

The press and the nation's democracy rise and fall together

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'China will extend its support as a trusted friend'

Kathmandu: At present, my country China is facing problems that are both internal to the country and also confronting the outside front, so observed the newly arrived Chinese Ambassador to Nepal, H.E. Yang Houlan. However, the Chinese Ambassador said that "but, yet as a trustworthy friend of Nepal, China will continue to extend support in all sectors of Nepal in all its capacity". "China is facing challenges

in the domestic as well as international front, more so with the western countries", said the Chinese



Mêlée imminent

Kathmandu: The stage is set properly for a dangerous political bang if everything goes as per the presumptions of some mature political analysts.

The suicidal political game that is being played by practically all the major parties will once again invite bedlam in the country for sure.

Each political party is contributing its efforts to make sure that this blow up becomes a real one and takes its heavy toll. Adequate attention has also been provided by some 'strange forces' to aggravate Nepal situation further in order to penetrate deep into Nepali politics and bring the "birds of same feather" into its firm grip for employing in service later.

The process is already in an advanced stage.

The fact is that the current political muddle observed in the country's politics is not of Nepali making. Nepalese, as has been the tradition, prefer to work as stooges of others and that is why the people of this country are widely taken as mercenaries.

At best, Nepalese leaders are just pawns.

Of the 31 political parties in the country's scene, most of them were in a fractured state. It could well be presumed in advance that some more parties will emerge with the sole aim of national plunder and alien service.

In sum, Nepal awaits an extraordinary political cataclysm which is sure to tear apart this nation sooner than later. Let's now try to bring the dangerous but scattered pieces together and first begin with the UML-the ruling party.

The freshly concluded UML Dhulikhel meet had primarily been organized to "teach" some important lessons to the party Chairman Khandal who is also the Prime Minister. The Madhav Nepal-Oli duo even threatened their own Party chairman that if he exceeded his party limits, he may be stripped off from his current posts.

A terribly shaken Nepal Prime Minister thus in many more ways than one appears to have yielded to the instructions forwarded to him by his rival camp which, it is widely believed in Kathmandu, that this

combination enjoys foreign blessings.

Such blessings allow both power and free money indeed which is at the cost of the national interests.

A terror stricken Nepal PM Khandal may have thus summarily rejected Prachanda's forceful request to induct a sizeable strength of his party men into the cabinet through affecting a reshuffle.

The friction begins. If

Prachanda will play himself this desperate game? If he acts as per his threat already awarded to PM Khandal then will that not mean the super duper victory of Indian regime to what he had claimed

the otherwise at time of the Khandal government formation? Will he so easily and in a fit of anger allow India an upper hand by dislodging Khandal set up? To recall, the formation of Khandal led government with the tacit support of Maoists party

was largely taken by the Indian media veterans and some from the South Block-the de facto rulers of Nepal-as a "grand defeat of the Indian regime itself".

Yet some high placed sources claim that Prachanda himself advised PM Khandal to take some time for the demanded cabinet reshuffle as Prachanda had to forward the new names from his party under duress.

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But the question is whether Prachanda will play himself this desperate game? If he acts as per his threat already awarded to PM Khandal then will that not mean the super duper victory of Indian regime to what he had claimed the otherwise at time of the Khandal government formation? Will he so easily and in a fit of anger allow India an upper hand by dislodging Khandal set up? To recall, the formation of Khandal led government with the tacit support of Maoists party was largely taken by the Indian media veterans and some from the South Block-the de facto rulers of Nepal-as a "grand defeat of the Indian regime itself".

party rivals, Dr. Bhattarai and Mohan Baidya duo to recall back those ministers from the Khandal cabinet who were the "yes men" of the Party Chairman.

The humiliation caused to Dahal by his own party men may have annoyed him to the extent that he himself devised a scheme to rescue Prime Minister Khandal.

In politics such occurrences are common. Prachanda knows how to take the rivals for a ride. An annoyed and cornered Chairman Dahal may have an internal decision to delay the

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envoy adding, "Some of the countries across the world have become jealous with the economic prosperity that China has attained over these years".

The Chinese Ambassador made these remarks at a program organized by Nepal-China People Friendship Society in Pokhara, Kaski District, July 21, 2011.

The Chinese ambassador's remark has come immediately after the US President Barack Obama held a meeting with the Tibetan cleric

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PM refuges to yield to Maoists' reshuffle demand

Kathmandu: In a surprising move, under pressure Prime Minister Jhal Nath Khandal from within his own party United Marxist Leninists, has refused to reshuffle his cabinet at the request of the largest party in the parliament and major coalition partner, Unified Maoists' Party.

The Unified Maoists in order to defuse inner party squabble had taken the decision to replace the current team led by Deputy Prime Minister Krishna Bahadur Mahara by another team led by vice chairman Naryan Kaji Shrestha.

Khandal, according to sources, told Chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal in their meeting that cabinet reshuffle will only obstruct implementation of the five point deal.

Chairman Dahal had submitted a list containing some 24 good names of the new ministers representing his party to be inducted in Khandal's cabinet, July 25, 2011.

"Any of our actions should not impede the peace and constitutional processes. Let us reshuffle as per the agreement between all three major parties (Nepali Congress included)", PM is quoted as saying by one of his close aides.

Sources further quote PM Khandal as saying that the cabinet reshuffle is against the five point deal, if done so may raise questions of morality and it will also go against policies of national consensus.

Khandal talks of morality. What a joke?

Indepth-Analysis

Prachanda takes up this "refusal" issue as a personal humiliation then, analysts presume, Nepal PM Khandal's days in government are numbered.

Chairman Dahal has already told Khandal that if he is pushed to the wall then he can easily pull the carpet from under the feet of Nepal PM which perhaps speaks of so many things unspoken. Reasons to rejoice for some in the neighborhood.

But the question is whether

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Yet some high placed sources claim that Prachanda himself advised PM Khandal to take some time for the demanded cabinet reshuffle as Prachanda had to forward the new names from his party under duress.

In effect, Chairman Dahal was excessively pressed by his

Gender responsive budgeting benefits women: Experts

Ritu Shrestha
Volunteer, FES Nepal

Kathmandu: On 20th July, Municipal Association of Nepal (MUAN) in association with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Nepal (FES Nepal) organized a joint workshop to review guidelines and policies on "Gender Responsive and Socially Inclusive Budgeting and Auditing in the Local Government of Nepal" at the Hotel Greenwich Village. Significant participation from the representatives of municipalities including the District Development Committees (DDC), Village Development Committees (VDC), municipalities and Local Development Ministry, together with experts and participants from

various national and international organizations marked the program. A rigorous discussion among participants highlighted why the gender responsive and socially inclusive budgeting and auditing is important in the local governments of Nepal. The discussion was not only restricted to why gender responsive and socially inclusive budgeting matters but also on how budgeting can be made more gender responsive and socially inclusive to address the problems of socioeconomic discrimination and exclusion in Nepal. Following the paper presentation, group sessions were conducted to review the draft gender responsive and socially inclusive indicators

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Akhilesh Mishra heads Nepal desk in Indian Foreign Ministry

Kathmandu: Akhilesh Mishra, the former first secretary -Press, Information and Culture, at the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu, has been appointed as the Chief of Nepal-Bhutan Desk at the Ministry of External Affairs in India.

Mishra, who originally hails from the holy city of Varanasi in the state of Uttar Pradesh, served the Nepal mission beginning 1996 to 1999.

To recall, Mr. Mishra is the very gentleman who at the fag-end of his Nepal stint managed to prepare a secret yet bogus

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Charisma of New Delhi's 12-Point Republic

Kathmandu:

In the Fiscal Year 67-68, siphoning the national exchequer, the Republican Government of New Nepal has distributed Nrs. 100 Million for free to influential leaders, cadres of both the parties in government and opposition, as a support to various political parties.

The chaotic distribution of the tax payer's money has been

Who Pocketed how much?	
Former PM Krishna Prasad Bhattarai	10.57 Lakh
Sushil Koirala (Nepali Congress)	1.8 Lakh
Naryan Kaji Shrestha (Maoist)	10 Lakh
CA Member Chhabil Karki	6.75 Lakh
CA Member Chandra Bahadur Joshi	5 Lakh
CA Member Shanta Chaudhary	4 Lakh
Kalyani Khedka (Aide to Madhav Nepal)	4 Lakh
Krishna P. Sitaula	3 Lakh
CA Member Jay Puri Gharti	2.50 Lakh
Unified Maoists Party, Parsa	23 thousand
Jib Raj Ashrit Foundation	50 Lakh
Krishna San Ichukh Foundation	50 Lakh
Netra Abhagi Foundation	50 Lakh
CA member Nandan Kumar Dutta	2 Lakh

made providing implausible reasons, reports Kantipur Daily. Loot Ko Dhan Fupu Ko Shradha...

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Dr. Ram Baran's Reconciliation!

Kathmandu: Ram Baran Yadav who got the post of First President of Nepal as a bumper prize rather than an acknowledgement for his positive contribution to Nepal's politics said at a program here in Kathmandu on Saturday, July 23, 2011, that abandoning the policy of reconciliation was the main reason that led the institution of monarchy to collapse.

To recall, Yadav was allowed to enter Nepali politics by the Koirala family for his tireless service to Late B.P. Koirala as a personal medical consultant when B.P. was suffering from various ailments.

It should have been this unconditional service that may have made Dr. Yadav's smooth entrance in the NC party.

"Those who abandon policy of reconciliation will have fate akin to the King", observed Ram Baran and added, "Those who act against peoples' wishes could occupy the driving seat for a while but they will be wiped-out eventually."

Dr. Yadav still remembers the King. Or is he still scared of King Gyanendra?

But of which reconciliation Dr. Yadav is talking about?

Is it the 12 point New Delhi engineered "reconciliation" with the then agitating parties that managed the smooth ouster of King Gyanendra?

Gyanendra did not reconcile with the Indian regime but the parties did which is what has elevated the ranks of Dr. Yadav-Nepal's President.

President Yadav must not

distort the facts, historians advise him politely.

The Nepali Congress is celebrating 29th death anniversary of Late B.P. Koirala.

In the course of his interaction with media persons Dr. Yadav also opined that it was late King Mahendra's takeover (December 1960) that pushed the country 5 decades back.

"I urge Nepali political leadership not to forget the fact that King Mahendra's decision to dissolve peoples' elected government and impose the Panchayat regime pushed the country 5 decades backward".



TALKING CEREMONIAL

As if Nepal has already taken a quantum jump since the advent of democracy in 1990.

Making claims and that too tall ones is free. Personal freedom.

The Nepali Congress leadership and cadres perceive that the theory of reconciliation was propounded by Late B.P. Koirala,

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Battleground Dhulikhel: UML Meet

Kathmandu: While the review meeting of the party's 8th general assembly between top United Marxist Leninists leaders was in progress at a Resort hotel in Dhulikhel of Kavre District, July 24, 2011, at another nearby hotel, influential leaders K.P. Sharma Oli and Madhav Kumar Nepal were holding yet another meeting.

