

redeeming his past. But it ain't over until Deuba successfully holds local polls in the eight Tarai districts of Province 2, and provincial and parliamentary

much time left.

The constitution requires the existing Constituent Assemblyturned legislature to be replaced by a new federal Parliament before 21 January 2018. But some constituencies will be snowbound by November, and then there are the Dasain, Tihar Chhat festivals before that leaving a narrow window for two big elections.

elections soon after. There isn't

The constitution has envisioned three levels of elections to be conducted in ascending order, or even simultaneously. This is because representatives of local and provincial councils will form the Electoral College that elects the Upper House of the federal Parliament.

Ex-Chief Election Commissioner Neel Kantha Uprety argues that provincial and parliamentary elections can be held simultaneously during October (see Guest Editorial, page 2). The government needs to form a commission to delineate

new constituencies right away and finish its task by the end of monsoon to pave the way for provincial elections. The Election Commission needs to publish a timetable, and stick firmly to it without political interference.

All these are huge technical challenges, but even more difficult will be bring the RJPN onboard. Local polls were postponed four times in Province 2 just for them, and they have major issues with provincial boundaries as they stand.

The RJPN boycotted the first two phases of local elections, and is threatening to disrupt the remaining elections if their demand for a constitutional amendment is not met. But Madhesi voters turned out in large numbers this week even in the Tarai districts of Province 5, where the RJPN believes it has

Sociologist Chaitanya Mishra says: "Taking its cue from the large turnout of Madhesi people in the second phase, the RJPN must take part in Province 2 elections, or it will simply vanish."

Mishra says the high turnout in the plains of Province 5 busted a few myths: the RJPN is the only force in the Tarai, Madhesi people consider the party as their saviour, and have rejected the constitution.

However, Mishra wanrs: "It is too early to write an obituary for the RJPN. We will have to wait for Province 2 elections for that."

Om Astha Rai

REVISITING

Kesang Tseten goes back to the village where he filmed We Corner People 11 years ago to find the place transformed by hydropower projects and a new highway.



Go online to watch a film about Tseten working on a sequel to his documentary.

PAGE 8-9



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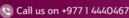
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2 DOWN, 1 TO GO

ednesday's Second Phase of local elections in Provinces 1, 5, 7, in which 70% of 6.5 million eligible voters cast their ballots for municipal, village and ward councilors once more proved the adage that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others. In Nepal we have learnt to be satisfied with just holding elections, no matter how flawed, because not having them is infinitely worse.

The vote counting has begun, but a dangerous precedent has been set by Bharatpur Municipality, which still hasn't declared a winner from the First Phase. Previous prime minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal of the Maoists put up his daughter, Renu, as a candidate for mayor, and in a backroom deal with current prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba of the NC, got the surefire winner for mayorship to step down and the NC to back her. They were neck-to-neck but when the UML edged ahead, Maoist supporters tore up ballot papers. Instead of

going ahead with counting, the Election Commission waffled and announced repolling. The matter is now in the Supreme Court, and the winner has still not been announced. There is nothing to stop the Maoists, or any other party for that matter, from tearing up ballot papers again. It seems an easy way for losers to sabotage results.

To prevent a recurrence, security at counting centres must be tighter and the Election Commission should stand up to political interference. The second phase also saw a lot

more alliances between the main parties, especially the NC and Maoists, in order not to cut each other's votes and prevent the opposition UML from another strong showing. But the large turnout proved that this was a referendum in favour of elections (see coverage page 14-15).

All eyes now will be on the Third Phase in Province 2. The Madhes-based RJPN alliance has isolated itself to these six districts in the Eastern Tarai, and polling there will be the most contentious because of its demand for constitutional amendments first. The aim should be not to wait till September, but to bring the RJPN onboard and hold those elections ASAP. Only then can we focus on the provincial and parliamentary elections that must be held by the constitutionally mandated deadline of 21 January 2018.

As former election commissioner Neel Kantha Uprety suggests in the Guest Editorial (*below*) the two polls can be held together and there are ways to streamline

Boundary Demarcation
Committee must satisfy
all parties. This is fraught,
because the dispute over
provinces is what delayed
the constitution-writing
process for so long.

There are even those who suggest that instead of opening the provincial can of worms all over again, Nepal should, for the sake of stability and to save money, build on strong local government, bypass provincial assemblies altogether, and opt for a two-tiered structure. Now,

GUEST EDITORIAL

NEEL KANTHA UPRETY

Voting in the rain

This is not the first time Nepal is holding local elections in phases: the previous two local polls were also held in two rounds. But the gaps were short and the same election management team and electoral logistics from the first phase were used again, making it all cost-effective.

Fearing that the results of the first phase could sway voters in the second phase, the Election Commission (EC) had decided to hold local elections at one go. That was not a bad idea *per se*, but the EC was first forced by politicians to do it in two rounds, and then in three goes. Furthermore, the gaps are really long, which means candidates and voters in some provinces will have more time to prepare than other provinces. That is not fair from the electoral justice point of view and the EC was helpless.

Even worse, there is no certainty that the third phase of elections in Province 2 will even take place on 18 September. The Madhes-based alliance for which voting has been staggered for four times is pushing for an amendment to the constitution first. The government has not been able to address the Madhesi demand for amendments for two years: how can it suddenly solve this issue in the next couple of months?

Province 2 has one of the lowest human development indices, and a large proportion of marginalised castes and ethnicities. People there have been robbed of their rights to practice grassroots democracy and good governance. Even if voting happens in Province 2 after the rains, their elected local councils will get just four and a half years to deliver.

Mistakes have been made, and we have to prepare

for the consequences. The constitution will be void if local, provincial and parliamentary elections are not completed before 21 January 2018. If we wait too long after the festivals, the mountains will be snowbound.

that's a thought.

Delaying local polls will have a domino effect on the two other elections, since representatives of local and provincial councils will constitute the Electoral College that elects the Upper House of Federal Parliament. The third phase in mid-September doesn't leave much time for provincial and parliamentary elections. We must have a firm timetable right away, and finish delineation of constituencies for provincial and federal elections as well as electoral laws for both levels of elections before the end of the monsoon. If we do run out of time, a way must be found to hold the provincial and parliamentary elections simultaneously. But it is important to declare provincial election vote count results before the results from parliamentary polls.

There can be just one ballot for both First Past the Post (FPTP) and the Proportional Representation (PR) race, and votes received by candidates of political parties in the FPTP system can be computed for the PR seats, saving time and money.

We are fast running out of time. Second-phase votes of civic polls must be counted quickly, and we have to work flat out through the monsoon season.



Neel Kantha Uprety is former Chief Election Commissioner who presided over the successful second Constituent Assembly elections in 2013.

Times.com

ONLINE PACKAGES



Kesang Tseten's 2006 documentary, *We Corner People*, about villagers who built a suspension bridge resonated with many Nepalis. Eleven years later, the location of his film is bustling with hydropower projects and the new road to China. Follow Tseten as he retraces his steps in Upper Rasuwa, revisits characters from his original film, and talks about his approach to the sequel he is working on.



Nepal's Polio Eradication program is one of the most dramatic success stories: the country was declared poliofree in 2014. "Living with polio was a curse, but it is not anymore," says Tina Maharjan, one of eight polio-afflicted players among 40 female athletes participating in a wheelchair basketball league. Watch this uplifting video of the players who overcame disability with mobility.

THEN AND NOW

Thanks for sharing these wonderful but telling photos ('All our yesterdays', #864)! I started in 1974, 'only 43' years ago in the Peace Corps and many of my photos echo the changes that this collection has documented.

Tom Hammett

The population shift to urban centres and the amount of construction is amazing. The photos are taken during different seasons, so it's hard to compare the vegetation. The hillsides are better, but the rice fields have disappeared.

Sigmund Stengel

NEPALI WOMEN CAN DO

Great news for Nepali women ('Education in her blood', Sean Shoemaker, #864). Shabnam Koirala gives us hope. I am proud to call you my Nepali sister. I wish you the best in your new responsibilities. I hope you will help us poor Nepali women to be like you someday.

Anita Thapa Magar

LONG LIVE ASSES

The Ass puts the rest of us ass-piring humorists to shame with his mastery of language, subtlety and the sophistication of his satire ('The fine print', Backside, #864). The donkey doesn't care if we get it or not. Long Live Asses.

Horse

NEPAL MAY SURVIVE

Mahant Thakur and Rajendra Mahato both have been duped and then dumped, by Indian and Nepali leaders ('Moderating with moderates', Chandra Kishor, #864). There is rampant racism against Madeshis in Nepal. Men like Mahant and Mahato are selfish and corrupt. There is no justice, the oppressed will remain oppressed. If only the people stopped voting for criminal leaders and boot them out of power, then there is a chance Nepal may survive.

Hari Wagle

■ Pushpa Kamal Dahal and Sher Bahadur Deuba have successfully reduced the RJPN to a regional party, limited to Province 2. Mahato and Mahant have lost credibility, and even the citizens of Madhes do not have any faith in them. The RJPN is finished.

Anil Jha

IIIES.com



WHAT'S TRENDING

Education in her blood

by Sean Shoemak

The profile of Shabnam Koirala-Azad, the first Nepali dean at a US university, got unprecedented response.



