Doors closed

The families of Nepal’s conflict victims have had a few ups and a lot of downs in their search for truth and justice since the war ended in 2006. But they have never felt so deserted as now.

The merger of the Maoists with the UML last week may have created Nepal’s most powerful political force, but for the families of those murdered, maimed, tortured or disappeared during the 1996-2006 conflict, it has dashed all hope of reparations.

They are convinced one of the main reasons the Maoists wanted unity was to wash the blood off their hands, and the Nepal Communist Party (NCP) will sweep war crimes under the carpet, and pardon those charged.

In what could be a sign of things to come, the government is reportedly preparing to free Balkrishna Dhungel, an ex-Maoist MP convicted of murdering Ujain Kumar Shrestha in Okhaldhunga during the insurgency, by granting him a presidential pardon on Republic Day on 20 May.

Ujain’s sister, Sabitra, told us: “I am very sad that the man who not just killed my brother but also destroyed my family, is getting a Republic Day reward.”

Shrestha pushed tirelessly for Dhungel’s conviction by the Supreme Court in 2010, who was finally caught by police in 2017 after years of ‘wandering’. The pardon next week will set Dhungel free, sending a signal that anyone can get away with murder.

Shrestha says this could be the beginning of the end of the struggle by families like hers for transitional justice: “Not just me, all conflict victims are at a dead end.”

Families of victims had pinned hopes on the UML because it was not in power during the conflict, and its top leaders were not charged with violating human rights in the Maoist insurgency.

After 2006, human rights activists close to the UML were often the only ones speaking for truth and justice. They lobbed governments to set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and amend its provisions so they were in line with international laws and standards.

But the party most strongly pushing transitional justice has now merged with the party whose leaders are charged with unpardonable crimes like murder, torture and rape.

Suman Adhikari who used to head the Conflict Victims Common Platform (CVC), says: “The unification of UML and Maoists has further weakened us and our cause.”

Pro-UML human rights activists have softened their tone as the Maoists whom they tried to indict for war crimes have now become their own leaders.

Meanwhile, the opposition NC will not be existing the video since Sam Bahadur Deuba himself is accused of enforced disappearances and extra-judicial killings.

Gopal Shal of the Maoist Victims’ Association is an NC supporter, but gets no support from the NC. He says: "The party knows it cannot get its leadership to push for transitional justice. All parties will now be united in calling for amnesty."
UNITED WE STAND

The unification of the Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninists and the Communist Party of Nepal Maoist-Centre to form the Nepal Communist Party (NCP) took a roller-coaster eight months, but finally happened this week. The announcement has been accompanied by hyperbole and hype — as we were witnessing the merger acquisition of two multinational banks, not two parties that believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some commentators have called the new entity the most powerful Communist Party in the world, without specifying the scale of measurement. They talk about it as if the NCP is as monolithic as the Communist Party of China. The co-chairs of the merged party, K P Oli and Pushpa Kamal Dahal, have compared each other to ‘captain and co-pilot’ of a plane or as atoms of ‘hydrogen’ and ‘oxygen’. We are left guessing who is flying the plane, and who is the first officer. Or which one is the explosive hydrogen gas, and who is the oxygen in this new water molecule.

Nepal may now well be politically stable, but accountability is a maze and prosperity seems to pertain only to ex-military office holders. Ahead of the budget, the government’s presentation to Parliament of its policies and programs is mostly old wine in a new bottle: we are told Nepal will soon be as rich as the country graduates to middle-income status by 2030, generates 15,000MW of power within a decade, double houses in five years and ends overseas migration.

It is all right to dream, but targets have to be realistic. Realising all the goals listed in President Bidhuraj’s speech to Parliament on 5 March is predicted on transparency, better governance and delivery. These need a structural overhaul of the state system, and no one seems to be talking about that.

The unified party may have shared a Communist past, but in thought, principles and behaviour they are divided in two: in the one, the NCP is one common ideology across the entire country. Much as we would like to give the benefit of the doubt to the two-Communists, and wish the merger well for the sake of long-suffering Nepal, there is reason to be skeptical. The government and the party that now leads it is off to a rather slow start.

All have heard so far are promises and more promises: making Nepal “like heaven” in ten years, bullet trains whizzing through tunnels to Kathmandu from south and north, international airports galore.

Meanwhile, the Ring Road to Rolpa is a muddy quagmire where the only Great Leap Forward is what pedestrians have to avoid to large padlocks. After much hubbub over cracking down on bus syndicates, an Oli-loyalist minister has sacked the Director General from the Department of Transportation who was trying to get bus route permits out of the clutches of the mafia.

One year after elected mayors and village chiefs took over, and nearly six months after the pronouncements that their elected leaders, the devolution process is going nowhere very fast. Katmandu municipality seems to be comatose. Lalitpur’s mayor is everywhere but nowhere, and in many rural municipalities elected councilors are debating awarding infrastructure projects to themselves, and plundering natural resources.

The UML and the CPN-MC came together out of necessity. The UML was tired of being a junior partner in unstable-coalition because of its fragmented vote bank. The Maoists had disintegrated into Little pieces, Chairman Dahal needed to secure his own political future. He also wanted to wash his hands of the blood he had spilled during his regime by leaving no trace of his Maoist past.

The loser in this game will be the survivors and families of victims of war crimes and human rights violations as we report in this issue (page 34). A report shows that Lal Krishna Dhungel, accused in a war crime in Myagdi, is getting a presidential pardon on Republic Day. Next week poses even more serious attempts to evade truth, justice and reparations.

The groundwork has already been laid by weakening the mandates of the Commission on Enforced Disappearances and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The unified party, as well as the opposition NCP and the new elected forces, are united in this attempt to forget and be forgotten. People’s psyche and their lack of confidence that politicians and warriors will ever face up to their crimes, helps the perpetrators. Meanwhile, the families of more than 1,400 disappeared Nepalis still do not have closure. Relatives of the dead and wounded are still struggling.

The ghosts of the dead will continue to haunt the NCP as long as it does not put its violent past, and make amends.

ONLINE PACKAGES

HEALTH WARNING

Abdominal pain is one of the biggest threats to human health in modern times. It already kills 700,000 people a year and will account for 15 million deaths per year by 2030. This is a huge problem in the developing world, especially in developing countries. Awareness is the most important step in the fight against this disease. Read more about the disease and how to help at times.com.