UML leaders will not settle for less than a Resort Hotel for their meet which ultimately ends up in a quarrel.

Including some journalists, local United Marxists Leninists leaders were invited to participate in the meeting, writes Nagarik Daily. Strategic decision to include media men! The Fourth Estate...lavish luncheon.

Reveals further Nagarik Daily quoting Oli, "Unity should be based on ideology but not on personal grounds."

Madhav Nepal also told media men, "The party chairman should not be allowed to impose his diktats."

Both, Oli and Nepal alleged that the party chairman has become authoritarian. They are of the view that creation of the post of Chairman by the 8th General Assembly was also to practice decentralisation of power among the party's top leadership.

Yet another centralisation of power, by the way.

On the other hand, Khandal's close aide Mr. Bam Dev Gautam tells Kantipur Daily, "It is not logical to limit the power of the Chairman and devolve his powers to other position

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...Wherever you are.

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Nepal ZoP wrongly perceived

Democracy demands passionate debate and discussions on certain political questions that are associated with the overall interests of the nation.

Deliberations become all the more necessary and urgent when the issue in place is a clumsy one or is made a flimsy one by some interested quarters more so who give an impression that they were much interested in safeguarding alien interests than their own motherlands. This is the recent trend that has been gifted to us by our near and dear ones in the vicinity.

Yet what we understand is that dialogues, discussions in series and more mass level discussions be allowed to take place as and when such mind boggling issues, for some indeed, crop up and demand its befitting solutions.

In 1973, late King Birendra in Algiers demanded that his country, Nepal, be declared a Zone of Peace. In effect, the then King had pushed his sparking ideas, not for some visibly, as back as during his official Coronation.

It now appears that the sudden publication of a book on "Nepal: Zone of Peace" by a French scholar of international repute in her own right, Isabelle Duquesne, has pained some Nepali intellectuals for some mysterious reasons. Pulse beat must have gone up for sure. Instead of lauding the author's role and endeavor in having penned a book which should necessarily be authored by some Nepali academicians because it concerns more the Nepalese than the Europeans, some of a "noted few" perverted brains (sorry to say we as at this paper honor these gentlemen and will continue to pour our honor to them as they were Nepali nationals) have made it a point to oppose any Nepali scheme or for that matter any proposition which has or had been carefully structured to keep the sovereignty of Nepal intact even in difficult political circumstances.

Heartache to some.

In fact, King Birendra's Zone of Peace proposal had come at a time when in this part of the world some dangerous political trends were in the solution which could have its negative impact on our own national security and ultimately that may have wiped this nation from the world map once and for all. The entire idea, at least to what we have gained for our own understanding, was forwarded to the perusal of the international community by the then Nepal King was perhaps to ensure the perennial longevity of this glorious nation, never colonized either by the Moghuls or for that matter by the British, from the hands of the mini-imperialist and neo colonist and ever expansionist regime in Nepal's neighborhood which had by then already swallowed up an independent and sovereign nation called Sikkim and bifurcated the whole of Pakistan-the declared arch rival of the Indian establishment-taken as a sore for the entire South Asian region even as of today.

That the Indian regime rejected the Nepalese ZoP proposition tooth and nail for its own reasons which were understandable then. But yet the mindset has not changed but remains still in a very dangerous form to the extent that the current political hotchpotch and instability is the sole creation of our immediate friend which has forcefully exported this mēle in Nepal in order to keep this nation in a state of continued fractured state that we are.

The Indian and the then USSR objection to the Nepali proposal could be understood as both these two elephantine nations were tied with each other through a treaty and what the Indians taught the other party was just a mandatory affair for the other. This much is understandable. But were those nations fool or were their leader's a brainless people who eventually sided with the Nepali proposition?

The staggering figure of 116 countries which extended their wholehearted support in favor of the Nepal ZoP must not have done so without having made their proper and the needed homework.

They must have done so prior to extending their support. The Indian habit is that it will ignore any proposal if that emanates from this part of the world if it sours their advance permission. But if the Nepali leaders tomorrow decide that Nepal be awarded with the status of what Sikkim stands today then India will gulp this nation without losing even a second. The idea of assimilation or for that matter annexation into the Indian Union doesn't need Indian approval in advance. Local fifth columnists have been in their side. This is really unfortunate.

All said and done, analysts at this paper remained aghast when they listened to a Nepali intellectual opposing the very idea of King Birendra that his country be declared a zone of peace who stated in an infuriated manner that "the King's idea then flopped because he should have demilitarized this nation first and then could have floated his ZoP scheme."

Thanks he did not say that Nepal should have totally dismantled the entire security machinery, including the police force which is perhaps shielding this particular individual from anti-social elements.

Well it was a different set of explanation from this individual which was listened to but the attending participants appeared less interested in buying his set of propositions. The said intellectual enjoyed his freedom of speech. Let's honor his freedom.

By and large his interpretations were apparently closer to how the Indian regime looked into the Nepali ZoP initiated by King Birendra.

Well, he expressed his somewhat disturbing ideas but the analysts here would like to ignore his borrowed and biased set of explanations as regards the ZoP.

Instead we would prefer to go by what Professor Anand Aditya, the Chairman of Pragma Foundation, Kathmandu, who said that let's not wait as to which country talks what of the ZoP, why not we ourselves declare the same on our own because, said the senior political scientist, let's copy what Switzerland did for herself.

The puzzling set of ideas, as mentioned in earlier paragraphs, were floated by this high class Nepali intellectual at a program held July 23, 2011 in Kathmandu. (See Second Impression also).

King Birendra's Zone of Peace

Isabelle Duquesne
 International Relations Expert, France

Introduction
 The idea of Nepal as a ZoP (Zone of Peace) is traced back to King Birendra (reign 1972- 2001), who proposed it at a time when the region's grand schemes of security appeared only too insecure to his sovereign country. The international community was supportive of the idea, but India and the Soviet Union declined to endorse it (India in the first place, on the ground of strict observance of previous treaties). This book will advance new arguments fitting the current geopolitical context, proposing once again that Nepal give itself the status of ZoP,



in line with the circumstances of the twenty-first century.

King Birendra: His Person and His Reign

Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev became King on 31 January 1972 and ruled over Nepal for 29 years until 1 June 2001, the day he was shot and killed by his eldest son (1). At the beginning of his reign, Birendra inherited an autocratic mandate from his father, King Mahendra, who, twelve years earlier, had used the emergency powers granted by the constitution to dismiss the Congress government, saying it had failed to maintain law and order. Mahendra had withdrawn his cooperation with the political parties (which had entered Nepal's government only a decade before), asserting that multiparty parliamentary democracy was an "alien system unsuited for Nepal," and promulgated a new constitution in 1962 that enshrined the partyless regime of Panchayat (2). While wanting to bring more strength to the grassroots levels of the land and using participative and electoral processes, the monarch also retained de facto ultimate power. Party-based political activity was banned. (3).

Birendra continued in his father's footsteps and the Panchayat system lasted nearly 30 years. But the rejected democratic forces, meeting secretly in Nepal and in India, prepared for a revolutionary return. The Panchayat system was stifling and, with too little economic progress and too much appropriation of power by the elite class, became the beast to kill. Agitation was led by political activists, students and workers rallying to the cause of democratic freedom. In response to discontent and strikes, Birendra ordered a general referendum on the Panchayat system in May 1980, in which the voters were free to choose between a reformed Panchayat and multiparty democracy. The margin of victory for the Panchayat was 55% against 45%—a narrow but certain popular choice. Nonetheless, the winds of change kept blowing. (4).

It took one more decade for the political parties to successfully stage the (first) (4) historic People's Movement in 1990, Jana Andolan 1. (5). Severe riots led Birendra to agree to a constitutional monarchy. He appointed a Constitutional Recommendation Commission to represent the main opposition factions and to prepare a new constitution to accommodate their demands for political reform. Accepting the draft constitution which was also approved by the new Prime Minister, K. P. Bhattarai, and his cabinet, Birendra promulgated the new constitution transforming Nepal into a constitutional monarchy on 9 November 1990.

The following years were an adjustment and a balancing act between royalist, socialist-centrist and communist politicians, and the King. The economy and citizenry were not benefiting from the political quarrels in Kathmandu and elitism was still hindering the development of millions of Nepalese in need. Emerging from the magnitude of discontent, the radical left (Maoists)

started an insurgency in 1996 and conducted a guerrilla war to force political change. Against the background of aggressive political contention and five years into the armed rebellion, the highly symbolic murderous family drama occurred in the Palace, precipitating Nepal into new depths of darkness.' (6).

Manjushree Thapa describes poignantly the national state of shock caused by the Royal Massacre' (7). As Birendra's younger brother Gyanendra became King, he inherited trauma, endemic strategic violence between Nepalese factions, a state in shambles, offensiveness towards the



monarchical institution, and suspicion that he may have orchestrated the killing. Facing him was an

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unmistakable opposing intent: the insurgents wanted to bring Nepal's monarchy to an end. (8).

King Birendra today is generally remembered as an engaged and active King. During the Panchayat years, he believed that Nepal needed a firm and focused leadership. When multiparty politics reaffirmed itself, he continued to serve the needs of the Nepali people and support the management of the State. (9). He argued with India - especially with Rajiv Gandhi (10), and whenever there were causes for Nepali workers, traders, developers or politicians to be discontent with India, he reaffirmed his proposal for the Himalayan kingdom to be declared a ZoP as a key instrument of foreign and regional policy. (11).

King Birendra's Proposition for Nepal to become a Zone of Peace:

At the summit of the Non-aligned Movement (12) in Algiers in September 1973, Birendra expressed the need to formalize peace and cooperation between Nepal and its neighbors. "Situated between the two most populous countries of the world, Nepal wishes her frontiers to be enveloped in a Zone of Peace", he said. Two years later, in his coronation address, attended by heads of state and government and high officials from 65 countries, Birendra formally asked the international community to endorse his proposal that the UN declare Nepal a ZoP. In his words:

"As heirs to one of the most ancient civilizations in Asia, our natural concern is to preserve our independence, a legacy handed down to us by history [...] we need peace for our security, we need peace for our independence, and we need peace for development. And if today, peace is an overriding concern for us, it is only because our people genuinely desire peace in our country, in our region and elsewhere in the world. It is with this earnest desire to institutionalize peace that I stand to make a proposition - a proposition that my country, Nepal, be declared a Zone of Peace. [...] As heirs to a country that has always lived in independence, we wish to see that our freedom and independence shall not be thwarted by the changing flux of time when understanding is replaced by misunderstanding, when cordiality is replaced by belligerency and war. (13)

Birendra wanted to give a new dimension to Nepal's policy of nonalignment, assuring a superordinate protection from the pulls and pushes of its powerful neighbors. The security of Nepal clearly depends on its relations with its neighbors and on their relations between them. The ZoP would have institutionalized this by placing internationally sanctioned restrictions on the use of military force in Nepal, while maintaining

cordial relations and fulfilling mutual obligations: Proximate Causes for the Proposition:

In 1962, a border dispute between India and China escalated to a brief but fierce war. The point of contention was stretches of land in the region of Aksai Chin (north of Kashmir), seen by the Chinese as a strategic link that enables movement via the China National Highway route G219 to the Chinese-administered territories of Tibet and Xinjiang. The war ended when the Chinese captured the disputed area and unilaterally declared a ceasefire on 20 November 1962. (14). Although Nepal did not get involved and both belligerents respected Nepal's neutrality, the war heightened Nepalese dislike of being seen as a Sino-India security buffer.

