

EXCLUSIVE

Mao power

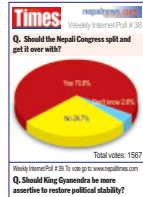
Political power may come out of the barrel of a gun, but hydropower must still come out of a turbine. Even in Maoist. The 150-kW hydropower unit at Khola Gaon, Seti Gaad in Rukum was built by local Maoists last year



after they blew up the 150 kW Bjeswor hydro at Chaurjhari. The Rs 150,000 plant supplies power to 15 households. Security forces personnel visited the plant twice but did not blow it up as the Maoists would have done because they thought it was "creative work."

Showdown

Fifty years after it was set up, the Nepal Congress is closer today to a formal split than it has ever been. But it speaks for the hidden resilience of this fractious party that people still haven't given up on a last-minute patch-up. This time, however, the bad blood runs too deep. And unity, even if it is forged, may not last beyond the day the tickets for the November elections are announced. The root of the crisis has always been the party's inability to sort out its inter-generational power transfer. The Young Turks are impatient, the septuagenarian leaders are unwilling to let go, and both have powerful cronies. A party split, however, would collectively hurt all sides: the good the bad and the ugly. Ex-Lt Col Narayan Singh Pun and close Deuba supporter has already registered a party tentatively called the Nepal Samanta Party. This could be Deuba's Plan B, but Pun says the independent party is his own idea.



EYEWITNESS

A first-hand account from the Maoist epicentre.



East Rolpa, 10 June 2002: A company of the People's Liberation Army prepares to march out.

KANAK MANI DIXIT in EAST ROLPA, a town in the Maoist heartland of the People's War. Seven months into the emergency and the deployment of the army, and the residents of Rolpa are dulled by wariness. Travelling in eastern Rolpa this week, the landscape is reflected in two extremes. One is 66-year-old Kumbha Singh Pun who spent 28 years working in India. "I could have settled there, but I came back here in 1993 because this is the land of my birth. It is so peaceful here, but now there is no conflict and destruction. This is not the Rolpa I came back to live in."

The other is a short, stocky teenage militant, behind whose pleasant demeanour lies a hardened Maoist fighter. He has seen fighting in all the recent deaths—Dang, Sarbhata, Lame, Gam and the most recent debacle in Khara. He has seen comrades fall to the bullet, and has obviously himself killed, many times over. Why do you fight, we ask him. "For the people and the country. 'What if you die?' I will be remembered in history."

We are walking high up near the flanks of Jalpa mountain in eastern Rolpa, a mass of that is part of Maoist lore. The terrain is steep on all sides, but you chance upon a clearing. There are young men and some young women, most of about high-school age, some playing volleyball. Suddenly, you notice a weapon, and then another, and another. There is no turning back, and as you enter the circle all eyes are on you, surprised and suspicious. Boys in their early teens walk around with 303s on their shoulders. Some lag SLRs, or sit by their weapons and backpacks. It's snack time, and these young fighters are determinedly spooning up some kind of energy-giving powdered formula mixed with cold water.

We've walked into a full company of the People's Liberation Army as it rests. A long and worrisome period of questioning follows. They seem unconvinced by our answers and pass us on to a platoon commander, a scowling man of perhaps 25—old for this group—who interrogates us and says that we will have to walk with them further into the jungle, while they contact higher-ups to decide what to do with us. We cannot go, we say, we have a deadline to meet in Kathmandu, but this is ignored, and it increasingly begins to look like he will take us over the pass whether we like it or not, in the rain and the fading light.

It is fortuitous that Comrade Bipra arrives just as we are about to give in. He is smiling and communicative and evidently the political commissar of the place. "You understand why we have to be suspicious of you. The security forces are active, we have just lost six of our workers, and you come here unannounced, without permission." Finally, convinced of our journalistic credentials and having apparently consulted a leader further up in the hierarchy, he agrees to be interviewed. We speak to him by candle-light.

Thirty-something Comrade Bipra introduces himself as a member of the Rolpa District Committee of the CPN (Maoist). A disciple of Baburam Bhattarai, he started his political career, like his mentor, with the All-India Nepali Students' Federation. He teaches political theory to the cadres, and speaks with an ideological fervour that must be what makes young men and women rush to battle in the name of the Prachanda Path.

Comrade Bipra starts off listing the Maoists' successful battles against the government—attacks on police posts and the subsequent engagements with the army. "We learnt how to fight as we went along, and I believe it was a turning point. Step-by-step we have polished our skills and proved our claim that we can take on the military. We started with household implements and sticks, moved on to SIMs and 303s, and then to SLRs, LPMGs, GPMGs and 2-inch mortars."

"SIMs," by the way, is the euphemistic acronym the Maoists have coined for single-barrel muzzle-loaders. The weapons and ammunition in this particular company indicates an inefficient array, but the Red Army's relentless quest for armoury may slowly change that. "According to Mao's dictates, we first built weapons and are now the snatching stage. We aren't buying them yet, but when we need to, we will."

Isolated in these mountains, the fighters tune into Radio Nepal's news

service to learn how their war is going elsewhere. They appear to have the run of this territory, but seem distanced from the insurgency in other parts of the country. Still, Comrade Bipra is confident sitting in his mountain eyrie. He knows his guerrillas can easily melt away into the folds and valleys of eastern Rolpa. "Our network lies as know when there is no movement of the security forces. The government's informants, on the other hand, are local anti-socials hiding in the sadamukam [district headquarters]."

Bipra will talk about his fighters' motivation levels and the atrocities of the state, but won't acknowledge questions about the forced conscription of very young people that is so obviously a reality here. He also challenges strategies of the PLA that many in the national press take as givens. "We do not use human shields—the Janamukti Sena is perfectly capable of fighting on its own. And why should we cut heads? I would not like to be identified while alive, but once dead, it doesn't matter."

In sharp contrast to his discus-

Kanak Mani Dixit p4
A people's war

War widows

RITA THAPA in SURKHET

As in all conflict areas, Nepal's insurgency has affected the most vulnerable section of the population the worst. Women and children, widows, orphans, and internally displaced families are trying to survive from day to day, the hardships of their ordinary lives now made extraordinary.

