 April earthquake.

When: 5 September Where: Bhrikutimandap

Watch out for: Indian bands Aberrant and Demonic

Resurrection



#### **Nepal Music Festival**

**What:** A yearly music and cultural festival to encourage social and cultural entrepreneurship.

When: 28 November Where: Bhrikutimandap

**The line-up:** The Shadows, Monkey Temple, international bands yet to be announced.



#### Gharana Music Festival

**What:** An ode to Nepali classical music

When: 8 to 11 October

Where: Hotel Yak and Yeti, The City Museum

Kathmandı

**Highlight:** International cellist Laura Metcalf and local musician and didgeridoo specialist, Salil Subedi perform for the first time.

#### Jazzmandu

**What:** The 13th edition of this beloved jazz festival brings in musicians from France, Morocco, Norway, and the USA



When: 4 to 10 November Where: All across town

**Performers:** Gabacho, Julie Saury Trio, Yaite Ramos, Kane Mathis, Banda Magda, Kjetil Husebø

#### Photo Kathmandu

What: The first international photo festival of Nepal.

When: 3 to 9 November Where: All around Patan



#### Nepal Literature Festival

What: The lit-fest this year travels outside Kathmandu.

When: 26 to 29 November Where: Pokhara

In attendance: Ramachandra Guha



#### Kathmandu International Mountain Film Festival

What: The 13th edition of KIMFF celebrates the

complexity of mountain life. **When:** 10 to 14 December **Where:** To be announced

### Garden Tea House

s a proud resident of Lalitpur, where quirky cafés serving excellent coffee and desserts are aplenty, I never thought my quest for the best café in town would one day end at Baneshwor of all places.

After all, cacophonic Baneswor isn't exactly where you go searching for good bakes and peace. So when you find these two combined with other elements (expertly brewed coffee, delicious desserts, friendly service, super clean bathrooms) in a fancy tea house on an unassuming road, you are pleasantly taken aback.

Reactions to this writer's Instagram post of the lovely wooden cottage (*pic, right*) where the Garden Tea House is located confirmed its 'secret' status. Friends, followers, all wanted to know where it was.

The GTH initially served as the in-house café of Hotel Sunset View, a gem of a property that still retains the rural ambience it had when it was opened in the 1980s. With the expansion of its dessert and drinks only menu that now includes familiar favourites such as Chocolate Cake (Rs 195) and the not-so-known Aggogato (Rs 220), the café expanded its clientele to include outside guests last year.

We visited the GTH on a lazy



Friday afternoon to find the place all to ourselves. The hotel's lush garden looked inviting and sitting inside meant a closer proximity to the dessert shelf, but we settled on the small patio that let us dine alfresco without being sunburnt.

For drinks, my friend ordered the White Chocolate Mocha (Rs 220) and I took the smiling waitress' recommendation of Iced Green Tea Caramel Latte (Rs 295) (pic, right). GTH sources its coffee beans from Himalayan Java and the full aroma fills the air. The Mocha was creamy, warm and delicious and not overly sweet. The latte was refreshing, with the caramel offsetting the bitterness of

the matcha perfectly. The GTH also serves green and black tea grown in Dhankuta.

Because everything on the menu looked so tempting and we had a hearty appetite, we ordered five desserts. The Blueberry Cheesecake (Rs 220) with its generous layer of blueberry compote and puree was so pretty to look at it felt almost criminal to dissect. But you got to do what you got to do. The cake was moist and



creamy, and the berries provided a nice, tangy flavour. I only wished the crust had been crispier.

The Lemon Chiffon Cake (Rs 190) was served with not-so-sweet whipped cream on the side and was fluffy, airy and light. The Chocolate Cake (Rs 195) had three

sumptuous layers with chocolate frosting and drizzled with 7PM (CLOSED cocoa powder on top. While the cake in itself tasted quite regular, the use of cocoa powder elevated its overall taste, cutting down on the chocolatey richness and providing just the right amount of a sharp, bitter tang.

Our fourth dessert was the Aggogato (Rs 220). The GTH's version of this simple Italian dessert which fuses gelato and espresso uses store-bought vanilla icecream. Served separately in individual glasses, you pour as much espresso as per preference over a scoop of the icecream. There's little that can go wrong with such an ingenious concoction: the spectrum of flavours in this coffee-based beverage is representative of the GTH's overall menu: well-thought out, balanced flavours and classic treats.

We ended our three-hour dessert binge with the homemade green tea icecream (Rs 195), partly as a measure to ease away a tiny bit of our guilt for such an indulgence. The icecream's unique taste may not be up everyone's alley, but this is a great last dish choice as it works as a palate cleanser. There are

few savoury offerings too. Buckwheat Crepe with egg and mushrooms/ham was on offer the day of our visit.

Garden Tea House is one of the few places in Kathmandu that has managed to get right all the three elements of ambience, food, and service. Go there before everyone else finds out. 

Khanchuwa

How to get there: Garden Tea House is located inside Hotel Sunset View at New Baneswor on

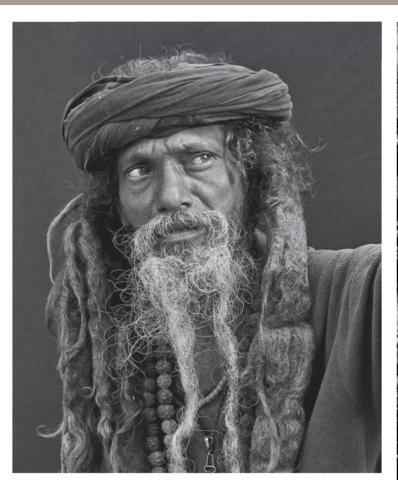
the street leading south from BICC

towards Sankhamul.

The "Good" Draught Beer of Nepal.

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# The last, the least









# and the left out



If Jan Møller Hansen's picture book, *Images of Nepal*, was a tv report it would go with one of those extra-cautious disclaimers that anchors use: 'Some viewers may find the images disturbing'.

Hansen, a Danish diplomat who served in Bangladesh and is now posted in Kathmandu, is a self-taught photographer. His hobby turned into a passion for social documentation through digital imagery and unlike other expats who inhabit Kathmandu's social circuit Hansen spends weekends visiting and photographing people in the periphery.

Working mainly in black-and-white, the pictures are sharp, stark and offer a glimpse of the rough side of town, the dark underbelly of humanity that many of us would rather forget. Hansen drags us through the squalour of the garbage dumps to shantytowns, he takes us below the bridges over which SUVs glide, he makes visual expeditions to explore the lives of the downtrodden, the stateless, the untouchables, the outcasts. And yet, the faces we see are of hope, survival and a belief in the future.