RAMAZAN IN INDIA

Ramazan moons have been flooding the nation like a flood in every four years. Since 1971, the flood has brought terror to our home when they had their red flag. This flood makes many people suffer. Watch this video to know how small children prepare a community in a camp is affected flooding. Ramazan also.

NATIONAL INTEREST

I have not been impressed by this writer’s articles, as his scarcity insight is often obscured by blatant business shrewdness and overestimating Western supremacy, and his latest column is no exception (Shocking ourselves in the foot, Tod Akins, #49). If Western countries make it very difficult and expensive for poor people to obtain a visa, it is because they are protecting their national resources – job opportunities and social welfare. In the same sense, Nepal charges high permit fee for mountain climbing to protect and benefit from one of its most valuable resources.

Justin Zhao

BEAT PLASTIC POLLUTION

Just not plastic bags, how about wrappers like (Wal-mart) paper for industrial scale litter, Mukesh Poochal, #49). Some loan or grants should be given to businesses to make bio-degradable plastic bags and packages. Let’s not fight each other, but work together to solve this problem.

Abs Pan

Mary Louis talks about the trash problem in Nepal (Plastic Money, Samuel John, #49). They don’t realise it is they themselves who are doing the most damage.

Frogal Travels

CONSPIRACY

One body two heads, two conspires as (one body, two heads), Om Astha Rai, #49).

Alex Ferguson

FOREIGN AID

40 years of foreign aid and still asking for more. Poor schools, poor roads, disastrous health care, aeronautical industry at a safety and service law, pollution at high level, corruption, scath and inefficiency a mid-highclass oil and gas export, is it not logic for the many poor people that everyone has to finance. Thank and bless the 3 million Norwegian teachers working in the Gulf countries to keep the country running.

For how long?

David Durkan

TEN YEARS AGO THIS WEEK

The 23-29 May 2010 issue of Nepal Times (#87) was a particularly important edition because it marked the 100th anniversary of the Kathmandu Valley’s return to electorates elections. As the garma community were sworn in as ministers, the UML scheme a simpler electoral system at the same time, as a merger of the Maoists with the UML to form the NCP.

Dependent on whether you are the glass half full or half empty, we are waiting for Nepal to merge into a new era of democracy and progress, or others are convinced that we are headed towards a totalitarian abyss.

The garment’s articles and analysis are particularly good, and they should be allowed to visit a government. The NCP and UML should get their self-absorbed money and deep suspicion of each other, and look at the result of the future instead of their partisan antics. Avoid the city of Kathmandu in the streets and decide a shutdown, punning the people to get back to the Valley. So are they in their ways, but to change seems to be asking too much.
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Six decades of cooperation

Nepal and Germany have to build the future on the foundation of a well understood past

Roland Schäfer

Sixty years ago Nepal established diplomatic relations with Germany when both countries were emerging from dark and difficult times. Both were trying to establish a new identity. They wanted to open up to the world and define a new place for themselves within it.

Look at Nepal today: it has overcome decades of oppression by a rent-seeking elite, it has overcome a decade of civil strife, it has given itself a new, democratic, republic and federal constitution, and the Nepalese people have validated all this by voting massively last year, installing the most powerful government in Nepal’s modern history.

This government, carried by a united party, knows it has to fulfill the promises which got it elected. It has the power and the wisdom to reconcile the country with its past and help it look boldly to the future. Building the future on the foundation of a well understood past shared by all will be a process.

It cannot be achieved by the stroke of a pen or the handing out of some money from state coffers. But if this process gets to a credible start now, in the coming two to five years it will be empowering Nepalese women and men like never before in history.

From many conversations in the last nine months here, I am confident to say: it seems to feel good to be a Nepal today. And I can tell you myself: it feels good to be a German today.

We have been holding joint consultations on the next two years cycle of development cooperation between Germany and Nepal. Germany will continue to engage in the health and energy sectors, and will continue to work on enabling Nepali small and medium sized enterprises for a competitive world market.

Our cooperation builds on decades of common work. Bhaktapur may have the longest story to tell about successes in our cooperation, about trust built, even after initial failures were overcome. This learning process never ends. I am happy to further engage with this proud, able city and its citizens on a cooperation that makes best use of what Bhaktapur can give to the nation and of what a modern Germany can contribute to this long-standing partnership.

Not all is government to government cooperation. We want to make Nepal a place for German and European industry to invest in. Employment will be created dunably and reliably in this competitive world through private sector engagement. I thank Nepal for extending support to Germany in the upcoming election to non-permanent membership of the United Nations.

We count on your support, so that we can work for multilateral peace-making, something to which Nepal’s army is contributing so much.

And look at Germany today. The country is reunited, its 80 million people are part of a European Union of 500 million citizens who freely trade, travel, work and transfer assets among themselves. The European Union ensures the rule of law for all and organizes the outside protection of the Union territory.

Germany has established its own particular brand of foreign and security policy – not so much by talking, but by how we behaved. We have taken on responsibility such as intervening militarily against dictatorship and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, offering part to the conflict of the Middle East.

We refused to participate in the invasion of Iraq at the beginning of the century. The most important point for us today: the European Union as a whole is establishing its own Foreign and Security policy of which Germany is fully a part.

Excerpt of a speech by Roland Schäfer, Ambassador of Germany to Nepal, on 20 May to mark the 60th anniversary of Nepal-German diplomatic relations.

Amiko lunch for executives

Amiko Room at Hotel Annapurna is not a new restaurant and honors the famous Kathmandu artist who took Nepali architecture to China and beyond. Now, the inspiration is travelling in the opposite direction: from China to Nepal in the form of exclusive cuisine.

Since Chinese cuisine of dubious authenticity is available in even the simplest eateries in Kathmandu, many high-end restaurants have been setting themselves apart with authentic Chinese taste.

Amiko has stuck to its time-tested recipes in its new ‘Executive Lunch’ menu, and from the queue outside one recent afternoon, the idea seems to work well.

The special lunch menu is targeted at executives and bankers, and for this the restaurant location is just right: on Dharahara. Light and simple, the menu has three options each with three courses, including appetizers of soup, fish, rice, noodles, chicken and fish items, tons of greens and desserts.

 Sous Chef Santosh Subedi says: the menu is ‘We want to give typical, authentic Chinese style food with the willingness to spend a good amount for lunch, without compromising on taste.‘

 Chef Subedi joined Amiko Room nearly three years ago after a longish culinary stint in Dubai. He calls himself the ‘Nepali Dumpling Master’ sounding grander than ‘Momo Man’, pioneering new additions to the menu like Manpo Bun (a Chinese steamed bun).