In faraway Kathmandu, there is big talk of big money. Millions of dollars to fight the war, more millions in development assistance. There is a lot of talk about governance and delivery. But here, on Ground Zero, the widows and orphans, bereaved and now destitute, need immediate relief. They cannot wait. Where are the NGOs, where are the donors, where is the government?

It does not take too long in Surkheta to realise that this once-vibrant hub of the mid-west has turned into a township at the edge of a war zone. There has been a dusk-to-dawn curfew everyday in the town and on its outskirts. Mysterious gunshots punctuate the night, and the next morning no one seems to know who shot whom. On the streets, there is the sound of curfew violators being chased and beaten up. The pall of fear is pervasive. The warm and generous people with their happy greetings are a thing of the past. People don't make eye-contact anymore, they avert their gaze.

The town is full of boys and girls who fled the conflict in the hills. In a lodge in Surkheta is 15-year-old Shyam. His father had left home, and the boy stayed with his mother. But his mother told him to run away for fear that the Maoists would recruit him. There are similar boys in almost every hotel and township in Surkheta. Many have come recently, brought by worried parents who were being forced to send one offspring to join the rebels. Among the guests in the hotels are other transient young men, on their way to India or further afield—to try to find work and also to get away from the Maoists, or avoid being picked up by the security forces.

The suffering and misery of Surkheta's war-displaced is heartbreaking.

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A home of one's own

Instead of building their first homes slowly, brick-by-brick, more and more people are turning to community housing and financing.



BINOD BHATTARAI
For Sakshi Pyakurali, it was simply the most practical thing to do. He was among the first hundred or so Nepalis who booked apartments at Kathmandu Residency, the first major organised housing project that was launched two years ago. The human rights activist, now a member of the National Human Rights Commission will be moving into his apartment later this year, after developer Anand Chaudhary hands over the keys during Dasain. "It was just right for me," Pyakurali told us. He saw the Kathmandu Residency, developed by the Chaudhary Group and Ansal of India, as safe housing, with guaranteed access to public utilities such as reliable drinking water, sewage disposal and other basic facilities, all things that can be a headache for an independent homeowner. "The other advantage was that we did not have to put up the entire money up-front, and were assured of financing," Pyakurali told us.

There are now more than 10 companies that offer a variety of community-style housing options—apartments, duplexes, and stand-alone homes in thoughtfully

designed 'colonies'—and getting financing from any private bank to purchase a home is almost as easy as getting a car loan.

The boom could not have come at a better time for Nepal's ailing economy. The growth in housing and construction means more people are putting their money in the sector, more people are getting work, and industry is producing and selling more construction material. By one estimate, investment in organised housing in and around Kathmandu Valley already adds up to over Rs 2 billion rupees. The Ansal Group is in housing venture with the Chaudhary Group here, in its first venture in Balkumari. Ansal and Sunrise are presently selling apartments and plan to move into stand-alone homes. The market now offers apartments to suit almost any pocket, starting at Rs 700,000 at the low end and going up to Rs 5.2 million.

The range of group housing and financing options now available is also mind-boggling, especially to first-time homebuyers who have to weigh their decision to opt for, say,

group housing against the traditional—even emotional—Nepali dream of building a house. Instinctively, most Nepalis want an independent house the moment they move out of their family home, usually because they have seen their parents build their home brick-by-brick.

But many young professionals don't have either the time or the expertise to shop for land and then supervise the construction of their own house. And too often, even though they might have more disposable income than their parents ever did, their discretionary spending is proportionately high. This is where the specialists come in, taking care of the logistics of building houses, and offering them loans banking on their projected future incomes. By all accounts, young and upwardly mobile Kathmandu residents—as well as people moving to the capital fleeing an escalation of the conflict in the districts can't get enough of it.

Ajay Ghimire, CEO of Ace Finance, is a developer who is aiming to cater to the upper-end of the market. His Grace apartments at Naxal are priced between Rs 3.8-5.2 million. He told us that his company was

looking at developing Grace as a 'posh' neighbourhood, complete with amenities available in the best residential areas of the world.

Ace says it isn't just selling a 'community living' experience, it even chooses your community for you. "We are being very selective," says Ghimire. The price and the amenities offered by Grace apartments—such as a swimming pool, gym and sauna—guarantee a kind of self-selection right at the start. But the promoters are even choosier—they have decided not to advertise the complex, but sell it to acquaintances through word-of-mouth. One needs to have either good connections with the parent finance company, or the right references to even apply to buy a flat here. Ace says half of the 26 apartments on the southern complex have already been booked. "It will take time for people to realise they are looking for quality living—not just a place to stay," says Ghimire, who is optimistic about his venture. "We plan to use the northern complex as an apartment hotel."

Still another up-market option is the stand-alone home offered by The Comfort Housing at Sitapaila. Om Rajbhandari, CEO, told us



Construction activity in full swing at Sitapaila, where Comfort Housing is building independent homes (top), Grace interiors (below), and a model of the Grace apartments coming up at Naxal (below). Facing page: a ready-to-view building put up by Sunrise Homes at Balkumari.



that he is trying to build a community by offering clients all the amenities they would want for quality living. Instead of soliciting bookings and advance payments from prospective owners, he decided to go ahead and start building the 60 individual units. He says 70 percent of the houses have already been sold. The Comfort community will start moving in by Dasain 2003. "Our project has taken into account the Nepali desire to have an independent home that can accommodate at least three generations—grandparents, parents and children," Rajbhandari told us.

All the projects offer assured water supply, open spaces, uniform exteriors and space-optimising

interiors, and the security that comes with living in something akin to a gated community. Sunrise says it will also be having an independent sewage treatment plant within the complex while Ansal says that it is now planning to "Nepalise" or "Nepalise" most of its future designs. "The customers are very choosy by law and will be more so once the cabinet approves regulations needed to activate the legislation. A law governing group housing was passed some years ago, but the government has yet to approve the specific regulations which, we are told, have already been drafted.

There are some nay-sayers who say that they are waiting for legislation governing the housing

earnings, and families where husband and wife both work. The apartments and houses in the lower and middle ends of the market are being snapped up fast and with increased demand and competition builders are becoming more efficient, and promoters are promising shorter construction periods and other add-ons. "In two months we've sold almost half of all flats and apartments we have on offer," says V Rajgopal, president of Sunrise Homes. They are already planning to move into the second phase of building independent homes.