Hansen is a regular contributor to this newspaper, and in the past four months has been documenting the aftermath of the April earthquake. What we see besides the destruction and grief is the tenacity and inner strength of the Nepali character, their resolve to rebuild. Hansen has also thoughtfully translated the book's introduction and captions into Nepali.

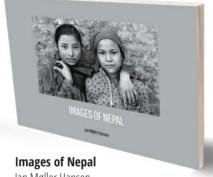
As Kunda Dixit writes in the Foreword: 'Even when you turn to the most shocking picture in this book (of the mother weeping over the tiny body of her dead baby at Pashupati cremation pyre) you share the grief and feel this incongruous sense of relief stirring in you – relief that you are still capable of empathy, emotion and an aching hurt.'

Hansen's book launch at the Siddhartha Art Gallery on 9 September will also mark the opening of an exhibition of his photographs. The book and images will be on sale, with proceeds going to survivors living in shelters in Gorkha district. The book was designed and printed before the earthquake, but the exhibition has quite a few of Hansen's earthquake photographs.

"I want to spotlight things that people do not usually see so that they can learn and understand society better," explains Hansen. Indeed, the book and exhibition force us to confront the reality of Nepal today -- especially the lives of the last, the least and the left out. The result is that most viewers will find it difficult not to help in the struggle for equality and justice for all Nepalis. 

\*\*Common Property of The Nepalis\*\*

\*\*Common Property of Th



Jan Møller Hansen Price Rs 2,900 197 pages ISBN: 978-9937-2-9535-2



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### The Fall And Other Suspenses

currently running on American

television. That number is high

because of the massive success of

shows such as Game of Thrones,

Breaking Bad and Orange Is The

shows that draw in very different

viewers. While the quality of some

of these shows are admittedly very

high, the majority fizzle out pretty

fast, barely making their way into

a second season, a symptom that

epitomises our consumer culture

but not necessarily quality.

That being said, British

undoubtedly taken the lead in

terms of the slightly more humble,

shows. The Fall which has now been

but undoubtedly much weightier

renewed for a third season being

Starring the breathtaking

Superintendent Stella Gibson, The

Fall also launched the career of

now fantastically famous Jamie

Gillian Anderson as Detective

one of them.

and European television has

where demand is met with supply,

*New Black*, three very diverse



ast week I wrote about Child 44, a noirish suspense thriller ■with all the right ingredients that however failed to make a mark at the box office, raking in only 3 million dollars. Its budget was 50 million.



Sophia Pande

These days, the only way to make detailed crime procedurals that are both suspenseful and successful seems to be in the relatively more long form that is the television series - a subject that I addressed in a column written in the spring of 2014 titled "The Murder Mystery".

This past week *The International* New York Times ran a piece that stated there are almost 400 shows

in the film version of E.L. James' mummy porn mega-hit trilogy Fifty Shades of Grey) who plays a serial killer named Paul Spector who is unknown to Gibson's team (you can see the literary bent of the script from this name).

The first season, which consisted of five parts, was fleshed out characters and told Stella and Paul Spector's point of view. The second season, which builds on the first, deals with the continued chase of Paul Spector but now centres on the budding psychological power relationship between Stella and Paul, bolstered by riveting performances from a great group of cast including Archie Panjabi who plays Reed

The Fall provides no easy answers, no heroes or heroines, but just a lens into the world of people who try to track down killers, and the collateral damage that kind of work inflicts on their psyches. It is because these British realisations don't pull their punches that they are superior to their American counterparts who are constantly forced to readjust their plot points to humour their viewers, hence the oversupply and the consequent dearth of really good shows.

Dornan (he stars as Christian Grey









**DECISION TIME:** Senior leaders of Nepal Congress at the party's Central Working Committee meeting on Tuesday.



CAUGHT-IN-BETWEEN: A supporter of Nepal being declared a Hindu state is hit by a water cannon as she is dragged by police at Baneswor on Tuesday.



HOLY THREAD: Hindu priests tie sacred threads around the wrists of people on the occasion of Janai Purnima at Bagalamukhi temple in Lalitpur on Saturday.



REMEMBERING THE DEAD: The Saparu (Gai Jatra) procession kicks off in Kathmandu's Basantapur Square on Sunday.



ROCKING IT: Folk-rock band Nepathya performs at the Manhattan Centre in New York on Saturday.



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# MINI-NEPAL IN LAN

The Nepal pavilion at the World Expo in Italy attracts a million visitors

#### **SUSHILA BUDATHOKI**

midst the rows of concrete and steel structures on display at the World Expo in Milan, it was Nepal's pavilion, designed to recreate Kathmandu's traditional *ba:ha* that generated much excitement among the eight million visitors of the fair that opened in May this year.

The 27-ft high structure featuring typical Newari houses, garden, and stone sprouts was built over three years and cost Rs 600 million. Raw materials including bricks, stone and wood were all imported from Nepal.

A million people have already visited the Nepal pavilion, and organisers expect the number to double by the time the expo ends in October. Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, Milan's Mayor Giuliano Pisapia and first daughters of America, Sasha and Malia Obama are some of the distinguished names to have visited the pavilion.



Nepal's participation at the expo began in 1970, when king Mahendra led a team to Osaka, Japan. A replica of the Pashupatinath temple built during the fair in 1983 in Munich, Germany helped Nepal garner attention at the expo and since then the country's pavilion continues to be one of the most visited.

In 2000 Nepal won the top spot at the fair in Hanover and in 2010 was listed in the top ten best pavilions.

"The success of the exhibition is judged by the number of visitors in each country's pavilion," says Binayak Shah of Implementing Experts Group (IEG), which has



been representing Nepal at the World Expo since 1983. "People only think of Nepal as a poor country. We want to show we have a lot to offer."

Many of Nepal's pavilions built

for previous expos are still intact. The pavilion created at Shanghai has been transformed into Nepal-China Cultural Center. The pavilion in Hanover has become a tourist

attraction and a gathering place for

Nepalis in Germany.

Scholar Satya Mohan Joshi says the expo has been an important platform for Nepal to showcase its unique heritage, art and culture to the world. More than 140 countries are taking part in this year's expo.

Tej Singh Bista, deputy executive director of Trade and Export Promotion Center admits that lack of interest from the government has resulted in Nepal failing to cash in on the world-wide attention it receives at these expos.