Most reached on Facebook (34, 151 people reached)



Most visited online page (9,000 views)



Most commented

Pain and shame of Nepali women

by *Roiita Adhika*

This powerful video of women in Mugu and Dhanusha districts was widely shared on social media. Uterine prolapse afflicts nearly 1 million Nepali women, but many are forced to live with the condition all their lives because of poverty, illiteracy and lack of access to free surgery in government hospitals.



Most shared on Facebook (87 shares)

ALL OUR YESTERDAYS

Before-and-after photographs taken by Peace Corps volunteers a half-century ago were very popular on the *Nepali Times* site. Interactive Juxtapose sliders allowed readers to see the dramatic changes.



Most popular on Twitter (132 retweets, 249 likes)

QUOTE > TWEETS



Nepali Times @nepalitimes
Uterine prolapse afflicts 1 in 10 Nepali women
but many like Ram Sakhi keep it hidden because
they are too ashamed http://bit.ly/2rTPzA3



Anbika Giri @Aanbika Great story @rojitaadhikari ! Keep doing follow up too. This issue needs serious intervention



Nepali Times @nepalitimes Go to http://bit.ly/2sx2ADj and see how much #Nepal has changed in the last 50 years in

from government and other stakeholders



photographs taken by @PeaceCorps volunteers

Surendra Phuyal @surendraphuyal

#Nepal #ParadiseLost - Vivid portrayal of how

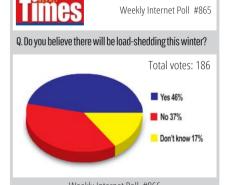
Nepali landscapes have changed in the past



fifty years by @nepalitimes

Rohit @rohitlimbu23

What an amazing & lovely change (community forest)....this way we can successfully fight Global warming & make our lives & livelihood



best & sustainable

Weekly Internet Poll #866 To vote go to: www.nepalitimes.com

Q. Should the RJPN participate in local elections in Province 2 even without an amendment?









Salute to the people

These elections were proof that the public got wise to the attempt to pit plains people against hill people

Again and again, Nepal's citizens save the day. When politicians turn craven, civil society loses humanitarian spine, and academia fails to stand up for reason and democracy, it is the people who rise and reject autocrats who conduct coups.



They show resilience when blockades are implemented, and refuse to turn 'communal' when all kinds of forces national and international seek to stir up communities against each other.

Indeed, the God of Mischief living in the netherworld would be exasperated with the population category known as 'citizens of Nepal', of mountain, hill and plain. This cohort refuses to succumb to radical populism even as the politicians and intelligentsia fall like ninepins, see things crystal clear when the lenses of the consultant-scholars are clouded with paisa, prejudgement and prejudice.

So, the Madhes-badi leaders may shout from the rooftop that it was they who shut down the southern border in 2015. But no one except a few befuddled sahibs believed the foisted narrative, that the Madhesi citizens were blockading the montane (Pahadiya and Himali) population. The Kathmandu state has a lot to answer for when it comes to the marginalised Madhes, but let us also be clear that the plains people were not the blockaders.

A 'people's movement' is not possible to mount with



regularity, so the people do look forward to elections to express their orientation. After doing so in 2013 for Constituent Assembly II, they waited for local government elections to happen, which had been hanging fire for two decades. The people all over wanted these polls – only some politicians thought otherwise, and were aided by the positioning of certain embassies and donor entities who are required at this time to go into deep introspection.

The local elections were finally announced, but then many sought to help the Madhes-badi leadership by forcing the breakup of announced local polls first into two, and then three phases. All along, they sought to buttress those plains-origin leaders who had lost in the 2013 elections and suffered from a severe case of ballot phobia – they would prefer provincial elections and forgotten about local government in toto.

Meanwhile, big-party politicians had milked the exchequer for years through the

जीताको माया देन ?! अब पनि स्थानीय निर्वाचन नगर्ने ?

'all-party mechanism' and its divide-the-spoils corruption. In their heart of hearts they too disliked the local polls, but they knew that they had stretched the public's patience too far. And yet, they prevaricated.

What happened was travesty. Elections were not only into three in phases, with the danger of dividing the country by 'altitude-communalism', the Election Commission allowed the results of one phase to be counted and announced before the conduct of the next phase. Many principles of democratic elections were thrown out of the window as the Commission stooped to the whims of the ruling regime – best

seen in the call for re-elections in one Chitwan poll centre where Maoist goons tore up some ballot papers.

But the Nepali voters are capable of over-riding the unaccountability of the politicians, bureaucrats and commissioners. Even as everyone and his cousin tried to sabotage the polls, the people circumspectly accepted the first phase and delivered 73 percent participation on 14 May. They bided their time, and went in for the second phase of elections on 28 June, delivering 70.5 percent.

The 'altitude-communalists' were most distressed as Wednesday dawned, and more so as the Madhesi, Tharu, Musalman and Pahadiya of the plains participated with enthusiasm. The self-belief of the Nepali people there and elsewhere had once again overcome odds presented not only by our own but also by the naysayers in the international community, who supported agitators and provocateurs.

One can expect that the longsuffering public of Province 2 will go to vote as did the people of Provinces 1,3,4,5,6 and 7. They will reject the attempt to leave them as second-class, non-voting citizens and cannon fodder for politicians and parties, this embassy or that 'consultant activist', and they will come forth to the elections on 18 September.

The people have shown that they are willing to go to polls in the middle of the monsoon and amidst paddy planting, and this has itself been an amazing breakthrough that allows more flexibility in future elections. Using the precedence of 28 June, and given the unfairness of pushing Province 2 elections to faraway September, one may ask the powers that be to consider bringing the date forward.

With the three phases of local elections over, Nepal will finally be on its way to implementing the Constitution, with provincial and national elections to happen in rapid succession by January 2018. The goal is the full post-conflict, post-transition normalisation of Nepali politics, which can only happen when we have a new Parliament rather than the extended Constituent Assembly that is the House of today.

The new Parliament will allow us to focus on a world beyond politics, and more than the politicians it is the will of the people that will see us through.





End the wait

MEENAKSHI GANGULY

■he office of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Nepal is located next to the Peace and Reconstruction ministry. The message and optics seem appropriate: to achieve lasting peace after a decadelong brutal conflict, truth and justice is key. The promise of justice evaporated in the last decade, regardless of the political party in power. The commitment to justice appears to end with setting up an office, and arranging photo-ops with dignitaries.

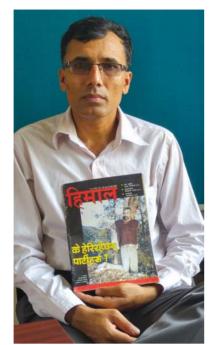
Even as a new prime minister takes office in Kathmandu, there is little indication of political will to ensure justice. The commission falls short of Supreme Court orders setting out its powers. Conflict victims are not quite sure what they can hope for.

In 2002, Suman Adhikari's father, a school headmaster who refused to submit to extortion, was picked up by Maoist fighters in front of students, then stabbed, shot and his body left hanging from a tree. Adhikari is now part of a victims group seeking justice and says they have waited long enough for the truth commission. Now they are disappointed.

None of the political parties including the Maoists—nor the military have responded to police complaints or court orders seeking investigations and prosecutions. Even in cases where courts have ordered arrests or convicted people, the accused have refused to submit. The political leadership often refers to war time cases as "politically motivated" and says they should be handled by the TRC instead. The law specifically recommends amnesty, in contravention of international practice.

In April 2017, the Supreme Court ordered the inspector general of Nepal Police to arrest Maoist leader Bal Krishna Dhungel, who was convicted for murder by a district court in 2004. Although the ruling was confirmed by the Supreme Court in 2010, Dhungel, an MP has evaded arrest thanks to political protection. While the Supreme Court says the failure to arrest Dhungel can be treated as contempt, Maoist leaders insist the murder be treated as "a political case" and handled by the TRC.

The military too, routinely ignores the court, refusing to produce suspects before judges, or ensure that those convicted are arrested. On 16 April 2017, the Kavre district court sentenced three officers to life imprisonment for the murder of Maina Sunuwar, the 15-year-old girl who was tortured to death in army custody in February 2004. The trial took place in the absence of any of the four accused, despite repeated court summons. An arrest warrant in 2008 was never enforced, with the police unable to trace the accused. The three officers are no longer in the army and are believed to have fled abroad.



The new prime minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba, who was also prime minister for some time during the conflict, has said that state security forces cannot be punished for human rights violations that occurred during the decade-long insurgency.

Time and experience have proven that without justice, peace efforts stumble. The Government of Nepal and the international community, particularly the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, have a clear responsibility to support victims and efforts to ensure justice.

Nepal's international partners cannot allow conflict-related abuses to be swept under the carpet, and nor should they condone any further delays. But that can only happen if the laws are amended as ordered by the Supreme Court. These standards are set out succinctly in a technical note issued by the UN.

Inside the TRC office, in rows of steel cupboards, are the nearly 59,000 petitions from conflict victims. In addition, the disappearances commission has received another 3,000 complaints. These families deserve urgent answers and justice. 💟

Meenakshi Ganguly is South Asia Director, Human Rights Watch

◆ praBba Bank BIZ BRIEFS

Pratima Sherpa to USNepal's promising young female golfer,
Pratima Sherpa, 19, left for the United States this week for a training camp and to participate in tournaments in Ventura, California, accompanied by her coach Sachin Bhattarai. Their roundtrip tickets are provided by Qatar Airways and Gokarna Golf Resort.

