

The Nepal Digest

The First Nepali e-Magazine

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About The Nepal Digest

The Nepal Digest (TND) is a publication of TND Foundation, global not-for-profit information and resource center (registered in New York, USA) committed to promoting issues concerning Nepal. All members of TheNepalDigest.org will get copy of [The Nepal Digest \(TND\)](#). Membership is free of charge and is open to all.

The Nepal Digest is the first Nepali electronic e-magazine in the Internet. The Nepal Digest hopes to create a free and democratic electronic platform -- free of all political views, free of cultural biasness, against prejudices and unjustness of all kinds.

IN THIS ISSUE

Editorial

Who Said What?

Best Wishes

Letter to Editor

News

Immigration Q&A

TND – 10 Years Ago

Tittle-Tattle

Literature

Gandhi Bhattarai

Bharati Gautam

Humor

Man of the Year

Issues: (13 Itmes)

Republic State

Politics: Democracy

No Leader?

India & Maoist

Cultural Fear

WTO: Nepal

To King & Leaders

Monarch Vs. Rep.

Stalemate

Scholarship

Briddhasrham

Travel to Nepal

Announcement

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Editorial: "Is Nepal Being a Failed State?"

By **Ujjwal Bhattarai**

Welcome to the anniversary issue of The Nepal Digest (TND). TND has entered its 15th year since its inception in 1989. I would like to salute all those who have contributed regularly to bring TND to its present glory. Similarly, I would like to extend special gratitude to individuals and groups who have financially supported TND as per our December 2003 appeal. These individuals are Dinker Amatyia, TX, Anil Pandey, CA, Puru Subedi, MD, and Yubraj Acharya, PA.

If you have been searching for a ray of hope and peace in Nepal recently, I bet you have been disappointed. Currently, Nepal is on path to become a lawless country where students riot ad infinitum on the streets. Taxi-drivers beat up quality management officer (Ram Avatar Shah, Department of Standards and Quality Measurement) for trying to maintain the "rate-card", which is mandatory for taxis. The Mayor of Birgunj (Gopal Giri) got murdered by the Maoists for not paying them the extortion money. Despite all the woes of the innocents and calamity the whole country, Maoists (Dr. Bhattarai) declare that they would not be talking with the "murderer government". In the mean time, the only thing the government and all the political leaders could do is to pull each other's leg in the run for the power, which perfectly fits the nepali proverb "only my bulls are perfect".

Hello! Where are we heading? Everyone agrees that there is no panacea to all the problems but what is befuddling is no one seems to be moving towards the positive direction. Sadly, the vital question hence arises – is Nepal going to be a failed state?

Ujjwal Bhattarai
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Who said what?

"We are ready to accept monarchy if the King is ready to leave the leadership in the army. The King must be ready to sack some 200 army officers loyal to him and come under the constitution."

"We have 80 percent of the total territory in Nepal under us, and are making strategies to capture the remaining 20 percent."

- *Comrade Mahara, Maoist leader*

"I am not going to quit, nor is a new government in the offing. These are nothing more than rumours."

- *PM Thapa*

"Nepal may become a failed state if the present constitutional crisis and Maoist violence are not properly adressed." - *World Bank (Jan 10, 2004 Indiatimes)*

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TND's 15th Year: "Best Wishes to TND"

Suvakamana Letter by **His Excellency Murari Raj Sharma**

I am delighted to learn that The Nepal Digest(TND) is planning to publish a special issue to mark the 15th anniversary of its publication. It is heartening that the Digest has not only survived this long but also made great strides in improving its quality and expanding its audience.

Started in 1989 by Mr. R. J. Singh, The Nepal Digest is one of the few sources of quality information on Nepal and valuable forums for the diaspora Nepalese to discuss ideas and express opinions. Since Mr. Ujjwal Bhattarai took over as Chief Editor, the Digest has been rejuvenated with improved quality and content and been brought to the present magazine form. The steadily increasing number of Digest subscribers and of visitors to the Digest website speak of The Nepal Digest's growing popularity and the team's hard work.

The Nepal Digest still remains an important source of information and venue for discussion on issues related to Nepal. I heartily appreciate Mr. Ujjwal Bhattarai for his dedication and resolve to improve the quality and content of the Digest and call on all diaspora Nepalese to lend their full support to the Digest.

Finally, I wish The Nepal Digest a long life and illustrious success in the days ahead.

Murari Raj Sharma

Ambassador

Permanent Representative of Nepal to the United Nations

Letter: Happy 15th Anniversary to TND

शुभकामना-सन्देश



“दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” यो आफैमा एक इतिहास हो । नेपालमा प्रजातन्त्रको पुनर्स्थापना पछि विदेशमा पनि नेपालीमा जागरणको यौटा लहर आएको थियो । त्यो लहरमा नै “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” यौटा ईलेक्ट्रोनिक समाचार पत्रिकाको रूपमा इमेल हुन थालेको थियो भने अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य सामाजले “इन्साइट” नामक यौटा ईलेक्ट्रोनिक साहित्यिक पत्रिकाको रूपमा प्रकाशित गर्दथ्यो । “इन्साइट” विस्तारै मुद्रित साहित्यिक पत्रिकाको रूपमा विकसित भयो र यसले इन्टरनेटलाई “नेपाली साहित्य जगत्” होमपेज बनाएर छोडिदियो जुन ऐले “आइएनएलएस् डट अर्ग” भएर अगाडि बढेको छ । “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” लाई राजपाल सिंह र साथीहरूले समाचार प्रधान ईलेक्ट्रोनिक समाचार पत्रिकाको रूपमा अगाडि बढाउदै जानुभएको थियो । ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिले “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” र “इन्साइट” संगसंगै सुरु भएका हुन् तर “इन्साइट” भन्दा जेठो “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” नै हो । करिब जुलाई १९९२ तिरबाट “इन्साइट”को कथा सुरु हुन्छ भने अप्रैल १९९२ बाट नै “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” सुरु भैसकेको थियो । ईलेक्ट्रोनिक समाचार पत्रिकाको रूपमा पहिलो पत्रिका हो यो “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” । यो राम्रो गरी चलेको थियो । अचानक केही वर्ष अगाडिदेखि यो बन्द भएकोमा हामीलाई अत्यन्त दुख लागेको थियो ।

गत वर्ष “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट”ले उज्वल भट्टराईलाई पायो । उज्वल भट्टराईले गत वर्षदेखि नै “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट”लाई पुनर्जीवन दिएर यसको प्रकाशनलाई पुनः प्रारंभ गरे । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा नेपाली सामाजले एक साथ उपयोग गर्न पाउने विद्युतीय-साहित्यमा आएको यो नेपाली साहित्यको विश्वव्यापी आन्दोलनले नेपाली मूलका हामी सबै नेपालीलाई एकात्म बनाउदै हाम्रो साहित्यको फाँटमा यौटा नयाँ आन्दोलन ल्याउछ र नेपाली साहित्यलाई ई-लिटेरेचरको यौटा नौलो साहित्यिक जगत्मा उतार्दछ । त्यसको आधार भएकोले पनि आज विश्वको कुना कुनामा पुग्ने “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट”मा भ्रम परिपक्वता र सशक्तता छ । आज यो ईलेक्ट्रोनिक पत्रिकाको दायित्व बोकेको “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट”को वर्ष दिन पुरा भएको छ । यो यौटा अविस्मरणीय ऐतिहासिक अवसर हो । यसको यो पुनर्जीवन पछिको वार्षिकोत्सवको यो पुनीत अवसरमा हामी सबैले साथ दिऊँ भन्दै “अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य सामाज”को तर्फबाट म यसको उत्तरोत्तर प्रगतिको कामना गर्दछु ।