The government is responsible for selecting organisers and nominating a representative for 'Nepal day' at the fair which falls on 23 September. It hasn't submitted a name yet.



## Let's connect

Hi all,

Networking is one of the best ways to meet people and expand your social and professional circle. Social media has made it easy for people to build connections online, yet in real life it can still be challenging to communicate with people. I could not utter a word in



**ANYTHING** 

Anjana Rajbhandary

school to strangers, but now I have no problem approaching anyone about anything really. Hence, if someone is an introvert and feels uncomfortable networking- all I can say is that like any other skill

in life, you can learn it: you just have to practice. You need to give yourself a little nudge or a bigger push. Trust me, you can do it.

Keep your questions coming to askanjanaanything@ nepalitimes.com or @AnjyRajy

Dear Anjana, Being an introvert and a generally quiet person, I am not skilled at networking, which I am now realising is super important to get ahead in life and at work. I like to keep to myself and lack the courage to chat with strangers at official settings. Even when I do talk to people, it doesn't extend beyond the general introduction. I feel I am too careful with my words and therefore generally



refrain from participating in group conversations. I wish I could be more carefree and express myself better even in the presence of people I am not wellacquainted with. A few words of suggestion?

**AR:** You can definitely get better at networking as you are already making an effort. I understand how it can be intimidating but you are aware how important networking is to move forward in life and at work. It is good that you are cautious with your words but don't be so cautious that you do not get to say much.

A barrier for introverts about approaching people is the fear of not being liked by another or not being able to cast a good impression. It is practice, no matter how skilled you are with networking- everyone will not like you and you will have some awkward conversations. The trick is to realise it and walk

away when that does happen. It is trial and error.

Do not assume the worst. Generally people like to hear from other people and like to be approached for conversations. We are social being and we just connect with people. One of the best ways to seem interesting is to be interested in the other person and what they have to say. Ask questions and listen to the answers while paying attention to your body language: make eye contact, do not fold your arms and don't fiddle with your cell phone. Generally some people do not know what to do with their hands so perhaps holding a glass (in a social setting) and a notebook (in a professional setting) may help. It is okay to even talk about yourself, as a good conversationalist will also ask you questions and not go on a monologue. Just try to be real and genuine, present yourself with integrity without losing your core values. It is okay to mess up, it's just practice. Networking is an investment and with the right practice you can definitely do great. Good luck.

# A world without optimism?

hilippe Borrel is a French documentary filmmaker who explores different social issues linked to environment, food and technology. His first documentary, Not in my name! came out in 2006 and featured the American anti-war movements protesting against President George W Bush's military intervention in Iraq.

Since then, the award-winning filmmaker has been questioning development, control, industrialisation and growth. His 2008 Alerte dans nos assiettes brought to light the risks of junk food in France, and in 2010 Eco Warriors investigated the underground world of the radical ecologist activists.

Borrel's two documentaries will be screened at Alliance Française Kathmandu (AfK) on 5 September. The first, A world beyond humans?, was released in 2012. Written and directed by Borrel, it is based on an original idea by Noël Mamère, former journalist and member of French Green party, Europe Ecologie-Les Verts. The documentary presents a somewhat gloomy picture of our dependence on technologies









like computers, smartphones and robots.

Borrel questions whether we have become robots ourselves and confronts the belief based on which technology will never surpass humans and on which we invented these machines. The warnings are more eyeopeners than apocalyptic predictions.









The second documentary to be screened at AfK is Borrel's newest work. The Invisible (R)evolutions released in 2014. This can be seen as a follow-up of A World Beyond *Humans?*, starting with this same idea that man is unable to control his own creations: money and technology. Sociologists and

economists warn us about this risk on our health is indispensable.

But Borrel gradually highlights local and very small initiatives in different parts of the world - Europe, USA, India and Latin America. These people choose to leave the fast world to live in their own pace (the original French title is L'urgence de ralentir ('The Urgency To Slow Down).

As in his first documentary, Borrel's latest production shines the light on those who are not heard by the elite media. The question is: can they continue to confront and resist the juggernaut of global capitalism? Borrel's two documentaries are an appeal to revert to human values in society. Stéphane Huët

A World Beyond Humans?, 2012, 52 minutes at 3pm

The Invisible (R)evolutions, 2014, 85 minutes at 5.30pm

Alliance française of Kathmandu (01)424283, general.afk@gmail.com The screenings will be followed by an interaction with the filmmaker.



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# War-makers to peace-keepers

Former Maoist guerillas now in the Nepal Army prepare to leave for UN peacekeeping missions

#### **RAMESWAR BOHARA**

s a part of the peace process, when former ⊾Maoist guerrillas started being integrated into the Nepal Army, the decision was criticised by many political leaders. They predicted difficulties for the national military from indoctrinated revolutionaries and feared that the army may be radicalised.

The process went ahead, and Nepal is now hailed as one of the few conflict areas of the world where integrations of fighters have happened so smoothly. Of the 1,463 former combatants who qualified for integration into the Nepal Army, 1,420 graduated from the Nepal Military Academy in 2013. Seventy five ex-PLA commanders are already serving in the Army as officers.

The new graduates were deployed in the National Development and Security Directorate, especially formed to accommodate the former combatants who enjoy a 33 per cent quota in the general directorate. Nepal Army spokesperson Jagdish Chandra Pokhrel says: "The integration has been successful, each soldier has done his duty."

Although the former combatants have been assigned similar responsibilities to others in the Army, so far they have not been able to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. That also may soon change.

After consulting with the government, the office of the Chief of Army Staff this year released guidelines for the career development of former Maoists integrated into the military, including postings for peacekeeping duties abroad. As per selection criteria, a candidate



must have served in the Army for six years, proved with a certification letter issued by UNMIN with admission date, and Army classification.

The guidelines also mention a quota system for integrated combatants deployed in different units within the Directorate of National Development and Security to participate in the peacekeeping missions. The first batch of former combatants will leave for peacekeeping missions in Lebanon, Congo and Darfur starting next fiscal year. Selection will start in December.

The policy also states that if there are two soldiers selected from integrated former Maoists or from regular recruitment procedures with equal time served, priority will be given to the more senior-ranking officer. Those opting for a second stint at peacekeeping will be selected under the 2013 Policy of Peacekeeping Force Selection or according to the current

**INTEGRATED** 

Colonel 1 Lieutenant Colonel **2** 

**INTEGRATED** 

Major 13

Captain 30

Lieutenant 24

Warrant Officer First Class **14** Warrant Officer Second Class 42

Sergeant **165** 

Corporal 189

Lance Corporal 177

Private **763** 

Total: 1420

regulations of the Army.