Busy Qatar
Qatar Airways and Hamad International Airport reported an exceptionally high volume of traffic during the Eid-Al Fitr



holiday period despite the on-going travel ban on the country. The airline also celebrated 10 years of service to the US this week by illuminating the Empire State Building in its signature burgundy and white colours.

Fly with Thai

Thai Airways was a big winner at the recent Stytrax World Airline Awards held in Paris,



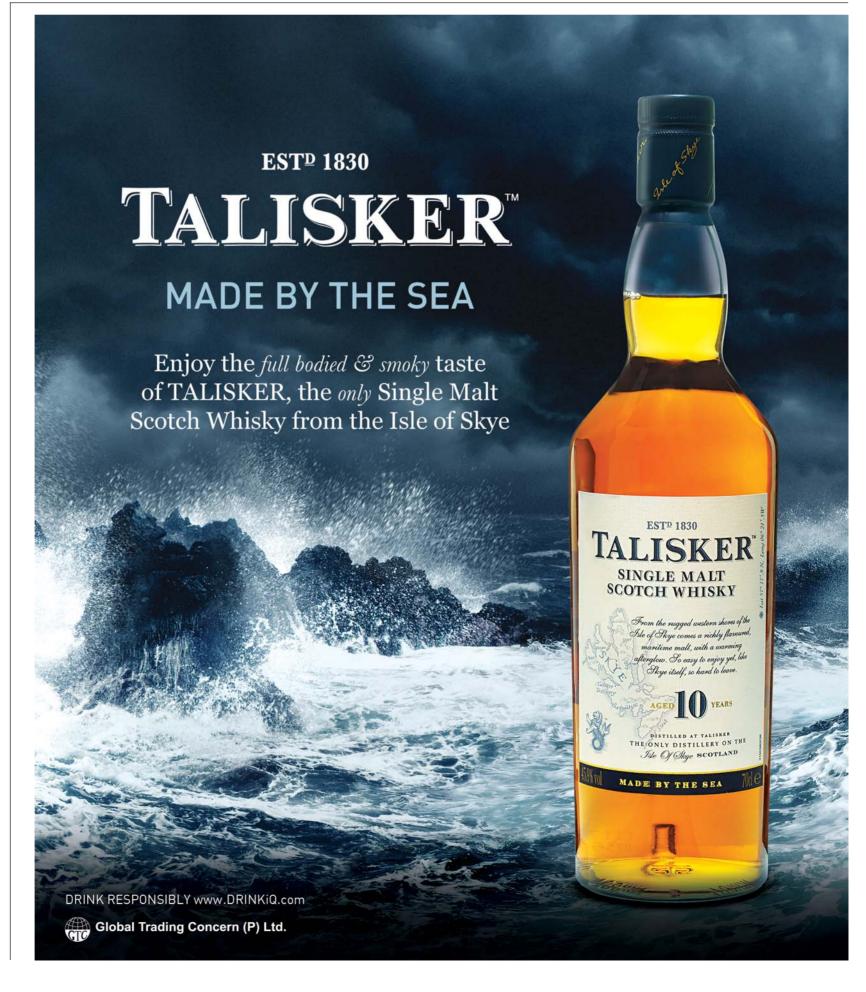
Best Economy Class, World's Best Airline Lounge Spa and Best Economy Class Onboard

Bundle of joy
Huawei technologies, in association with NCell, have launched a new bundled



pack. Customers who buy a Huawei P10+ smartphone will get 10GB NCell of free data. To activate the data pack, send a

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Giving in to Gorkhaland

New Delhi grapples with trying to find a solution once and for all that will satisfy Darjeeling's demand for autonomy

he indefinite strike called by the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) in the hills of Darjeeling has entered its third week and its supporters show no sign of retreat or relent.

Under its fiery leader Bimal Gurung, the GJM has quit the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA), the quasi-



autonomous administrative council formed in July 2011. The GJM was heading that body till recently, and now wants to push for a Gorkhaland state separate from Bengal.

The demand is a century old, dating back to British India. This time, emotions boiled over when the Bengal government decided to make the Bangali language mandatory in schools in the mountains, where most people are Nepali-speaking. Three people were killed when paramilitary

forces fired on protesters, and there has been much property damage.

The region bordering Nepal's Ilam and Jhapa districts appears to be headed for prolonged unrest given the conflicting interests of the major political stakeholders. There is the BJP government in New Delhi, the Trinamool Congress (TMC) in Bengal and the GJM itself.

The BJP is wary of the Gorkhaland demand primarily because of the experience of Telangana. It was carved out of Andhra Pradesh in 2014 and the United Progressive Alliance government paid a heavy price in elections that followed.

Although the BJP has a history of supporting state bifurcations, and as the National Democratic Alliance presided over the formation of Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh and Uttarakhand in 2000, it is cautious about a repeat of the Telangana experience in Gorkhaland, especially at a time when it is making great efforts to dislodge TMC leader Mamata Banerjee in Kolkata.



Bengal has 42 Lok Sabha seats and the BJP may not be willing to risk its political ambitions in such a large state. Although it is tempted to back the agitation in Darjeeling to needle Banerjee, it knows that splitting off Gorkhaland would be deeply unpopular among Bengalis in the plains.

BJP leaders have pointed out that they never included statehood for Gorkhas in 2009 or 2014 election manifestos. Union Minister and Darjeeling MP SS Ahluwalia has blamed Banerjee's divisive policies for the current crisis. "Gorkhaland is an old demand and a solution cannot be delivered overnight," he said.

The BJP's general secretary Kailash Vijayvargiya has also said that the BJP "cannot support a separate Gorkhaland state".

Banerjee has stood firm against Gorkhaland, treating it as a law and order problem, and turning the issue into one of Bengali pride and subnationalism. She has called GJM supporters "insurgents," even after withdrawing the decision to make Bangali compulsory. Despite spiralling tensions in the hills, she went on a tour of the Netherlands just to show her disdain for the demand.

Although the agitation has united disparate Gorkha groups, Bimal Gurung distrusts the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) and the Jan Andolan Party. He said last week: "There is no guarantee that they will not ditch the Gorkhaland demand midway."

Gurung rose to the GJM after falling out with his mentor and GNLF chief Subhash Ghising, who spearheaded the Gorkha agitation in the 1980s that claimed 1,200 lives.

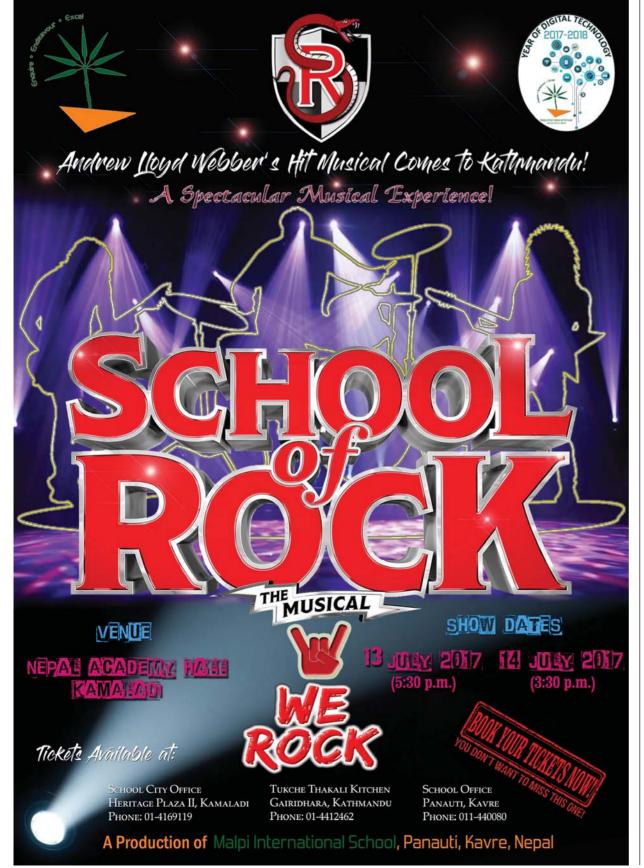
India's national media has carried extensive event-based reporting of the agitation, and tried to be balanced. A few strong op-eds in favour of Gorkhaland have also been published, but the GJM blame the media for "siding with the state and the centre" and also for misquoting Gurung.

What makes the agitation sensitive from a security perspective is that many Gorkha veterans from the Indian Army have spoken out on social media in support of Gorkhaland autonomy and denounced the suppression of the protests. Military sources say it is "an emotive issue that could cause problems" for the Indian establishment.

There are 40,000 Gorkhas in 40 battalions of seven regiments of the Indian Army. Forty percent of them are Indian Nepalis from Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, the North-East, Sikkim and Darjeeling, and the rest Nepali nationals. The agitation therefore needs to be handled with care not just because of the sentiments of Nepali-speakers in India but also for bilateral relations with Nepal.

For decision makers in New Delhi, the Gorkhaland demand is one of inadequate autonomy, and thus the focus will now shift to further financial and political devolution to the GTA. Besides the political implications for the BJP in West Bengal, there are also security concerns because of the strategic location of the Darjeeling hills and its geopolitical ramifications.