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य सामाजले “हरेक समुदायमा नेपाली पहिचानलाई जीवन्त र दीगो राख्न जुटौँ” भन्ने अभियान विश्वव्यापी रूपमा अधि बढाइरहेको बेलामा विश्वका कुना कुनामा रहेका नेपाली समुदायमा सो अभियान पुराउन यो “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट”को ठूलो मदत पुराएको छ । यो यसका संपादक तथा सयोजक उज्वल भट्टराई लगायतका यसका कर्मठ कार्यकर्ताहरूको मेहनत र प्रतिबद्धताको फल हो । म राजपाल लगायतका उज्वल भट्टराई र साथीहरूलाई धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्दछु ।

यसै सुअवसरमा विद्युतीय-प्रविधिको उपयुक्त प्रयोग गरी छरिएर रहेका नेपालीहरूलाई एक सूत्रमा बाँधी आआफ्ना विचार आदानप्रदान गराउन सफल यो “दि नेपाल डाइजेस्ट” लाई नेपालभित्र वा बाहिर भएका अन्य संघ संस्थाहरूले पनि प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष रूपमा सक्रिय सहभागी बनेर सहयोग गर्न अगाडि सरुन् यही हाम्रो अन्तिम शुभकामना छ । धन्यवाद ।

पुरुषोत्तम सुवेदी

अध्यक्ष

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य समाज,

वाशिङ्गटन डि.सी. अमेरिका

जनवरी ५, २००४

<http://www.inls.org>

News: "Bush's plan for illegal workers"

By TND team

President Bush recently outlined his immigration reform proposal that would allow workers who are in the United States illegally to come forward and join a new temporary worker program.

KEY POINTS

- The new temporary worker program would include a temporary visa for three years, and Bush will call for Congress to allow one renewal -- so a six-year total for a temporary visa. Officials said they were open to allowing additional terms, subject to congressional debate and negotiation.
- This program would be open to prospective immigrants, but also to illegal immigrants in the United States, so long as these undocumented individuals could prove they were working in the United States as of the date the new policy becomes law. Officials say that requirement -- having a job at the date of the new policy -- would discourage a flood of new illegal immigration.
- Those who qualify as new "legal temporary workers" can apply for permanent residency, or Green Cards, under existing laws but would not receive any favorable treatment. The administration will, however, urge Congress to increase the current annual limit of issuing 140,000 Green Cards a year. The officials said how much of an expansion will be determined based on negotiations with Congress.
- Workers in the United States illegally join a temporary labor program.
- Those now-illegal immigrants then can apply for permanent residence but get no preferential consideration.
- Employers hiring these workers must show they cannot find U.S. laborers to fill their jobs.
- These undocumented workers get guaranteed wage and employment rights.
- These workers receive a temporary three-year visa, renewable once. They are expected to return to their countries of birth once their visas expire.
- Congress is urged to increase current annual limit of 140,000 "Green Cards."
- The Department of Homeland Security is to administer the program.

Concern for U.S. citizens:

Arizona Republican Rep. Jim Kolbe, for example, has called for a temporary worker program if employers first posted jobs on the Internet for 14 days to give U.S. citizens first crack at the positions.

The other side of the coin:

But Colorado Republican Rep. Thomas Tancredo is among the congressional conservatives who promise to fight provisions they view as rewarding lawbreakers. "People who are here illegally -- they need to be deported," Tancredo told CNN. "People who hire them need to be fined. If they keep doing it they need to be sent to jail, It's against the law."

(For full news, please visit

<http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/01/07/bush.immigration/index.html>)

Immigration Q&A

By Ramesh Shrestha, Attorney-at-law

(Ramesh K. Shrestha is a practicing attorney in New York City. His office is located at 377 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, NY 10013. Tel: (212) 625-3394, Fax: (212) 431-4460, Email: Rshresthalaw@aol.com. His practice concentrates on Immigrant and Nonimmigrant Visas, Business Immigration, Extraordinary Ability, National Interest Waivers, Labor Certification/Permanent Residency, Detention/Bond, Removal/Deportation Defense before Immigration Courts/Executive Office for Immigration Review, Department of Justice.)

He will answer TND reader's immigration related questions. Questions can be asked by visiting our [submit](#) page or simply by emailing at contact@theNepalDigest.org. TND sincerely thanks and appreciates Mr. Shrestha's contribution. - Editor)

Name: Kumar Adhikary
E-Mail: ****@yahoo.com
Country: United States

Dear Ramesh Dai,

I am in a bit of a dilemma. I am currently in the US and have won DV2004. Looks like my interview will be scheduled around May/June 2004 in Ktm. I am in H1 visa and my wife who is pregnant now is in H4. I really want to take her too for the interview but does not look like she can make it. Is it possible to schedule her interview here while I go to Nepal? If not, what are my options? I dont want her to have to wait another 3-4 years if she misses this appointment.

Dhanyabad,
Kumar

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Kumar bhai:

Since you are in the U.S., you can apply for adjustment of status here in the United States under the Diversity Visa Program. In that case, you do not need to go to Nepal for interview. Your wife also can file her adjustment of status application together with you as a derivative beneficiary. Under the DV program, you must get an immigrant visa issued by September 30, 2004. It is imperative that you timely file your applications with the appropriate jurisdiction. You both will have interviews here in the United States.

Good luck.

Ramesh Shrestha, Attorney-at-law

(Disclaimer Notice: Legal answer provided must not be construed as a legal advice rather it is an answer general in nature. One must seek legal advice from an immigration attorney for his or her particular legal matter.)

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Politics: "Why Not a Republic Nepal?"

By Surendra R. Devkota

My country, Nepal, is in a political transformation process. Though politics itself is a dynamic process - that changes with time, present metamorphosis could be different than previous ones. The gravity of present transformation is the existence of the kingship in Nepal. Many Nepalese had a common belief that the King does not make mistake. That is true if a King does not act as an administrator. As of now, the situation is changed, and that age-old assumption about the King is also eroding. The streets of Kathmandu are crowded by the new and young bloods with the republican feelings. The echos of republicanism shouted in front of the Royal Palace must be reached inside the sleeping rooms of that opaque palace. Consequently, two scenarios are forthcoming:

(i) Junta style

If we assume that the Royal Army of Nepal is reacting on the behalf of the palace, then it is time to count the days of monarchy. The other day, the royal army reacted that Maoists are infiltrated into students' protest. That makes army an easy excuse to crush on students, which may not be impossible for a tyrant as it happened in China in 1989. Further royal army is not accountable to people, why crocodile tears now! It is an open secret issue that why these bravos are behind the students. On the other hand, people in conflict areas still have a fresh memory of the bravery of the royal army with Maoists in different parts of country! That's why government is planning to arm the civic societies in rural areas since it can't protect its' denizen. I have read that local landlords in Africa distribute weapons to people in order to defend themselves. I assume the present king is not replicating that African model in my countryside in order to advocate for a junta or tyrant regime.