Also 14 First Class and Second Class Warrant Officers from the integrated combatants will be selected to participate in peacekeeping operations. Integrated former combatants of other ranks will be selected based

on the standard regulation of the Army, so that the

number of former Maoist guerrillas in the peacekeeping operations do not exceed 10 per cent.

The headquarter expects both the integrated and the regularly recruited army will be deployed on peacekeeping missions on an equal and regular basis by 2019.

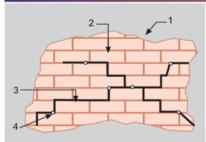
As per the new arrangements, the integrated army will only be deployed within the Directorate of National Development and Security. Promotions and training will depend on individual ranks. The procedure also gives equal accreditation to the training and bridging course undergone by the former combatants making it easier for them to rise up the ranks. They also get similar pensions to the regularly recruited army and opportunities to train abroad.

Deepak Prakash Bhatta, a member of the secretariat of the now defunct Special Committee for Army Integration believes that providing equal opportunities to the former combatants is a success story of the peace process.

Says Bhatta: "The uniqueness and success of Nepal's peace process will be further validated once the integrated army gets equal opportunities to serve in the peacekeeping missions abroad."



nepalitimes.com ■ The end of a sibling war, #672



- 2. Plaster removed and cracks cleaned
- 3. Cracks sealed with mortar

(Note: Replace bricks if the crack is through the brick.)

#### **Construction Materials**

- (30 to 40mm long) b. Non-shrinkage cement
- c. 1:3 cement sand mortar

#### **Equipment required**

#### Compressor for injecting the slurry

#### **Procedure**

- Step 1: Remove the plaster in the vicinity of crack Step 7: Make cement slurry with 1:1 (1-non shrink exposing the cracked bare masonry.
- Step 2: Make the crack in the V-shape by chiseling out
- Step 3: Fix the grouting nipples in the V-shape groove on the face of the wall at spacing of 150-200mm
- Step 4: Clean the crack with the compressed air through nipples & ensure that the fine and loose material

#### inside the crack has been removed.

- a. Plastic/Aluminum nipples of 12mm dia. Step 5: Seal the crack on both faces of the wall with cement mortar 1:3 (1-cement: 3-coarse sand) and allowed to set.
  - Step 6: Inject water starting with nipple fixed at higher level and moving down so that the dust inside the cracks is washed off and masonry is saturated with water.
  - cement: 1-water) and start injecting from lower most nipple till the cement slurry comes out from the next higher nipple and then move to next higher nipple & so on.
  - Step 8: After injection of grouting through all the nipples completes, replaster the surface and finish the same.



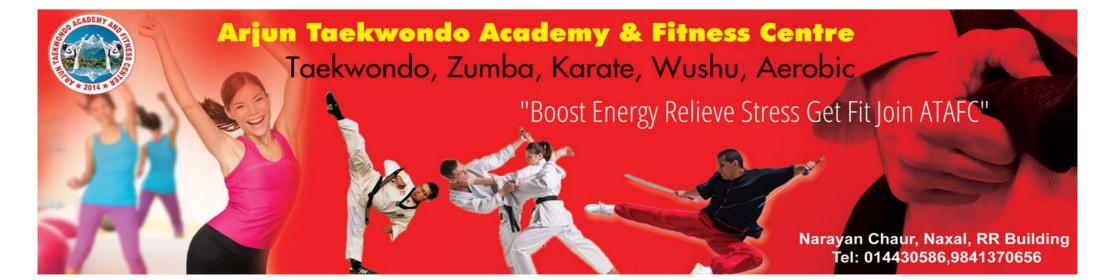




For more information on Earthquake Safety **National Society for Earthquake** Technology-Nepal (NSET)

Ward No. 4, Bhainsepati Residential Area, Lalitpur, Tel: (977-1) 5591000, 5592522, 5593000, 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.





# Deconstructing

Rebuilding destroyed homes has been unnecessarily delayed by lack of money, masons and clear government policy



■his ridge-side town with a stunning backdrop of Gauri Shankhar used to fall in the ancient trade route between Tibet and Nepal. Newar traders settled here even before the Gorkha conquest,

establishing a mint that is more

than 600 years old.

houses here.

**SAHINA SHRESTHA** 

in DOLAKHA

That mint is now in ruins, as are most of the historic stone-clay houses lining the cobblestone streets of Dolakha Bazar. While the M7.8 earthquake on 25 April damaged the buildings, it was the M7.3 aftershock on 12 May with its epicentre only 10km away that destroyed 90 per cent of the

Four months on, locals are still living in tents, or makeshift shelters next to their ruined homes. It is clear that Dolakha and nearby Charikot will take years to rebuild if they don't get any help. The ruined structures need to be safely demolished before new ones can be built.

"We are still waiting," says 74-year-old farmer Purna Narayan Shrestha who was at the Bhimsen Temple and watched as his three-storey

house collapsed during the 12 May aftershock. Shrestha is living in a temporary structure with his family and has salvaged bricks and stones from the ruins to rebuild.

"At my age, this is hard work, but I have no choice," says Shrestha. "No one has offered to help yet. I don't even have a house to store my harvest in."

Up the street, Purna Bahadur Shrestha (pic, above) is still

waiting to tear down what remains of his house and says he does not have the courage to rebuild at the moment. "I don't have money and the rains and aftershocks may bring down what I build anyway," he tells us. The other reasons no one is rebuilding yet is that there are no workers, and also the fear that they won't get the government reconstruction grant if they don't follow new

construction guidelines.

"There are no workers available to start building again," complains tea shop owner Shanta Devi Shrestha, 61, looking at the unfinished first storey of her new house. The municipality has also banned the reconstruction of all new houses until the government policy is clearer.

In the Charighyang neighbourhood nearby demolition of many of the multi-storey

concrete buildings that collapsed on 12 May is just starting. The buildings have either pancaked or are leaning on each other like domino pieces.

"When we approached local engineers no one wanted to take a chance demolishing the buildings that were risky," says Sundar Karki of Hotel Sangam which collapsed completely. Now, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

# How politics blocks

Will the survivors of the earthquake suffer the same fate as the victims of the Jure landslide who are still waiting for compensation and relocation?

YUVARAJ PURI in SINDHUPALCHOK

n 2 August 2014 the entire side of a mountain in Sindhupalchok broke off, swept away the village of Jure, a section of the highway to China and blocked the Bhote Kosi River.