The 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty reinforced Nepal's sense of vulnerability. The 1971 war of independence of East Pakistan from West Pakistan ended with the emergence of Bangladesh, an event actively supported by India. The conflict transformed into an Indo-Pakistani war, the third war between the two neighbors since the separate founding of their States. India annexed Sikkim in 1975 (through a referendum in favor of it). Besides these cross-border events, internal upheavals within India were causing much apprehension in Nepal; on the one hand Delhi was supportive of a banned Nepali Congress Party (which at that time was anti-Panchayat-King

Birendra's government), and on the other hand Communist rebels, the Naxalites, were causing damage in West Bengal, near Nepal, with underground border crossings of terrorist preparations. In the midst of such violent surroundings, India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974. Birendra was alarmed and wanted Nepal to be formally declared a non-nuclear zone. He also affirmed that playing one neighbor against the other was a despicable and dangerous thing, and could never be useful to the Nepali people.

Birendra's desire to "protect the flickering lamp of Nepal's freedom from being extinguished by the storms blowing far and near" made allusions to India's first atomic test in Pokhran, the annexation of Sikkim by India, the Indian military intervention to the creation of Bangladesh, the security alliance between USSR and India on the one hand, and India and Bangladesh on the other plus a serious regional rivalry that emerged following military cooperation between China and Pakistan (14).

Previous Antecedents to the Proposition:

After India became independent in 1947, Nepalese-Indian relations continued on the basis of the 1816 Sugauli Treaty between Nepal and the British. The treaty had recognized the sovereignty of Nepal yet dictated most terms in economic and commercial relations, thus making Nepal dependent on the British East India Company for trade, transport and access to modernization. The Indo-Nepal treaties of 1950 (Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and Treaty of Trade and Commerce) were based on the Anglo-Nepal treaties, defining large areas of mutuality. Yet in view of Nepal being much smaller and landlocked, such mutuality often turned out to be unfair in the asymmetric reality. In a speech before the Indian Parliament in 1950, Prime Minister Nehru summed up India's security concerns regarding Nepal as follows:

"From time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with magnificent frontiers. We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated, because it is also the principal barrier to India". Therefore, as much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own security. (15).

From then on, India viewed any potential attack on Nepal's soil as an aggression against its homeland, hence insisting on mutuality in the Indo-Nepalese treaties. In 1952, an Indian military mission was established in Kathmandu, with the aim of reorganizing and training Nepal's armed forces, civil service and police force to bring the



Kingdom's defenses in line with India's security scheme. In 1954, a memorandum provided for the joint coordination of foreign policy, and Indian security posts were set up along Nepal's northern borders. In 1965, India secured a monopoly on arms sales to Nepal. Suffocating from such dependency, the establishment in Kathmandu expressed its disagreement and challenged the mutual security arrangement in 1969. It asked that the Indian security check posts and the Kathmandu liaison group be withdrawn. In the struggle to regain authority and be free of Indian presence, other elements of the treaties (commerce, transport, migration) were used as trade-offs in hard negotiations.

On its northern side, Nepal witnessed the annexation of Tibet by the People's Republic of China in 1951, also giving rise to feelings of insecurity. Its relations with China, however, would unfold differently from those with India.

King Birendra, in his enunciation of the Kingdom's foreign policy some eighteen months after ascending the throne, emphasized the "need for courage and the potential necessity for it to come to the fore," as he underlined the commitment to "independence or nothing." This statement was later seen as an indication of the intended firmness with which Nepal was going to live its friendship with its neighbors. In Birendra's words:

"We shall take special pains to cultivate friendship with our neighbors hoping earnestly that peace, cooperation and an understanding based on a sober appreciation of each other's problems and aspirations shall prevail. Notwithstanding these fervent pleas, notwithstanding this sincere expression of goodwill, notwithstanding these endeavors, should ill-fortune ever overtake us, I hope and pray that the people of Nepal shall not lag behind to brace themselves with the last resource they have — courage; courage to prove to the world that force or contrivances are but feeble instruments to subdue the fierce spirit of a people whose lifeblood, through the ages, has been independence or nothing. (16).

Reactions to the Proposition:

One hundred and sixteen countries endorsed Birendra's proposal within a very short time. Fifteen years later, it continued to be supported by 110 states. India did not endorse it because it saw the concept of ZoP as being contradictory to the 1950 Treaty, India could not risk releasing Nepal from the common defense principle, which is central to their treaty and was not prepared to allow for any inconsistency in its security policy.

This partly explains why treaties amendments between Nepal and India have often been denied, postponed or slow in the agreement process. The Soviet Union was the second country not to endorse Birendra's proposal. It had just signed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in 1971 and probably felt it was necessary to support India in its neighborhood policies.

Conclusion:

In view of the repercussions of the Cold War and regional conquests within the highly belligerent environment of the 1970s, King Birendra proposed that Nepal be declared a ZoP. Not fitting its security plan, India judged it impossible to consider such a regional policy change. On the basis of the 1950 Treaty, it argued that Nepal had agreed to mutuality in matters of defense and could not withdraw from such commitments. We shall later propose that in view of the new global circumstances, the advent of democratic, republican Nepal and the significant regional changes over the last four decades a ZoP based on new parameters and for the benefit of South Asia may be attractive to all, including India.

(With the permission of the author Isabelle Duquesne, France and thanks due to Bhrikuti Publishers: Ed)

References: (Available on telegraphnepal.com national column: Ed)

Nepal's ZoP proposal fused with Women and Peace Seminar



The program became interesting and lively when the main topic "Women in Peace and Civil Society" got dramatically fused with the French scholar, Isabelle Duquesne, penned book on "Nepal: Zone of Peace" and the attending participants got more than confused over this mysterious synthesis of two separate but yet very important subject matter. Thanks the Nepali scholars can adjust in any scheme of things to which they did eventually. If they were found as an expert in defining the meaning and the very essence of this peace zone proposal forwarded by late King Birendra then they also shed immense light on the women's role in building peace which also demanded the passable role of the "overly politicized" dollar or Euro earning civil society of Nepal.

Chelsea Academy together with the German Foundation, FES, and Pragma had organized this program on 23 July, 2011.

All began well with the rewarding power point presentation of Isabelle Duquesne. She began with her presentation wherein she compared a recent appeal of Nepal President Dr. Yadav wherein the President had stated that peace needs to be institutionalized in Nepal with what King Birendra had stated in his ZoP as back as in 1973.

But Dr. Yadav is basically is a congressman and by extension and for some rationally unexplainable reasons, he must not have uttered so which may add to the strength of the slain King's proposal. But by and large, so said Isabelle, Dr. Yadav's and King Birendra's proposal were strikingly similar. How can Dr. Yadav praise Nepal King(s)?

The reasons are aplenty to think so. The fact is that for the NC men, Nepal Kings have ever remained as untouchables. They prefer, for example, Nehru, Indira and now

Sonia Gandhi. *Ajab Kashi Gajab Nepal...*

Initiating the debate on peace, a government secretary said that "no money, no peace". More than he talked on peace and role of women, he centered his discussion on Tibet and said that "we need to provide adequate attention towards Tibet as China has a special interest in safeguarding its underbelly".

He, however, claimed that ZoP proposal was of his personal concern as well.

Professor Anand Aditya, Chair of Pragma Foundation, explained in details as to why Nepal should make tireless efforts in getting the ZoP endorsed from the international community. He says, "Since the entire South Asian region was in an unstable state, politically speaking, the Nepalese ZoP could be a panacea for the ailments that this region is undergoing through."

The learned scholar requested the audience to declare Nepal as a ZoP on their own strength henceforth.

Rajesh Adhikari of the Chelsea told that the ZoP matter should be taken seriously.

Mrs. Shanta Shrestha, the Maoists candidate for Nepal's Vice Presidency, said that when 116 countries across the world endorsed the ZoP proposal of King Birendra, he was killed brutally. She advised the audience to talk less and work more in favor of the neglected women folks of Nepal.

"Seminars and symposiums will do little than going to the field and educating the illiterate women about their rights on the spot", said Shanta Shrestha. She lamented that Nepali media too ignored the issue related with the women's plight.

Mrs. Shanti Shrestha, an educationist, questioned at the very opening of her comments as to whether the "Maoists really want peace to prevail in Nepal?"

She too lamented that the workload that the Nepali women folks shoulder has not yet been evaluated. "The political parties must

SECOND IMPRESSION N.P. UPADHYAYA

think on how to empower the women folks", she said. She also accused that some high flying five star dwelling women engaged in various NGO/INGOs pocket money allocated for the up-liftment of the Dalit women.

She spoke the truth.

Bishnu Hari Nepal, a Maoists activist now, said that "one woman can change anything, many women can change everything".

He took King Birendra's ZoP as a good proposal and appealed the government of the day to reconsider in reviving this issue which, he maintained, could become an effective tool for regional security.

"Reconciliation must be centered on peace", Mr. Nepal concluded.

It was then the turn of Sakina Khan, a qualified Muslim woman, who said that not so much has changed in the perception of the Muslim society in looking at the Women. She advised that the "males have to change their perceptions in looking at the women folks".

Aruna Sharma opined that females must get enough support from their respective families and advised the women of Nepal to understand their dormant potential what they possess in abundance.

Julia Guenther, a trainee at FES Nepal office, claimed that her country was a peaceful one and the German civil society was very strong yet some visible challenges remain in the German social order.

"Our society is an individualized

society", Julia concluded.

Dr. Samira Luitel in her short speech pointed that whatever we have today in Nepal is a dead peace and that if and when there is the eruption of violence it is the women who are the most hit.

She said "we need peace, no more violence".

Mrs. Bimla Karki advised the oppressed women of Nepal to seek their rightful demands from the State and also said that this gender was

not at all a powerless one. "Understand your hidden aptitude", Mrs. Karki summarized.

Jagdish Sharma said that for some interested quarters, the Zone of Peace proposal could be an anathema. He later claimed that every citizen of Nepal embodies a zone of peace in him or her.

Senior Advocate K. P. Bhandari lauded the role of his own female family members.

Political leader Krishna Raj Burma talked more on German society than his own.

Mr. Keshar Bhandari, retired army man, claimed that if one were to compare the potential of women with those of the men then the previous one has more ability than the latter. "For the prevalence of peace, tolerance must go together", Bhandari said.