(ii) Propaganda of the Royal Coterie

After King's takeover of the Deuba government, a breed of intellectuals emerged mainly in Kathmandu. Their entire exercise was to defame the multiparty system, and its 12 years of governance, and advocate for an active role of the King. It is true that the political parties' performances lagged to satisfy the common people's socioeconomic aspirations, but it was not as bad as prior to 1990. If you try to compare the general economic indicators before and after 1990, you won't be furious with me. The other issue like corruption could be same because before 1990 it used to be in dark, but after 1990 it happened in day. Before 1990 corruption was centralized and after 1990 it was decentralized. All corrupt guys of prior to 1990 were cleaned by the impotency of 1990 interim government. Now back to the point, these Kathmandu based so-called scholars did not hesitate to blame multiparty system for the emergence of the Maoist in Nepal. They cooked many hypotheses without knowing the real issues of conflict and twisted their pen. Never mind this is their business; may be in queue to the royal palace. But to those who are genuinely interested in knowing the root causes of conflict are urged to read a latest (2003) field based assessment report of the Rapti Hills (<http://www.mercycorps.org/items/1662/>) prepared by Robert Gersony for the Mercy Corps International, and supported by the UNAID. Whether this Kathmandu based pseudo-intellectuals can justify why socioeconomic development is denied in these areas?

One after another King or his administrator is making mistakes and failing in the litmus test. People are losing a traditional faith on the monarchial system under which they are feeling insecure. The cost of time could be heavy to King. There may be tons of recommendations and analyses about Maoist problems and solutions. But my belief is that Maoists problem ramified due to spurring poverty level that I discussed about one year ago (see February 2003 issue of the Nepal digest). Regarding to sustain the monarchy, it must be supported by the hearts of people not by guns and royal coterie (see June 2003 issue of the Nepal digest). I would like to salute to the young folks who are demonstrating in the street of Kathmandu for radical political transformation. I wish I could join them!

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Politics: "Nepal's Baby Democracy!"

By Somnath Ghimire

Sir Winston Churchill once said, "No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time".

Democracy is not an individual value, it is a universal value. It is the right of all people of the world. For without the growth of democracy in Nepal, there is not a single prayer for ending Maoists' problems. For Nepal to become a stable democracy, it is imperative that our leaders should embark on democratization.

It is quite obvious that soon after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and world; the beloved Nepali people also took part in the "POPOULAR MOVEMENT" of the year 1990. Hundreds of Nepalese got Martyrdom for the cause of restoration of democracy in Nepal. The then late king Birendra educated in Harvard /Oxford like universities was bound to restore Democracy and accepted himself to remain as Constitutional Monarch. The history will always memorize him with high honor and regard him as HELSMAN of Nepal.

We may not disagree with the opinion that democracy is always inspired by the thrust of "Rule Of law". On the aftermath of overthrowing of tyrannical Panchayati rule and restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990, people had bestowed high expectation and admiration that there will be the establishment of Ram Rajya in Nepal. The poverty will be reduced. The economic development will carry positive momentum. In the annals of newly elected government [NC congress] in 1991 the economic acceleration trend was getting a satisfactory result indeed. There was silver lining as we go through the economic survey at the beginning of the 3 years of NC congress Govt. rule that was in between 2048-2051.

As the NC leader Girija babu dissolved the parliament, the evil days and black cloud started again in Nepal. The NC must take all the responsibilities of the political uncertainty and agony in Nepal. The Nepalese people trusted NC for two general elections. Alas! It could not function well and Nepalese people suffered a lot again onto uncertainty of political agony and detraction of NC. Some of our leaders are all to be blamed as the root cause of political uncertainty in Nepal. Why our leaders have to be involved in corruptions while our hard earned baby democracy was just fostering? Had they been highly moralized and gave the people the test of a good governance, the country would not have

been plunged into darkness and king himself would not be spearheaded as at present. And also there would not have been Maoist's problems.

It is therefore the political leaders of NC and UML however UML run the country for 9 months period merely must beg apology before the people for their past deeds and appeal the countrymen to again take part in the movement of democracy strengthening campaign and we all need to commit to a new system of governance based on the rule of law, human rights, and pluralistic politics, which would free all Nepalese citizens from tyranny, terror and poverty. This is a cause worth fighting for.

In the span of twelve years of democracy in Nepal, it cannot be described as a proper democracy but a "baby democracy" as Late Ganesh Man Singh had said. But each of our so called democratic leaders should have engaged in a process in their democratic ways, which could, in time, produce an acceptable democratic system. Transparency is a hallmark of democracy. The content of democratic traditions is best made by example rather than by empty words. Our leaders did not recognize the real followers of the party, who have been struggling hard through out their life for the shake of the party and people.

In few countries, like the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan, where genuine popular democracy did develop, our king may know nothing of these histories of democracy but people on the receiving end assuredly do. Our king might have apologized for the overthrown of democratically elected government on October 4 and he has done enough mistakes by appointing two unconstitutional PMs. Some will argue that democracy and king are incompatible, that the Nepal's quest for freedom is a fool's errand. Non-sense. More than half of the world's populations already live under democratic rule. This is the same misguided mindset that said that democracy wouldn't work in Nepal.

The constitution of 1990 says that the Raj Parishad could not take any political decisions except on the King's personal matters. It looks like Raj Parishad is going against the norms and values of democracy. Members of Raj Parishad are "Panchas" and "Mandaless" who are experienced panchayati leaders and do not want democracy to grow in Nepal. Rather they give advice to our King to perpetuate his rule. If our leaders had developed the democracy further, monarchies and aristocratically rule would not have been able to take hold in Nepal. The question of whether King Gyanendra is compatible with democracy is as relevant as whether the monarchy in the UK is compatible with democracy. Quite clearly the latter is the case and the principal reason for that is that the monarch in UK is a figurehead.

Non-governmental organizations that will have to work hard to advance democracy and human rights in Nepal, they must have a strong voice. Democracy is a contest of ideas. Win or lose, it will be based on human interaction. Democracy is based on the primacy of the law and the exercise of human rights. In a democratic country, no one is above the law and all are equal before the law.

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Opinion: "This is why Nepal has no capable leaders."

By Nav Raj Pokharel

Perhaps, the model of political system a country adopts is not as important as essential the type of leaders the country adopts is to govern the political system. The political system is merely a legal bind. Intention to exercise the legal bind is always in the hands of those who possess the power for the same. Thus, the spirit of the Constitution and Laws go awry when intention is either self centered or many faced impact of the execution is overlooked. Knives in the hand of a just man never cause problems to anyone but the same knife in the hand of scoundrel is always suspected fatal. There is no vice in the weapon but it is in the men's heart. So is true in the case of constitutional weapon called Democracy in the hands of so called political covetous leaders at present in Nepal.

I don't blame those so called leaders who instead of leading the country towards progress led to the ditch. Among many internal and international factors that surfaced during their tenure while they were in the government turn by turn after 1990 till Royal massacre period on June, 2001, the most significant factor of them all was either the leader's self-centered attitude or their inability to take a turn for the better.

Nepal once had ideal situation and environment conducive to initiate overall progress of the country. She had, as political analysts claimed, "...more liberal constitution among south Asian countries..," the most conducive period to begin about the desirable change - people trusted the political parties without testing them before, so awarded one of them a sweeping majority in the then parliament.

When everything was ready to gear up the country to progress, it has been derailed to the quagmire, converging to the normal situation in to worse and at this point of time to blame only to the situation at hand is obtuse.

I blame nothing but the leaders for their attitude. I don't blame them as an individual for what they are now but as a person they brought up, groomed, schooled up and trained themselves to become what they really made themselves out of them. What they have made themselves is: they are batch of good for nothing people political arena to this country as leaders and as the opposition of this country.

Human species starts learning attitude since childhood. This attitude once developed, it remains as the guiding force into the hub of the soul making him/her what s/he is or is not. On the basis of this attitude, people can be broadly grouped in to the Upper class, the Middle class and the Lower class. Economic factors may play important role to make a different attitude-person out of him/her but the kind of attitude s/he possesses, makes him what class s/he falls in.