Local authorities jumped into action establishing a relief trust for surviving families and raised Rs 22.4 million in three months. CDO Gopal Prasad Parajuli submitted a report to expedite the relief and rehabilitation, but he was transferred and the document gathers dust.

The area is represented by six powerful CA members from all four parties: Mohan Bahadur Basnet, Amrit Kumar Bohara, Sher Bahadur Tamang, Agni Sapkota and Ramesh Lama. They are engaged in an epic struggle to get their hands on the relief money which means the real victims have got little.

The 25 April earthquake pushed back rehabilitation of the Jure survivors even further. Two CDOs have come and gone, but all the survivors have got so far are platitudes. "The guidelines are now in place, we will go ahead with the disbursement process soon," CDO Bal Bahadur Giri told us. Understandably, the locals are furious that the authorities are sitting on the funds meant for them while they continue to live in temporary shelters.

Jiwan Shrestha was in Pashupatinath last week to observe the one year death ritual for seven family members who were killed in the landslide. Shrestha has been homeless for a year now, and appeared stoic

together.



about the loss. "I am a refugee Panchalal Shrestha was at now, I am here just to perform the temple last week mourning the rites for the family I lost." the loss of 12 family members He seemed to have all but given who were swept away by the up hope of piecing his life back landslide. He too has given up hope of ever receiving any help

from the government.

Despite losing everything, some survivors like Durgalal Shrestha were beginning to get their lives on track. But the April quake once again

# reconstruction

# Ready to build safer

han Bahadur BK, 40, has been working as a mason for the past 18 years. When the earthquake struck, many of the houses in his village of Lamabagar collapsed. BK thought his house was built well, and would stand.

"It came down, but luckily none of my family members were hurt," says BK (pic, right). "Many other houses I built also came down. I felt sad, and also puzzled about what I did wrong in the bricklaying process."

BK is one of the 55 masons trained in seismic resistant masonry during a training organised by National Society for Earthquake Technology (NSET) with support from Bhimeshwor Municipality, Department of Urban Development and Building Construction and US Agency for International Development (USAID) recently.

After attending the five-day training, BK says the houses he helps build from now on will be stronger. "I learnt new things as well as what I was doing wrong all this time," says BK who adds that his challenge will be to convince home owners to spend a little



extra for sturdier construction and teaching his fellow masons from his village to build back better.

The 55 masons are the first of over 5,000 who will be trained in new techniques and also in retrofitting older houses. The course is part of a longerterm effort by which the USAID and its partner NSET aims to contribute to the Government of Nepal's goal of training 60,000 construction professionals in disaster-resilient building skills. The masons were trained in earthquake basics, site selection and building configuration,

quality assurance, construction of earthquake-resistant buildings using stone, brick, and reinforced concrete framed buildings, periodic repair and maintenance, and an introduction to seismic retrofitting.

Said USAID's Nepal Director Beth Dunford: "Stronger homes, schools, hospitals, offices will form the foundation for Nepal's earthquake recovery. Skilled builders who have the knowledge and tools to build back safer will play a critical role in that recovery."

is helping with equipment and demolition expertise. Trade and tourism has suffered because reconstruction can't start without first demolition of the collapsed structures.

At the Shree Mahendrodaya Higher Secondary School, where all the classrooms collapsed, they are waiting for the government to get its act together. The school's 300 students are now in temporary classrooms. Says

Principal Kabindra Das Shrestha: "Rebuilding the school will take a couple of years and that too if we get the needed help urgently. We are managing, but we can't continue like this forever, the children need to be in proper classrooms so they feel safe."

We asked Dolakha CDO Devendra Lamichane about the reason for the delay in rebuilding. He says his office is waiting for the Reconstruction Authority

to develop guidelines and send instructions and for the moment is working with voluntary groups and NGOs.

"There isn't any separate budget allocated for reconstruction and rebuilding and we are working with what we have in the best possible way,' says Lamichhane. "But only after the Reconstruction Authority starts its work can we start offering help to rebuild."

# relief



rendered families homeless. He RPP-N, who have their political was forced to leave his rented room in Lamasangu and move to Kathmandu after the earthquake damaged it. He lives with his family under a make-shift tent on someone else's land in Gothatar.

"After the landslide ministers and local leaders promised to help us with relief and rehabilitation, but now everyone has forgotten us," laments

Som Sapkota, member of a committee that determined criteria for distribution admits: "In principal the CA members' approval isn't required since the District Committee on Disaster Relief is an independent body. But local leaders have interfered with the process to score political brownie points."

Jure falls under Sindhupalchok's area number one which is a closely contested constituency of leaders from major political parties including NC, CPN-UML, UCPN-M and

interest tied to the relief money. The officials at the local administration cannot bypass these leaders fearing political

However the political meddling isn't just limited to the officials. Families who lost relatives demand that the fund distribution should be based on the number of deceased members, while others say that the criteria should consider the number of survivors. With the victims themselves divided over the guidelines, the administration has an excuse for the delay.

Meanwhile, the bank account which holds the relief fund has now been frozen by the Home Ministry after the dispute escalated. So far, the families of the deceased have received just Rs 40,000 per person for final rites, and additional Rs 100,000 rupees as compensation. But the families who did not lose a family member but lost their homes and

property haven't received any help at all.

Nani Tamang is among many who lost their land and home. She took refuge in her relatives' house but the earthquake destroyed that house too and she is now living in a tent inside an Armed Police Force base near Jure after her husband died.

According to official figures, 145 people from Mankha, Ramche, Dhuskun and Tekanpur VDCs of Jure lost their lives in the landslide, 97 houses were swept away and 220 houses were damaged displacing hundreds.

Ram Bahadur Lama lost 13 family members in the landslide, and isn't hopeful about ever receiving any help. His sentiments, sum it all up: "Forget the government in Kathmandu. We didn't even receive even the money for survivors collected here in the district."

Centre for Investigative Journalism

### Help from far

he picturesque valley of Lele on the southern outskirts of Kathmandu was badly hit in the April earthquake, with 44 out of 52 families losing their homes. Most are still living in makeshift shelters, braving the rains at night and the heat during the day. Some have also lost their livestock, and are struggling to rebuild their lives. The local school is damaged, and the road is in poor shape.