Professor Birendra Mishra lambasted at the King Birendra's Zone of Peace proposal and said that "had the King first demilitarized Nepal then the countries across the world must have accepted the proposal verbatim".

King Birendra should have met Professor Mishra in advance. The King made a blunder, let's presume it to be so.

Mishra's comments, however, were not taken in good taste by most of the attending participants.

Thus ended the FES supported Chelsea/Pragma seminar.

The programme was conducted by Samira Poudel of the FES

En Bref

India supports NRs. 3.73 crores for Buddhist Monastery in Nepal

Kathmandu: A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed on July 21, 2011 by Embassy of India, District Development Committee-Mustang, and Shree Pal Ewam Namgyal Monastery in Mustang District of Nepal, for providing the Government of India grant assistance of NRs. 3.73 crores.

The grant assistance is for the up gradation of infrastructure and provision of furniture for the Monastery under Nepal-India Economic Cooperation Programme, the Indian embassy press release states.

Under the program, India is providing assistance of NRs. 24.08 crores for the construction of infrastructure projects in the district which includes school construction, bridges, community hall and river training works. India has already gifted three ambulance at Jomsom, Kagbeni and Chhosher VDCs in Mustang District.

Khanal is puppet of Maoist Chairman Dahal: NC leader K.C

Kathmandu: "Until Prachanda feels that time was an appropriate one for him to lead the government, he will continue to support Jhal Nath Khanal government".

Senior Nepali Congress leader, Arjun Nar Singh K.C. made this classic observation at an interaction program held in Kathmandu, July 21, 2011.

"Khanal has become the puppet of Maoists' Chairman", K.C. added and continued "He (Pushpa Kamal Dahal) is making moves in the manner similar to *Sikhanda*. Dahal will allow Khanal to run the government until he becomes certain that the next government comes under his grip."

When asked if Nepal Congress will join the present government replied K.C. "Under no condition will Nepali Congress join the government that is nothing but a shadow of Maoists' conspiracy."

K.C. also ridiculed Sujata Koirala's remarks made just the other day that NC should join the present government.

Nepal Cabinet appoints Dr. Thakur Foreign Ministry Advisor

Kathmandu: The Government of Nepal has appointed former Ambassador Dr. Ram Bhakta P. B. Thakur as the foreign relations advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the cabinet meeting held Wednesday 20 July 2011, Dr. Thakur was proposed for the new assignment by Foreign Minister Upendra Yadav, which got immediate approval from the cabinet.

Dr. Thakur a former career diplomat also served the ministry of foreign affairs as the Chief of protocol. Later, he was appointed as Ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

While in Egypt, Dr. Thakur made extra efforts in bringing Nepal-Egypt ties closer.

Thakur is taken as an expert on Nepal-India bilateral relations and matters related to Least Developed Countries (LDCs), SAARC, BIMSTEC and many more.

He obtained his doctoral degree from France. He is fluent in Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, English and French language. Telegraphnepal.com congratulates Dr. Thakur on his prestigious appointment.

Poudel begs Nepal PM post from Deuba, NC to ask PM to resign

Kathmandu: The informal meeting of Nepali Congress central committee held at the party President Sushil Koirala's personal residence, Saturday, July 23, 2011, has decided to put pressure on Prime Minister Jhal Nath Khanal to tender his resignation.

The CC members also said that even after one and half months has passed after CA term extended for the second time, four of the five points deal reached between parties are yet to be implemented.

As per the decision of the party, NC leader of parliamentary delegation Mr. Ram Chandra Poudel will formally ask Prime Minister Khanal to tender his resignation at the parliament meeting today.

After the informal CC meet ended, President Sushil Koirala, Vice chairman Poudel and senior leader Shri Bahadur held a separate meeting. Deuba asked Poudel to tender his resignation from the post of parliamentary delegation head. "I expect you to support me by tendering your resignation", said Deuba.

Poudel replied, "Give me a chance Deuba ji. If I have any weaknesses, I am ready to sort them out."

After listening to both the leaders, Koirala said, "Let us find a mid way. Let us not resort to voting to decide the case".

Major parties must shun hegemonic mindset

Kathmandu: Says Kamal Thapa of Rastriya Prajatantra Party-Nepal Constitution Drafting & Peace Processes will remain a mirage until the Nepal Army and Maoists come to terms with each other.

"Unless the guns of Nepal Army and Maoists unite the constitutional and peace processes will remain elusive," said Thapa while addressing a program in Hetauda of Makwanpur, Saturday July 23, 2011.

No matter how many times CA term is extended, said Thapa, Constitution will not be drafted as long as the big parties do not shun their hegemonic and oppressive mindset.

Battleground...

holders. The party general assembly not only created the post of chairman but it envisioned a powerful chairman", so said barm Dev Gautam who is shielding the Chairman.

Speaking at the inauguration ceremony Khanal asked attendants, "It is high time that we review the decision of 8th general assembly to decentralize the party command. The question that needs answer here today is whether we are trying to develop a system or the objective is to weaken Jhal Nath Khanal".

The Oli-Nepal panel had prepared a list of 15 what they call blunders of Chairman Jhal Nath Khanal that also includes awarding ministry of home affairs to the Unified Maoists Party without

consulting the party.

K.P. Oli opined that in Khanal's leadership, decisions have not been implemented properly. In the last two years, what we have done is to very well serve the purpose of another party than conserving our identity and history.

"I am also in favour of unity. But unity comes only with abiding by the party's decisions," said Oli.

In response to Oli's outburst, Khanal replied "okay tell me what I need to do to unite the party. I am ready to sacrifice anything. I am ready to apologize for the mistakes I may have committed. And I hope you all will also do the same."

"We also have to tackle Don-ism prevailing in the party", Khanal pointing figures at K.P. Oli said in an implied manner.

For Nepal, Internet is a luxury

Professor Parsuram Kharel, Nepal

Today, there is no need for Goebbels to make a speech to impose different kinds of information stricture on the masses. Technological excesses can achieve that. An array of activists ranging from those working for fundamental democratic rights to those specializing solely in press issues could as easily stifle an impartial information flow. Although activists would like one to believe that regulations and political diktat is the only enemy of a free press, information overkill could easily take their place in the modern scheme of things. "Information overload" and "junk mail" are recent vocabularies in wide circulation. This latter-day development rose from the ability of new technology to deliver more information than one can possibly handle within a very short time. In most cases, dearth of information is not the problem, it is the ability to sort through the "junk" for the appropriate information that exacts patience.

Getting the right information at the right time and in adequate volume is a topic of debate. At the same time, "information haves" and "information have-nots" have disparate needs, complicating things even further. It is not only income gaps that bring about such situations but technological regimes in place are equally responsible for contributing to "digital divides." For a country like Nepal, the Internet is a luxury, affected by long and regular power interruptions.

Therefore, the messenger faces additional reasons and pressures that need to be tackled in maintaining the quality of the message. Each improvement that technology churns

VIEW

freedom than as draconian moves, which are easily spotted.

Journalists and other communicators significantly determine the nature, quality and extent of dissemination of political messages for public debate and, in the process, also wield some influence on their audiences. Candid and critical portrayal of political situations puts an issue in proper perspective. If journalists and other communicators were to engage in outright propaganda, they would not serve the cause of public debate, public understanding and public service. They would, in fact, be a party to deliberately misinforming the public. Just as

communication represents the essence of culture, language serves as a high-value code for mediated political communication.

Carey (1999: 17) writes: "without the institutions or spirit of democracy, journalists are reduced to propagandists or entertainers."

When journalists measure their success solely by the size of their readership or audience, by the profits of their companies or by their incomes, status and visibility, they have caved into the temptation of worshipping false gods, of selling their heritage for a portage—just as much as those who cynically convinced themselves they were serving democracy by acting as the mouthpieces of a putatively revolutionary party.

In realization of their role and public expectations of them, news media institutions are seen drawing up individual policies to serve the public in good faith, professionally. The policy declaration is a transparent commitment to professionalism. Not all news media make such declaration. Even those making a public commitment, at times, are embroiled in controversies over their coverage of an event. The central issue is to continue being faithful to discipline, no matter the changes in context or technology.

Global media mogul Rupert Murdoch (2009) observes: "Our modern world is faster moving and far more complex than the years of past. But the basic truth remains: to make informed decisions, free men and women require honest and reliable news about events affecting their countries and their lives. Whether the newspaper of the future is delivered with electrons or dead trees is



ultimately not that important. What is most important is that the news industry remains free, independent—and competitive."

There is more to what Murdoch says. For instance, the quest for media space for various publics, inclusion of the public's in terms of the frequency, the extent of their access to information channels and the response they obtain as a result, together with the question of inclusiveness in the identification of message encoders and target decoders are important factors. *Journalists are expected to abide by the cardinal principles of their profession—accuracy, balance, credibility, impartiality, proximity, inclusiveness and participation, among other qualities. Whatever the characteristics and structure of a community, pluralism in channel outlets, contents and communicators determine the scale of organized social power.*

Excerpts from author's book on "Political Communication, Media, Message and Meaning. Thanks the author: Ed.

Everest

How to Mitigate the Systemic Risks on Nepalese Economy?

Dev Raj Dahal

Regardless of circumstances Nepalese planners and decision-makers have blindly followed global patterns of economic thinking rather than evolving contextual policy suitable to its reality, basic values, and people's needs. Annual per capita income of \$487 puts landlocked Nepal in the bracket of least developed country. Squeezed between India and China, it is largely impoverished population of 20 million lives predominantly in subsistence agriculture and informal economy where the concept of modern social security rarely exists. The top five percent of households own 37 percent of agricultural land while the bottom 47 percent occupy only 15 percent of it. About 29 percent of households are *sukumbasis*, landless. It reveals the structures of power relations that are at work in the marginalization of women, poor, and Dalits from the nation's economic order. Neo-liberal

education, health care, safe water, sanitation, and social protection. Maternal mortality stands at 281, fertility rate 2.1, and infant mortality rate is 48. Life expectancy at birth is 68.81 years. Adult literacy rate is 53.74%. Females' educational level must be scaled up as it helps to stabilize population, eradicate poverty, and entitle every adult to get life's possibilities. The contribution of tax to GDP is only 12 percent which is insufficient to subsidize welfare, and create accountable and responsible governance. In such a context, the government has "little incentive to build political and organizational capacity to negotiate and collect revenue and spend effectively" (Moore and Unsworth, 2007:1). The commodity economy, increasing investment in urban banks, real estates, private schools, colleges, hospitals, and accumulation of gold, technological backwardness of

made corporate and comprador classes vibrant, redistributed income and assets from the real to symbolic economy, labor to capital, the bottom to the top classes of society, and centralized population, capital and production in urban areas. It has also caused fatal social, economic, and environmental consequences for the poor. De-industrialization of real economy, deregulation of state control, slash of agricultural subsidy, and job layoffs, forced the globalization of the Nepalese workers in more than 100 countries of the world in the hope of smooth remittance flow. Now agriculture growth remains only 1.1 percent but contributes 35 percent to GDP (over \$422.54mm), manufacturing sector growth is 2.7 percent while service sector contributes 52 percent to GDP. Service provision, especially in education and health, is improving as community is increasingly involved in taking decisions. But the establishment of private schools and hospitals as "economic model" producing two kinds of services and two kinds of citizens in the country with the risk of producing social and political polarization in the future.