Then there are people who want to invest: they have cash in hand, but no safe place to put it into, because of the political uncertainty, massive slump in industry due to the conflict, and the fledgling stock market that has also been hit. What's more, apartments are transferable by law and will be more so once the cabinet approves regulations needed to activate the legislation. A law governing group housing was passed some years ago, but the government has yet to approve the specific regulations which, we are told, have already been drafted.

There are some nay-sayers who say that they are waiting for legislation governing the housing

Offers	Location	Product type	Units/Unit cost (in million rupees)
Kathmandu Residency	Bagdole	Apartments	123 1.8-2.5
Mount View Residency-I	Hareldoh	Apartments/Duplexes	70 1.3-1.7
Mount View Residency-II	Hareldoh	Apartments	140 1.3-1.7
The Comfort Housing	Sitapaila	Standalone houses	60 3.0-4.0
Sunrise Homes	Balkumari	Apartments/Duplexes	102 1.6-3.7
Civil Homes	Bhainspali	Standalone houses	59 2.0-2.8
Subha Avas	Naya Nakap	Duplexes	75 0.7-1.1
Oriental Colony	Kuleshwar	Apartments	500+ 0.1-0.5
Shangri-la Villa	Gangabu	Apartments/Duplexes	36 1.2-2.8
Grace Apartments	Naxal	Apartments	56 3.8-5.2

industry to come into force, and cite the poor track record Nepal has of drafting and implementing laws to cover new, rapidly growing industries. Some buyers also say that although they have invested, they'd be a lot more comfortable if they knew their promoters could be forced to comply with building norms and if pricing could be regulated. The industry is also untested on its ability to deliver, another reason for the general nervousness. "The regulations remain to come, but for now, because buyers make advance payments there is always an incentive for the sellers to cheat, especially when enforcement is lax," one developer admitted. "But that has not happened so far and we hope it won't—something

like that can kill the market even before it matures."

But many Nepalis seem to be taking the risk, looking beyond "building one dream house" for their families. Says Ghimire, many first-time homeowners have begun to believe that when they buy a flat, they are keeping their options open—if things worsen, they could always sell their flat, which is likely to be worth more in five years than what they pay for it now, and build their own stand-alone home.

The industry, for its part, is looking at further deepening of the market, as more and more builders and developers join the race. For the moment, though, few are bothered by the increased competition because of what effectively remains a seller's market, due to

large unfulfilled demand. Rajbhandari told us that a government study conducted some years ago had estimated the need for over 200,000 more houses in Kathmandu Valley. Even half that number would be enough to keep businesses going for another 10-15 years, given that the annual supply of new houses every year is only a few hundred, even with the new projects. Industry insiders we spoke with said that, all things remaining more or less constant, the industry is looking at continued growth for at least a decade. Some firms, such as Sunrise, are already conducting market and feasibility surveys to expand to other urban centres such as Biratnagar, Birganj and Pokhara.

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Are human rights universal?



An East African woman recovering from forced genital mutilation.

The question is often asked whether "human rights" is an essentially western concept that ignores the different cultural, economic and political traditions of the South. Can the values of a consumer society be applied to societies with nothing to consume? At the risk of sounding frivolous when you stop a man in traditional dress from beating his wife, are you upholding her human rights or violating his? Serious objections exist to the concept of universal human rights, which its defenders need to honestly acknowledge, if only to refute.

The first objection argues that all rights and values are defined and limited by cultural perceptions there is no universal culture, so there are no universal human rights. Some philosophers object that the concept of human rights is founded on an individualistic view of man as an autonomous being whose greatest need is to be left alone, free from interference by the state, while non-western societies often espouse a communitarian ethic where society is more than the sum of its individual members, and duties are more important than rights.

There is the usual North/South argument, with "human rights" cast as a cover for western intervention in the developing world. Some say developing countries cannot afford human rights, since nation-building and

Coercion is the test, not culture or religion or development.

economic development remain unfinished. Suppressing or limiting human rights sacrifices the few to benefit the many. Others object to specific rights that they say reflect western cultural bias, the most troublesome being women's rights. How can women's rights be universal when, in some societies, marriage is seen not as a contract between two individuals but as an alliance between lineages, and women's behaviour is central to a society's perception of familial honour? Meanwhile, some religious leaders argue that there is a built-in conflict between the universality of human rights and the particularity of religious perspectives.

How do we respond to these objections? Concepts of justice and law, legitimacy and dignity, protection from oppressive rule and participation in community affairs are found in every society; and the challenge facing human rights advocates is to identify cross-cultural values and principles. The objections reflect a false opposition between the primacy of the individual and that of society. Authorities often cite culture as a defense against human rights, and then crack culture when it suits them when away. Besides, which country can claim to be following its "traditional culture"? You can follow the model of the "Confucius" nation-state, cutting across tribal boundaries and conventions, and then argue that tribal traditions would be used to judge the state.

Culture isn't a sacredness anyway. It (Shashi Tharoor is an Under Secretary-General of the United Nations)

by JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ

Back to Keynes

The market economy has always been subject to fluctuations, to booms and busts. Capitalist economies are not self-adjusting; market forces might eventually restore an economy of full employment, as Keynes said, but in the long run we are all dead. Keynes proposed clear prescriptions for hard economic times: expansionary monetary and fiscal policy. He thought fiscal policy particularly important in situations where monetary policy was likely to be ineffective.

In advanced economies, Keynesian economics is the bread and butter of economic forecasting and policymaking, ensuring that expansions are longer and downturns shallower and shorter. Certainly theory and practice have been refined—the theory of asymmetric information provides much of the micro-foundations for modern macroeconomics. But some of the simplest, albeit, most important precepts are as valid today as ever—for example, temporary income tax cuts are unlikely to be effective, while temporary investment tax credits can be extremely helpful.