On Chinese New Year, Amiko Room laid out a spread that included a Stir-fried Chicken soup, an authentic Chinese dish that became the talk of the town. In contrast, not many enjoyed the Chinese style hand-made noodles the kitchen introduced for its Chinese noodle festival. The Chef took this as a cue to stick with what customers really like, rather than on ‘Indo-Chinese’ forms.

In fact, many of the restaurant’s customers love its Chinese cuisine so much that they have ‘regular’ orders. One recent afternoon, a group of Chinese and Nepali customers sat down at a table for four and ordered: “The regular: Schezuan fried rice and soups, Kung Pao and Xiang Poo chicken, and ginger prawn.

Chef Subedi says the restaurant’s secret is that it doesn’t have any secrets: “We do not use MSG or any other seasonings. The taste comes from the balance of the flavours of salt, pepper, sauces and fresh ingredients.”

Even through the number of Chinese tourists in Kathmandu is rising, the restaurant mostly serves Nepali and multi-cultural customers interested to come again and again by the new Executive Lunch menu.

Executive Lunch at Amiko Room

Sunday- Friday: 12.30pm, 185.50NPR

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length of the Haytt ballroom in full highland dress – tight green jacket, bone buttons, clan tartan kilt and silver-mounted sporran swaying jauntily in time to the beat. Recited by uniformed pipers, he bore aloft the elaborate gold-embossed bottle containing the rare 50-year-old Chivas Regal that was specially blended in a limited edition to celebrate the occasion, distilled the same year as the historic first ascent of Mount Everest in 1953.

During the golden jubilee celebration, his whisky colleague Peter Prentice had told me with glee: “Tenzing’s story is wearing only the second best gear I’ve got this evening – his main outfit is listed as a national treasure and cannot be found in Inverness Castle in Scotland.”

Responding to the roaring music and drumming of the moments, the audience rose to their feet in spontaneous applause as the bottle, along with a large cheque for the Himalayan Trust, was presented to Sir Edmund Hillary (above, with the bottle) waiting on stage flank by Tenzing Norgay’s relatives and members of the Sherpa community. The festivities continued with Sherpa singing and dancing, fast-slowing and stamping in celebration of the 50th anniversary in 2003. The men were identical pale felt hats with their dark chubas, the women giggling in bright striped aprons, multi-coloured ribbons and intricate gold headaddresses.

June Hillary, resplendent in red velvet, leaped over to whisper with concern: “Seems like an awful lot of people here.” The huge room was filled with mountaineers, ambassadors, film makers, media, family and friends. So many had turned up that the Haytt had to raid their larders to assure enough dinner for everyone.

Heaps of cream silk khadar adorned the dignitaries, and guests wore distinctive tartan papas sash adorned with ‘Triumph on Everest’ and the date 29 May 2003, exactly 50 years after the highest mountain in the world had been scaled. Mine is still draped over a picture in my office, slightly faded but with memories of that distant day that I had helped organise.

Ed arrived at the Haytt in a helicopter showering flower petals from a felicitous event with the Prime Minister, and the morning had been spent in the British Embassy garden – broadcast in real time by television New Zealand with New Zealand TV technicians. Presenting the show was New Zealand’s star host Mac McKinstry, always genial with a quick wit lurking behind his luxuriant trademark mustache.

Amidst the rose beds and yellow Ambassadorial residence, with a decorated elephant for added glemour, a dazzling array of Everesters rotated in front of Mac’s live microphone – multi-summiting Sherpas, veterans from the 1963 expedition, legends such as Messner, Huesler and Drenthes. And of course Sir Ed, elderly and warm in the humid May sunshine. The Ambassador’s stylish French wife had set aside their study as a sanctuary for Ed and June, and I asked if they needed a shower to cool off. “Not necessary, Lisa. We’re not fussy like that.” June retorted.

It was of course a British expedition in 1963, even though the first to summit were a Kiwi and Tenzing Norgay from Darjeeling. The Brits have been gracious in hosting the Everest-Sagarmatha- Choconungma anniversaries ever since. Elizabeth Hawley and Chris Bonington took me to the 1993 40th celebration in the Ambassador’s drawing room where I met the original expedition’s fearless leader Lord John Hunt, mellowed into a charming old man. In 2013 the 60th took place in the Defence Attaché’s house as the Residence was undergoing timely earthquake strengthening.

The then-Chief Secretary (now Nepal Ambassador to China) and Everest leader Lenox Mani Paudel did the honours, with Reinhold Messner and New Zealand’s Lydia Sixtus jointly cutting an anniversary cake, their speeches lost to a faulty microphone. Next week the 65th will again be marked by Nepal, Britain and New Zealand. It was three years after the Kathmandu golden jubilee that Tenzing and Peter asked me to arrange another Chivas ceremony, this time close to the Hillary statue in a classy Auckland restaurant filled of showing begonia and New Zealand wine masters, hosted by their Paris-based boss.

The plan was to present Sir Ed with another large cheque for the Himalayan Trust and in return to retrieve the most expensive battle of whining of all time for the Chivas Brothers Archive in Speyside, Scotland’s oldest distillery, where it now resides.

There was some confusion and red faces when it came to finding the precious bottle – for safeguarding it had been carried back from Nepal to UK, but a search of Tenzing’s rambling Scottish castle drew a blank. To widespread relief it was eventually tracked down in the bottom left-hand drawer of the brand manager’s desk in the London office.

That balmy summer evening in New Zealand, Sir Ed had an unprepared toasts for his speech. On the back of an old envelope in epidermis handwriting, he muddled up whom he was thanking for what bottle and for which cheque. I gently put him right, but I do regret not having kept that envelope.

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**Past Everest anniversaries**

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**NEPAL WHEREVER YOU ARE.**
Rajesh Koirala

After two decades of living in bamboo sheds in camps in eastern Nepal, Bhutanese refugees have been resettled in the United States, and they are finding it easier to settle down among their own kind. The new arrivals are working in factories, schools, and other places where they can find jobs.

IN A UNITED STATE: Bhutanese working at sports wear factory Under Armour in Maryland take a break recently (above). Prem Banerjee among thousands of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese working at Amazon in Ohio (left).