The rent-seeking nature of privatization, and lack of self-determination of public policy have undermined the egalitarian virtues of democracy. The rapid growth of labor force (400,000 per year), its demand for productive jobs, and basic goods cannot be met without revitalizing the real economy of countryside, and productive use of the remittance brought by over 3 million workers abroad which contributes 23.4 percent to the nation's GDP. The social and economic costs of Nepalese migrant workers, and their suffering and sacrifice have not been properly estimated nor did the utilization of their skills and funds (both wage capital and investment capital) in productive sectors of the economy. Likewise, the migration of highly productive youth has caused the decline of agriculture, increased the cost of production, and turned the food surplus nation into deficit one. This is making Nepal a consumption-oriented economy, which needs to be changed (Khanal, 2011:1). The

contribution of foreign aid to GDP is only 4.7 percent. To annual government budget it accounts to 30 percent and about half of government's capital expenditure. Foreign debt burden hovers around \$3565.14m and each year debt burden is increasing beyond its ability to pay. Conversion of debt into equity is a major policy challenge. The average domestic savings rate in Nepal as a percentage of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stands at 10 percent.

The acutely poor Nepal, sitting in one of the largest hydropower potential (83,000 MW) of the world, has so far produced only 697 MW of electricity (out of which leakage is 186 MW) with fails to meet even the current domestic demand of 900 MW. The country is facing acute energy crunch, 14 hour power cut every day thus hobbling the possibility for industrial development. Political strikes and increasing production costs and other woes. To boost altering economy and strengthen its fast losing internal competitiveness, expansion of hydropower, and alternative source of energy is essential. Decline of manufacturing in Nepal squeezed employment for workers and the country's export competitiveness. The contribution of manufacturing sector to GDP is only 6 percent. The return of populism, security vacuum, and weak property rights scare both national and foreign direct investment in manufacturing sectors necessary for economic growth, technological progress, and social justice. In this context, the solidarity of sub-national units to strengthen local self-governance with the capacity and autonomy to define local social, economic, and cultural development is essential. State-building from below requires surplus region to help the deficit one in the framework of national development.

Stabilizing climate requires schemes for converting wind, solar, hydro-power, biofuel, and geothermal power into cheap energy. This also requires reordering fiscal priorities in response to the new threats to human security (Brown, 2006: 250). Nepal's annual economic growth of 3.2 percent barely balances

population growth of 2.2 percent, reduces the level of poverty of around 65 percent and ensures social peace and stability.

Inequality and stifled opportunity have caused violence—individual and collective (Tilly, 2006:159) and massive shift of population from rural to urban areas which is already marred by congestion, shortage of water, poor sanitation and dirty air. Nepal's location between huge landmass of Asia-China and India, its entry into SAFTA, BIMST-EC, and WTO and stable relationship with EU have opened the prospect for increased market access of Nepalese products. But, there are many non-tariff barriers, such as environment, labor and quality standards (Khanal, 2011: 1). The increased market integration at the higher level would not be sustainable if it is not accompanied by societal goods, reduction of capital cost in production, social support of peasants and workers in environmental protection, and removal of internal barriers to national market integration.

Exploration of alternative energy can enhance Nepal's security by reducing dependence on vulnerable oil supplies. Nepal would also gain political clout by boosting regional cooperation, pooling of regional resources to address post-state challenges, and fulfilling transformation.

"Markets have a strong tendency to reinforce the status quo. This means that poor countries are supposed to continue with their current engagement in low-productivity activities. But their engagement in these activities is exactly what makes them poor. If they want to leave poverty behind, they have to defy the market and do the more difficult things that bring them higher incomes—there are no two ways about it" (Chang, 2008:210). Its real problems are: inadequate infrastructures, lack of internal market integration, weak production, incapacity to supply, and poor standards of goods. As a result, import is six times higher (\$3.6billion) than exports causing annual trade deficit of \$633.80m. External aid has become essential to cover the balance of payment deficits, remove the gap in governance between security and development,



and drum up support for peace building.

This means post-conflict Nepal needs leaders who have the vision and character to utilize external resources such as foreign aid, debt relief, and direct foreign investment for self-sustained development. Weak politics has created dependency culture, and caused leadership failure in constructing rules, legal premises, and supportive policy for work and wages while alarming surge of strikes rendered the authority of government ineffective.

Nepalese state, therefore, needs to restore political authority through the intermediation of state institutions, solve problems of broad-based inclusive economic growth, bring opposing interest groups, and best talents to endorse the framework of social justice, and support economic actors' competitive strength in market efficiency. These are the necessary steps to heal the post-conflict society. If Nepalese government is able to stabilize its economy, it will regain freedom of policy. Future institutions require those leaders who provide "combinations of spiritual, emotional, and material rewards meeting the needs of people who are already seeking to participate in smoothing and purifying the world" (Tilly, 2006: 169). But it remains unclear where the new leadership will come from when

the society is now being re-tribalized, and politics is used to extract economic rents.

Strengthening national economy is essential to strengthen the state's capacity to deliver.

Excerpts of paper presented by author at GEFONT Seminar July 10-11, 2011 on Shaping Tomorrow's Economy Challenges and Choices for Nepal

DOSSIER

policy of the removal of subsidies on fertilizer, improved seeds, irrigation, and credit reduced agricultural productivity, increased rural poverty, and food scarcity. Over 30 percent of economically active population is totally unemployed.

The organized sector is only 10 percent where workers' minimum rights are guaranteed. The average monthly minimum wage for workers (\$87.32-\$50 basic salary and \$37.32 dearness allowance) is barely enough to feed even a nuclear family given average annual inflation rate of over 10 percent. Daily wage for industrial worker is \$3.25 while for agricultural worker it is yet to be decided (previous one is \$1.08). Among the total employed, 46 percent of them get monthly salary, the rest are employed on contractual, weekly pay and daily wage basis. Some 78 percent of population lives on less than \$2 a day. This monetary estimation of income is inadequate to fathom poverty which arises from a lack of opportunity for livelihoods,

society and domination of decision-making by powerful political and economic interests continue to pose structural obstacles for social transformation, and mitigate the food crisis constantly faced by about 4 million people. The two decades of neo-liberalism carried by successive Nepalese governments of all political hues not only broke the welfare state's labor-capital coordination but also trampled the constitutional vision of social justice. It brought structural shift of the economy from agriculture and industry to financial capitalism. Still, only about 26 percent of Nepalese have access over banking services due to their concentration in only urban nodes.

Worse still, unproductive sector lending, concentration of loan to few powerful persons, inability of the government to expand capital base, capital flight and problem of institutional governance do not promise financial stability in the short-run and productive economic growth. Financial capitalism has

Fourth UN Conference on the LDCs: Achievements: Future Directions

Dr Rambakata Thakur
Nepal's Former Ambassador to Egypt

Future Direction: After having seen the unsatisfactory result, of the international development efforts in the past 3 decades The UN Report, has examined the previous model of development and considered it a failure, in this context, a new priority approach and mechanism has been introduced to readjust and revitalize the LDCs economy for meeting the new goals of 4th LDCs conference. The LDCs conference has thus, developed a new strategy by reaffirming solidarity and partnership with the poorest-weakest and vulnerable countries in which the ownership, leadership and primary responsibility for development in LDCs rests with the LDCs themselves. Development strategies have to be formulated for development of effective infrastructure and increase capacity building to enable to fight with climate change and address in a coherent manner in trade, investment, finance, including official development assistance, technology and other identified areas. The LDCs -iv conference could be marked as a turning point in the development and cooperation history of the development countries and LDCs where onus and focus has been shifted to targeted countries. The least developed countries are standing in an arduous but to a self reliance position. In other words, they have to build their way themselves, of course, with the co-operation with developed countries. It demands on the part of LDCs, a serious good governance and proper utilization of limited financial resources. No additional ODA pledged by the development partners, certainly raised the uncertainty about the donors, which left no option to the LDCs than the optimum utilization of the available resources. In this context, a common foreign aid policy and strategy has to be adopted for the requirement of LDCs. Aid promised by the development partners must be fulfilled because aid are being eroded by the mounting costs of the damage done to LDCs economy and their people. Donors should review the ODA (official development assistance)

commitments and consider further enhancing the resources for LDCs.48 countries having 900 million people, sharing only 1% of the world trade is not acceptable any more. A decade ago there was an expectation that trade reform would be possible as part of Doha Development Agenda. Social and economic treatment introduced to be made operational according to a given country's stage of development rather than a time limit so that the LDCs can adopt development strategies that reflect their specific needs and opportunities. Also have to negotiate to reduce or eliminate the arbitrary or unjustified non-tariff barriers and other trade distorting measures. LDCs having rich minerals, raw materials and other potentialities are not in a focus of international investment. Present 2% of world investment is too low for transferring the status of LDCs to developing group. Long term private investment, particularly foreign direct investment have a catalytic role to play in building and strengthening productive capacity as they lead to tangible benefits, including export growth, employment generation and poverty eradication. A supportive international environment is also important to this end. Foreign debt has been mounting at an alarming rate every year on the head of LDCs and, paradoxically, LDCs are not being able to make proper use of the hard earned debt. Debt service takes up a large use of their scarce budgeting resources, representing an obstacle for economic growth, poverty eradication, and others. Therefore policies and practices of lending and borrowing should be changed favorably, and remain vigilant to negotiate for concession, write off, and rescheduling of debt. The capacity to pay and the merit of the project should determine the write off position. Civil society, in this regard, has asked immediately a complete cancellation of the debt. In view of increasingly important role of South-South cooperation in the LDC development, it would be very appropriate to fully harness the opportunities offered by the South -



South cooperation as a complement to, but not a substitute for North-South cooperation. LDCs can benefit from this triangular cooperation in developing plans and priorities, in areas such as human productive, capacity building, technical assistance, health, education, professional training, agriculture, environment, science and technology, and trade and investment. Seeing the vulnerability of the LDCs, difficult task of poverty eradication and socio economic development, an effective follow up strategy to the UN-LDCs fourth conference needs to be created, implemented and provided a regular monitoring. The mechanism should not only rely on UN processes but include civil society, private sector and other actors as well. There must be opportunities for objective assessments of progress, including the submission of progress, reports by civil society, and mechanism to hold governments including both LDCs and development partners, accountable for their role in fulfilling the aims of the Istanbul Declaration. As financing remain always a crucial problem, so "Least Developed Countries Fund" should be established which could be fairly distributed for the balanced and desired goals of LDCs.