When the IMF forced large expenditure cuts in East Asia, out of those countries fell, just as Keynesian theory would have predicted. In early 1998, when I was chief economist of the World Bank, I debated the US Treasury and the IMF concerning Russia. They said stimulating the Russian economy would require inflation. This was remarkable advice: through their transition policies, they had managed in a few years to decrease the productive capacity of the world's number-two superpower by more than 40 percent, a devastating outcome greater than that of any war. The loss went well beyond the carnage in military expenditures, overwhelming the civilian industrial and agricultural sectors. In August 1998, with the ruble's devaluation, we tested the alternative, Keynesian hypothesis. Production slowed relatively quickly, showing that policies emphasizing excessive austerity had caused unnecessary idleness of human and physical resources, and unnecessary suffering.

The IMF was slow to learn the lesson. While it belatedly recognized its fiscal policy mistake in East Asia, it repeated it in Argentina, forcing expenditure cuts that deepened recession and boosted unemployment to levels that have not finally fully passed. But even now the IMF insists on further cuts as a condition for assistance. It continues to insist on an alternative economic "theory" (though the term may suggest a higher level of analysis than is merited), one that Keynes

fought against. Keynes struggled against the notion embodied in the IMF "theory" that only countries against their deficits, "confidence" would be restored, investment would return, and economic performance recover, and the government's budget targets are more than met.

I know of no country where this scenario has played out successfully, for there are two key problems with it. Confidence is important, but it is only a force for change, even if economic investment becomes utterly confident in the US economy, they won't invest in more brick pits, given today's huge excess capacity.

Deficits, for their part, aren't the only, or even the most important, factor determining investor confidence. A country in recession or depression does not inspire confidence. Connectionary policies—such as reducing taxes and increasing wages and so on—may be helpful, but they are not the answer. As they say, what you like what they see. After all, the first effect of expenditure cuts is a further decline in income, and profitability of investment. Then, tax revenue declines, and if the country has any kind of social safety net, expenditures increase. The hoped-for improvement in the fiscal position does not materialize. At this point, the IMF advocates the case for failing to fail on its commitments. But the IMF should be castigated for pushing an outdated economic theory.

Between 1999 and 2001, Argentina's central government had done an impressive job of cutting back expenditures, not of interest, by 10 percent. What would have happened if its previous government had followed the IMF's "guideline" to "cut" below the minimum? Keynes would have been converted to the IMF's "guideline" long before the downturn would have come earlier and more precipitously. Today's unemployment rates of 20 percent or more (with an additional 10-15 percent of hidden unemployment) would have been seen even before last December. Rostots and all other points in one direction: Keynes' teachings are still very much alive. (Joseph Stiglitz is professor of economics at Columbia University, and was formerly Chief Economist and Senior Vice President of the World Bank.)

IMF members need to return to what works. Like Keynes, for instance.



The politics of humanitarian aid

UNITED NATIONS—The United Nations lacks nearly two-thirds of the money it needs for humanitarian relief efforts in countries including Angola, Burundi, Guinea, North Korea, and Sudan. This year, there is most concern over a major shortfall in the amount of money being given to meet overall humanitarian needs, says Mark Bowden of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). They have pegged this year's level of need at \$3.6 billion. So far, says Bowden, only \$1.4 billion has been received. The situation marks a continued decline over the past five years, says Bowden, and more of the relief that is provided is channelled through bilateral agencies and NGOs. "This is creating major problems in emergency situations in countries such as Angola," says Nicolas de Torrente, executive director of Medecins Sans Frontieres, MSF. The African nation is experiencing "terrible famine" but the UN response has been "very, very slow." This is partly because "humanitarian needs are being subordinated to political calculations," de Torrente says, noting that in contrast to Angola's case, the international donor community has moved very fast in responding to appeals made on behalf of Afghanistan. "If you get your political bidding," says one UN official, "the donors are more than willing to meet your needs."

UN operations in Angola have received 24 percent of the funds they sought and those in Sudan, about 18 percent, officials here say. In Guinea, they blame a lack of funds for a failure to put a dent in epidemics of cholera and measles. Lack of medicine and food is hampering UN capacity to deal with famine in North Korea. (IPS)

More for NATO

SOFIA—A meeting of the parliament of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has recommended that seven more countries be asked to join NATO later this year. The parliamentary assembly of NATO has recommended that Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania be likely to receive invitations to join NATO at its next meeting in Prague in November. The assembly passed a declaration that these seven countries had carried out successful reforms and contributed towards NATO operations in the Balkans. The Assembly stopped short of recommending that any country should definitely be admitted. Indications arose that the case of Bulgaria and Romania is being referred to the UN Security Council. The countries not named were Albania, Croatia and Macedonia. (IPS)

Less aid to the poorest

BRUSSELS—European Union aid to the world's poorest nations almost halved over a past decade, an independent report claims. The report by BOND, a network of more than 240 British non-governmental organisations claims that EU aid to low income countries decreased from 70 per cent of its total development assistance in 1990 to just 39 per cent in 2000. The findings in the report Tackling Poverty: a proposal for European Union aid reform were immediately challenged by Paul Nelson, the EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid. Aid to the poorest had not decreased, he said. "Our development policy is global and many of the states we give aid to are among the poorest in the world," he said. The BOND report claims that the stated aim of EU development policy, to eventually eradicate poverty, is "increasingly dwarfed by other agendas, such as trade, agriculture, foreign and security policies." The report claims that in 2000 the EU allocated only 4 percent of its aid to basic education and just 2 percent to basic health. The new campaign will propose that 35 per cent of EU aid go to social services such as health and education. (IPS)

ROME—The only document that delegates signed at the second World Food Summit in Rome had a delayed and laborious birth and, at times, risked stillbirth. The Declaration finally adopted satisfies no one, but was accepted by all governments as compromise. The developing world pressed for a more far-reaching declaration, but the US delegation said the document had gone too far. Agreement on the Declaration—which is bereft of any new targets or commitments—was finally saved by Irish mediator Aidan O'Driscoll telling delegates to "take it or leave it." Governments could agree to a declaration with the US. The US opposed the title International Alliance Against Hunger on the grounds that it would risk creating new structures or demand new funding. Developing countries who backed this title managed to prevail. Later, delegates tried again to try to reach an agreement over the "right to food." Developing countries rallied together to insert a clause "reaffirming the right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food."