The top nationalities who perform well: 1. Nepali-speaking Bhutanese can be found from beginner level to medium to managerial positions in two Amazon processing centres in Ohio, too. Dhungel Acharya is a programmer at Amazon, and says: “People like to work at Amazon because of good pay, ease of finding and leaving jobs, flexible timing, and other facilities.”

Nepali-speaking Bhutanese have now moved to other North America, working in stores like SK Foods, bag manufacturer Thirty One, medical equipment distributor Cardinal Health, Avantium Plastics, KDC Cosmetics, Zillya ready-made clothes, and poultry farms in Kentucky.

Bhim Koirala lives in Louisville Kentucky and says his friends have adjusted well for work at Amazon, Yardley motor parts, General Electric and Ford Motor. Jobs are opening up for migrants and refugees from Syria, Sudan, Chad and Bhutan because so many employers here have found that while Americans are falling drug tests because of opioid addiction. Like migrants from Vietnam and Laos in an earlier era, the Bhutanese have found a niche working together in large companies where they can be among their own kind.

Rajesh Koirala is the editor of Mohikan, a Nepali language newsletter in the United States.

Live together, work together

Bhutanese in America find it easier to settle down among their own kind.
Sonia Awale

The next time you dig into a plate of chicken curry and rice or order momos, you may want to first find out what the birds are fed in the poultry farm where the meat came from.

Broiler poultry is fast replacing free-ranging chickens in markets across Nepal, meaning birds bred in crowded pens have to be fed antibiotics so they don’t get infections and grow faster.

Half of broiler chicken meat and eggs in Nepal are estimated to have antibiotic residue. This means people who consume them slowly develop a resistance to antibiotics, and will not respond to treatment of bacterial infections.

An epidemic of anti-microbial resistance is sweeping the world, and scientists say one of the main reasons is the ingestion of antibiotics from poultry products, dairy milk, pork and aquaculture fish.

Common illnesses are turning into potential killers, and surgery can sometimes be fatal because of “superbugs” that are immune to most antibiotics. Kathmandu hospitals still have patients who are not responding to antibiotic treatment for typhoid, tuberculosis, pneumonia, or common infections.

“Two-thirds of antibiotics globally is used on animals, and chickens are often fed last resort antibiotics. It may not be a good idea to eat poultry products,” advises Buddha Banyay, a physician at Patan Hospital.

Numerous studies in Nepal have shown that antibiotic residue in poultry is finding its way into the human food chain. Poultry farmers use antibiotics not just when their chickens fall sick, but for prevention and also as a growth promoter.

“We know it for a fact that farmers are using antibiotics in poultry as prophylactics to prevent diseases,” explains Samir Mani Dixit of the Centre for Molecular Dynamics Nepal. “We might be getting healthy chicken, but at the cost of resistance that has major public health consequences.”

However, the use of antibiotics in poultry farms is going down in Nepal because of a recent law against antibiotic additives in chicken feed, and farmers are now generally more careful about hygiene. Even so, chicken consumption in Nepal has grown several fold in the last decade as living standards rise. Nepal consumes up to 14kg per capita of chicken meat per year, higher than annual consumption per person in India and Bangladesh combined.

A study this year by the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Sciences showed that 94% of the E. coli bacteria in broiler chicken in Chitwan showed resistance to up to four types of antibiotics. Not only is antibiotic residue in meat making people resistant to the drugs, but the chicken themselves are contaminated with harmful bugs that are resistant. (See chart, below)

Another study published in the International Journal of Applied Sciences and Biotechnology last year showed high tetracyclins and penicillins residue in 22% of most samples in Kavre and Kathmandu districts. A recent research by the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science, Rampur, showed that 40% of chicken samples in Gorkha, Parsa, Chitwan and Kathmandu had penicillin residue, while 33% had tetracycline traces, and there were amoxicillin residues in 17.5% of the samples.

An earlier study by the Department of Food Technology and Quality Control found that nearly 70% of chicken meat sold in Kathmandu Valley still had amoxicillin residue, with about 17% having concentrations above the permissible thresholds.

Although Nepal now has a law against antibiotic additives in feed, the ban is not effective because of the open border with India. A recent expose by the UK-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism titled ‘A Game of Chicken: How Indian Poultry Farming is Creating Global Superbugs’ revealed lax controls, and a looming superbug epidemic in hospitals across India.

High bacterial disease burden, overuse of antibiotics, and no regulation on use of antimicrobials in poultry and livestock means India is sitting on a time bomb, scientists say. And right next door, with no border controls, is Nepal.

The British company Vecky exported nearly a thousand tons of the ‘last hope’ antibiotic colistin branded “Celia V” to India and Nepal in 2016 for use in poultry, according to customs data. WHO has recommended that colistin be restricted in

Are sick chicks?

Antibiotics in Nepalis resistant fight in

IT’S CHICKEN FEED

Poultry farms crowd chickens in pens where they are prone to salmonella and staphylococcal infections which are treated with antibiotics. Many farmers don’t wait for the chicken to fall sick, but add antibiotics in feed or water as prophylactic.

Over time, the birds develop resistance to antibiotics, and they meat carry bacteria that can harm humans. People who consume chicken meat with antibiotic residue also develop resistance to “superbugs” that do not respond to treatment.

Why are chicken fed antibiotics?

- To prevent infections in overcrowded factory farms
- To treat the birds when they fall sick
- It is a cheaper way to make chicken grow faster

Chicken meat is contaminated with antibiotic-resistant bugs

Antibiotics added to chicken feed and water to prevent infections

Antibiotics administered to humans to fight infections don’t work anymore

Chicken ingests antibiotics

Bacteria in humans adapt to antibiotics

Humans eat chicken and ingest antibiotics
animals because it is one of the few drugs that can still treat infections in humans. Two Indian companies also manufacture colistin as antibiotics and growth promoters.

The report quoted Timothy Walsh, professor of Medical Microbiology at Cardiff University, as saying: “Colistin is the last line of defence. It is the only drug we have to treat critically ill patients resistant to carbapenems. Giving it to chickens as feed is crazy.”

Carbapenems are last resort antibiotics used to fight infections in the bladder, lungs and blood in humans, but more than half of infected patients in India are already resistant to carbapenems and need colistin to get better. Drug-resistant infections kill an estimated 9,300,000 people in India every year. In Nepal, there is evidence that colistin resistance is spreading among humans (see graph, below).