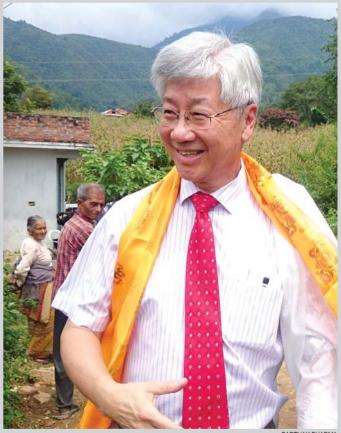
But one morning this week, villagers woke up to the sound of celebration. A band played music, the sound of trumpets, cymbals and drums reverberating. As the mist moved up the hillside, villagers peeped out of their tents and tin shacks.

A Chinese-American with a shock of white hair and dressed in a smart white shirt and red tie got off a car, and proceeded to greet villagers with namastes. A former US Army surgeon, Wan Shaw Pong (pic, below) had come here to pledge \$50,000 to help rebuild all 50 homes in Lele.

Wan, 65, had attended a big international kidney conference in Kathmandu last November and had been struck by the warmth and friendliness of the Nepali people. When he heard about the earthquake, he immediately offered to help and got in touch with Nyanopan, a volunteer group that has been helping children in the mountains with warm clothing for the past ten years.

"I got many breaks in life, and I believe the earthquake survivors of Nepal also need a break," said Wan, who also supports medical units in Palestine and education in China. "I believe in helping people who can help themselves and also in reaching the neediest of the needy."

As he examined the ruins of houses, Wan's eyes welled up. An elderly woman had just thanked him, saying, "You've come all the way from America to help us. We really appreciate your help."



Nyanopan's engineers are working to bring the steel trusses and roofing material and the locals are already at work digging foundations and salvaging bricks and timber from the ruins for their new homes. Nyanopan's Vijay Lama expects the whole project to be finished before winter sets

"If the project goes well, we could use our limited resources to support other villages in southern Lalitpur," Lama says. "Although it is so close to the capital, this area has been bypassed by most response teams."

Wan used the trip to climb up the ridge to another neighbourhood that needs help and listened carefully as villagers told him what they need. He is also helping Vayodha Hospital in Kathmandu with a \$10,000 fund to treat patients who cannot afford emergency surgery, and is helping bring rural Chinese ophthalmologists to be trained by Nepali doctors in cataract surgery.

Wan was born in Hong Kong. After his parents fled the Communists, the family moved on to Taiwan and then to the United States. Wan served all over the world as an army surgeon and retired as a US army colonel. He now has a private practice and teaches medicine in North Carolina.

From a ridge overlooking Lele, Wan looks down and says: "I struggled in life, but I got help at crucial times to have a successful career, and I see myself in those who are left out by the mainstream." Sarthak Sharma in Lalitpur

### Getting away with murder

Post Bahadur Basnet in www.setopati.com, 27 August

सेतोपाटी

After protesters demanding a Tharuhat province murdered eight policemen and a child in Tikapur this week, a 'progressive' commentator tweeted that it was 'an outburst of the long-suppressed anger of the Tharus'.

It is like saying that a husband who murdered his wife may have his reasons for doing so: 'he would not have killed her if she had not cheated on him'. This section of the intelligentsia that regards itself as 'progressive' argues that social injustice is the root cause of most violence. They believe that the oppressed cross a threshold where they can't take injustice anymore and rise up.

So when Tharuhat protesters massacred police and a child in Tikapur, the 'progressives' heaved a sigh of relief. It was dramatic proof of the proletariat striking back. They argued that the murders finally woke up the state, and argued that constitution-drafting should be suspended to address the people's aspirations for ethnicity-based states.

The 'progressive' intelligentsia has justified violence as a means for the liberation of the oppressed ever since the Maoists waged what they dubbed as a 'people's war'. They said it was a just uprising against the structural violence of the state. The only way to end the conflict, they said was to fulfill their demands.

These intellectuals ended up becoming unofficial spokespersons of the Maoists. Not only did they justify violence, but they also proved that its relevance was not over as yet. Since these commentators appear in a Gandhian garb, their justification for Maoist violence carried more weight.

After the 2006 Democracy Movement nearly all civil society leaders, not just the 'politically correct' ones, became 'revolutionaries' overnight. They shed their neutrality and independence by moving beyond mediating, and proceeded to radicalise society and convince the public that an equal society could only be forged through a violent uprising.

Society therefore began to believe that political violence was okay. The end justified the means. Such crimes would not be subject to the criminal justice system. After the war, some civil society



**LAST RESORT:** A woman shows the room where SSP Laxman Neupane had hid himself before being dragged outside and killed by protestors at Tikapur in Kailali last week.

leaders stood by army generals and officers charged with illegal detention and extra-judicial killings while other progressive intellectuals defended Maoist leaders facing charges of violation of human rights.

Some intellectuals even warned that punishing Maoist leaders or army generals for war crimes would jeopardise the peace process. The fact that not a single general, Maoist leader or ministers in government ever had to face up to wartime atrocities encouraged impunity. This could be why Netra Bikarm Chanda is itching to start another war.

As violent protests erupt in the western plains, Bijaya Gachhadar finds it increasingly more difficult to stick to the agreement he signed. The Maoists are also under pressure from the extremists in their ranks. After going along with the NC-UML they now say that denying a Tharuhat province would be catastrophic.

What will happen if Kailali district with its mixed population of Tharus, Bahuns and Chhetris is placed in the Far West

Province and not in Province 5 which stretches from Nawalparasi to Bardia, and which the Tharus consider their homeland?

Even if Kailali becomes part of a future Tharuhat Province, Bahuns and Chhetris will not lose anything. And if Kailali becomes part of the Far West province, the Tharus will lose nothing. They will still all be equal citizens of Nepal. Yet, the leaders of neither communities want to compromise.

NC leader Sher Bahadur Deuba is stoking the fire by insisting that not a single village of Kailali, let alone the whole district, can be separated from his Far West province. Maoist leader Baburam Bhattarai is adding fuel to the fire by saying that Kailali is the soul of the Tharuhat province and putting it in the Far West Province would be like "beheading the Tharus".

The demands for the undivided
Far West and the Tharuhat province
are both offshoots of a radical
interpretation of federalism, and
Deuba and Bhattarai are trapped by
their own rhetoric. Federalism in Nepal
nothing but an experiment in devolution,

is nothing but an experiment in devolution, democracy and governance. It might work, or it might not. But it was cunningly linked with 'ethnic liberation' in our mixed society — people were made to believe that federalism would be panacea to all their problems. And any means, including murder, could be employed to attain it. In this state of impunity, political violence will continue, and tragedies like Tikapur will keep happening.

And our 'progressives' will keep finding excuses, saying it was just the justifiable anger of the oppressed. Even the murder of a two-year-old child can be justified.