This represents no movement from the declaration at the first summit in Rome six years ago that spoke of "the right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food, consistent with the right to adequate food and the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger." The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which is hosting the summit says this agreement does not require the State to feed its people, but only that "the State must respect and protect the right of individuals to feed themselves." The US government feared that a firm and formal "right to food" could be used by governments to a legal challenge from their hungry. (IPS)

ASIA

COMMENT

War in slow motion

by JASJIT SINGH

budget increase 2 percent, to 9 percent of GDP. India will seek to keep war conventional, and will pose its threat to Pakistan at well below the nuclear threshold at Islamabad planning it. But such military planning requires pinpoint judgement on both sides. India would seek to keep the war confined to Jammu and Kashmir. India's main force, especially its armoured forces, even now at the height of mobilisation, remain deployed in the strategically defensive posture across the region outside Kashmir. India's offensive operations are likely to be conducted in small doses, with infantry attacks by small units layered between artillery barrages.

Pakistan would likely respond in kind, and a continuing battle of attrition would ensue without territorial advances, something akin to the Israeli-Egyptian battles between 1973-73. (It should be remembered, however, that those battles led to the Yom Kippur War of 1973, a struggle that at one moment almost nearly led to the US and USSR into the Cuban Missile Crisis.) India believes static warfare and a battle of attrition would substantially interfere with terrorist infiltration across the Line of Control that separates Indian Kashmir from that controlled by Pakistan.

Real escalation would come with the use of nuclear weapons. With a 750 to 350 nuclear warheads in its arsenal, India has a decisive edge over Pakistan. India's Air Force is far superior. India has a fighter jet with 390 high performance modern (1980-90s) acquisitions all-weather combat aircraft, the 2,900-km-long bomber, Pakistan's annual military bill will jump from 35 percent to 42 percent of GDP, a hideous amount in a developing country. India will see its military

thus apply force in small doses spread over time with a cumulative impact possibly extending beyond the next year—a war in slow motion.

India enjoys a substantial quantitative and qualitative superiority over Pakistan in conventional forces, which is why Pakistan acquired nuclear weapons, seeking the security of nuclear deterrence. India's "war aim"—I fear over-comes it—to raise the costs to Pakistan of any policy of encouraging cross-border terrorism. Pakistan's nuclear weapons, seeking the security of nuclear deterrence. India's "war aim"—I fear over-comes it—to raise the costs to Pakistan of any policy of encouraging cross-border terrorism.

Private Sector Promotion (PSP) Project is a Nepalese-German technical cooperation project implemented by German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). The Project aims to enhance the competitiveness of Nepal's private sector. One way the Project aims to do that is by providing business advice and strategic financial assistance to selected firms and companies to help commercialize their services.

PSP is looking to expand its operations by hiring a Business Development Officer to carry out the following core tasks:

- Core Tasks
 - Selling the Project's offer of business advice and financial assistance to private sector businesses.
 - Working with businesses to translate their ideas into deliverable and profitable new services.

- PSP is seeking applicants for this position with the following profile
 - A motivated, resourceful professional with a strong business and/or service orientation.
 - Ability to come up with and apply structured reasoning to help solve business problems.
 - Ability to deliver tangible results with minimum supervision.
 - Open and quick to learn new concepts and ideas.
 - Ability to work on small teams in a flexible, organizational environment with a flat hierarchy.
 - Excellent English comprehension and expression.

Additional advantages would be:

- At least three years' of work experience in sales, marketing or advertising services.

PSP offers, for this post starting 15 July 2002 and based in Kathmandu, a competitive salary and other facilities commensurate with the qualifications and experience of the applicant according to GTZ regulations. Interested applicants should send their CV, two references and a passport size photograph to the following address by 28 June 2002. Telephone enquiries will not be entertained. Only short listed candidates will be contacted for interview.

Vacancy – Business Development Officer
Private Sector Promotion Project – GTZ
P.O. Box 1457
Nepal Bhatnagar, Sanyal, Lalpur

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combat aircraft. India is likely to use the use of air power to fight against terrorist training camps and selected infrastructure in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Pakistan would likely respond by engaging Indian fighters in aerial dogfights or by attacking Indian air bases. Should air combat take place, India's Navy, with a superior force of 27 major surface warships (including three guided missile cruisers) and 16 submarines (against Pakistan's seven warships and nine submarines) would seek to dominate the north Arabian Sea, cutting off Pakistan from trade and resupply.

In the face of India's vast advantages in conventional forces and flexible strategy, there is a grave risk Pakistan will escalate its response, even to the point of using nuclear weapons. India's nuclear doctrine, poorly understood abroad, is not to use nuclear weapons first. Pakistan does not subscribe to "no first use". Still, it will likely react to nuclear weapons only if its survival, or extremely vital interests, are at stake.

India will not try to push Pakistan into a corner, as war is against terrorism, and not Pakistan. Should Pakistan strike first, most of India's nuclear arsenal would survive to deliver, in terms of Indian doctrine, "a nuclear retaliation" to "unacceptable levels of punishment." The war in slow motion runs the risk of causing total annihilation. (Joseph Stiglitz)

(Air Commission Jasjit Singh is Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, New Delhi.)

Seeds of trouble

NEW DELHI—Food security activists who campaigned for years to get India's farmer-friendly Plant Varieties Protection (PVP) Act passed last year are now faced with the government's attempt to reverse the gains achieved by that law. They say the government is taking a step backward by according to the international Union for Protection of Plant Varieties (UPOV), which critics say promotes the interest of seed multinational corporations (MNCs) in the export market. Among the critics is the organization Gene Campaign, which works for the protection of genetic resources and farmers' interests.

Gene Campaign is known for its proposal to set up the Convention of Farmers and Breeders as an alternative to UPOV. Devinder Sharma of the Research Foundation for Science Technology and Environment and the Forum for Food Security and Biotechnology, another Indian NGO, says INDA are driven by the need to recoup the billions they spend on developing plant varieties. Thus, they say, they need the monopoly rights offered by UPOV, which works by denying farmers the control they have traditionally enjoyed over their own, often superior and biodiverse seed varieties. Sharma says that this has led to a loss of seed varieties and to unsustainable farming practices and to farmers in countries like India supporting inappropriate and sometimes dangerous research, such as the "terminator seed." (IPS)

Cleaning up ODA

TOKYO—This year's White Paper on Japanese overseas development assistance calls for active participation of grassroots organizations and the private sector in the implementation of aid and grant programs. The Foreign Ministry document aims to address a recent spate of scandals that have eroded public support for overseas assistance against the lingering domestic recession. Budgetary constraints have forced the government to spend on ODA, Japan's main diplomatic tool, by 10 percent in the current year from the previous year to around \$468 billion dollars, the lowest level since fiscal 1987.