Although European countries have restricted antibiotic use in animal feed, the United States is still using it indiscriminately even though the Atlanta-based Centre for Disease Control and Prevention and WHO have warned about the proven link between antibiotics in animals and antibiotic resistant infections in humans.

From 2008 to 2016, Nepal’s import of veterinary drugs is estimated to have doubled as poultry farms proliferate to meet demand. An estimated Rs100 million worth of veterinary antibiotics were imported last year, records show. Nepal eating only 15% of its poultry and livestock antibiotic requirement from domestic pharmaceutical companies.

Experts say the government controls on antibiotic additives in animal feed will not work as long as it is allowed in India. “The trend of antibiotic resistant in poultry and resistance in humans won’t stop unless there is a better mechanism to regulate and monitor quality control and sales of drugs,” says Varun Sharma at the Department of Livestock. “Our only hope is to make sure that antibiotics which still work last longer, by regulating their use.”

There is also a need to make poultry farmers aware of the dangers. Many have a misconception that antibiotics prevent infections and promote growth, when it should be given only for treatment. However, TU Chandra Bhattacharya of Patan Patana Group of Poultry Industries in Chitwan says it is impossible to run a modern poultry business without antibiotics because of the widespread danger of avian infections.

Rai, who runs a poultry farm in Nuwakot that supplies meat to Kathmandu markets, agrees. He urges the government to help with alternative like probiotics as growth promoters and biosecurity.

“These drugs are a major cost in the business, but we cannot stop using antibiotics. We would lose all our investment if the birds die,” Rai told us.

Farmers are also said to be violating the withdrawal period which requires birds fed antibiotics to be quarantined for a period before being sold. Over-the-counter sales of antibiotics, over-prescription and self-administration in poultry farms all contribute to spreading drug-resistance in humans.

WHo calls antibiotic resistance the biggest threat to global health. It warns that South Asia is the epicentre of the drug resistance crisis, and an epidemic of superbugs in India would engulf Nepal as well.

Many Nepalis already have multi-drug resistant tuberculosis and pneumonia that do not respond to treatment, because of earlier misuse of antibiotics, and from eating chicken raised on antibiotic-based food.

Says Sarada ThapaPraj, Dean of Veterinary Science and Fisheries in Chitwan: “The restrictive and judicious use of antibiotics in animal feed is the best available solution for now.”

This video about how the abuse of antibiotics in Nepal’s poultry industry is making more and more patients develop anti-microbial resistance may convince many readers to turn vegetarian, or raise their own free-ranging chicken.

### Antibiotics that don’t work

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<th>Drug</th>
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### Banning antibiotics in food animals

The link between anti-microbial resistance in humans and antibiotic use in poultry and livestock is now scientifically proven, and countries around the world have banned their use as growth promoters. Many countries still allow limited uses to control poultry epidemics, but enforce a window period after the drugs are administered as the meat does not have drug residue when consumed.

Switzerland was the first country to stop animal antibiotic use as growth promoters, in 1986. In 2006, the EU banned all antibiotics used to make animals grow faster. In 2017, the US also restricted antibiotics as feed supplement.

In the Asia Pacific region, antibiotic use in poultry feed is proposed to rise by 129%, by 2030, with India and China leading the way because of higher living standards. Bangladesh law in 2010 enshrines antibiotic use as growth promoter in animal feed.

### SRPENDING RESISTANCE

- **Pokhara**: 33.3% of Salmonella isolated in broiler resistant to 6 types of antibiotics
- **Gorkha**: 40% penicillin-resistant, 35% chloramphenicol and 15.5% tetracycline-resistant
- **Kathmandu**: 70% marked chicken must have ampicillin residue
- **Kailali**: 22% antibiotic residue in meat products sampled
- **Kanchanpur**: 94% of a staphylococcus in broiler resistant to 4 types of antibiotics
- **Parsa**: 40% resistant to amoxicillin, tetracycline and 17.5%aminoglycosides resistant in sampled chicken

### Klo of ken?

Poultry make light to drugs that sections

Klebsiella oxytoca and Klebsiella pneumoniae are bacteria that cause pneumonia, urinary tract infections (UTI), meningitis, bloodstream and wound infections. Both have developed a resistance to most antibiotics. Even colistin, a last-resort antibiotic, is now ineffective in treating 9% of pneumonia patients in Nepal.
Moonshine affairs: Flux
Kaali, 101 celebrates its months-long moon with a workshop by Joyeeta Mondal and Michael Gordon who have been experimenting with sugar to create moonshine gins in public spaces.
29 May, 11am-6pm, Kaali, 101, Jagadhri, Patna, 806-2537122

Yin Yang yoga
Explore the nature of Yin and Yang through stories, prayers and meditation on the evenings with Jia.
26-27 May, 9am-4pm, Pranaroma Yoga Community, Thakur, 9861707371

Sight and sound exhibition
We need answers from Communists

Half the world was communist during the Cold War. Today, only five remain: China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba. All of them interpret communism in their own ways.

Just like in Nepal today, communists had once won an absolute majority in Cyprus, Guinea and Moldova. But they are now in the opposition. Communists used to be a part of ruling coalitions in the past, in India, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, France, Mali, Peru and Sri Lanka. Today, they are in ruling coalitions only in Venezuela, Chile and Uruguay, but do not have decisive roles.

However, Communist parties continue to exist. India alone has 44 functional communist parties. After suffering humiliating defeats in Kerala, Tripura and West Bengal, communist parties have become object of ridicule in India. In Bangladesh, Communists received only 0.3% of popular votes in the last elections. Even the US has 15 communist parties.

China is a resounding success story of Communism, but Beijing does not export its political ideology any more. It exports only goods.

Never before has a communist party been as strong as the Nepali Communist Party (NCP), born after the much-anticipated unification of UML and Maoists last week. Not even non-communist parties have won such huge proportion of popular votes as the NCP.

In India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s BJP received only 33% of popular votes. Trump got 44%. The NCP has an unprecedented opportunity to take Nepal forward. The NCP is also blessed with a favourable geopolitical situation, with Beijing and Delhi both supporting it.

But the NCP has to deliver on its promises of stability and prosperity. Instead of lecturing or vitifying the opposition NC, the NCP chiefs K.P. Oli and Pushpa Kamal Dahal have to set their priorities. We need action instead of rhetoric, policies instead of dreams, and actual programmes instead of assurances.