The upper class attitude people have mind-set to see themselves as best kind of people in the society. Upper class people chanced to be born in the rich family have amenities around them from the birth; they can't realize the brunt of hardships in the life for common people. The upper class people without their conscious knowledge do develop an attitude that the middle and lower class people are inferior in social milieu, so they can't become ideal leader of the people they despise. They think they are born to rule the rest. This mars them to become a loving leader as they cannot feel that middle and lower class people are also integral part of social composition having their place and respects in the society. They may have a sense of duty for equality and justice, but can not remain unbiased when they take decisions. They often tend to be more tactical and strategic to resolve the problems in their favor. They innately feel comfortable to see people follow their foot steps. Even in ordinary walks of life they choose to lead than to follow. If given a chance these kinds of people can be good ruler in autocratic political system only, not in Democracy.

The lower classes attitudes people, on the other hand, are more submissive and have no confidence to take leadership. They are covetous. They unconsciously envy the amenities and effluences the upper class people have and ability of adaptability, endurance, and capability of flexibility the middle class people have.

If they are put in power, they tend to concentrate on accumulation of effluences to satisfy their deep rooted desire that they, too, are like upper class people and claim similar social status.

What lacks in them most is reasonable thinking of the middle class people and tactical and strategic maneuvers of the upper class people to muster a solution common to all. Instead, they are prone to employ aggressiveness to resolve the situation. They are more rigid in their attitudes and feel comfortable to follow than to lead. These kinds of people are prone to retort at the criticism directed to them. They can't enjoy the essence of logic to differentiate one thing from another. They believe in number rather than quality of things. Given a chance to rule, they are prone to collectivism, suitable for communism, not Democratic political frame.

The Middle Class Attitude People, by their virtue of a mind-set to be cozy in between both the upper and the Lower Class Attitude People are ideal in a lot of fields including the politics. Their middle position in society makes them possible to adjust with the upper and the lower class people equally. They are honest kind of people and feel sorry for the pain the poor have to withstand and know the cause of it. They don't feel envy the luxury of the rich. They neither feel covetous of the effluence the rich have, nor detest the lower for what they don't have. They are law abiding citizen, laborious and the most honest in any job they are put to. Their virtues of adaptability in different situations, flexibility on their attitudes at different occasion, endurance to withstand the brunt of hardships of life and the most, a sense of love for peace and freedom, unbiased attitudes and hard working nature make them efficient and ideal person in all the fields they are in, including the politics. They have a tendency to take their works as a mission and employ all skill, efficiency, means and maneuver to make it best. They have ability to understand the essence of strategy, planning, as well as to analyze the multifaceted impact of what they do. The middle- class- attitudes- people also have a mind-set to analyze the possible impact of some decision so normally come up with solutions suitable to all. If given a chance to rule, they make ideal leaders and the political frame work they innately incline to be The Democracy.

But in our country I have found no Middle-class-attitudes-people in political dome, thus the country has no ideal leader as yet for the Democratic political system. What we have in abundance is either

lower-class or a few of Upper-class-attitude-people, good for nothing as leader and politician for this country in the multiparty democracy.

(The Author can be reached at: p_navraj@hotmail.com -Ed.)

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Analysis: Indian role in the Maoist rebellion

By Ram Prasad Nepali

With a friend like India, Nepal does not need enemies. Yet, enemies we have in the Maoists.

It is often pointed out by the knowledgeable folks when talking about Indo-Nepal relationship how much Nepal benefits from the magnanimous neighbor be it in terms of trade, foreign aid, education, medicine etc. It is often said, in a very patronizing tone that Nepal would not be able to carry on without the Indian largesse, that if India were to close its ports to Nepali goods or impose an embargo as it did in 1990, that the Nepali economy would collapse. Rarely do these fountain heads acknowledge that India too benefits, and disproportionately at that, as evidenced by Nepal's trade deficit with India worth NRs. 15.7 billion. India also benefits from cheap Nepali electricity, water resources, and cheap labor. But the attitude is the big brother has been good to you so do be quiet and stop complaining.

Our pundits often point out that the fault lies within and we the lazy Nepalese, instead of doing our own homework, just point the index finger at the only true friend we have. It is pointed out that we don't do Ph.D's on Bhutanese refugees or on Arun III, or on India itself as if that would somehow make everything right. We are asked to turn our other cheek meekly when India slaps us with numerous allegations.

India has often alleged that Nepal allows anti-Indian elements such as the Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) agency and the ISI supported separatist-insurgents to use Nepali territory. India heightened this rhetoric after the December 24, 1999 hijacking of Indian Airlines from Kathmandu and seized this opportunity to make things difficult for Nepal.

The Indian press carried out malicious campaigns including accusations that one of the hijackers was a Nepali. It turned out to be false. Indian Airlines suspended all flights to Nepal for six months based on this incidence of hijacking. No other airline in the world has ever suspended its flights for such a long time based upon one incidence of hijacking. India even demanded that their own security personnel be posted at Tribhuvan International Airport in Kathmandu.

Yes, the Indians are extremely sensitive to neighboring countries being used by anti-Indian elements. They mince no words when it comes to making allegations and putting diplomatic and political pressure to see that action is taken against such elements. Recently, the Bhutanese government was pressured into using its military against the Assamese-Bodo rebels that are said to be operating from the Bhutanese territories. Editorials in Indian papers have showered kudos on Bhutan for taking this bold step. Yet, India has not made even a half-hearted attempt to apprehend the Maoist leaders now operating their command and control from Indian territories.

To add insult to injury, India continues to feign ignorance of the whereabouts of the Maoist bases and leaders in India even after the highly publicized meeting between the UML Leader Madhab Nepal and the Maoists in Lucknow. That the Indian intelligence seems to know everything about what the ISI is allegedly doing in Nepal but nothing about the Maoists in their own territory is hard to believe. Recent reports in the Nepali media that include direct statements from Nepali security personnel claiming that the Indian government did not cooperate even when provided with critical information about Maoist operations in India is proof that the Indian government does not do on to its neighbors as it wants done for itself.

India has failed Nepal both as a friend and a neighbor. Good friends do not only share tit-bits at good times, but help each other in times of need. They just don't watch from a distance when a friend is struggling for life. But that is exactly what India is doing. Maoists have bases in India and the leaders are hiding in Uttar Pradesh. On the strength of these bases and the knowledge that Indian government would not prosecute them, Maoists are robbing, torturing, kidnapping and massacring Nepalese, and India is turning a blind eye. India has promised help and even declared Maoists

fear' like every other rote hypocrisy. Next time someone blames our problems on the 'culture of fear', point out the fear's causes, show him he has diagnosed the wrong disease.

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Business: "Crafting the Nepalese Antidumping Law in Post WTO Era"

By Bashu Dev Phulara

After Cancun meeting, Nepal is in the process of enacting various legislation to comply with the WTO agreements. Crafting the new law relating to Anti Dumping, Countervailing Duties and Safeguard Measures is one of them, that could preserve Nepali industries against unfair trading practices ,such as dumping and subsidies by exporting countries. A superb and all-inclusive understanding of Antidumping measures demand all-inclusive understanding of the trends of "Dumping as well as Antidumping measurers of WTO regime". Since Nepal is in the route of enacting the Antidumping Act within one year from the date of accession, and thereby inviting the days of WTO compliance, it is more or less essential that every stakeholder understand the various effects of dumping in Nepal and grounds for crafting the Antidumping statute as well.

Dumping is commonly accepted globally as a potentially harmful unfair trade practice. Canada crafted the first antidumping act in the 1890s, and today, virtually all major trading nations have antidumping laws, including the United States, the European Union and Japan. Dumping injures, and sometimes destroys, companies and industries in markets where dumping is occurring. In the previous century, dumping has abolished tens, if not hundreds of thousands of jobs in global manufacturing industries.