Asahi, a leading Japanese daily, said that the new moves are a "welcome sign" and prove that the foreign ministry is not trying to simply use NGOs as tools to conduct its own aid programmes, but encouraging relations on an equal footing. Toshihiko Kurowa, from the Institute of Developing Economies, says Japanese ODA should shift from its emphasis on building infrastructure that requires huge amounts of cash in the form of yen loans, to social and technology assistance. (IPS)

Restoring rights

UNITED NATIONS—Afghanistan has decided to set up its first independent National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to probe past and present abuses in the war-ravaged country. UN spokesperson David Singh told reporters here last week that the Afghan Interim Administration decided to create the commission in Kabul in conjunction with the United Nations and a group of some 50 Afghan human rights activists. The Commission will be financed entirely by donors and is to be established this week and begin its work for an initial period of two years beginning in July.

Rights activists say that the first order of business is dealing with ongoing human rights problems, specifically attacks on ethnic groups in northern Afghanistan. Afghanistan has had a long history of human rights violations by successive governments over the last two decades, the worst under the Taliban against women and girls whose access to education, health care facilities and employment was severely restricted. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson said the commission is important for families of those who have suffered rights violations. Asked if present leaders would also be subject to prosecution if found guilty of abuses, Singh said there is no provision in the Bonn agreement to provide immunity from future prosecution. (IPS)

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ART REVIEW *by* SOPHIA PANDE

"Three Men's Perspectives" is running through 22 June at the Park Gallery, Pulchowk, 10AM-5PM, except Saturdays. Email andrewbell@boston.com 5233207

quantity. My clothes become dirty soon, because I rub mustard oil everyday all over my body.

quantity. My clothes become dirty soon, because I rub mustard oil everyday all over my body.

[illegible][illegible]

संपादन: १५ जून २०१५, Spacetime 9 June

ABOUT TOWN

EXHIBITION

- ◆ **Three Men's Perspective** A three-man exhibition of photographic art 9-27 June, 10AM-5PM, except Saturdays, Park Gallery, Pulchowk, 522037
- ◆ **Life and nature Exhibition of paintings by Sharada Chitrakar**, 16-21 June, Nepal Art Council, Babar Mahal.

FOOTBALL

- ◆ **Bookie's Bar** Watch World Cup games, win free buffets and other prizes with every match. Free entrance, Hotel Yak & Yeti everyday, 248959
- ◆ **World Cup Football Show** All the World Cup matches on the Summit big screen. Free Entry, 521510
- ◆ **Uncork the good times** at the Fusion Bar, Dwarika's Hotel, 431 TV for World Cup matches, introductory offer of 30 percent discount on food and beverages. 478498
- ◆ **Games, questionnaires, prizes and cocktails** such as Bend it like Beckham, Zizi's Kick, Bianco's Left Foot, Piero's Punch, and World Cup special meals. The Fun Cafe, Corner Bar, Splash Bar & Grill, The Radisson Hotel.
- ◆ **Catch the match** Every World Cup match, especially, with food and drink at The Jazz Bar, Shangri-La Hotel, 412989
- ◆ **Best steaks and ESPN World Cup games** at K-tool Beer & Steakhouse, Thamel, Buy two beers, get a free, daily special, 433043.

EVENTS

- ◆ **Football meets bowling** The ten pins: your opponents, the strikes: goals. Starts 19 June, 6PM on, semi-final and final on 20 and 23 June, 6PM on. Rs 1,000 per head includes entry to tournament, drinks and official World Cup jersey/topping. Bowling Boulevard Indoor Stadium, Kathmandu. mygimall.com.np
- ◆ **Sinners in heaven** MTV VJs Nikhil Chinnappa and Nafisa Joseph, DJ from Djinns in Delhi, buffet, bottomless bar. 7PM onwards, 14 June, The Atrium, Hotel Yak & Yeti. Tickets Rs 1,299 singles and Rs 1,999 couples at Bhatbhateni, Bluebird, Hotel Yak & Yeti.
- ◆ **Second Bagmati River Festival** Friends of the Bagmati environmental group open all, next meeting Wednesday 26 June, 3PM, Dwarika's Hotel. friends@bagmatinepalest.com.np
- ◆ **Namaste Banapa** education project needs ideas and input. Email: watevax@winlink.com.np for details.

MUSIC

- ◆ **Dance down memory lane** Wednesday and Friday nights with Teesta. The Rox Bar at the Hyatt Regency Kathmandu, 491234
- ◆ **Live music** by Catch 22, Friday nights at the 40,000 5/6 Bar, Rum Doodle Restaurant, Thamel, 414336

DRINK

- ◆ **Metre of Malts** Single malt exhibition and tasting. Twelve single malts for Rs 999. Evenings, Piano Lounge, Hotel Yak & Yeti, 248959
- ◆ **Mountain Madness** Cocktails, happy hour everyday 4PM-8 PM, two for the price of one at Rs 250. Kilo's of Kathmandu, Thamel, 250440

FOOD

- ◆ **Potatoes potential** Potatoes at The Fun Cafe for dinner until 20 June, the Radisson Hotel, 411818
- ◆ **Malaysian food** Rojak, popiah goreng, kachay jagong and more. All through June, Shambhavi Garden, Shangri-La-Hotel, 412959
- ◆ **Monsoon Madness** Barbecue every weekend from 6:30 PM onwards at Rs 250. Kilo's of Kathmandu, Thamel, 250440
- ◆ **Wood fired pizzas** at the new Roadhouse Café. Completely redesigned with separate bar seating and coffee bar. The Roadhouse Café, Thamel.
- ◆ **Weekend Brunch** Rs 350 per head, special package available with bowling, Oriental and continental lunch or dinner by the pool. 1905 Boardwalk, Kathmandu, 225272
- ◆ **Vegetarian Specialities** and clay-oven pizzas at Stupa View Restaurant & Terrace, Boudha, 480202
- ◆ **Authentic Thai food** Everyday at Yin Yang Restaurant, 425510
- ◆ **Paddy Poley's Irish Pub** A wide range of drinks and food. Live music on Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday nights, 416096
- ◆ **BBO and movie evenings** 5PM onwards at Nanglo Café and Pub, Darbar Marg, 222636
- ◆ **Special Thai cuisine** at Ban Thai Restaurant, Darbar Marg, 243271