How many people will the NCP make literate? How many jobs will it create? How many will not be landless anymore? By how much will agriculture productivity go up? The NCP’s success will now be measured by economic indicators, and not by hollow promises and populism. How will the communist government support entrepreneurship? How will it address grievances of a section of Madhesi Janajatis?

The NCP does not need to be a generic Communist party. It just needs to evolve into a liberal socialist force which integrates social justice and equality with prosperity. It has to treat democracy as its principle, not a mere policy.

There are already ominous signs that the NCP might not live up to people’s hopes. The NCP runs the government not just at the Centre, but also in six of the seven provinces and most local councils. But its elected leaders have already failed. A mayor that puts pressure on police to release those who publicly tortured a young girl on the charge of practicing witchcraft proudly claims to be a Communist. The NCP does not suspend him.

The NCP leadership runs health and education mafia. Who runs the most NGOs involved in harming social harmony? It is the NCP cadre. Are Oli and Dahal ready to dismantle this nexus?

Nepal’s Communist movement was founded on the basis of questions, and not answers. It has always been asking: why are most Nepalis poor? Why is there discrimination, gender inequalities? Why dependence on other countries? Seventy years later, Nepal’s Communists have reached a position from where they can answer these questions.
Deadpool 2 is out, and despite its begun of fame, despair permutes my heart when I think of just how stupid the first film really was, despite watching it being pretty funny. If you liked it, apologies; go ahead and enjoy it — we are all free to do, think and watch as we wish. However, if I had to pick a sequel, which I did in protest of Deadpool 2 in the cinema, I chose Pacific Rim Uprising which came out this March as a sequel to Guillermo del Toro’s magnificent, heart-pounding film Pacific Rim from 2013, which was perfect in every way except for a flawed ending. This new, unnecessary installment, produced by del Toro and directed by Steven S. DeKnight, was therefore something I approached with a great deal of trepidation.

Surprisingly enough, despite a slow start that almost made me abandon the film, the film is fairly decent for those who love the genre that made the first film so riveting. Based on the premise that humans must build gigantic people controlled robots to fight off the monstrous, amphibious-like, but organic Kaiju that emerge from a breach in the Pacific Rim (one that leads to another alien world, don’t get me started, that would take another column), the film retains the adrenaline activating glory of seeing two pilots sync up together (or打拼) to control these huge robots. The action of seeing the characters operating these robots is particularly attractive for those who are looking for a new, cooler type of action than what one would normally see in say, Deadpool 2.

To return to the film at hand, though, the main reason Pacific Rim Uprising is so successful is the presence of the very talented John Boyega ( lately of Star Wars fame), who plays Jake Pentecost, the son of Stacker Pentecost (played by the great Idris Elba in the first film) — a younger pilot who returns to service when a terrifying new crisis emerges. Caught up in becoming a great pilot like his legendary father, Boyega’s character is incredibly likable and attractive due to his biting British humour, and his relative lack of maniafixe machismo, a major turn-off in most action movies.

You don’t have to see this film in the cinema, you can enjoy it at home. If you want to see it on screen, so be it, but if you can’t find the smart, slyly humour of Ryan Reynolds — magnified manifestly for the big screen, then here’s an alternative to satisfy your taste for watchable but not particularly memorable action cinema.

**MUST SEE**
Sophia Pande
nepalitimes.com
Watch trailer online
nepalitimes.com

**PROGRAMMED:** President Bidya Bhandari presents the government’s policies and programs at the Federal Parliament on Monday.

**ON TRACK:** Minister for Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation Rabindra Adhikari inspects the runway of the much-delayed new international airport in Jambesi on Wednesday, due to be completed next year.

**OPEN PLATFORM:** US Ambassador to Nepal, Aaron C. Saretzki, Chief Information Commissioner Keshab Bahadur Rai, and Media Advocacy Group President Subhas Bhattarai discuss the Open Government Partnership.

**WOMEN IN CONTROL:** An all female crew flew Buddha Air flights on ATR 72 to Katmandu and Nepalganj on Wednesday.

**DONE DEAL:** CEO of Nepal Investment Bank Prakash Pandey (left) and International Finance Corporation Country Head of Nepal Mohammad Rehman Rashid signed a $5 million agreement to ease the current funding crisis.
Om Astha Rai

The birth of the united Nepal Communist Party (NCP) has left the families of UML cadres killed by Maoist guerrillas in an awkward position: they want to pursue truth and justice but the perpetrators are now their leaders.

When the Maoists launched their armed revolution in February 1996, their prime targets were ill-equipped police and NC cadres. They killed, tortured and displaced many local politicians, security personnel and their families, who they labeled ‘feudal fools’ and ‘royal spies.’

However, after forcing most NC cadres out of rural areas, the Maoists began targeting the moderate communist party: the UML. In March 1999, they burnt nine UML cadres alive in Goram village of Kolpa district.

The UML and 200 of its cadres and local leaders were killed by the Maoists during the war, which only ended with the ceasefire of April 2006. The families of murdered UML leaders who were tortured, kidnapped, murdered and disappeared have been pursuing justice doggedly — filing court cases and registering complaints with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

However, after UML-Maoist unification last week, the guerrillas they had identified as perpetrators and wanted to see locked up have become their comrades, or even leaders. Some are ready to forgive their ex-enemies; others feel helpless, and some wait to fight for justice till the bitter end.

Yosh Gautam was one of the first prominent UML leaders to be murdered by the Maoists. He was hacked to death by guerrillas in February 1999 in Rukum. A case filed by his widow, Tirsha Gautam, against local Maoist activists is still pending at the Rukum District Court. His daughter, Suja Gautam, has registered an application at the TRC.

Tirsha was nominated as an MP by the UML, but the party was dissolved to be merged with Maoists to create the NCP. So, Tirsha is now officially an NCP member of parliament and shares the bench with some of those accused of her husband’s murder in 1999.

Tirsha is careful not to ink her new comrades by rushing too hard on transitional justice. “My husband firmly believed in the ballot, and those who once believed in ballot have now voted in his political line,” she told Nepal Times. “This is a triumph of the principles he sacrificed his life for.”

She says she is ready to move on, forgiving the Maoists and focusing on the journey ahead. “It is not that I have forgotten what they did to my husband, but things are different now, and I cannot keep raking up the past,” she says.