Akanshya Shah is a Nepali journalist and researcher based in New Delhi









The monsoon arrived in eastern Nepal on schedule, but sputtered for a week before getting its second wind, as it were. Now, it has mostly made up for the delay in its passage across Nepal, with the leading edge racing across Dang and Surkhet on Thursday. Kathmandu Valley will continue to see heavy night squalls with occasional sharp showers in the daytime through the weekend, which is the normal pattern of a Himalayan summer monsoon. Precipitation so far has been normal, but expect delays on highways due to rockfalls.

RIDAY | SATURDAY











DICS: BIKRAM BA

SHREEJANA SHRESTHA

Preyone in her family pitied Tina Maharjan when she was afflicted with polio. But disproving the notion that disability is a burden only, she established herself as an accomplished basketball player.

"Living with polio was a curse, but it is not anymore," says the 29-year-old, who has had polio since she was one. She couldn't crawl properly, but her parents took her to shamans instead of a hospital. That delay made her infantile paralysis worse.

Ashish KC, a child health specialist at UNICEF, says: "Although polio cannot be treated, correction of poliomyelitis can be done if treated timely and it helps in improving deformities."

Tina Maharjan is herself mother to an eight-year old boy, and never gave up. She started playing basketball a year ago, and says that she no longer feels disabled: "I feel I can do anything when I play basketball in a wheelchair."

She is one of eight polioafflicted players among 40 female athletes playing in the wheelchair basketball league organised by ENGAGE, a Kathmandu-based NGO, supported by Turkish Airlines and the Swiss Embassy. The finals are slated for 1 July at the Nepal Army in Lagankhel. (See box).

Tina is already captain of the Wheelchair Sports Association females club, and to date has won five gold medals. She credits her husband for his encouragement. "I am the only person with a disability in my family, but that doesn't make any difference," she says with a bright smile.

Nepal was declared polio-free in 2014, and 90% of children are vaccinated against the disease every year.

Pakistan, Afghanistan and Nigeria are the only countries where new cases of polio are still being found.

Sarita Thulung was also infected with the poliovirus when she was three, and crawled back and forth to school even though her parents discouraged her. She completed college and started a handicraft business. Today she is a national basketball player.

"Polio deformed my right leg,

but not my will," says Sarita, now 32, who is playing for Jawalakhel Wheelchair Sports Club.

An avowed sports junkie, she took basketball training here and in Bangkok for 10 months before the league began and says participating in the wheelchair basketball tournament is a dream come true: "Playing basketball is not just a game for me, it is the best way to de-stress. Others play running on legs, I play sitting on a wheelchair."

Born and raised in Sarlahi, Sarita was ostracised by her family and relatives for having the disease, which they believed was the curse of an evil spirit. But after finishing her studies, she came to Kathmandu and ran her own business to support her family in the Tarai.

Simone Galimberti of ENGAGE says his group wants to raise awareness about disability through sports, and hopes to improve the standard of wheelchair basketball in Nepal with the championship. Most of the 120 players fell from trees while gathering fodder, or were injured in accidents. A third of the players are polio-afflicted.

They are the last generation of Nepalis with polio. ▶



Watch wheelchair basketballers in action in this uplifting video as they prepare for the big game on Saturday. "Baskeball is not just a game for us," says Sarita Thulung, who overcame disability with mobility.





On a roll

Wheelchair basketball is gathering pace in Nepal thanks to a tournament organised by a non-profit that promotes social inclusion.

The second ENGAGE Empowering League is being held at schools in Kathmandu. Ten teams, six male and four female, are vying for a spot in the finals to be held at The Army Physical and Sports Training Centre on 1 July.

and Sports Training Centre on 1 July.
Jawalakhel Wheelchair Sports
Club and Tribhuvan Army Club will
play in the men's finals on Saturday,
and Wheelchair Sports Association
and Nepal Spinal Cord Injury Sports
Association will go head-to-head in the
women's category.

The league has been taking place at different venues like Rato Bangala School, St Xavier's and The British School, to raise awareness that people with disabilities can participate in sports. ENGAGE intends to involve other differently-abled in sports, building skills, and providing skills training for jobs. Says Simone Galimberti of ENGAGE: "We hope it will help shape young adults into independent and self-confident leaders of a more inclusive society."





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- Dr. Satbir Golar, dentist practising in the UK.



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*Retail Value Sales data 12 months ending 30th April 2016.

On location with Kesang Tseten

KATE RYAN

in RASUWA

esang Tseten whistles as he hikes up the steep mountainside. Sweat runs down his back, but he keeps a steady pace, leaning on his long umbrella turned hiking pole. He stops occasionally to comment on the changing landscape, or simply to marvel at the scenery.

"Sometimes I wonder if this is a job," he says, taking in the sight of the Bhote Kosi Valley and the forested slopes beyond.

Tseten has the curiosity of a young student, and his hunger to understand humanity propels the documentarian into each film. Last week it pulled him back to the villages of Tetangche and Simbu, the site of his 2006 film, *We Corner People*, about villagers who sought help to build a suspension bridge.

to maintain distance, an edge. He does not want people to expect him to help the community beyond sharing its stories.

Still, Tseten visits the family of a 12-year-old girl whose vision is severely impaired. She requires photophobia glasses, so Tseten delivers two pairs special-ordered from Switzerland.

"You help because you are a human being first," he explains. "You run the risk that this will affect how they talk to you, but you feel compelled to do it. It's an imperfect thing."

Perhaps Tseten does cross the line he has drawn for himself, but when you are in the business of illustrating the human condition it is easy to fall into the trap of caring about people.

It is likely due to his calm and generous approach to others that Tseten's crew comes back to work with him again and again. Bishnu Kalpit is a sought-after cinematographer who



SONG OF LOSS: A still from Kesang Tseten's 2006 documentary *We Corner People* that shows Lhakpa, whose young wife was swept away by the river, and who will appear again in the film's sequel.

As a young man, Tseten wanted to be a writer and earned a journalism degree from Columbia University. His strong sense of narrative eventually led him to film, and Tseten is now one of Nepal's best known documentarians, with award-winning films including Who Will Be a Gurkha, In Search of the Riyal, and Castaway Man.

People often ask Tseten who his target audience is. His answer is simple: himself.

"You're not saying 'I'm doing this because it might look good.' You're going there, driven, compelled to go there, because how do they blast the mountainside? How do they work? How do these people interact? How do they eat dinner? How do they do whatever they do, you know?"

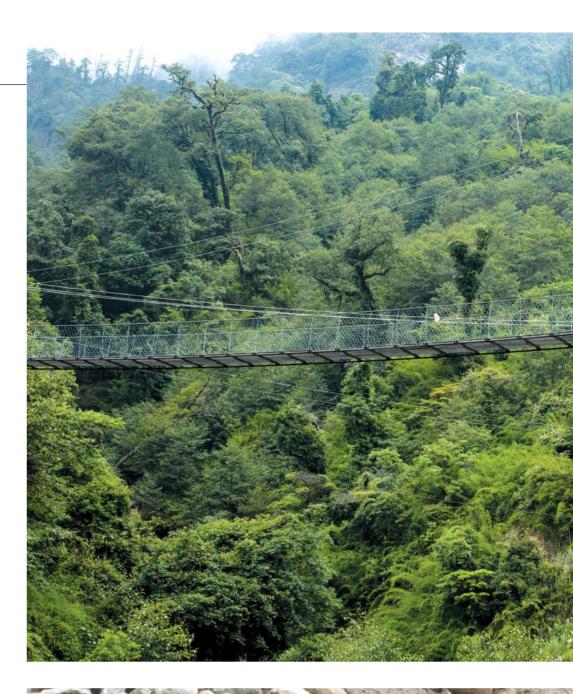
Tseten has to satisfy a self-interest first, to work from the inside-out. "My sense of meaning of film is to understand and then to illuminate or carry understanding to others, not to give answers," he added.

He is interested in people, their situations, discovering what makes them tick. But he tries to walk a fine line in the relationships he forms with his subjects. In order to prompt spontaneity, he needs works for news organisations like Al Jazeera, but he chooses to leap across rivers and run his camera up mountains to work with Tseten. And Shyam Karki is a fiercely loyal shooter, manager, jack of all trades who works for Tseten's company and has assisted on three of his films.

The trio eat, sleep, work, and joke together with ease. They will return three more times this year to film here. Their challenge is to represent, in one film, how the passage of time and rapid development affects an entire community.

"To me, film is like mime," says Tseten. "You reduce big gestures to small ones." Capturing a village over an entire year to create a 60-minute film is just that: minute details that evoke something larger about that community.

After a long day of interviews, Tseten props himself up on his elbow in a small wooden bed. "At the end, your film is a reflection of your experience and making sense of that experience. It is the illumination," he says. "Happiness is absorption."











NEPAL WHEREVER YOU ARE.

Times.com

PICS: KATE RYAN

Revisiting the Corner People



hen Kesang Tseten produced We Corner People in 2006, there were no roads, no shops, no infrastructure in the remote villages here in Rasuwa, near the Chinese border. The journey to sell woven baskets in the nearest town took days and cost money. And people feared the river.

A flood on the steep stream near Tetangche and Simbu had just taken a young girl's life, and the village wanted a bridge. The aid group Helvetas commissioned Tseten to make a film about the construction process and people who felt confined to a corner of Nepal.