GETAWAYS

- ◆ **Beat the Heat** Large near swimming pool at Dwarika's Hotel. Rs 500 per person, Rs 250 per child all year. Membership details on request, 478498
- ◆ **Winning Retreat** Full board packages at Park Village Resort, Boudhanika, 375280
- ◆ **The Great Gadavari Getaway** Special weekend packages including room with breakfast and dinner, 25 percent discount on health club facilities. Gadavari Village Resort, 560675
- ◆ **Taste the difference** Cozy Nepali-style house on an organic farm in Gamcho, south of Thimphu. Up to Rs 1,200 per person per night including meals, aas@winlink.com.np
- ◆ **Shivapuri Heights Cottage** 30 minutes from Kathmandu, staff guides to monastery, peak and reserve. Rs 1,850 per person with dinner and breakfast, Rs 925 per child 5-14 years, children under five free. info@escapetonepal.com

For inclusion in the listing send information to editors@nepalitimes.com



YAK YETI YAK



BOOKWORM



High Exposure: An enduring passion for Everest and other unforgiving places David Breashears Penguin Books India, New Delhi, 1999

David Breashears, legendary rock climber, mountaineer and high-altitude filmmaker, discusses the public's fascination with climbing and tries to answer the basic question: why climb? He discusses his early climbing experiences in Colorado, USA, and the Yosemite National Park, his lifelong passion for the Himalayas, and the filming of the IMAX film on Everest during the 1996 disaster.

True Summit: What Really Happened on the Legendary Ascent of Annapurna

David Roberts Touchstone, New York, 2002 Rs 1,000

In June 1950, a team of mountaineers led by Maurice Herzog was the first to conquer an 8,000 m peak. Herzog's Annapurna has long been regarded as a climbing classic, but here Roberts presents a revision of the fascinating tale using newly-available documents and a rare interview with Herzog. He lays bare Herzog's self-serving determination and becomes long-delayed credit to the more accomplished and unsung heroes.

The New Leaders: Transforming the Art of Leadership into the Science of Results Daniel Goleman, Richard Boyatzis, Annie McKeown Little, Brown, London, 2002 Rs 632

Goleman's *Emotional Intelligence* changed our concept of 'being smart', proving that how we handle ourselves and our relationships matters more than IQ or technical skill in educational success. Now the authors explore the consequences of EI for leaders and organizations.

Courtesy: Mandala Book Point, Kathmandu, 227711, mandala@csd.com.np

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The real stars



WHICH THIS MAN? Nepal was watching the Cameroon-South Africa match were surprised to see a man in a white apron, large Nepali flag in the audience. Shresh Bhatta (above) had the captain's little flag. A Japanese Nepal lover, Koji Kasugawa, was responsible for the large size and moon TV viewers across the world.

during the match, he stood up on his stool and tried to lead the crowd in chants of 'Es-Ta-Ya-Es-Ta-Ya' in hopes of cheering his home team to victory. It wasn't Italy's day and as the game played away, Tessa grew visibly agitated. Italy took a 1-0 lead early in the second half, but not the initiative as Croatia pressed forward. Tessa had already chain-smoked half a pack of Lucky Strikes when Croatia got the inevitable tying goal. Croatia scored again—time for another drink.

As the crowd cheered for a Croatia upset, Tessa sat disconsolate, shaking his head and smoking faster than ever. But five minutes after the whistle was blown on a 2-1 Croatia victory, his dark mood cleared. We got another beer and half-watched Brazil destroy China while comparing notes of past soccer travels, and when we parted, we pledged to meet again next week for another night on the stool.

The next day I took a train to Mogy in northern Japan for Mexico Ecuador. In the stations, and on the trains you could feel the anticipation. Hanging around the stadium before a World Cup game in a big rug—everybody in a good mood and wearing their national team jerseys, and a few people always take the celebration a little further. On Sunday, a few Ecuador fans were wearing hats shaped like fruit baskets. One Mexican fellow was marching around in an elaborate chocolate, a suede

by BILL BREWSTER

The best thing about a World Cup is the fans.

kindness and a strange pair of shoes made of walnut shells that clacked feverishly when he danced. And everyone, everywhere, was hanging on drums, blowing whistles and chanting.

But I still didn't have a ticket, and was feeling a little pessimistic a half-hour before kick-off, when most of the crowd was already seated in the stadium. Then I saw a group of middle-aged Mexican guys hurrying towards the gate. They had an extra ticket and, no doubt because of my recent experiences having in Nepal bazaar, I got an unbelievable seat for half-price. It's rows up from the field, right behind the Mexico bench. I sat with the men from whom I'd bought the ticket, and they even let a victory girl after Mexico came back from a goal down to pull out a 2-1 win.

On the train home, I chatted with a yellow-jerseyed Ecuadorian named Rudy who lives in New York City and works in a meat factory. Not the greatest job in the world, but he could save enough money to fly across the world with a friend to see his home country in its first-ever World Cup. Even after his team lost, he was still amazed that, on a train, everyone on the train was cracking jokes in Spanish. Plus, he saw another Ecuador match this week, and it doesn't really matter that it will almost certainly be their last. That kind of dedication and joy is what makes World Cup fans so much fun to be around. ♦

Kick ball to football



ANTONETA BEZLOVA in BEIJING

Ken to watch their national team in its World Cup debut after 44 years of failing to qualify, some 25,000 Chinese football fans travelled to South Korea, where the Chinese team is playing. Hundreds of millions more, or 80 per cent of the population, are glued to television sets with all the vigour of true fanatics.