Dumping occurs when firms export merchandise at prices below the prices prevailing in their home market (sometimes called "price-to-price dumping"), or when they export for a sustained period at prices which are below their average cost of production, and producers in the importing country are materially injured as a result. Take for instance, if a foreign country like China sells Basmati rice to Nepal cheaper than it sells the rice on its local market, that is "dumping". If this dumping causes material injury to Nepalese producers, an anti-dumping duty (tax) can be imposed on the imported good and the locally-affected industry is protected. All of this is legal under WTO rules.

The World Trade Organization(WTO), the system of rules that governs the world trading system, provides that dumping "is to be damned if it causes or threatens to cause material injury to an established industry" or "materially retards the establishment of a domestic industry." The WTO Antidumping Code (Renegotiated in the Uruguay Round) permits signatories to take remedial action against dumped imports, and lays down all-encompassing set of rules for the conduct of antidumping actions.

EFFECTS OF DUMPING ON NEPAL:

When a foreign country "dumps" goods in Nepal, there are two effects. One is the cost to a local manufacturer having to compete with the now cheaper imports. It may "injure" the local producer's sales, causing it to lay off workers, and that has negative ripple effects through the economy.

The second effect from dumping is the benefit to consumers. Consumers, either households or other firms, now have access to cheaper goods. That saving allows them to spend their money elsewhere. That, too, has ripple effects, only this time, they are positive, such as generating jobs elsewhere.

CRAFTING THE LAWS FOR DUMPING IN NEPAL:

In a cosmos where government intervention and restrictive business practices are widespread, domestic political support for an open Nepalese market and a liberal trading order has been continued, in large sector, by the existence of trade remedies which can be used efficiently against unfair trade practices that are not consistent with the functioning of a market economy.

Further, Nepal has neither competition law nor antidumping law. The trade related policies, laws and enforcing mechanisms are unable to provide a complete remedy and relief to local industries injured by dumping and subsidies. The voucher of gift provided by Nepalese legal regime is prospective in nature and does not compensate for damage done before the duties are imposed. The trade remedy laws are also unable to address the effect of dumping and subsidies in Nepalese market. So, It can be argued that the existing trade laws of the land deter appropriate free-market antagonism and thereby frustrate the primary objective of free trade arrangements. Almost certainly, the most important of these remedies is the strapping antidumping law to meet the challenges of 21st century.

OPTIMISTIC APPROACHES:

It is a long admitted fact that antidumping measures conserve inefficient local industries and stop non-predatory price competition, and the mere threat of an antidumping action may hinder transnational trade. All the same, the Antidumping laws, and the related countervailing duty laws, provide a significant globally renowned therapy against foreign unfair trade practices. That is why, these laws are indispensable to making sure that multinational trade competition is based on free market doctrines, and that government intercession and open-mindedness of private anticompetitive practices are not permitted to distort market forces.

Rather than the condemning the existing trade remedy laws, Nepal should take a two-sided approach to attacking menace of dumping activities in the land. First, Nepalese Government should be undertaking an optimistic endeavor to eliminate the underlying practices that show the way to the trade distortions that injure domestic industry and guide to actions for relief under the vibrant Antidumping statute. This includes a honest attempt by Nepalese government to eliminate trade distorting subsidies, cartels and private anticompetitive practices that lead to dumping and other unfair trade practices. This will not be quick nor will it be trouble-free.

Secondly, in the meantime, the antidumping duties along with anticompetitive laws should be forced with powerful enforcement agencies to provide more effective relief to local industries injured by the foreign unfair trading activities. For instance, nothing in the prevailing financial and trade laws of Nepal deal with the problem of duplicate offenders. As noted above, the trade related laws provide only a prospective therapy against dumping. They do nothing to compensate the damage done to a local industry before the antidumping order is put into place, at least provisionally. That is why, there are a variety of steps that could be taken to respond to these problems by crafting and mobilizing the effective Antidumping and Countervailing Duty laws against foreign unfair trade practices. Let's hope the Nepalese government will take most effective actions to curb the growing menace of dumping and thereby demonstrate a strong commitment to comply with legal requirements of the World Trade Organization (WTO) regime and role model to other acceding nations as well.

Opinion: "Petition to HM and Expectations From the Leaders"

By Anil Pandey

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श्री ५ मा चढाएको विन्ती र नेता संग को अपेक्षा

नेपाल र नेपाली को नियती को सन्दर्भमा धेरै लेखियो तर केही भएन ।कती लेखे ?

कहिले सम्म लेखे ? र के के मात्र शेखे ? लेखे हरुले लेखेको लेख्यै छन् ,पढने हरुले पनि पढेका पढ्यै छन् खाली फरक यती मात्रै छ की कसैले मनोरञ्जनको रुपमा त कसैले समय विताउन को लागि त कसैले चम्चागिरी को रुपमा आ आफ्ना खुवि र दर्जा अनुसार पढेका पढ्यै छन् । अभ्र प्रस्ट भाषा मा भन्न

हो भने एउटा गिलास मा आधा पानी हालेर तपाईंको सामु राखी दियो भने त्यसलाई कुन रुपमा हेर्नु हुन्छ । (हाफ फुल की हाफ एम्टी ?)

हो हाम्रो देश को अवस्था पनि त्यही गिलास को पानी जस्तै भएको छ। भने भै कति को जिन्दगि लेख्दा लेख्दै गएको छ भने कतिको पढदा पढ्दै । (मार्ने ले मारेको मार्यै छ भने मरेको मर्यै छ ।) तर पनि यहा आज सम्म कसैले पनि देश र जनताको (नत पार्टी नत राज संस्थाले नै) मर्म र समयको बोली बुझ्न नसक्नु र सो को सही मुल्याकन गर्न नसक्नु नै आजको ठुलो चुनौती न पुगेको छ।

इमान्दारी का साथ काम गर्न एउटा विशेष संयन्त्रको निर्माण गराई आयस्रोत नखुलेका सबैको सम्पति राष्ट्रिय करण गरी कुनै पनि राजनीतिक व्यक्ती वा संस्था , स्वदेशी , विदेशी गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरुलाई पारदर्शी बनाइ नियन्त्रित एवं नियमित बनाउन एउटा स्वच्छ सफा छवि भएको (सेनापति वा न्यायाधिस वा वरिष्ठ कानुन विदको) नेतृत्वमा एउटा युवा राष्ट्र सेवक संलग्न संयन्त्रको निर्माण गर्नु पर्ने आवश्यकता छ।

यही आशय खुलाइ श्री ५ मा यस लेखक लगाएत अमेरिका मा बस्ने करीव तीन सय नेपाली ले विन्ती पत्र दिएका थियौ ।

अफसोच को कुरा हाम्रो देशमा राणा वाहेक अरु कसैले पनि किन पुरा पााच वर्ष प्रधानमन्त्री चलाउन सकेनन् ? चलाउनै नसकेको हो की वा साच्ची कै चलाउन नदिएको हो भन्ने प्रश्न आफ्नै ठाउमा छ । एउटै पार्टी को पुर्ण बहुमत हुदा सम्म पनि पुरा पााच वर्ष प्रधानमन्त्री चलाउन नसक्दा वा टिक्न नसक्दा भने साच्चीकै लाज लागेर आउछ । सम्पुण नेताहरुले के