Tseten returned last week to the characters of his 11-year-old film to document how much the place and people have changed.

Among the most visible transformations along the Bhote Kosi gorge are the new hydropower projects and the busy new road, the only highway to China after the earthquake destroyed Kodari.

"I think the first film resonated with Nepalis, who identified with being small," said Tseten. "In fact, Nepal is not small with 28 million people. But beside China and India, and economically not being very well developed, people have a sense that they're nobodies, or people in the corner. Development is passing them by."

Today, the Bhote Kosi Valley reverberates with the sound of dynamite and heavy vehicles. Workers drill tunnels and build new roads and more bridges. Chinese contractors at the hydropower project left after the earthquake, and the bulk of the work now is done by Nepali builders, some from nearby villages.

The river that once took a life is being harnessed for 57 megawatts of energy.

And a region with no previous economic viability is a boon for Nepal's development.

Such dramatic change creates an interesting opportunity for Tseten. His first documentary is now archival footage, and the construction along the river acts as a timeline for the people living in it.

Babies were born into a village that now has roads, phones and cash exchange. Elders died. Earthquakes tore down homes. Buddhists converted to Christianity and back again. And the corner people have direct links to the rest of the country, and the world.

"It's hard to show exactly how much a person has changed," Tseten said. "But measured against the physical changes of the hydropower, it becomes much clearer."

Tetangche and Simbu may have evolved since We Corner People but so, it seems, has the director. Tseten has turned to an observational approach to film in recent years. He looks to filmmakers like Frederick Weisman and the Maysel Brothers for inspiration, and puts more thought into the role of the camera. To whom is the subject speaking, really? By focusing more on intrapersonal conversations, Tseten finds his subjects more natural and dynamic.

This is essential, given that most of the characters will know Tseten from last time, and it is hard for them not to act too friendly on camera. Each character has only 6-7 minutes of screen time, so Tseten must represent a full and complicated human being in less than 420 seconds. In a documentary, the editing moulds a character and makes or breaks a story, Tseten said. Despite knowing the characters, he cannot say yet for sure what this film will be.

"You go about fine-tuning which characters will fill the canvas, will create the complexity of the village you are seeing, the reality," added Tseten, who looks forward to the challenge of documenting the evolution of the place.

"Of course you have your preconceived notions," Tseten explained. "The first time I came ostensibly for 'What is the bridge for?' That was the starting point. But as it happens, people are more complex."

This time, the director is wide open to the possibility that the story will be something unpredictable. He is revisiting people, but also rediscovering Tetangche. The last film was about a community afraid of the river. This time the story will be about the community controlling it. Kate Ryan



Follow Kesang Tseten as he retraces his steps in Upper Rasuwa, interviews the subjects featured in his 2006 documentary *We Corner People*, and talks about his approach to the sequel.

nepalitimes.com





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EVENTS



Don't miss the opportunity to support your favourite team at the grand finale of the Turkish Airlines ENGAGE Empowering League. 1 July, 9 am to 2:30 pm, Army Physical and Training Centre, Lagankhel, 9843499639, bharat.engage@gmail.com

Schedule:

3rd position (F): 9:00 to 10:00 am 3rd position (M): 10:15 to 11:15 am 1st position (F): 12:00 to 1:00 pm 1st position (M): 1:15 to 2:15 pm

Holiday camp,

Children above six years can be a part of a week-long camp. Arts, crafts, music, sports and French lessons are the major attractions. Registration can be done on Friday before beginning of each camp. 10 July to 18 August, Alliance Française de Kathmandu, (01) 500922, children.afk@gmail.com

Vocal workshop,

Register to learn singing techniques from renowned jazz vocalist Diandra Danieli, hosted by Kathmandu Jazz Conservatory. 5 July to 30 August, (01) 5013554 http://www.katjazz.com.np/vocal-teacherdiandra-danieli/



Life in colours.

A photo exhibition showcasing pictures of French- Mexican videographer and photographer Susana San Juan Lopez 26 to 17 July, Image Ark, Patan, (01) 5006665

Bootcamp,

Participate in readings and discussions on different pedagogical ideas, theories and methodologies in a workshop led by Niranjan Kunwar.

1 to 29 July, Quixote's Cove, Jawalakhel, Rs 5000, (01)5536974



Becoming a photographer,

Register to participate in a 10-day entry level photography workshop. It is mandatory to bring a DSLR, compact or mobile camera. Registration deadline is 30 June.

1 to 10 July, 7 to 10 am, Artudio, Swoyambhu, Fee: Rs 5,500, 9803779777/ 9823490390

Kathmandu kora,

Join hundreds of cycling enthusiasts and ride 50, 75 or 100 km to raise funds for a cycling trail in the Bungamati Area of the Kathmandu Valley.

15 July, 7 am onwards Patan Darbar Square https://www.facebook.com/ktmkora/

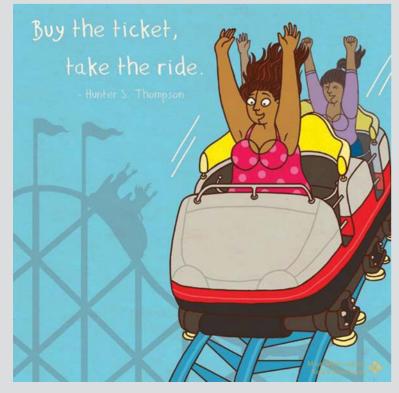
Inviting submissions,

Submit your documentaries for the 11th edition of Film Southasia to be held in Kathmandu 2-5 November 2017. Deadline is 15 July, http://www. filmsouthasia.org/filmsouthasia

MISS MOTI-VATION

KRIPA JOSHI





MUSIC



Kumar Sanu,

Book your tickets to watch renowned singer Kumar Sanu live in concert. 15 July, 6 pm onwards, Hotel Yak & Yeti, Rs 5,000

Celebrating death metal,

Metalheads, treat your ears to the sheer brute force technical death metal of Descecravity all the way from Japan. Chrematomania from Sikkim and home-grown bands Aakrosh, Nihility Nepal, Calamitiana and Wargaze will be performing too.

6 July, Reggae Bar, Thamel, Rs 500 (till 30 June), Rs 700(door)



Musical tribute,

9860344642

Kamero will be playing rap metal, rap rock and alternative metal songs as a tribute to Rage Against the Machine & Tool. 8 July, 2 to 5 pm, Purple Haze Rock Bar, Thamel, 9841539392

12 July, 7 am onwards, Deja Vu,

Darbarmarg, Rs 2500, 3500, 5000,

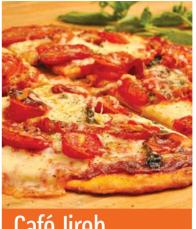


Pasapi live,

Warm up your weekend with music by the Papasi band and authentic Newari

1 July, 3 to 6:30 pm, Kirtipur Sasa, (01) 4336770

DINING



Café Jireh,

Ventures Café.

Stop by for the best fusion menu and all local favourites in their breezy outdoors seating. A great venue for beer connoisseurs. Baluwatar, 9851228014

Coffee Pasal,

A place to idly sip a good cup of coffee while gazing at the Narayanhiti museum. Darbar Marg, (01) 4246483



Shangri-La,

Indulge in ice cream (Rs 450) and smoothies (Rs 350) this summer. Every day, Lost Horizon Café, Hotel Shangri-La, (01) 4412999

Tabela.

Satisfy your taste buds with exotic biryani this weekend. Narayan Chaur, Naxal, 9851198615

Alice Restaurant,

Step in for scrumptious Thakali, Chinese, Continental and Japanese cuisine. Gairidhara, (01)4429207



European Bakery,

For patties, éclairs, Swiss rolls, cookies and many more. Don't miss their Saturday special doughnuts. Chundevi, (01) 4422047

La Bella Cafe,

Let Italian cuisine tease your palette this weekend. A place to go for good portions

Chaksibari Marg, Thamel, (01) 4700078

Barista Lavazza.

The Valley's best European-inspired coffee culture café serves excellent mochas and lattes. Don't forget to try their grilled chicken sandwich.

Jawalakhel, (01) 5548597, barista.nepal@gmail.com

GETAWAY



Rupakot Resort,

Get pampered in the lap of luxury amid stunning views of the Annapurnas. Maidan-6, Rupakot, Kaski, (61) 622660 / (01)4004687 /9856038043, www.rupakotresort.com

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Shangri~La Village Resort, Pokhara, (01)4420252, 9861388277/9804116774 shangrilavillage@hotelshangrila.com

Glacier Hotel.

Good value and friendly service for travellers on the shore of Lake Phewa. Gaurighat, Lakeside, Pokhara, (061)-463722, www.glaciernepal.com

Famous Farm,

Wake up to the sounds of chirping birds and a fresh morning breeze wafting in through the aankhijhyal. Nuwakot, (01)4700426, info@rural-heritage.com



Kasara Resort

A luxury resort located in the lush

Haatiban Resort,

Climb up to Champadevi in the morning for a royal view of Kathmandu Valley and jog down to the hotel for a relaxed evening.