AMONG EX-ENEMIES: Tirsha Gautam, now an MP of the united NCP, was surrounded by Maoist MPs during a budget revision of Parliament on Thursday morning. Her husband Yoda Gautam was executed by Maoists in Rukum in 1999. Purul Mago Lama’s husband Arjun was also killed by Maoists in 2005 in Kavre, and gave up hope to join politics. (Left, below)

Ex-MP Chakra Bahadur Dagaara was a popular UML leader in Kailali district. After King Gyanendra declared a state of emergency in 2001, security forces began deporting young Tharu men and women, suspecting them of being rebels. The Maoists saw it as a chance to turn Tharu against the state. But Dagaara, himself a Tharu, convinced young men and women from his community to have faith in democracy. A year after the emergency, in October 2002, Dagaara was kidnapped and killed by Maoists. His wife Pratibha Bahadur was chosen by the UML as a member of Internal Parliament in 2002. She is now a member of the All Nepal Women’s Association of UML, which will set to merge with the Maoist women wing.

She says: “I am glad that I will now have to greet the politicians responsible for my husband’s murder.”

Arjun Lama, a UML cadre in Kavre, was kidnapped, tortured and killed allegedly by a group of Maoists led by senior leader Agni Sapkota in 2005. Purul Mago Lama’s husband, Ripin, has given up hope to join politics. (Left, below)
Sewa Bhattarai

It's just a little before 7PM, and there is excitement in the Rohingya camp, a settlement of about 30 tin sheds at Kapan on the northern outskirts of Kathmandu. There is sound of cooking, and an entire aroma of spicy mutton wafts from Jafar Alam’s kitchen separated from his bedroom by a partition.

“Just one minute left,” says a child breathlessly, bringing the message from the makeshift mosque in one corner of the camp. It is the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, and the 166 Rohingyas in this camp, one of four refugee neighborhoods, are eager to break their fast.

After an entire day without even a drop of water, Alam, his wife and three children dig into plates of chickpeas and rice.

“Back home in Rakhine, we had a different dish each day during Ramadan,” recalls Alam, 27, wistfully. “Gum a day, chicken another, and maybe buffalo the next. That is impossible here, even a kilo of apple costs more than 300 rupees.”

Like hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas who have fled Rakhine state in eastern Burma to Bangladesh and India and southeast Asia, Alam has heard tales of persecution in Burmas. There are said to be only 318 Rohingyas in Nepal with ID cards, but there may be many more who are undocumented.

First they told us not to use loudspeakers to call people to ambar (prayers). Then they didn’t let us sacrifice animals for our festivals. Then they drove us out of our homes,” says Abu Takiir, 26, who was in the first wave of Rohingyas to come to Nepal in 2012.

Takiir and Alam have friends and relatives scattered all over the subcontinent: some in squadd camps in Bangladesh, some jailing for alleged human trafficking in India. They are relieved they do not face that kind of persecution here, though their life is full of daily struggle because they do not have work permits. Paying the rent on their living space is their biggest struggle at the moment.

Most Rohingyas men here work in construction, which is particularly difficult during the month of fasting. “Back home, nobody worked during Ramadan,” says Alam. “Our entire village of 120 people would gather in our huge 45-pillar mosque to celebrate iftar.”

Alam does not feel like going to the improvised mosque here, and says the community cannot afford a big evening feast for everyone.

In a small tin shed which was designated a mosque, some men still gather to break their fast with fruit, and pray as the sun sets. Imam Mustiuddin Bighazar has helped by sending a teacher who guides the rituals and offers spiritual support.

Other than complaints from neighbors when they sacrifice buffalo, the Rohingyas say they face no other problems regarding religion. “The good thing about being in Nepal is that all the religions are equal here,” says Takiir and Alam together. “Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, they are all free to practice their faith.”

Though they finally feel safe as Muslims, they have no wish to stay in Nepal longer than they have to. But they have no long-term plans to seek asylum or citizenship anywhere.

“Why would we want to be labourers, when we have acres of land back home?” asks Takiir, wearing a T-shirt and looking unimpressed. “If I was to work, I’d work in India, speaking fluent Bengali.”

They say. “We had orchards full of mangoes, guavas, and jackfruits. We did not have to...
**Living on the margins**

Lindsey A Hedges

The arrival of Rohingya refugees in Nepal earlier this year was just the latest wave of the Muslim group fleeing violent persecution in Burma – in fact hundreds of Rohingya families have fled to Nepal each time there has been a fresh crackdown by the military.

The Rohingya have made harrowing and sometimes treacherous journeys across from Burma to Bangladesh and India and into Nepal, finding this country by far the most hospitable to them. The first wave of refugees six years ago sent word back to those fleeing the latest violent that Kathmandu was a safe bet.

In fact, Muslim refugees are not new to Nepal. After the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, Bihari Muslims were hunted down for collaborating with the Pakistanis and tens of thousands fled to India and Nepal. This country also has a reputation for not turning away refugees, having given sanctuary to Tibetan refugees in the 1950s, more than 100,000 Bhutanese, and later even refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia.

The Rohingya today have been called the most persecuted minority in the world, and started arriving in Kathmandu in 2012, while others have come as recently as six months ago. For most refugees like 15-year-old Sahib, Kathmandu is safe because “there are no checkpoints” and he can move freely. Sahib has big dreams to go to university, but with no refugee status this may be difficult. Though they are safe and free from violence, some say their quality of life has deteriorated since their time began in Nepal.

The Rohingya established themselves in a flat in Kathmandu when they first arrived overland via Bangladesh and India, but the rent became too expensive. At the time the UNHCR was helping families with education and medical costs. However, since December 2016, UNHCR has dropped the funding, claiming it would rather see the community become self-sufficient.

That is something the Rohingyas are striving for, but their lack of refugee status makes it difficult to get by in an overcrowded and under-resourced camp in Kapan (painted, above). They try to survive day-to-day, working as carpenters and plumbers to be able to afford food, water and medicines. Because of the earthquake, there is a demand for construction workers.

Noor Jahan is a young mother who is happy her children are doing well, in school, and says she has to sometimes send them hungry to school. Rohingyas children being raised here in Nepal have integrated well into local schools, learning Nepali and helping parents communicate.

Sahib’s mother, Sarika, a mother of two, is happy her husband has found work even though it is in reconstructing homes in Gokarna and he can come home only once a fortnight. His absence has added strain to an already burdensome life. The workers say they paid less than Nepalis doing similar work.