Price of a martyr Rs 5 million

हिमाल

Bhanu Bhattarai in *Himal Khabarpatrika,* 30 August - 5 September

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



I pray that Nepalis will stop killing each other and resolve their problems peacefully.

Govinda KC in an interview with BBC Nepali Service, 2 September

### More violent than others

Navin Jha in www.dalannepal.com, 2 September

Protests spearheaded by Madhesi parties were largely peaceful in Birganj until Sunday evening. No one had died and only a few protesters had sustained minor injuries in the first two weeks of the indefinite Madhes shutdown.

But things started turning ugly from Monday morning, and five protesters were killed in police firing in the next 48 hours. One more protester died in the adjacent district of Bara. Some of the injured were rushed to Kathmandu for treatment. On Tuesday afternoon, the government declared Birganj as a riot-stricken area and deployed the army to contain the violence.



What suddenly triggered this violence in the central Tarai? There had been no major clashes despite Madhesi parties' promise to provide Rs 5 million to families of those killed during the antigovernment movement.

The answer is the traditional rivalry between two Madhesi political forces. The way the Armed Police Force (APF) dealt with the situation also made things worse.

An alliance of Federal Socialist Forum Nepal, Tarai Madhes Democratic Party, Sadbhavana Party and Tarai Madhes Sadbhavana Party had announced an indefinite Tarai shutdown after a Madhesi protester, 25-year-old Rajiv Raut, was killed in police firing in Saptari on 18 August. This alliance had been holding peaceful protests every day. Anil Jha of Nepal Sadbhavana Party and Matrika Yadav of CPN (Maoist) felt left out, and they formed another alliance to take credit for the Madhes uprising.

The democratic alliance of four parties and the federal alliance of two parties engaged themselves in a competition to become the real saviours of the Madhes. They started outdoing each other to be even more aggressive.

Top leaders of the democratic alliance addressed a mass rally in Kalaiya of Bara on Sunday. In a desperate attempt to gain more prominence, cadres of another alliance blocked the Nagawa by-pass road of Birgunj. After a brief scuffle with police, they left the road. But that night, an APF patrol harassed locals and thrashed anyone loitering outside.

Enraged by the APF's act, Nagawa locals started attacking police from Monday morning. Top leaders of the democratic alliance were scheduled to address a rally in Birganj that afternoon. But protests turned so violent that they were holed up in their hotel rooms throughout the day. Both alliances tried to lead the Nagawa protests, but situation spiraled out of control. Madhesi protesters from both groups set government property and vehicles on fire and ransacked the UML party office.

### "His Highness gave us Kalapani"

Bhekh Bahadur Thapa in *Naya Patrika,* 31 August

ायाँ पत्रिक

When I was Nepal's ambassador to India from 1997 to 2003, there was a meeting of Nepali and Indian survey officers in New Delhi to sort out border disputes. Nepali survey officers were well-prepared, with experts like Buddhi Narayan Shrestha and they presented verified maps showing Kalapani as a part of Nepali territory with land revenue receipts from Nepali citizens residing between Limpiyadhura and Kalapani to prove it.

Indian survey officers did not have such strong evidence to claim Kalapani was in India and could not refute the proof presented by the Nepali team. Even so, the meeting ended inconclusively.

I organised a reception for the Nepali survey officers at the embassy, where the Director General of India's Survey Department was also present. I told him that prolonging the border dispute would harm relations between the two countries.

"We presented all the necessary documents, why would would we want to delay a resolution of the issue?" I asked. His reply: "His Highness gave Kalapani to us." He did not say 'His Majesty', meaning that someone besides the king had granted Kalapani to India. I maintained that not even the king or parliament had the right to hand



over territory to a foreign country. He did not reply. Later, India's National Security Advisor Brajesh Mishra told me: "Our force does not feel secure to pull out of Kalapani."

So I said to him: "Do you want me to report to my government that Indian forces do not want to leave Kalapani though the land belongs to Nepal?" That was the last conversation I ever had with the Indian authorities about Kalapani. A few years later, there was regime change in Nepal and new rulers were increasingly convinced that they could attain and cling to power only with Indian intervention. Now, the Kalapani issue seems to have fizzled out.

## Birthing a new constitution

A long time ago in what seems like a far-off galaxy the warring parties came together and signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement

long time ago in what seems like a far-off Lgalaxy the warring parties came together and signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Then, despite difficulties and disagreements, they managed to establish an interim government and draw up an Interim Constitution that was reasonably progressive, and to organise elections for a



David Seddon

Constituent Assembly that were judged reasonably free and fair, and on a basis of mixed forms of representation that resulted in the most inclusive representative body ever formed in Nepal.

It was agreed that Nepal should be a republic and that there should be a 'restructuring of the state' which, unfortunately, involved some form of federalisation. There were high hopes for a new Constitution, based on the deliberations of the elected Constituent Assembly, followed by elections to a national and to local assemblies (the first for more than a decade in the case of the latter) giving birth to a 'New Nepal' that was democratic and fully inclusive in a political sense.

That process began nearly a decade ago. Since then, there has been failure after failure to progress towards those hoped-for goals. Gradually, the so-called leaders of three main parties - the NC, the UML and the UCPN(M) - came to dominate the debate and decide the future of the Nepali people. As time wore on, their priorities appeared increasingly to be determined more by party priorities and personal position and status than by any vision of a democratic future. The drafting of the Constitution proved impossible, and the first Constituent Assembly was dissolved. The struggle for political supremacy among the few replaced the struggle to transform the state to ensure greater democracy at the local level and to invigorate a stagnant and failing economy.

Rightly angered at their effective marginalisation from the process of decision-making, other political forces representing a variety of interests (but couching their dissatisfaction and dissent in terms of the misguided and misleading mantra of 'social inclusion' along regional, ethnic, caste and



gender lines, and adopting the disastrous and divisive notion of federalism and autonomous states or provinces) railed against the political dictators.

Rarely was there mention of exploitation, oppression, social discrimination and inequality, lack of social justice and lack of democracy, except in terms of the very partial and essentially divisive notion of 'social inclusion'. There was no mention of class as the basis for the profound divisions of Nepali economy and society, not even from the Maoist party that had led the 'People's War' as part of the class struggle.

For years now, Nepali politics has been embroiled in a futile and entirely unnecessary debate not about 'federalism' as opposed to other forms of decentralisation that might provide a better framework for a more active and effective democracy. The debate is simply about what form of federalism, how many autonomous states and what

boundaries between them.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the three dominant parties have increasingly dictated 'the direction of travel' -- continuing to marginalise all other political forces, including those outside the formal political arena in the wider civil society. They imposed their priorities on the second, less representative Constituent Assembly and now, it seems whipping their party members on the Assembly to do their bidding in the final stages of this farce of 'constitution drafting'.