Pharping, Kathmandu, (01)4371537/56

Tranquility Spa,

De-stress, relax and pamper yourself with a wide range of massages at any of the spa's nine branches in Nepal. www.tranguilityspa.com.np

Hotel Landmark Pokhara,

For the best views of Phewa Lake. Enrich your stay with cultural performances every evening.

Lakeside Pokhara,(61) 462908, 9851059096



Shivapuri Heights Cottage,

Book for a walk and lunch around Budanilkantha to escape the hustle of the city. Enjoy some quiet family time or a massage or opt to stay overnight at this cottage.

Budanilkantha, 9841371927/9802012245, info@shivapuricottage.com

Remembering what we've lost

arl Pruscha's two-volume compendium, the second edition of the work first published in 1975, is an invaluable resource for anyone interested in the architectural and urban history of Nepal's capital.

Kathmandu Valley 1 and 2 contains a comprehensive inventory of over 800 monuments, each building exquisitely mapped in its urban context by Rem Ratna Bajracharya with information-packed description by Prayag Raj Sharma. And to give it some perspective, the first volume also zooms out with the detailed aerial photography of Erwin Schneider.

The consistency and quality of the research produced over 10 years by staff within the Department of Housing and Planning of the Government of Nepal is extraordinary. While preservationists and students of the Kathmandu Valley's historic architecture may look elsewhere for more detailed drawings and descriptions of individual buildings (such as the work of

Wolfgang Korn, Niels Gutschow and Bijay Basukala, among others) *Kathmandu Valley 1 and 2* stand out as an all-inclusive survey of the Valley's built environment as a whole.

In addition to its importance as an archive, the book is also a fascinating record of a moment in which international architects played a critical role in shaping the development discourse in the Third World. In 1964, the Austrian architect Carl Pruscha was 30 and had just completed his postgraduate studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, when he was sent to Nepal by the UN to serve as an expert consultant to the government.

His assignment was initially limited to 1 year, but was extended to 10, during which he worked as Project Coordinator at the National Planning Commission. The first edition in 1975 of this publication is the outcome of a decade of work undertaken during Pruscha's involvement with the then His Majesty's Government. During his time in Nepal, Pruscha also practiced as an architect, completing notable

> structures including the CEDA building in Kirtipur, the Taragaon Hostel in Boudha, and a housing project for Tibetan refugees, all of which forged a modern architectural idiom using local brick construction techniques.

As a comprehensive inventory, the two volumes attest to the diversity and density of Kathmandu's

architectural heritage like few other books have. While documenting the iconic 'monument zones' within the Valley, they even include more modest artefacts such as *hiti* and *chaitya*, not to mention several Rana-era structures that have received very little attention from architectural historians. Given that most Rana-Shah palaces, unlike those of the Malla-era, are still inaccessible to the general public, many will find this section of the book particularly revealing. Rana palaces, like Singha Darbar, are also shown.

In addition to a 'protective inventory' of cultural heritage sites, the book also includes a physical development plan for the Valley. This is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book, since it goes beyond the mere selection of cultural heritage sites to project a vision for the future of the Valley around a 'multi-nucleated growth pattern', in which urbanisation is pushed towards the outer edges, allowing fertile agricultural land to be utilised.

The planning strategies outlined in this section of the book may be contentious and outdated, but nonetheless serve to enrich our understanding of the Valley. Given that the task of planning has never been more

urgent in a Valley that is suffering from the adverse impacts of unregulated urbanisation, this is a timely publication that alerts us to what has been lost, and what can still be recovered.





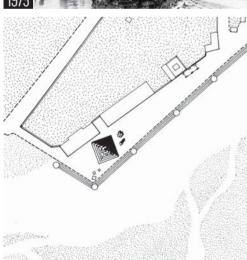
Kathmandu Valley The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage Protective Inventory Volume 1 & 2

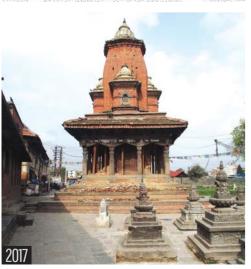
Carl Pruscha 2nd Edition, Vajra Books Kathmandu 2015 1st Edition, Vienna 1975

PROTECTIVE INVENTORY

Glimpses of the photographs and maps of places of cultural significance from Carl Pruscha's *Kathmandu Valley*, with pictures taken today of the same location. Unlike thesesites, most others in the original book are gone.



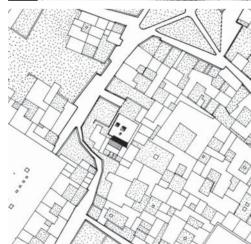


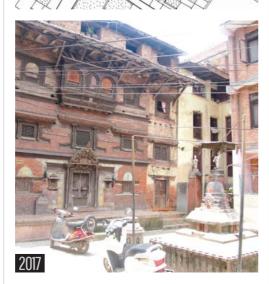


Radha Krishna Temple
This 19th Century Shikara-style terracotta temple is located on the banks of the Bagmati. It wasn't in good condition

even in 1975, and has not been repaired.



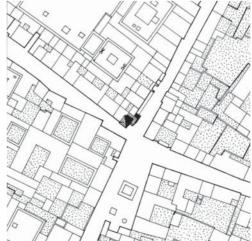


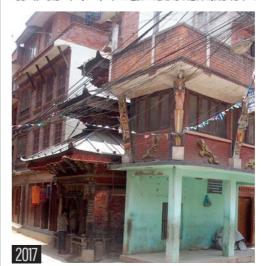


Aki Baha

18th century vihara in Nyadha of Patan that was renovated in 1802. It is now dwarfed by taller concrete structures.



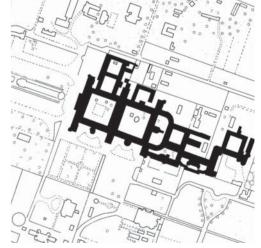




Ganesh Temple

This three-storey temple in Patan's Kwalakhu dates back to 1853 and was always sandwiched between two structures. Now it is dominated by much taller buildings.







Singha Darbar

Built by Kumar and Kishor Narsigh for Chandra Shumsher in 1903. Became government secretariat in 1950. Only the façade survived the 1973 fire, but it was heavily damaged in the 2015 earthquake.





The Zookeeper's Wife

The Zookeeper's Wife is one of those films, which, while far from perfect, is still memorable and worth watching despite its mostly minor faults. The film came and went in Nepali cinemas earlier this spring almost unnoticed, an unusual release for theatres that



MUST SEE Sophia Pande

are used only to screening big Bollywood and Hollywood films to make ends meet, a business model that is inevitable across the globe where smaller films get less play than blockbusters, sometimes regardless of quality (think of the *Transformers* films) due to the laws of supply and demand.

Starring the dazzling Jessica Chastain, one of the finest, if

not the finest, actors of her generation, the film tells the true story of a brave couple in Warsaw, Poland who, at the advent of the Second World War. stick to their beloved zoo even as they see the animals they care for and nurtured killed in airstrikes and for sport by the Germans who invade Poland very early on.

Chastain plays Antonina Zabinski, the wife of zookeeper Jan (Johann Heldenbergh), the central character around whom the film revolves. Antonina is a bleeding heart, she loves animals, and she is brave, articulate and determined to stick it out at the zoo, their home, no matter what. As havoc ensues around them, the Zabinskis salvage what they can, induct their young son (who also loves animals) into their schemes, and begin an incredibly dangerous arrangement that involves housing Jews in their own home, smuggling them out of the horrifying Warsaw ghettos where they have been relegated, and transporting them out of Poland when possible.

Chastain struggles sometimes with a weak script that is saved by her performance and that

of Heldenbergh, who plays a quiet scholarly zoologist turned resistance fighter, aided by the wonderful little Timothy Radford as their small son, Ryszard, who learns quickly to guide the Jews secretively into his home. There a number of plot twists, including the Zabinskis' relationship with Lutz Heck (played by the talented Daniel Bruhl), a German zoologist turned megalomaniac Nazi officer who haunts the Warsaw zoo and gravitates towards Antonina's warmth. Unfortunately, despite the riveting story at work here, there is almost not quite enough for a feature film, and the story flounders as it tries to create a dramatic arc out of sometimes

This is a movie to watch if you love animals, love Chastain, and are not too big a stickler for plot, preferring atmosphere over drama. It is also an important story that I am glad I am now acquainted with: a story that tries to tell of the horror of war and the cruelty that human beings can unleash on fellow humans and helpless animals.

Niki Caro, the director of 2002's magical Whale Rider is hindered here by the patchy script but her instinct for bringing out the warmth in characters hits home, guiding the film to a conclusion that rings even more true because it all tragically, happily, actually happened. 💟



Watch trailer online

nebulous plot points.







GETTING CARRIED AWAY: Villagers carry a happy Dhan Kumari Tamang, 45, to the polling station in Solukhumbu on Wednesday. People in Provinces 1,5 and 7 cast votes for local representatives in the Second Phase of local polls.



MORE CITY BUSES: Kathmandu Mayor Bidya Sundar Shakya hands over a cheque for Rs 50 million to Sajha Yatayat Chairman Kanak Mani Dixit in Kathmandu on Tuesday so it can acquire 13 more buses, including wheelchair friendly ones.