वुभ्नु जरुरी छ भने राष्ट्र, राष्ट्रियता र सोभ्ना नेपाली माथी खेलवाड गर्न र घिन लाग्दो फोहोरी राजनिती गर्नु अगाडि आखा चिम्ली जय भोलेनाथ अनि जय राष्ट्र वाद भनि समर्पण हुन आग्रह गर्दछु । अझ हासोलाग्दो कुरा त के छ भने हाम्रा नेताहरु ले आजका मिती सम्ममा पनि जनताको खाचो र मर्म बुभ्न नसक्नु हो ।

आज जनता जस्ले जसरी गरे पनि शान्ति वार्ता गरोस भन्ने चाही रहेका छन् । तर फोहोरी राजनिती र जनता को रगत मा होली खेल्ने हरु लाई राजा ले जस पाउलान् भन्ने ठुलो चिन्ता छ । तसर्थ त्यस प्रकार को निहीत स्वार्थ लाई छोडेर राष्ट्र र जनताको लागि केही गरेमा कति राम्रो हुन्थ्यो ? देश सवैको हो कृपया गरी अझ सक्नु हुन्छ भने राजा र सवै नेता हरु एउटा गोलमेच मा वसेर राष्ट्रको लागि कमसेकम अवको पचास वर्ष मा देशलाई कुन दिशा तीर लाने भनेर अगाडिको सोच बनाइदिए मात्र हामी नेपाली को मुहार उज्यालो हुन्छ । सो सत्तकार्य को लागि एक सोच्छ प्रणाली प्रारम्भ गर्ने तिर जती सक्दो चाडो किन ध्यान नदिने ।

२०५९ सालको फागुन ७ गते प्रजातन्त्र दिवसका सन्दर्भ मा देशको समुन्नती को लागि केही सोच्नु सान्दर्भिक हुने विश्वासका साथ श्री ५ का हजुर मा हामी अमेरीका मा रहेका राष्ट्रवादी नेपाली ले विन्ती पत्र चढाएका थियौ ।

विगतका १३ वर्ष लाइ मध्य नजर राख्दा चोखो संस्था भनेकै राजसंस्था मात्र वाकी भएको कुरामा दुई मत नहुदा र त्यहावाट मात्र हामी सम्पूर्ण नेपाली को भलो हुने आशा लिई गत १२, १३ वर्षको अवस्था लाई मध्य नजर राख्दा भ्रष्टाचार, कानुनी राजको नाममा गैरकानुनी व्यवहार, वेइमानी तरीका ले जन आकांक्षा विपरित काम कारवाही महशुश हामी सम्पुण ले गरेका छौ ।

भोलीका दिनहरुमा जसले देशको स्टेरीगं समाते पनि सही वाटो वा लिक मा राम्ररी चलाउन सकोस, कुल ५, ५ वर्ष सवै राम्ररी टिक्न सक्ने परिपाटी नवसाले सम्मन् हाम्रो देशको मुहार हासीलो पार्न सकिएला जस्तो मलाई लाग्दैन । तसर्थ त्यस तर्फ ध्यान दिनु अति जरुरी छ (त्यसको लागी वर्क हार्डर, थिक स्मार्टर गर्नु पर्यो) खाली प्रधानमन्त्री र मन्त्री को वन्ने भन्ने तीर मात्र किन सवैको ध्यानाकर्षण, बुभ्नै सकिएन्, फेरी आफुले नेता र स्वच्छ सफा छवि भएका भनि टोपलेका हरु पनि खाली छाती फुलाएर आफुनै स्वार्थ मा तल्ली न मात्र भएको देखियो । मात्रभुमी लाई केही गरेर देखाउछु भनेर छाती फुलाउने आज सम्मन् कसैले सुन्न र देख्न सकेका छैनन् । तसर्थ अब बनाउने मन्त्री मण्डलमा (क्वान्टीटी नभई क्वालीटी तर्फ ध्यान दिनु पर्यो) परी पाटी वसालेर देशलाई सही दिशामा हाक्न सक्ने क्षमता भएका युवा पुस्ताहरुलाई ल्याई जती सक्थो चाडो नेपालको अस्तित्व वचाउने तर्फ लाग्नु पर्यो ।

यस्तो विषम परिस्थिती मा पनि एक अर्का को खोट र भए नभएका राम्रा नराम्रा कुरा मात्र कोट्यायी एक आपसमा गाली गलौज गरी मन मुटाव नगरी खाली समस्या मात्र देखाएर भएन्, हुदैन ? सो समस्या को हल कसरी गर्न सकिन्छ भनेर खुला दिलले विदेशमा वसेका नेपाली व्यापारी हरुको भेला गराएभै सम्पुर्ण राष्ट्रपती समर्पित लेखक, वुद्धी जिवी, विद्वान, प्रोफेसर, पत्रकार, कानुनविद लगाएत सम्पुर्ण चिन्तन मनन् गर्ने बेला भएको छ । यो एककाइसौ सताव्दी मा आएर पनि हामी अलमल, आलटाल, जाल भेल र कुर्सी तानातान गर्न थाल्यौ भने अब हाम्रो अस्तित्व रहदैन, जसरी हुन्छ राजसंस्था, राष्ट्रियता र प्रजातन्त्र वरावर हिसाव सगं कसरी अगाडि लाने भन्ने तिर हामी सवैले ध्यान दिनु पर्ने बेला आएको छ । ५३ नौ राष्ट्रिय प्रजातन्त्र दिवसको दिन श्री ५ वाट व्यक्त गरीएका भावनालाई हामी सम्पुर्ण ले बुभ्ने कोशीश गरौ र त्यस तर्फ लम्कौ ।

पारदर्शीता नै अहिलेको प्रजातन्त्रको वास्तविक चरित्र हुनु पर्दछ । काट्टीएको चगां भै भएको देशको अवस्थालाई मध्यनजर राख्दा सवै प्रमुख राजनितीक शक्तिहरु एउटै गोलमेचमा वसी साभ्ना सहमति को विन्दु खोज्नु जरुरी छ । त्यो विन्दु वभ्नेको संसार भरी नै ख्याती पाउदै आएको प्रजातन्त्र हो, त्यस कारण त्यस लाइ वचाउने एउटै उपाए हो, जनमत जति सक्थो चाडो त्यस तर्फ जानु पर्दछ । आफ्नो मौलीक हक र अधिकार जनता मै दिन को लागि भएपनि एक पटक जनतामा जानु जरुरी छ । संविधान बनाउने जस्तो मुख्रु सोचलाई त्यागेर समय सापेक्ष परिमार्जन तिर लानु वुद्धीमानी हुनेछ । वाकी तपाइ हरुको मर्जी ? तपाइहरु को हातमा डाडु पन्यु छ । नेपालको राजनीति हो बुभ्न गाह्रो पर्छ ।

जय भोलेनाथ जय राष्ट्रवाद ।

अनिल पाण्डे

Constitutional Monarchy and Republic: "Dialogue with a Republican"

Forwarded By: **Sirdar_Khalifa**

The 50th anniversary of the accession to the throne of HM Queen Elizabeth II stirred the republicans in the United Kingdom into some ill-judged activity. The following is based upon a conversation between one of them and the then editor of Monarchy, and first appeared in the March 2002 issue of that magazine:

Republican: The monarchy is a thing of the past!

C. Monarchist: Plato wrote 'The Republic' around 400BC. That's nearly two and a half thousand years ago i.e. republicanism isn't the new and trendy ideology some think it is. Generation after generation has been able to consider republicanism and reject it.

In this country we have a history of constitutional stability that only a tiny handful of republics could even claim to match. We should be proud of that past, not seek to throw it away.

How many presidents has Argentina had recently? Four? Five? I lose count. There is a country with a fine modern, republican constitution. What do you think they would give for the stability that our monarchy provides, and which you are so eager to destroy?

Republican: But that cannot happen here.