Readers of this column may not be familiar with 'The Mountain in Labour' - one of Aesop's Fables. The earliest surviving version of the tale is in the first two and a half lines of a four-line Latin poem by Phaedrus: 'A mountain had gone into labour, and was groaning terribly. Such rumours excited great expectations all over the country. In the end, however, the mountain gave birth to a mouse.'

In this case, that of the new Constitution of Nepal, it seems that the mountain is about to give birth to a flea-bitten, emaciated, disease-ridden but hungry rat which will plague it for years to come. 💟

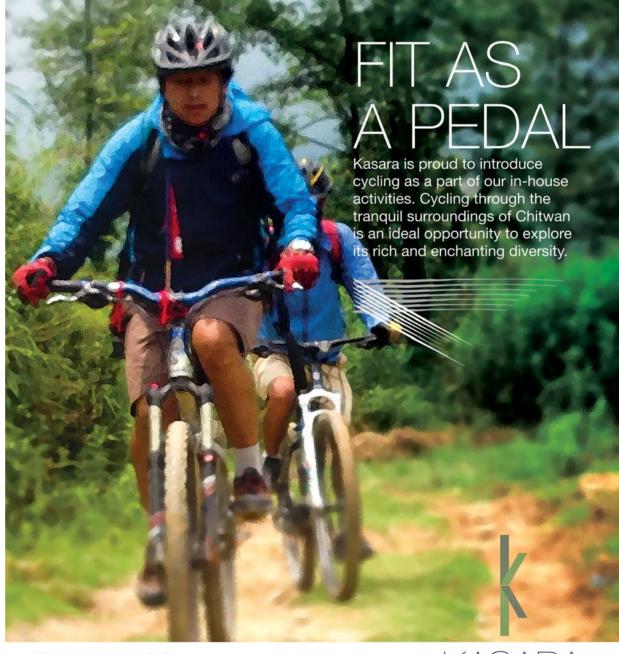
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### Annus horribilis

e are just halfway through 2015, and what a year it has already been. After much back-and-forth, to-and-fro, hither-tither, pillar-to-post, not to mention hemming-and-hawing, it was bound to happen: we are stuck with the 'F' word.

'n their hurry to get to power, the Fourpack tried to bulldoze through a quickie constitution via Federal Express. Now, all hell has broken lose. No one is happy. The grunts are disgruntled, Brahmins are on warpath even though the deal was done between the all-Brahmin leadership of the parties, the Madhesis are all worked up but they're not exactly sure what they are so worked up about, the Saffron Brigade is brandishing tridents, the Tharus are up in arms, the Newars are planning a motorcycle rally. Everyone has called for infinite, nationwide overlapping bunds. Most parts of the country have multiple shutdowns on the same day, including curfews which are government shutdowns enforced with Hawaii Fire. All we need now is for someone in Kathmandu to also declare a definite bund demanding that the capital also be shut down indefinitely so we don't have to go to work for the unforeseen future.

In all this doom and gloom, it is tempting to throw up your hands and say, "That's it, I'm emigrating to New Zealand." But instead of whining and dining, we would urge our valuable customers not to take any hasty decisions, Nepal is destined for greater things. It is our defeatist attitude that makes us see the glass as half-empty when it is actually completely empty. These hurt-alls are a boost to the economy, they are great for GDP growth, and we should have more of them. Let's just look at what we have achieved with three weeks of shutdowns:



- 1. Nepal saved 500 million litres of petrol and diesel in three weeks thus wiping our Balance of Payments deficit with India. If we have another month of this, we will even have a trade surplus. Of course there is a shortage of LPG in Kathmandu, but as the Great Helmsman himself once remarked you can't make a cheese omelet without milking the yak.
- 2. Till last month, there used to be 50 highway fatalities in Nepal every week. Which means the nationwide shutdowns have saved 150 lives so far. This is a stupendous achievement for which the full credit goes to the arsonists and the security forces.
- **3.** Our back of the envelope calculation also shows that in the past three weeks, 65 goats, 27 ducks and 450 chicken that would have been victims of road kill on our highways lived to see another day, just so they can be sacrificed during Dasain.
- 4. More than 7,000 marriage processions with lavish juntis, baja gaja, sumptuous banquets and other unnecessary wedding expenses were not incurred because of highway closures, riots, tear gas, rubber bullets and petrol bomb attacks. The cumulative cash savings to the national treasury from non-nuptials nationwide is estimated at a couple of arabs.
- 5. Nepalis all over the country saved another 100 corrodes because they couldn't get to hospital and

- were therefore spared having to pay exorbitant medical bills.
- 6. The bunds have achieved what decades of government policy interventions have not managed to do: reduce outmigration to the Gulf and Malaysia and induced thousands of Nepalis to stay on in Nepal. The reason being that they just couldn't get a bus to travel to Kathmandu to take flights out.
- **7.** Meanwhile, tens of thousands of jobless youth were provided three weeks of full-time employment on a daily minimum wage basis setting up highway barricades, setting fire to buses and carrying out target practice with projectiles aimed at fast-moving motorcyclists. This has enhanced the purchasing power of the population, and had a multiplier effect on the economy.
- **8.** Nepal's annual GDP growth rate has therefore now been revised to go up by 1.5% this fiscal ear also because of the dramatic increase in the sales of gin, vodka, whiskey, rum, beer and moonshine during the bund period.
- **9.** A new national sport has been launched to replace Dandi Biu. It's the Dandi Charge, and our athletes have been practicing it day and night on the streets. By the time it is included in the Olympics as an official sport, Nepal should be able to bag a couple of colds.
- **10.** Tourism entrepreneurs have short-sightedly called for a ban on bunds. That would be counterproductive. We should look at marketing hurt-alls to potential visitors by having niftily designed signage promoting deserted streets, pollution-free cities and free treks from the airport to hotel.
- 11. And it's not just Nepal that has benefited. India has also come out smelling like roses. Earlier, when India blockaded Nepal it used to be criticised internationally for being a bully, now they just get the Nepalis to blockade Nepal.



The Ass

#### **PAST PRESENT FUTURE**

**DIWAKAR CHETTRI** 

These fasts are unhinging our plans to fleece patients.



Do you know what will happen if Dr KC's demands are met?



All Nepalis will have access to affordable, quality health care.