Conclusion: The least developed countries are very poor countries marginalized in the world economy. They are known for their highest rate of population growth but lowest rate of per capita income. Their state reached to more vulnerable followed by the world financial crisis and recession in 2007. The effects of the crisis on the LDCs are best understood in

terms of a boom-bust cycle which has been typical of the developments experienced. As a result in 2007, we find 53% population of LDCs were living in extreme poverty (i.e. on less than \$ 1.25 a day) and 78% living on less than \$2 a day. Similarly, LDCs dependence on food imports increased from \$ 7.6 billion to 2000 to US \$ 24.8 billion in 2008. Means, whatever is the world development - the LDCs are still struggling for survival. In the past three decades, as 3 countries could be graduated to the developing group, is an axiomatic threat to the world development model? Because, during that period almost double countries have been fallen to the category of LDCs, therefore, the developed countries who are sharing four times higher wealth than their own population, must realize in heart that world prosperity will go together with the prosperity of the least developed countries, if LDCs are not brought in the main stream of the global economy - the peace and prosperity of the world would be in a big question. Not pledging additional ODA than the MDG of UN can be understood for a while, considering financial crisis, recession, climate change, loss of biodiversity, volatile energy and found price. But ODA commitment has to be accomplished without escape, otherwise failing to do so the world may face a precarious economic situation of Great Depression 1930s. Therefore only a successful renewed and strength global partnership that effectively addresses the special needs of LDCs can contribute to the cause of peace, prosperity and sustainable development for all. New International Development Architecture (NIDA) announced by UNCTAD has been designed for LDCs development and poverty reduction. Special International support Mechanism (SISM) the new tools for aid, trade, debt, investment, climate, change, capacity building according to the needs of the LDCs. A meaningful cooperation of North, South and NIDA with LDCs would be right direction to follow in order to meet the challenges and accomplish the goal of MDG and Istanbul Declaration in Future. (Concluded)

DATELINE KATHMANDU

Niraj Aryal

NC leaders in CONVERSATION!

Ram Chandra Poudel repeatedly asked his party President Sushil Koirala, "Sushil Da! please tell me if you had reached a secret agreement with Deuba ji to change the party parliamentary delegation head?"

"Sushil da you have been telling repeatedly that no such agreement do exist however, Sitaualu ji claims publicly that the agreement had indeed been reached... what is going on," asked a totally frustrated Poudel.

Permanent frustration is thy fate now Poudel! Krishna Prasad Sitaualu of the 'Darfur Hall of Shame' also asked President Koirala, "Sushil da why don't you tell him (Poudel) what was the agreement all about."

Under pressure a frail Koirala finally opened his mouth, "I will have no objection if the leadership is changed through democratic means."

Silence prevails... Poudel must have got the point. Pulse beat must have gone up. Poor Podel!

Ram Chandra Poudel who currently leads the Nepali Congress parliamentary delegation was taken aback when Sushil made this spine chilling remark.

Unfortunately, the meeting between top leadership was called by President Koirala at his residence at per the request of Poudel himself.

Sushil has just returned from New Delhi. This adds some meaning to his taking the sides now of Deuba. Delhi charisma begins.

Narhari Acharya- the first republican leader in the Nepali Congress who was sitting beside Poudel breaking the dreadful silence said, "Sushil da now you need to take some action to bring the leadership issue to a closure".

Khum Bahadur Khadka, Bimalendra Nidhi, Gopal Man Singh, Arjun Narsingh K.C., Dilendra Badu, Minendra Rijal, Purna bahadur Khadka and Dr. Narayan Khadka too jointly said, "Yes, Sushil Da...Yes...you have to solve the issue immediately."

"Why can't we make Deuba ji the Prime Minister and retain Poudel ji as the parliamentary delegation head", added Acharya. "If Sher Bahadur ji gets outside support then we should jointly support him", also said Acharya.

Sushil replied keeping mum for several minutes, "If Deuba ji is certain to lead the next government then let us change the delegation leader."

If Prachanda disobeys party's discipline he could be easily displaced

Dev Gurung, Nepal Maoists party Leader

TGQ1: Where the Maoists internal strife stand as of now? How long it would take to settle the ongoing party squabble? And what sort of decision(s) would settle the quarrel that is definitely an internal one?

Gurung: The continuing internal friction will settle for good if we could manage the variance by adopting a reasonable transformation of the portfolio and power sharing inside the party. The deserving party leader should be allowed to function in manner that they really deserve. If done so then I think the ongoing internal wrangle will fall down to a greater extent.

Well, how long it will take for the settlement of the current dispute can't be predicted exactly at this point of time. But yet what could be said that it will not take much time now for the final defrayal.

The fact is that the party must be transformed and allowed to achieve a new height. We have developed a theory of "unified concept". It all depends upon how we work in a united manner forging consensus amongst ourselves. It should be based on these lines if we were to patch up our disputes plaguing the party as of now.

TGQ2: So then what you mean by the specific word "transformation"? What should be Prachanda's role so that it becomes a transformed one? Should he transform himself? Prachanda is not being allowed to head the party's parliamentary delegation and the organizational head is to be

awarded to Mohan Baidya and similarly Dr. Bhattarai is to be given the leadership of the government then what would be left for Prachanda? You demand is then the division of the portfolio in an equitable manner?

Gurung: By the word transformation we mean that to sort out the current issues and problems that have absorbed the party of late we have to take up a and

accord top priority to the current issues in a punctual manner. The issues at hand must be tackled as quickly as possible. No dilly-dallying.

The party which has been in snag for some time now should be sorted out in consensus and complete understanding.

Well, what should be done is what has been allowed by the party's Charter to a particular leader. Play a fair game. This is what exactly should be in place. You can't function in a solo manner even if you were not allowed to do so by the party's Charter. You can't do and shouldn't do for what you have not been allowed to. If so then the party will neither be here nor there. In

effect, such trends have already hit the party very hard before now. The state of current vacillation has got to be unknotted.

Well, as regards the portfolio distribution, it is your personal analysis. But the reality is not so as you have mentioned. Tell me where is the system of a "ceremonial role" written in the party's Charter?

TGQ3: You mean than Prachanda's hands should be tied? Later his wings cut? Tell us what your party's Charter says of these? Or is it that you need the power being devolved down to the party's General Secretary?

Gurung: All that we want to say is that one has to go according to the provisions enshrined in the party Charter. This is what we want in essence to be in practice.

Well, the job of the party Chairman is to formulate policies for the party. The Chairman has some special prerogatives at time of policy formation and its formulation. The executive powers then rest with the party's General Secretary. The party Charter has also defined other roles for performing other duties of the party. It has well been documented in the party's modus operandi. Acts like monitoring and coordination rests with the party's steering committee. The Pyramid structure which the party has in place must be followed in practice verbatim and this is what we prefer and wish as well. We need such a transformation which abides by the pyramid symphony. It should be brought into practice. Earlier the better.

Well, all that we want is to run

the party as per the policies already formulated and charted by the party's main enunciation. If we ignore the party's Charter, the future of none in the party will remain in a secured state. That's it.

TGQ4: Does this mean that Ram Bahadur Thapa Badal should be allowed to become chief in the party and of the in charge of the military of the Maoists as well? Or is it that you all wish to weaken Prachanda and concurrently strengthen the position of Mr. Ram Bahadur Thapa Badal in the party? Isn't it that it was Prachanda who brought the party to this scale and stage and now you prefer to displace him? This is the general allegation. So what say you?

Gurung: We just want all to abide by the party's well defined and agreed upon regulations. We should follow it and bring into practice. We must run the party as per the party's Charter. This is what we fancy for. We haven't talked of any thing that is not related with the party.

Our argument is that party could not run as per what has been in the provision made by the party. The rules and the party ran in opposite directions. Party's established policies were ignored summarily to the extent that the policies were in one place and the individuals ran to the other destinations. It is in this light we have been saying that the party must be run as per the established procedures and policies.

Well, one can say anything. One can interpret in a manner that



you yourself will be in a displaced position. You will yourself invite displacement largely. That is why you should abide by the procedures charted by the party.

TGQ5: Tell us exactly what you want? Establishment of Prachanda or his displacement? Can you displace him? You want to remove him from the party or not? There are talks in Kathmandu's political trail that you want to remove Prachanda from the current post and replace him by Mohan Baidya through the convening of the party's General Assembly. Is that correct?

Gurung: If he moves as per the rules and the regulations of the party he could establish himself.

If one shatters the rules and the regulations of the party then

As regards the removal of Prachanda from the party is concerned, well, it all depends upon the person. If he disobeys the party's discipline and ignores the party's rules then in a communist party, anyone could be displaced. That's why to avoid such eventualities, one has to follow the set rules of the party. Abide by the party's rules.

We haven't talked that Prachanda would be removed from the party. Who has said it? As regards replacing Prachanda with Mohan Baidya, these were just loose talks spread out by some who enjoy in making personal analyses.

(The Bimrasha Weekly)

India's HR record a democratic farce

Seema Sengupta, The Guardian

India is a nation engrossed in confronting terrorism and suppressing intermittent local rebellions. It is also witnessing a surge in human rights violations, which the government seems to be happily lackadaisical in preventing. The Asian Centre for Human Rights has documented a jump in cases of custodial deaths by 41.66% over the last decade, including 70.72% in prison and 12.60% in police custody. It is indeed a paradox that the largest democracy is defiled by frequent cases of illegal detention, torture, extra-judicial execution and forced disappearances.

Moreover, nothing could be more disgraceful than the incarceration of thousands of people for political reasons in this multiparty democracy. Unfortunately, the state seems to be competing with the outlaws in trampling the basic rights of its citizens guaranteed by the Indian constitution. The common people, particularly minorities and the underprivileged, are enduring all forms of inhuman and degrading treatment at the hands of security personnel. Mumbai-based grocer Faiz Usmani's sudden demise during his grilling by investigating officers probing the 13 July serial bombing points to a greater malaise. Though Usmani's brother is a suspected terrorist, ad hoc mass detention without specific charges following every major crime has become an unofficial practice.

Prakash Singh, a former director general of police and distinguished internal security expert struggling to usher in police reforms, candidly admitted to me

that the "state has turned rapacious", while simultaneously advocating appropriate legislative immunity in its tackling of the scourge of extremism. Despite his admiration for the restraint displayed by Indian forces, the subaltern class – especially in underdeveloped areas – continues to face the combined wrath of militants, security agencies and state-sponsored militias. While rebels against the Indian constitution randomly exploit the poor, having no hesitation in extracting levy for a perjurious cause, the foot soldiers of the Indian state wilfully use this hapless population as human shields during counterinsurgency operations.

Ironically, administration-backed militias working as an extended arm of the police show no qualms in resorting to criminal acts in insurgency-infested provinces. More inclined to treating homebred militancy as a mere law and order subject, the Indian government is adopting a carrot and stick strategy. Notwithstanding the rapid strides in enacting social legislation guaranteeing rural employment, the right to education, ownership of forest land for tribal people and strengthening social security of the unorganised workforce – there seems to be a reluctance to fetter the security agencies which use extralegal measures to enforce the law.