C. Monarchist: Argentina has a sophisticated, cosmopolitan, educated society. It was once one of the richest countries in the world. The events of 11th September 2001 have shown us that the future will never be so predictable as you casually assume.

Republican: The monarchy is undemocratic!

C. Monarchist: If the monarchy is undemocratic, tell me what means it uses to impose itself on this oppressed nation? Mind-control? A secret police? No, that is ridiculous. The monarchy exists because it has the support and consent of the ordinary people of this country. That is true democracy.

When you say it's undemocratic, what you mean is that it is outside the boundaries of party politics, And that's not an argument against it, that is an argument in its favour. No republican leader can be above partisan politics, as the impeachment of President Clinton showed very clearly.

Republican: Sounds like you would like to do away with elections!

C. Monarchist: Certainly not. Party politics is a cornerstone of our democracy, but having a politician as head of state is like asking one of the players in a football match to be the referee. Our Queen can be impartial in a way no elected office holder ever can.

Republican: Can you deny that I have a basic right to elect a head of state?

C. Monarchist: Rights are the ground-rules for decent behaviour that all reasonable people agree on. You can't just make them up. There is no agreement on the issue of a republic " otherwise we wouldn't be having this conversation.

You have the basic right to argue for an elected head of state i.e. our constitutional monarchy guarantees you that i.e. but you cannot use that to say there should be an elected head of state.

Republican: In a modern society that strives to be a meritocracy, there is no place for a monarch.

C. Monarchist: The highest political offices have always been open to those with ability, as an examination of the varied backgrounds of the Queen's ten prime ministers demonstrates. Ambition is to be admired; but excessive ambition is a menace. Would you abolish the Monopolies Commission because it hampers the business plans of tycoons?

Republican: There is increasing support for republicanism, which is reflected in the fact that people like you are having to constantly defend the monarchy.

C. Monarchist: As Her Majesty said herself, every public institution deserves scrutiny. It is an honour to be able to repay her 50 years of loyalty to her subjects by doing this.

Historic Quotes

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A lot of people have had a lot to say on the subject of monarchy over the centuries. Some of the are:

1) I devote all my attentions to improving the welfare of my subjects, since I wish to save my soul and go to Heaven.

-King Charles III of Spain, 1750.

2) If a nation does not want a monarchy, change the nation's mind. If a nation does not need a monarchy, change the nation's needs.

-Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa 1939-1948.

3) I am a true servant of my King and country, not only as a dutiful subject but because I am a convinced monarchist, politically and intellectually. I mean by that, quite apart from myself and my relationship to my Bavarian and German fatherland, I believe monarchy to be the most successful form of government that the history of mankind has known.

-Adolf von Harnier, on trial for treason, Germany 1938.

4) If the Allies at the peace table at Versailles had allowed a Hohenzollern, a Wittelsbach and a Habsburg to return to their thrones, there would have been no Hitler. A democratic basis of society might have been preserved by a crowned Weimar in contact with the victorious Allies.

-Winston Churchill, 26th April 1946.

5) King George VI represented, for us, a model of character and deportment for those in high places. Our respect for him as an inspirational force was equalled by our affection for him as a gentle human being.

-General Dwight D Eisenhower, 7th February 1952.

6) The public are sick and tired of politics, they are sick and tired of the machinations of elected office in a media age, and I think it's quite good having a Head of State that's completely to one side of that.

-Simon Upton, New Zealand Environment Minister, March 1994.

7) I notice that the constitutional monarchies are the most democratic countries of Europe. I can't understand how there could be any debate about it.

-Jack Lang, French Minister of Culture, October 1993.

8) Monarchy is the one system of government where power is exercised for the good of all.

-Aristotle, 322-384 BC.

9) Modern monarchs neither have nor need executive power. Integrity and continuity are their stock in trade. These qualities are becoming more precious when European political parties, many of them in power for a decade or more, are increasingly judged arrogant or corrupt or both. Politicians could with profit learn not to treat modesty as merely a royal prerogative.

-Editorial, The Times, 2nd August 1993.

10) The monarchy is a political referee, not a political player, and there is a lot of sense in choosing the referee by a different principle from the players. It lessens the danger that the referee might try to start playing.

-Earl Russell, The Spectator

11) There is nothing about which I am more anxious than my country, and for its sake I am willing to die ten deaths, if that be possible.

-Queen Elizabeth I, in 1564.

12) The monarchy's most important constitutional function is simply to be there: by occupying the constitutional high ground, it denies access to more sinister forces; to a partisan or corrupt president, divisive of the nation; or even to a dictator. The Queen's powers are a vital safeguard of democracy and liberty.

-Sir Michael Forsyth, speech 26th January, 1999.

13) This country suffered greatly as a result of the abolition of the monarchy in 1970. We support it, because it is an institution the country needs, for its unity and its development. There is a Cambodian proverb which says "While you are eating fruit, don't forget who planted it". We must not forget our King and his vital role in securing a victory for democracy in our country. If he had not remained here during the elections, or if he had not personally appealed to our citizens to vote, the population would without doubt have been afraid to participate and we would not have achieved the 90% turnout that we did. And perhaps the international observers would not have agreed to come.

-Hun Sen, Prime Minister of Cambodia, July 1998.

14) For every monarchy overthrown the sky becomes less brilliant, because it loses a star. A republic is ugliness set free.

-Anatole France, first winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, 1921.

15) The value of a constitutional monarchy is to provide a figurehead to embody a sense of nationhood beyond the divisions of temporal political argument. Republicans, who choose to give the impression that the British enjoy as much power as French peasants in the reign of Louis XVI, believe that in a democracy just about everything that moves has to be elected. This callow approach would result in a polarised and unpleasant society, of which the prime example is the United States. -Melanie Phillips, The Sunday Times, 7th November 1999

(Source: CMA - The Constitutional Monarchy Association, London, UK - Ed.)

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Analysis: "Stalemate continues: Who is benefited?"

By Dr. S. Chandrasekharan

Stung by the criticism that the agitation of the five political parties against what is called "October 4 regression", the agitating leaders were able to make a massive show of strength in their rally on 16th December, 2003 at Kathmandu. Independent observers believe that the crowds were mostly party cadres of all the five parties and the public participation was minimal. A senior party Official of the UML admitted that the agitation has so far been restricted to the party cadres only and that hence forth the public will also be involved.

It is not that the parties did not try to involve the public. As we said in our earlier Update 38, the agitation has not had any impact on the public or the government. Two views can be expressed on this issue.

1. Since the people are not interested in the agitation, the programme of agitation against recession will die a natural death. This apparently is the assessment of the government. They would therefore continue with the strategy of going full steam against Maoists while continue talking to the political parties indefinitely. The government appears to be willing to wait till differences among the parties go to such an extent that they finally abandon their agitational approach and reach a compromise.

Having sensed the government's strategy, the political parties have planned to intensify the agitation, by calling the tenth round of agitation ending December 28 as a grand success and announcing the next round of agitation with protest demonstrations, rallies, sit in parties, picketing, torch rallies, effigy burning and related protestation throughout the country. The student unions which had kept out of the agitation have also been roped in. This gives a new dimension to the whole agitation and chances of violence both from the demonstrators and the Police could be expected.

The second part of the strategy of the political parties is to close their ranks. There is a serious discussion going on to admit the Nepali Congress (democratic) led by Deuba in the five party agitation. If this succeeds, the chances of the breakup group of Deuba joining or having an understanding with the parent group of Nepali Congress of G.P.Koirala cannot be ruled out. Koirala's statements are getting more and more vitriolic. He is blowing both hot and cold against the monarchy. In his latest statement he said that it is time to review constitutional monarchy while in an interview called for preservation of the achievements of people's movement of 1990. It is not clear how both can be achieved. In his interview with the Himalayan times, he has back tracked and has said that he is not against the King himself but against the King's unconstitutional move that dismissed the elected prime minister on October 4, 2002. If that was so, would he recommend the reinstatement of Deuba as Prime Minister once again?