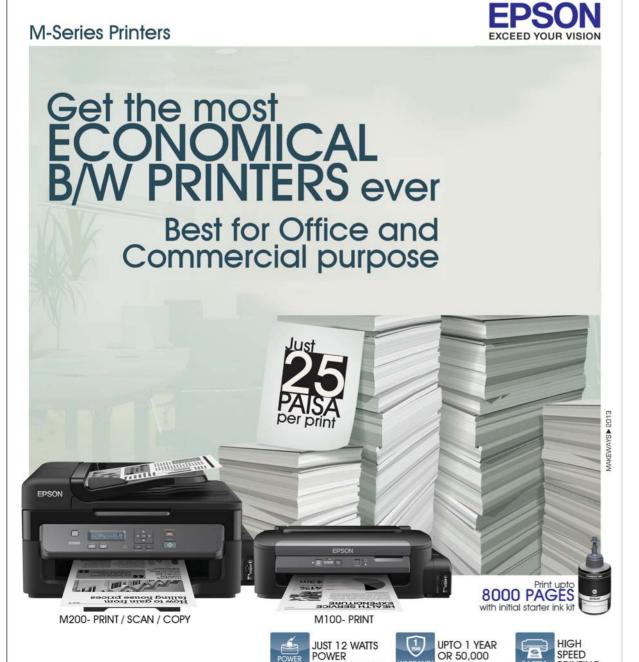
BUILDING A FUTURE: Comedian duo Sitaram Kattel and Kunjana Ghimire, founders of the Dhurmus-Suntali Foundation, are awarded the Madan Bhandari Rastriva Puruskar by UML Chair KP Oli (right) in Kathmandu on Wednesday. Also pictured: Ram Sharan Mahat and Narayan Kali Shrestha (far left).



EARNING SMILES: Pratima Sherpa receives her roundtrip ticket to Los Angeles from Qatar Airways Nepal Manager Jayprakash Nair. The caddie-turned golfer is going to California for training and tournaments.



PADDY DAY: Women prepare paddy saplings while visitors look on during the 14th National Paddy Day in Pokhara on Thursday organised by the Tourism Council.

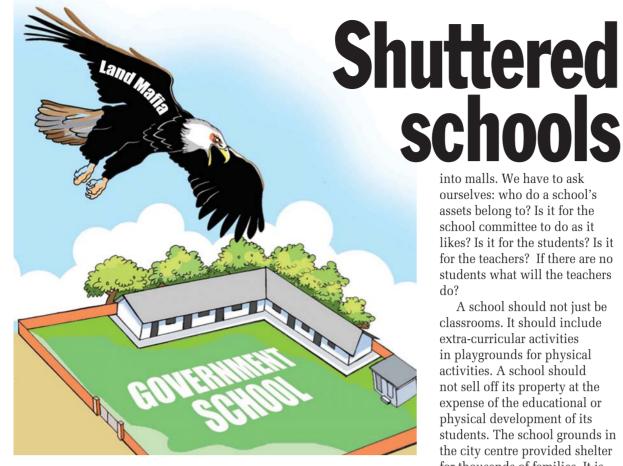


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Radheshyam Adhikari in Sikshak Magazine, June-July

NEGO

Near Darbar Marg is the dormitory for the Tin Dhara Pathshala Sanskrit School. The institution has a glorious sociopolitical history because this is where students first raised slogans against the Rana regime. The tradition of government support for free food and lodging for students of Sanskrit is continuing. Yet, when you see it today from the street, it looks less like a school and more like a shopping centre. Its location near the business hub of Darbar Marg has been a curse for the school.

The April 2015 earthquake badly damaged the historic Darbar School in the heart of Kathmandu next to Rani Pokhari. The school was opened by the Ranas to educate their relatives, but eventually others also got the chance. It was the first-ever community school in Nepal but despite its cultural importance, it is still in ruins two years after the earthquake.

At a recent meeting about repairing the building, someone reportedly said: "Let's build a shopping centre here and allow the school to run in a small corner from the income." It may make business sense to put forth a proposal like that, but what are the views of society, the community, the education sector and the state about this? What should they be thinking?

Another historic institution of learning is Juddhodava High School in Thamel. Because the neighbourhood is now Kathmandu's tourist centre, it has been converted into a business centre. Even if you were right outside of it, you wouldn't know that a school is

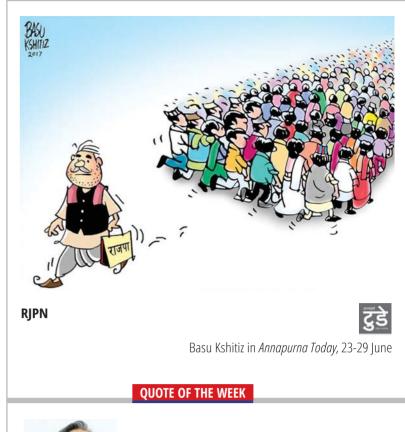
Tribhuvan University has had much of its property converted to commercial use, other buildings are in the process of being turned into shopping areas. This is a gross misuse of land that ws given to the University by the government and other donors for higher education.

These are just a few examples of how property

owned by government schools has become prime real estate. The schools have been reduced to a tiny portion of the property, and the rest of the land turned

into malls. We have to ask ourselves: who do a school's assets belong to? Is it for the school committee to do as it likes? Is it for the students? Is it for the teachers? If there are no students what will the teachers

A school should not just be classrooms. It should include extra-curricular activities in playgrounds for physical activities. A school should not sell off its property at the expense of the educational or physical development of its students. The school grounds in the city centre provided shelter for thousands of families. It is time for the school management committees to think about how to reconstruct schools after the earthquake while retaining the open spaces.





f India's Nepal policy was wrong, but it is now being corrected **55**

> Mani Shankar Aiyar Indian National Congress leader





80% turnout

DIPAK GYAWALI

in RUPANDEHI

The Marchwar region of Rupandehi district is adjacent to the Buddha's birthplace of Lumbini, but these lawless plains near the Indian border saw much bloodshed during the conflict.

Even after the war, the region has frequently seen violence. CK Raut, the Madhesi figure espousing separatism, often comes here to train cadre. The Madhes-based RJPN sees Rupandehi as its main stronghold after Province 2. Last December, when the UML led its Butwal-centric agitation against the government's proposal to split Province 5 to appease the RJPN, Madhesi leaders met here to chalk out a strategy for retaliation.

The RJPN appealed to people here to boycott Wednesday's local polls, yet voters turned out in large numbers anyway to elect local representatives despite threats of violence. The Marchwar saw a record 80% turnout, much higher than the national average of 70%. The booths opened at 5am, but people had begun lining up from 4am, in spite of the darkness and rain.

Sapina Khatun, 28, was voting for the first time in her life after finally getting her citizenship last year after a long struggle. "The Indians easily bribe their way through to get citizenship certificates, but Nepalis and women like me have to fight for it," she said through her veil. "I hope our suffering will end once we have elected representatives."

Locals here were so fed up with political instability and lack of development that they defied the RJPN's boycott call, and so did some party cadre. As many as 171 RJPN members stood as independent candidates.

Thabang village in the mountains of Rolpa is also in Province 5, and is a stronghold of the breakaway Maoist faction led by Netra Bikram Chand ('Biplav'). It is the group that tried to disrupt elections by setting off explosions. But the people of Thabang, who heeded Biplav and boycotted the CA elections in 2013, this time came out in large numbers to vote.

Like RJPN cadres in the Marchwar, Biplav's cadres also stood as independent candidates. Interestingly, they formed an electoral alliance with the Nepali Congress – a party Biplav views as his ultimate class enemy.

But both in Thabang in the mountains and Marchwar in the plains of Province 5, people are angry with Kathmandu for robbing them of their right to practice democracy and good governance at the grassroots. The polls gave them a chance to vent their ire via the ballot paper.

"There is only one takeaway from these elections, and this is that people just want political stability and economic prosperity," says Mahendra Yadav, a local leader of the Federal Socialist Forum Nepal (FSFN).

In Kotahimai village council of Rupandehi, Bal Kishun Tiwari was always at the forefront of the RJPN agitation. He followed every order from party leaders, but he disobeyed the boycott call, and even contested the polls independently for the village council chair. "People want elections, and I cannot go against them," he told us.

Many RJPN cadres who contested elections without their party's support are sure to win in Province 5, and even beyond. Ironically, even if they win, their party will be the biggest loser. After boycotting Phase One in Provinces 3, 4 and 6 and Phase Two in Provinces 1, 5 and 7, the RJPN is now restricted to Province 2, where Phase Three is scheduled for 18 September, though it is still not certain if the RJPN will participate even then.

The enthusiasm with which people turned out to vote in the 11 Tarai districts in Phase Two is a clear sign that RJPN cadre cannot go against the people's support for elections. It is still to be seen if the main party leaders will understand which way the wind is blowing.

Getting to

GORPAL GARTAULA

in JHAPA

his was Nepal's firstever election during the monsoon, and the sight of hundreds of people wading across flooded rivers or taking boats to the voting booths on Wednesday was a sign of their eagerness to cast ballots, even though they didn't expect much from it.

Here in the eastern-most district of the Tarai, which the Madhes-based parties want as part of Province 2, people were visibly impatient to get out and vote. After all, three other provinces voted a month ago and many here felt it was unnecessary to have deferred polling.