Intriguingly, the cabinet has drawn a veil over the prevention of torture bill, 2010 and is dithering over ratifying the UN convention on torture while

ignoring calls from Amnesty International to ensure fair trials at international standards. Bodies such as the United Nations and the European Union have consistently voiced concern at India's disregard for humanitarian laws. As far back as 1997, the UN human rights committee expressed its anxiety about the widespread use of torture by law enforcement agencies: "The EU has forcefully taken up in the framework of its dialogue with India, the implementation of public order-related legislation and allegations of human rights violations," says Jean-Christian Rémond of the European External Action Service.

Alarming, India's official human rights body – the National Human Rights Commission – has failed miserably to lead a national discourse on human rights and dignity, thus taking flak from the UN Human Rights Council. With limited resources and an enormous charter, the agency has been rendered ineffective. In a democratic framework, any extralegal activity by police undermines not only the established procedural set-up, but also the fundamentals of governance.

Sadly, such practice has infected India's paramilitary and military units too. India's Supreme Court has termed such authoritarian acts cowardly and unconscionable. The government must introduce appropriate reforms instead of maintaining a deafening silence. After all, the imposition of restrictive and predatory laws to contain public outcry stands as a glaring testimony to India's abject failure to offer a proper outlet for popular grievances.

The Abbottabad hunting

Ali Sukhanver

Followed by the threats of a horrible tomorrow for the people of Pakistan, the so-called dramatic killing of Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad is going to give a new twist and turn to the 'fabulous' story of the US war on terror.

Who is going to be held responsible for the death of Osama Bin Laden: US or Pakistan; CIA or ISI; it is yet too early to be decided. Things are still very ambiguous; particularly in Pakistan people are taking this hunting episode simply as a play staged by the CIA under the crafty direction of the US policy makers. The sole aim behind seems to generate a state of depression among the Pakistani nation and create more troubles for Pakistan by defaming the repute of the Pakistani law enforcing agencies, including the Pakistan army and the ISI. Most of the people are of the opinion that the commando action in Abbottabad by the US security forces was nothing different from the drone attacks in the tribal areas of Pakistan.

The drones claim the lives of innocent children, guiltless women and helpless old men in the name of terrorism and extremism; the Abbottabad massacre also did the same. It is something unbelievable that world's most eagerly searched for terrorist had been using that place as his hide-out for the last six years allegedly without coming to the knowledge of the intelligence agencies, both of Pakistan and US. The intelligence agencies of the two countries have a very authentic history of mutual understanding and co-operation. Let us suppose for a few moments that the ISI was sheltering Osama there in Abbottabad by playing a double game with the CIA; the question arises what the CIA was doing. After the release of Raymond Davis it was claimed by the CIA authorities that the CIA has succeeded in establishing a very strong intelligence net-

work in Pakistan. It was also claimed that in near future the CIA would not need the support of the ISI for the execution of its operation plans in Pakistan. It is also a day-light fact that in the last 10 years Pakistan has become a joint battle-field for so many intelligence agencies of the world. One can feel the presence of the Raw, the Mossad, the Khad, and the MI6 agents and above all those of the CIA here in Pakistan. It is the exemplary skill and talent of the security and intelligence agencies of Pakistan that in presence of so many hostile agencies, they are doing their best possible for their motherland. It is something next to impossible even for the CIA like organisations to keep an eye on terrorists in each and every nook and corner throughout the country. The situation becomes more gruesome when most of the terrorists are trained, guided, supported and patronized by the self-claimed world peace keepers. If terrorist activities are the result of intelligence failure what about the 9/11 incident; how did the planners of the 9/11 atrocity escape out of the US territory and what had been the CIA and US army doing for the last 10 years when Osama was reported to be there somewhere in Afghanistan. Our American friends are doing nothing but adding to the miseries of our lives in the name of the war against terror. The people of Pakistan have always been a friend of America and there is no fault of these common people for whom the most grievous issue of life is only earning simple bread.

The whole of the Pakistani nation is being punished for the misdeeds of a very small group of foreign miscreants which is trying to dismantle the entire fabric of a peaceful society. The US in its rage and fury is ignoring the reality that its war on terror has

become a war of horror even for those who have nothing to do with terrorism.

The US policy makers must try to realise that the suicidal attacks on public and the security personnel in Pakistan are nothing but a reaction of the extremists against the US policies in Afghanistan and Pakistan. America is gaining nothing out of this havoc but the innocent people of Pakistan are losing whatever they have. As a result of it America is unknowingly sowing the seeds of hatred and disliking in the hearts of the Pakistanis. The stronger ones react, the weaker ones protest; the protesters and the reactors go side by side. When the protest seems failing, it changes into aggression. Extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism, all are different shapes of aggression born out of protest. Exertion of force is not a wise solution to this complicated situation. Pakistan is doing all best possible to fight against the menace of terrorism. Its efforts have always been appreciated by the world but it is yet to be compensated for the losses it has suffered in the process. The intelligence agencies of Pakistan have also performed well under challenging security environment and have put in their best to arrest the growing menace of extremism and terrorism. The nation fully backs their firm resolve and determination. The US policy makers must try to understand the fact that allegations and suspicions do nothing but add to the complications and gravity of a situation. Another important thing to be kept in mind is that Pakistan is not only a piece of land, it is a homeland. Home is the name of a feeling. Bombs, drones, guns and bullets can demolish and scatter a building but not a home. So our American friends must not waste their time and energy knowingly or unknowingly in futile efforts of demolishing our home. They would never succeed.

Rajendra Mahato is both shooter and looter

Anil Kumar Jha
Chairman, Sanghiya Sadbhavana Party, Nepal

Mr. Anil Kumar Jha is the Chairman of Sanghiya Sadbhavana Party, the 31st party of Nepal representing Constituent Assembly (CA). His party was formed after the split of Nepal Sadbhavana Party led by Rajendra Mahato. The rivals of Jha are accusing him of splitting the party with the tacit support of Upendra Yadav, the current Foreign Minister of Nepal. However, Jha summarily denies such accusations.

Journalist Sujit Mainali for The Telegraph Weekly and telegraphnepal.com talked with this now controversial young politician on different subject matters related with the ongoing Nepali politics. Here are the excerpts of Mainali's exclusive interview with Chairman Jha: Editor

Q1: Could you please tell us the reason(s) behind the fresh split in the Nepal Sadbhavana Party?

Jha: There were two major reasons which compelled us to split the Party. First reason is the ideological deviation noticed in our party. Chairman Mr. Rajendra Mahato failed to run the party according to the party's prescribed guideline and ideologies. The second reason was his individualistic working style. He began to run the party in an extremely irrational way. He mishandled the party thinking as if it were his private property. Thus, we unwillingly were forced to split the party in order to protect our integrity.

Q2: What types of response are you receiving from different quarters after the formation of new party that you lead now?

Jha: I have found people are very sympathetic towards me. I was pushed to the wall and no options were left with me. Mahato jee did injustice to me and my well-wishers desired me to retaliate. And now, I have found them very positive

towards my decision.

Q3: After the formation of new party, you made a fascinating remark. You have said, 'A sharp-shooter only shoots the target, it does not loot money and purse. Mahato is a different kind of shooter; he not only fires bullets but also loots money and purse.' Could you please elaborate your saying for the simplicity of our august readers?

Jha: There is one popular saying in Hindi, "Do the dishonest work in an honest manner." (*Baimani ke kaam bhi imandari se karo*). But Mahato jee did not follow the essence of such genuine proverb that it contained. If you give supari (nuts) to a shooter to kill somebody, then he just presses the trigger of his gun and shoots the person in target. The shooter does not loot the slain victim. Have you ever heard a rapist stealing the jewelry of a girl after the rape? But Mahato jee did it. He himself became more dishonest while doing unfair works. He tried to make the party his personal property and he ruined the ideology that the party adheres to. In this context, I have accused him of being both shooter and looter.

Q4: While addressing a program in Bhaktapur city, you had recently said, "I am Nepali of Madesh." Mr. Jha, could you please simplify your saying?

Jha: Nepali is a larger and wide-ranging identity. This is a national identity. When I am traveling abroad, I introduce myself as a Nepali citizen. But when I am inside Nepal, I say that I am from Madesh. Nepali is a broader term. Different communities, nationalities and ethnic groups are living within this vast territory of Nepal. However, all the groups are incorporated in this broader national identity.

Q5: What type of response did you receive from Unified Maoists,

the single largest party of Nepal, after splitting the party?

Jha: I haven't got any message from the Maoist party; neither have I met with any of its leader. Right now, they are engaged with their own internal problems. I think these days, they don't have any time to think about other parties. The Maoists are intensely busy in managing the political and ideological differences between themselves.

Q6: Are you having some sort of conversation with Chairman of Madhesi Janadhiakar Forum-Nepal, Mr. Upendra Yadav? Your rivals have accused Mr. Yadav for engineering the split in Sadbhavana Party?

Jha: That is a ridiculous charge. Upendra jee is among those Nepali leaders with whom I meet very rarely. We have split the party because of the hegemonic and totalitarian working style of Mahato jee. I have not met Upendra jee since long. However, he congratulated me after I formed new party.

Q7: The Madhesh based parties are polarized in two extremely opposite poles. The Unified Madhesi Front is now in opposition where as the MJF-Nepal, is in government. Will your party also join government or will prefer to remain in opposition along with the Front?

Jha: These days, I am totally devoted to manage the fragile situation and consolidate the newly formed party. Our party is being targeted from different possible quarters. The Front is against us and is trying its best to foil the achievement that we have gained. My primary concern is to consolidate our party first and make it a robust one. Only after that, we will decide whether to join the government or the Front.

Q8: Some latest media reports say that some sort of tacit understanding has been reached

in between the armed outfits of Terai and the Front. Could you please forward your precious comments on such understanding?

Jha: I have heard that some armed outfits of Terai-Madhes are forging alliance amongst themselves. Forging alliance is not bad thing. Indeed it will enable the government to hold dialogue with several outfits in a collective manner. However, I don't know whether any tacit understanding has been reached in between the Front and those armed outfits or not.

Q9: Didn't you read the news about the dialogue managed recently by the Indian establishment in between three leaders of the Front, Mr. Bijay Kumar Gacchedhar, Mr. Mahanta Thakur and Mr. Rajendra Mahato, and the armed outfits of Terai during the former's last sojourn to New Delhi?

Jha: I suspect the credibility of this information. I don't think such dialogue has ever happened. Immediately after return of the leaders of the Front from India, I had visited New Delhi. There I didn't smell anything about such presumed dialogue.

Q10: Are you planning to visit India, China, US, Europe or any other countries as the Chairman of a newly formed party?

Jha: These days, I am primarily focused on the consolidation of our party. I am not planning to go abroad right now.

Q11: What was the response of diplomatic community in Kathmandu on your decision to split the party?