As Chinese history textbooks point out, it was the Middle Kingdom and not England where the greatest game on earth was invented and played some two millennia ago. The game of 'kick ball' was played as early as the Han Dynasty (206 BCE to 220CE). Chinese athletes kicked the ball in a rectangular court surrounded by an enclosing wall. At that time, the ball was solid, made of pig's bladder and stuffed with animal fur. By the 7th century, the ball became air-filled and kicking it around became popular with Chinese women too. All over the centuries, imperial court ladies would be commissioned to write eulogies to the most exciting contests of 'kick ball'.

Preserved Eastern Han Dynasty frescoes depict women's football matches, while some temple murals and silk scrolls give a glimpse of male 'kick ball' contests. Bidding to host the Olympic Games in 2008 last year, Beijing organised an exhibition displaying China's long history of sporting games. Along with clay models of Chinese ancient footballers, the China Sports Museum showed unearthed evidence that even sports such as golf and baseball had their prototypes in the Middle Kingdom.

Winning the bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games has boosted awareness of China's ancient sports culture and also dangerously raised the stakes for Chinese athletes. Expectations have been running so high that China's national team was forced to release an open letter asking for forgiveness from the public if the country suffered a defeat at the World Cup. "We are a new team in the World Cup and a weak one," the letter said. "Our lack of experience and ability have determined that we won't be able to go far." Posted on the Chinese Football Association's website, the letter was called 'defeatist' by many fans who believe the government is trying intentionally to dampen hopes at home. The Communist Party is failing into its own trap," said one foreign observer in Beijing. "They try to exploit sports to nurture nationalism but on the other hand they don't want football euphoria to run out of control." ♦ (IPS)

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by NGAMDIRA DAHAL

Here's how to tell when there's a hard rain coming: just stand for a moment and take in the hot, still air. There will be plenty of opportunity to do just that when the monsoon hits us this week. The satellite picture shows the southeasterly monsoon ready to make its grand entrance, and masses of moisture laden clouds are heading towards eastern Nepal. By mid-week there will be massive downpours throughout the kingdom, recharging all the springs and causing landslides and floods.

KATHMANDU VALLEY

Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon	Tue
31-00	30-20	29-18	28-18	29-18



Under My Hat

by Kunda Dixit

2050 FIFA World Cup Kathmandu Lalitpur



Given the rapid pace of renovation and beautification taking place in the nation's capital these days, we can be fairly certain that Nepal can make a successful bid to host the 2050 Football World Cup. One of the most important criteria that FIFA attaches to cities applying to organise the games is whether or not the host metropolis is self-sufficient in crazy hats. And as the world's major supplier of lunatic hats for the last three World Cups, Mayor Shapit has assured FIFA's Site Selection Committee that there is no danger of Kathmandu running out of headgear in the run-up to the 2050 games.

So that just leaves us with the knotty question of ensuring that the Tinkune Intersection Beautification Campaign will see completion by January 2050. The Transportation Sub-Committee of the World Cup Organising Main Committee (Under the aegis of the Leninists) is optimistic that this should be possible, given the breakneck speed at which Obyashhi-san and his subcontractors are rushing to make sure that the intersections intersect interestingly in keeping with internationally-certified norms and procedures.

According to a timetable made available to mediapersons this week, the sidewalks in Tinkune, Singha Darbar, Manighar and Patuli Sadak are scheduled for completion by 2010, the zebra crossings will be painted over by 2025, field trials and simulation exercises for traffic management are expected to be conducted in late 2032 and the traffic light synchronisation is expected to go into effect by 2049 in time for the formal handing over of the intersections to the Cup Fathers.

Since we are a nation that can now afford to hire Japanese contractors to build our pavements, there is little reason to doubt that we can also host the World Cup in 48 years time. Wanna bet? Heads I win, tails you lose. Bets once placed cannot be altered. Terms and Conditions apply. The decision of The Management is final.

Kathmandu and Patan have traditionally had a healthy competition ever since the Malla period when the two kingdoms fought wars and hounded each other's citizens. Today, this competition is manifested in the way in which the Patan Municipality, not to be outdone by the Kathmandu Metropolitan City, has made sure that not a single halogen street lamp installed during the SAARC Summit is in working condition. And once Kathmandu found out that Patan streets were dark, it has also decided to be one up on its friendly rival by switching off all street lights between Bahar Mahal and Min Bhawan until further notice.

Patan's illustrious mayor's pet project is the gate that has been under construction at Bagmati Bridge since approximately the Bronze Age. The mayor has assured us that the gate will be complete by the time Patan co-hosts the 2050 World Cup. And, going by past experience, we have no reason to doubt him. ♦

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NEPALI SOCIETY

Positively Bibha

A 17 Bibha Shah has already met the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan and given him a piece of her mind. She was chosen by MTV to represent the Asia-Pacific at a meeting with Kofi in New York last month, and she drew his attention to the plight of children worldwide and the need for the United Nations to make the world a better place for them.

Bibha was among ten short-listed candidates selected from more than 1,000 Nepal applicants as part of a campaign by UNICEF, MTV and Levi's Speak Your Mind initiative to bring out an Asian Youth Charter. Bibha joined 12 other winners from Asian countries to go to New York for a summit on children where, for the first time, children addressed the United Nations General Assembly to express their concerns about their futures. Bibha was chosen (along with a Thai winner) to see the Secretary General because she

was articulate, confident and outgoing. "When I was selected to represent Nepal and other Asian youth I felt both proud and nervous. It was a big responsibility," recalls Bibha. "I was nervous that I might disappoint the others I was representing." But her nervousness evaporated as soon as she met Kofi. "For a man of his stature, I found him a very down-to-earth person. He put all of us at ease, and he listened to us," Bibha told us on her return to Kathmandu.

Bibha, an idealistic 12th grader from Saneha, also has a few things she would tell Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba if she got a chance to meet him. And that is? "I'd tell him to try to restore peace to Nepal and I'd tell all politicians to stop playing politics with the future of the students and the country."

Bibha now feels even more confident and determined to make a difference in Nepal. "My horizons have widened. I don't have any specific plans

yet, but I think small things make a big difference so if I can change myself and my community, it will add up." Bibha's inspiration is her father, who keeps telling her "If life is tough, you have to be tougher".

Bibha plays volleyball as a hobby and would like to make a career in medicine. But for the immediate future, she already has a pledge: she is going to have a positive outlook on life, and everything she does. ♦



Bibha chatting with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and Ms Annan at the United Nations in New York last month.

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