Mohamad Hafiz, 65, of Shivasatasi Municipality was among the 700 or so villagers who pulled up their *lungi* and crossed the Kankai to vote on the other side. He said he has been crossing the river to vote in elections for the last 40 years.

"Every time candidates come to our village begging for votes, and promising to build a bridge over the Kankai. We voted for them every time, but the bridge never got built," Hafiz says while standing in line at the voting Despite lack of conviction that local elections will improve lives, people cross swollen rivers to vote

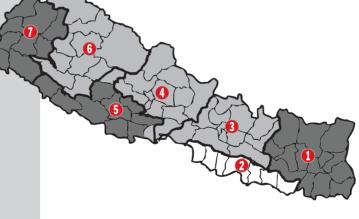
centre at Pashupati Primary School. Others within earshot nod in agreement.

This year too, the political party candidates for mayor of the new municipality promised a bridge. Because this is the first local election in 15 years and the first under the new constitution that will give the municipality greater decision-making powers, Hafiz says he is hopeful that his vote may now make a difference.

Over in Damak, 30-yearold tea picker Bimala Magar is waiting in the female voting queue. She has a different kind of problem: not being paid by the tea estate that employs her. "Our wages have stayed the same for eight years, and we don't even get that on time," says the mother of

It took Magar two more hours





A carnival like election



ere in Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's home district, people were unsure whether they would really get to vote on 28 June. Deuba had twice postponed polls during his previous tenures, and he had also deferred polls announced by his predecessor. So when it finally happened this week, people looked euphoric. Polling on Wednesday wore a festive look.

Bir Bahadur Deuba, 76, shaved his beard and wore his best daura-suruwal as he walked to the polling booth. "Never have I missed an election," he said. "I am happy to vote again."

The septuagenarian who introduced himself as the PM's distant uncle added: "Sher Bahadur always wants to do something good, but ends up doing the wrong thing. I trusted him when he said he wanted to hold elections, but I was afraid he might end up calling it off once again."

The uncertainty was not just confined to Dadeldhura, but was felt throughout Province 5. Rumours swirled did a few days ago that their prime minister in Kathmandu might suddenly postpone polls, fearing a poor showing by his party due to internal disputes in the district. But the PM spent a week in Dadeldhura, solving intra-party wrangles and instilling confidence in people that elections would happen.

Voters walked miles to reach polling stations, braving monsoon rains and postponing rice planting. "I can plant paddy later, but I can't vote whenever I want," said Ram Samajh Chaudhary, who cast his vote in Kailali in the plains.

In Tikapur of Kailali, Tharu protesters in 2015 lynched eight policemen and shot one child dead during a violent protest against the ruling parties' decision to graft the district onto Province 7. Tharus wanted the two Far-western plains districts of Kailali and Kanchanpur in a separate province. The Tikapur tragedy poisoned relations between Tharus and hill settlers, but now people of both communities have come together to elect local councillors.

One of the factors that helped reconciliation between the two communities was the space given to Tharus by political parties dominated by hill settlers. As many as 28 Tharu candidates were fielded by various parties for mayor/village chief and deputy mayor/village deputy In Kailali and Kanchanpur, where they constitute roughly 40% of the population. Tharu voters therefore turned out in huge numbers.

As in the first phase, there were a significant number of Dalit and women candidates. In the remote Far-western hills of Baitadi, where discrimination against Dalits is entrenched, Naresh BK, a mayoral candidate for the UML, said: "Finally, so-called high-caste people are seeing us Dalits as people."

Bachu BK in Dadeldhura

the other side



FLOOD OF VOTERS: Swimming, wading or ferried by boats, the residents of Shivasatasi Municipality in Jhapa cross a channel on the Kankai River to vote in the second phase of local elections on Wednesday.

in the sweltering sun, and later under pouring rain, to stamp her ballot. Afterwards, she did not sound very hopeful that her vote would make a difference.

The Ward Committee candidates from the NC, UML and Maoists all say they talked to the tea estate management during the campaign, who assured them that pickers' families will get free education for their children, clothing and food allowances, and bicycles for college-going daughters.

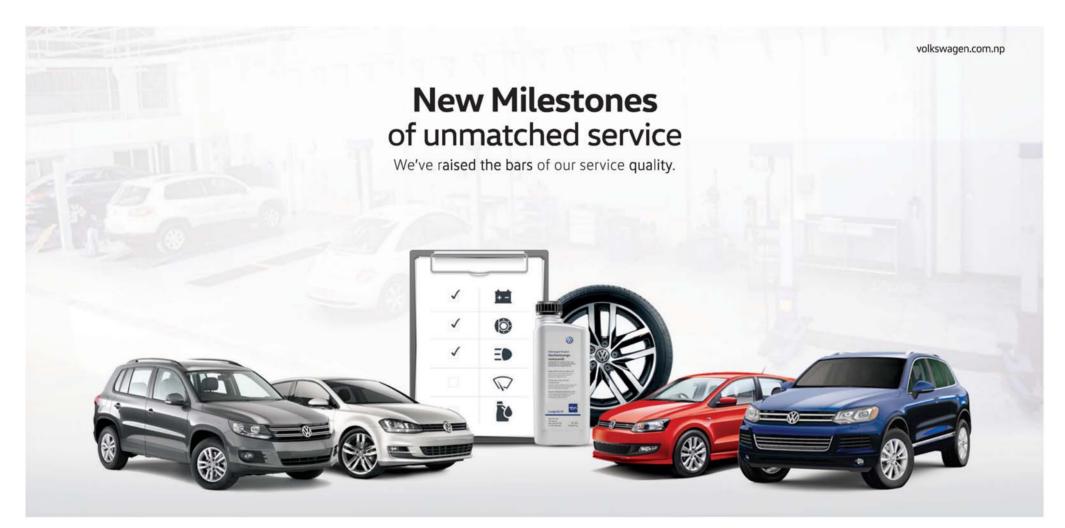
Magar says she would be happy even if just one or two of these promises were kept, but is not too hopeful: "Politics is for a certain class of people, our lives never change. I often wonder who benefits from my vote: it is definitely not people like us."

Paradoxically, even though there isn't a lot of confidence among voters that local elections will improve their lives, they have come out overwhelmingly to voting booths. Unlike in previous years, there wasn't much violence during campaigning in a district that has produced many leaders of national stature like Krishna Prasad Sitaula of the NC and KP Oli of the UML. The presence here of the RJPN is negligible. Police detained anti-election activists from the CK Raut and Netra Bikram Chand groups who wanted to disrupt elections. The split in the Limbuwan has also lessened their impact on voting in the eastern mountains.

"The enthusiasm for elections and the high turnout now increases the responsibility of elected local leaders to meet their campaign promises for development," says Gopal Acharya of the Jhapa District Election Office.

Sarbatlal Rajbanshi is Chief of the Gauriganj Campus and one of few from the aboriginal community in that position. He says Nepal would have moved forward much faster politically and economically if narrow-minded politicians had not created problems between Madhesi and indigenous people in the Tarai.

Rajbanshi told us: "We used to have to go to Kathmandu to beg to have a bridge built: that was absurd. This election brings hope."



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(Our customer service team is now lead by Mr. Abhishek K.C, with over 4 years of hands on experience at Volkswagen Germany.)









A fine place

A ll of you out there who never seem to get tired of writing Letters to the Editor whining about how Nepalis are always breaking the rules, should understand once and for all that the reason we make laws in this country is in order to break them. How can we engage in the national past-time of breaking rules if there are no rules to break in the first place?

My name is Pushpa...

Nepal's leaders promised 30 years ago that they would turn Kathmandu into Singapore within 10 years. Cynics, as is their wont, scoffed. Well, we are getting there. Just like Singapore, Kathmandu has come to be known lately as a "fine city". We would never have earned that appellation if there were no rules worth violating and being fined for.

Nepal now has some splendid laws. The world's best, in fact. But there is still a long way to go if we want to be a Middleman Income Country by 2030, and overtake the Pearl of the Orient by banning bubble gum and fining people who don't flush the toilet. Never understood how they find out: are there hidden CCTV cameras in the throne room? Is there a motion detector in the

biometric chips embedded in their buttocks? Being a Turd World country, Nepal doesn't have to be so high-tech, we can just fine everyone for not flushing in Kathmandu because there is never any water anyway. The Loo Cops can fine everyone on the spot.

The reason we Nepalis break rules is because of the belief that our current passage through the worldly realm and our conditioned existence is transient, evanescent and inconstant. So the only way to bring us down to earth is to fine us here and now. If people pee on street corners they need to cough up a fine there and then (after using hand sanitiser) not in their afterlife.

It was foolish on the part of the Stay-at-Home Ministry to rescind the ban on jay-walking for human pedestrians. This means a huge revenue shortfall for the gobblement. We will have to make up for that by devising new fines as a deterrent against those who want to play by the rules. Here is a list of suggestions:

1. Fine the Secretary of the Election Commission for refusing to accept kickbacks for brand new vehicles when there were plenty of SUVs.

2. Fine the honest cop at the Kathmandu Intercontinental Ballistic Airport who doesn't ask passengers to open their wallets to see if there any explosives inside.

3. Fine a weekly Smart Ass columnist who goes by his Latin nom de guerre, *Equus asinus*, for not grooming his nostril in full view of staff, thereby violating the National Code for Personal Hygiene of Bodily Orifices.



The Ass