Jha: I am among those few Madhesi leaders who have many good friends in almost every diplomatic mission situated in Kathmandu. But please don't think that I am admiring myself. At the personal level, the diplomats in Kathmandu are very sympathetic



towards me. They all know that I was pushed to the wall and no other options were left behind with me. I am getting several congratulatory messages from them.

Q12: Could you please name some diplomatic mission that has send congratulation message to you?

Jha: If I would have received such message from any one or two diplomatic mission, then I would have told their name(s). However, many diplomatic missions have congratulated me and it is not possible to present the whole list.

Q13: Let's change the context of our conversation. We have come to know that India is vigorously developing Buddhist circuit in India to overshadow the birthplace of Buddha, Lumbini, which lies right inside the Terai belt of Nepal. As a leader of Terai, how do you analyze the Indian moves?

Jha: To be frank, I don't know many things about the question that you have asked. Now I will study in this subject matter. But one thing what we have to accept is that at the time of the birth of Lord Buddha, the political, cultural, religious and territorial landscape was totally different. If India wants to develop Buddhist pilgrimages in its territory, I don't think any reasons to oppose

the Indian move.

Q14: But India is spreading false propaganda about the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Mr. Jha, what would you like to say on such false propaganda?

Jha: If India is doing so, then it is not fair. We should not try to misinterpret the history. This is a cultural and religious issue but not a political one. Therefore this dispute should be solved in an academic manner.

Q15: August 31 is approaching nearer. If the CA is not further extended, then it will be dissolved on that very date. Your party wants further extension of CA or prefers its dissolution?

Jha: Today, we are in different circumstances. Yesterday, our standpoint was different because we were the leaders of another party. Let's hope that preliminary draft of the new constitution will be charted before August 31 and CA tenure will be further extended according to the 5 point deal. If preliminary draft of the new constitution will not be charted and the basic tasks of peace process is not completed before 31 August, our nation will be in a completely different state of affairs. We will make our position clear after some days on whether or not to extend the term of CA if things do not move according to the 5 points deal.

Mêlée...

formation of a new cabinet as the good names forwarded by his party for the new cabinet. It could be because the majority of the forwarded names belong to the Bhattarai-Baidya camp and thus could have advised Khanal to talk something different and dilly dally the matter. Khanal perhaps got the point. He too is now a good player.

Prachanda ego will not settle for less. Poor Bhattarai-Baidya duo may have in their minds that Khanal may have rejected the cabinet expansion because his hands were tied at the moment.

Self consolation. Now let's take up the politics of the Nepali Congress.

Firstly, after New Delhi trip, President Koirala has stepped up his demand for the immediate resignation of Prime Minister Khanal. This may mean that frail Koirala brought this scheme from Delhi. The NC leaders generally obey the foreign instructions.

While the NC's entire paraphernalia has begun demanding the resignation of PM Khanal then a section of the NC itself is playing a perilous sport for the expulsion of Ram Chandra Poudel from the parliamentary party delegation Head.

Sher Bahadur Deuba, who is presumed to represent the US-Indo axis, has increased his activities to sack Poudel from his current post. This does mean that Deuba wants to become the Head of the NC's parliamentary delegation chief as this post would ensure his chances of becoming the next Nepal Prime Minister if situation and horse trading favored his candidacy.

Deuba must have been blessed by this new axis which is just taking a formal shape.

Poudel remains adamant but his rivals have vowed that they will sack Poudel at any cost even if the Deuba caucus has to push a no confidence motion against Poudel. Analysts have been told that Deuba has enough signatures now in his possession for this motion.

All in all, the UML internal squabble is far from over. Two distinct opposing lobbies are at work. Likewise, the Maoists camp though for the moment has settled its inner party dispute but yet Chairman Dahal who has felt that he has been

humiliated and his wings cut by his declared rivals may devise some brilliant format to undo the entire events that curtailed his power and position in the party he ruled for two decades plus like a monarch.

The UML may experience a severe jolt if Poudel is sacked. If not, the party will be divided into two camps mastered by foreign powers of their respective preferences.

A dangerous period for Nepali politics. It is thus natural that the attention of the political parties should be concentrated on how to benefit from the current mêlée instead of writing the constitution.

By the way, we have only thirty 34 days left for the necessary demise of the money spinner and defunct Nepal Constituent Assembly body.

Free entertainment will soon follow.

Gender...

developed for the evaluation of gender sensitivity and social inclusiveness of local government bodies in Nepal.

Kalanidhi Devkota, the executive secretary of MuAN opened the session by emphasizing that women, indigenous nationalities and marginalized groups have diverse needs and these needs are often neglected and remain unaddressed in structured society like that of ours. However, to ensure equal rights and facilitate social justice these needs should be carefully identified and addressed. For this the localized gender sensitive and socially inclusive policy and budgeting can serve as an important tool. Kedar Neupane, joint secretary of Local Development Ministry pointed out that the synergy between government, NGOs, civil society and local bodies is fundamental in designing and executing gender responsive and socially inclusive programs and policies because this is an emerging concept in Nepal. Ganga Bahadur Khapang former minister of Women, Children, and Social Welfare stated that it is necessary to include the indigenous nationalities among the targeted groups together with the other disadvantaged and marginalized groups while designing and implementing programs. Another joint secretary of the Ministry of Local Development Rashmi Raj Panday argued that it is the time to evaluate whether review guidelines have

positive implications. He gave the examples of roads, health Dalits and ethnic groups arguing that gender budgeting has paid off in empowering women. Chairman of MUAN Dor Mani Poudel talked about democratic habits and leadership in sincerely implementing this program.

Head of FES Nepal emphasized although Nepal's gender policies have emerged in tandem with the progress of global equality moments, seeking to bridge gap between the marginalized population and the state, the actual inclusion of the marginalized and excluded population cannot be achieved just through policies. It is equally essential to create greater awareness on social justice, equality and gender responsive and social inclusive consciousness via civic education to facilitate structural changes. Capacity building of the state is a must as only the state is duty-bearing institution of Nepal.

During the program Dr. Chandra Bhadra, a gender expert and the main presenter of the program threw very important light on theoretical issues and practical application of Gender Responsive Budgeting in Nepal. Dr. Bhadra during the program clearly explained that gender responsive budgeting is a budget that can address problems and challenges related to women but it is not about simple allocation of a separate budget for women. It is bringing gender sensitivity and becoming gender responsive in the overall budgetary policy and the process such as revenue generation, taxation, budget allocation and the budget output. Given historical legacy of patriarchy in Nepal the status of men, women and third gender in our society is unequal, therefore, gender responsive budgeting certainly benefits women and can play significant role in addressing existing socio-economic inequalities by empowering the disadvantaged groups. She also highlighted that gender responsive budgeting is an attempt to recognize women's contribution to the society and economy with their unpaid labor in the "care economy." The program provided crucial inputs for refining the guidelines and integrating them with VDC, Municipalities and DDCs.

China will...

Dalai Lama who currently resides in India.

Moreover, the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, now in India, has appealed to the Indian regime to lead the Asian continent.

These two must have some intrinsic meaning. The meet and the speech could be inter-linked.

Building pressure against China, claim sharp Nepali brains.

China has repeatedly expressed concerns over the covert support which the Tibetan refugees in Nepal are enjoying from some western countries and India particularly, to carry out anti-China activities here. In the course of his speech, Ambassador Yang observed that political stability, end of the transitional period, peace and constitution are the prerequisites for some Chinese investments in Nepal.

He also advised the Nepal Government to solve the problem of imbalanced development activities taking place in the country. China National Security Advisor Zhou arriving

Standing Committee member of politburo of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and China's National Security Chief Mr. Zhou Yongkang is arriving, tentatively 15th of August, 2011.

By the way, on 15th August Nepali leaders will be heavily occupied taking part in various celebrations of Indian independence for some sentimental reasons.

Mr. Zhou, who had joined the CPC in 1964, is the ninth ranking member in the CPC Politburo. The delegation led by Mr. Zhou will be holding talks with Nepali authorities over political and security related matters.

The delegation will be meeting Prime Minister, leaders of various political parties and government officials.

Born in 1942 in Jiangsu province, Mr. Zhou is the highest ranking Chinese officials visiting Nepal this year.

Mr. Zhou also holds Engineering degree with a rank equivalent to that of Professor of geophysical survey and exploration.

To add, a delegation of Nepal Study Center in Beijing is also scheduled to land Kathmandu in a day or two, it is learnt. z

Charishma...

The names of those who had received the support have not been disclosed.

Kantipur quotes sources as saying, the so-called financial support has also been provided to various sister organizations of parties in government for organizing programs, as a support to private organizations being operated by political leaders and funds have been spent for foreign trips of the political leaders.

New Nepal has already taken a shape indeed an ugly one.

Majority of the influential leaders who have received the financial support are associated either with the Nepali Congress, United Marxist Leninists Party and Unified Maoists' Party-the signatories of the New Delhi sponsored 12 point agreement.

Though there is the provision for extending support to financially poor leaders for their medical treatment however, those who have pocketed financial support under the Medical Support Scheme all belong to the affluent class and have no ailments as such.

Oh! Those Rasputins!

Dr. Ram...

whereas royalists claim on the other hand that in reality it was King Birendra Shah who had mooted the theory and had asked B.P. Koirala who was then living a hellish life in India during the dictatorial rule of Late Indira Gandhi, to return to the motherland by adhering to the said policy.

"It was through late Dirgharaj Koirala-a close relative of B. P. King Birendra had sent the message to

B.P. Koirala. Late B.P. entered Nepal reciting the same slogan which was in effect coined by King Birendra," say historians.

B.P who is considered more intelligent than he definitely was than the present day Nepali Congress leadership told point blank to Mrs. Indira Gandhi that it would be better to die in Nepal than to live in a land run by a dictator.

The theory of 'Reconciliation' came into existence only after India swallowed Sikkim-an independent Himalayan nation, it is also believed.

The bifurcation of Pakistan into two halves also scared visionary leader B. P. Koirala.

Perhaps it were these fateful events happening in this part of the world that may have encouraged B. P. to enter Nepal even if he have had to face great challenges which he eventually braved. Sometime later, B. P was sent to the US by late King Birendra for medical treatment.

The then NC and the King were more or less closer to each other.

Akhilesh...

document called as 'Nepal: ISI Game Plan' where some senior journalists and renowned businessmen of Nepal were labelled as agents of Pakistan Intelligence Agency, ISI. The report was later printed by the India Today magazine.

This event could be taken as the beginning of deterioration of Nepal-India relations which perhaps continues till today. Mr. Mishra is a poet and a voracious reader of Hindi literature.

स्वस्थ पत्रकारिताको विकास स्वतन्त्र र हक-हधिकारको जगेना, राष्ट्रिय सर्वमान्य प्रचलन र मान्यतालाई समायोजन गर्दै आगाडि बढ्नुर्ने आजको अपरिहार्य आवश्यकता हो ।

नेपाल सरकार
सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय
सूचना विभाग