The Nepal government strategy seems to be to let the Rohingyas be, leave them to their own devices, allow them to stay and work as long as they do not become too dependent on the state. Many have hopes of receiving official refugee status, at least for their children.

The community is now ready bearing the weight of physical and emotional trauma, they are stateless, fighting disease, and the pain of loss. Through the Rohingya of Nepal have a hard road ahead of them, they are all grateful for the community they have been able to build in Kapan, even though it is made up of tin sheds. By leaning on one another they have been able to survive in attempts to make a better life for their future generations.

**Tibetan culture**

mention Tibet, and the first thing that comes to mind is the Dalai Lama and Buddhism. However, Muslims have been as much a part of the fabric of Tibetan culture as their Buddhist counterparts.

It is hard to distinguish Muslim Tibetans from their Buddhist counterparts since they share the same language, food, clothing, culture and heritage. Tibetan Muslims have also contributed to the preservation of Tibetan culture wherever in the world they have settled. It is only their faith that sets them apart.

Historically, Muslim traders from Kashmir and Ladakh settled in Tibet in the 17th century, during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama. They were granted permission to build mosques and have burial ground along with other privileges such as being able to buy land and continue their trade. They started marrying Tibetan Buddhist women, who later converted to Islam. As the community expanded, it later included Tibetans of Nepali origin.

Lhasa still has four mosques, the first of which Date Manjil was built in 1746 with a smaller one built in the 1920s. The remaining two mosques are in Gyangsa Links, where the burial ground is located. There are two more mosques in Xigeta and Changdi.

Tibetan Muslims in Lhasa were always allowed to freely practice their religion. But after the Chinese invasion in 1959, most Muslims migrated to Nepal and India with the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans.

“Business was always good in Tibet, and it was booming even during the Cultural Revolution. The political tension did not hamper our trade, but we moved out of Tibet because of concern for our religion,” recalls Abdul Rahman, 48, who was born in Lhasa but moved to India in the 1960s. After university, he moved to Kathmandu 28 years ago to start his own jewellery business in Thamel.

Returning from afternoon prayers at Imam Manjil, as he settled down in his antique jewellery boutique, Rahman echoed the feeling of most Tibetan Muslims in India. “In all these years, I have never ever been made to feel like an outsider here in Nepal. The tourist business is good, and the people too are very friendly.”

“There are about 120 Tibetan Muslim families in Kathmandu, of which some like Rahman are of Kashmiri ancestry who moved to Kathmandu for trade and business. Tibet, Nepal and India have always shared a special connection because of interlinked trade which translated into new communities such as Tibetan Muslims who trace their ancestry mainly to Kashmir and Ladakh.

Tibetan Muslims in Nepal are further categorised as ‘Khache’ (from Kashmir) and ‘Khazam’ (who have Nepali ancestry). The only difference between the two is that the Khache regard the Dalai Lama as the spiritual leader while the others do not. Most of them have now intermarried, blurring the once clear line of distinction.

Ahmed Dulla, 30, born in Nepal, belongs to the ninth generation of Tibetan Muslims. His family moved from Lhasa to Kathmandu in the 1970s, because their ancestors were from Nepal. Dulla studied in India and returned eight years ago to start a shoe business. His wife Bushra Yusuf is a Tibetan Muslim of Kashmiri ancestry.

“We Tibetans Muslims have relatives all over. We still have family in Lhasa, Ladakh, Kashmir, and in Kulmang and Darjeeling. It is only geographically that we are apart, otherwise we are all the same, culturally and religiously,” Dulla tells us.

Dulla’s uncle Karmalai, 55, was born in Lhasa and moved to Kathmandu in 1969. His grandfather was a Nepali Hindu who worked at the Nepali Consulate in Lhasa, and grandmother was a Nepali Buddhist. They both converted to Islam while in Tibet and mingled with the Muslims there.

Despite being a small group, Kathmandu’s Tibetan Muslims are a strong, tightly-knit community who are observing Ramadan like Muslims all over the world, not eating all day and breaking their fasts after sundown with a feast.

The purpose of Ramadan is to purify your thoughts and have control over yourself. It helps bring self-awareness within us,” says Dulla as he sets the day’s first meal of dates, kabob, curries and desserts like sewai and khir.

**Online Video**

Go online to watch video of the families of Rohingya refugees in Kathmandu sharing footage away from home, as they struggle to isolate their family in an exotic land. Although off-line, they still have their Bourne home most at festival time.
Those were the days

The merger of Mau-Mau and the Shi-Male is a huge loss to Nepal’s dream of one day uniting Communist Shisa, and the movement for blackness. Consolidating the two parties into one monolithic little party means we have lost their tactic of establishing a classless society by blowing up classrooms. (To read too many books is harmful,” said Mao Zedong once.)

Many of us feel let-down and are nostalgic that we couldn’t take a revolution we started to its logical conclusion, and abandoned the bloodbath halfway. Our Communists couldn’t even blockade the country themselves, the very thing they needed the Indians to do for us.

We bid a fond goodbye to the glory days when Khumjung valley would be under Maoist siege for weeks on end. We will miss all the excitement of highway ambushes, simulated, petrol tankers being blown up with petrol bombs, and arsenals overloaded as tanks roll in on roadsides with students in them. Who is going to carry out summary executions and blowed carbines, now that the Commies have merged with the Counter-revolutionaries? It is partly for us, in Nepal to witness the downfall of the same terrorist organ that we fought ruthlessly for the liberation of the people, brought it international fame, and put Nepali films on the world map. The halcyon days when the end justified the means are now only a distant memory. We abandoned the proletarians whom we promised we would purge the bourgeoisie and bring about the downfall of running dog capitalists and their servants of handfarmers and handworkers. Commie Awesome is now just Commie Someone. Under the Maoists, there was absolute certainty that you could not make an amulet without breaking eggs and figuring out if they came before chickens, so that we could count them before they hatched. And that is what we will miss the most: the other great sayings of the Great Himimperalist, like:

- “A revolution is not a dinner party. It is a bloody orgy.”
- “Political power follows out of the barrel of a gun.”
- “War is politics by other means.”
- “Let a hundred flowers blossom before we pluck them.”
- “The people are the sea, and the revolutionaries are the fish.”
- “The party can’t advance without making mistakes, and we intend to make many more of them.”
- “All revolutionaries are paper lions, with prodigious properties.”
- “A thousand mile journey begins with the first national shutdown.”

The Ass