Similarly, there is an attempt to patch up the long standing conflict within the party leadership of the UML with a vertical division between groups supporting Madhav Nepal and those supporting K.P.Oli. The standing Committee of the UML has nominated nine members, all believed Oli loyalists to the party central committee. There were fears that Oli with his group may walk out and take up the ministership in the Thapa government nominated by the King. This has been averted.

Another veteran of the UML, Radhakrishna Mainali is yet to be pacified. It was said that Mainali's name figured in the list of persons to be included in the next cabinet expansion of the Thapa government. Mainali has denied that he would accept any position.

2. The second view is that if the agitation continues to lose momentum and public participation is minimal, there is every chance of the agitation getting violent. The entry of the students in the agitation does not augur well. Violent agitation brings in its wake more police repression and the cycle of violence and repression will escalate. At some point the political parties may lose control of

the agitation and the government will also be hard put to meet the increasing law and order problems posed by the Maoists on the one hand and the political parties on the other.

Either way the Maoists will be the beneficiary. Unless the King and his government and the political parties reach a compromise, there could be no solution to the current Maoist problem or the constitutional crisis created by the King in sacking the lawfully elected government. The government is certainly not in the right trajectory when they think that the Maoist problem can be tackled and controlled militarily, while ignoring the political parties. The political parties on the other hand will have to realize that there is no possibility of the King and his government going back to the "Panchayati days". Times have changed and the fears that the present King who was no admirer of democracy in those days would revert to absolute monarchy are unfounded. If this is realized, there could be a compromise with a give and take from both sides and the present Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa has the ability and the connections to bring about a compromise. This is necessary if the Maoists are to be kept at bay. Will good sense prevail?

Since the collapse of the ceasefire on August 27, the Royal Nepal Army announced that 1056 Maoists were killed in the operations. The army lost 82 men leaving another 270 injured. 105 police personnel were killed with 157 others injured. This is besides the casualties suffered by the APF personnel that included 171 killed and 205 injured.

While not going into the accuracy of the claims relating to the Maoists, the casualties on the government side -358 killed in all, are rather high. The Maoists have been systematically targeting army and police convoys with land mines and ambushes and have inflicted considerable casualties. The Maoists have been prevented from attacking major police or army posts with large numbers and this goes to the credit of the army and not because of a change in the tactics of Maoists. What we see is that the Maoists have not been subdued and the operations may continue for a long time.

The government appears to be under the impression that with the continued intensified operations against the Maoists, elections can be held in six months' time. This in our view is a very optimistic assessment, but not supported by the current ground realities!

A list of incidents relating to the Maoists reported since the last update of October 2003 is given herewith as an Appendix in the link below.

(Originally published at South Asia Analysis Group as Update 39

<http://www.saag.org/notes3/note207.html> -Ed.)

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Diaspora: "Nepal Scholarship Program"

By Dr. Tulasi Joshi

Dear Friends:

Season's Greetings and Happy New Year!

By now, many of you may have already heard about the Nepal scholarship program at Fairmont State College (FSC), West Virginia. This program is a partnership in education between Nepali communities in America and the college to assist Nepali students for their undergraduate studies at the college. As of now 19 students have benefited from this program in the amount of over \$175,000. Nine of them have graduated and 10 of them are currently studying at the college.

Most of the money for the scholarships has come from the college, and the money raised from the Nepali communities has made only a small contribution to this partnership.

Effective August 2003, in addition to the existing scholarships, we have started a matching scholarship program. For every scholarship supported by the Nepal scholarship fund (money raised from the Nepali communities and friends of Nepal), the college will match it to a maximum of 4 scholarships for an academic year. Thus, we can have 8 matching scholarships in total.

As of now, the amount for a scholarship is \$4,110. This matching program to succeed, we need \$4,110 to \$16,440 a year that will decide the number of scholarships. If the college has helped and is willing to help Nepali students, I expect that the Nepali communities will not hesitate to reciprocate it for a Nepali cause. There is no better gift than the gift of education, which helps develop all dimensions of our society. Especially during this time of giving and sharing, I hope that you will

Please make your check to NAC (Nepalese Americas Council) and specify for Briddhashram and mail it to the following address:

Madan Rajbhandari
Treasurer, NAC
6033 N. Sheridan Rd, #26 A
Chicago, IL 60660

(Please note that the mailing address and the check to be written to have been changed)

For more updated and detailed information on the Briddhashram project, please visit the <http://indirafoundation.org>.

Thank you very much for your generosity and support.

Shyam D. Karki
Executive Secretary,
Indira Foundation

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Travel: "Four months in Nepal and sponsoring Renuka"

By Alex Breitler

Foothill High graduate volunteers at orphanage in Pokhara

Conor McNerney didn't speak their language. And the smiling Nepalese orphans didn't speak his. But somehow they under-stood each other — and became friends for life.

McNerney, 24, returned to the north state in December after spending four months in Nepal at the foot of the mighty Himalayas, volunteering at an orphanage established last year by a Chico woman. McNerney, a 1997 Foothill High School graduate, learned to subsist on simple rice with lentil soup. He got used to taking cold showers with a bucket and a cup. But his hardships paled in comparison with those the children had suffered.

A 6-year-old girl's mother had been murdered by her father and his girlfriend, McNerney said. The killers were arrested and sent to jail, and since the little girl had nowhere else to go, she went along, too. "She was in the cell with the woman that helped kill her mother for nine months," McNerney said. His sacrifices seem petty now. And McNerney probably wouldn't use the word "sacrifice" to describe his experience, anyway.

"I just feel like it was a golden four months," said McNerney, whose family moved to Redding in 1992. "My life is more full. I'm more happy now that I've had this great experience."

Namaste House is home for 27 children, but has room for 48 and expects to reach capacity early this year. It was formed as an American organization three years ago. After tireless fund raising, the group opened the orphanage in Pokhara, the country's second-largest city. The children hail from all over Nepal. One child came from a town at the other end of a 15-hour bus ride. Each has a sad story of abuse or neglect.

It all started when Cynthia Kennedy, a waitress at a Chinese restaurant and a Chico State University student, went on an internship to Nepal in 2000. She visited a children's home and found it to be dark, damp and bleak, with no furniture and urine-stained pads lining the floors.

"It was terrible," said Kennedy, now the director of the orphanage. "I started bawling — I lost it. It was just grim, and yet the kids were so happy to be there as opposed to where they'd been before."

That was her "lightning bolt," she said. Three years of hard work commenced, and the first child was received in June. McNerney never thought he'd wind up in Nepal. While a Chico State history student, he had planned to go to China and teach English last summer after earning his degree in 2001.

The SARS outbreak spoiled that plan. But he had met Kennedy in class and remembered she was starting an orphanage.

Still seeking an overseas experience, McNerney signed up as a volunteer. Once the 17-hour plane ride was done with, he was immersed in the poverty-stricken country, surrounded by civil unrest as rebel communists fought the Nepalese king.

McNerney and other volun-teers traveled around the country on the back of motor-cycles in search of orphaned children. Language was al-ways a problem, though he was able to pick up on a few limited phrases.

"You just communicate nonverbally," he said. "You can get a lot done with some funny faces and joking around, playing games." Now that he's back home, he's already sponsored one of the children, 5-year-old Renuka. "She would never talk but she had the cutest smile," he said. "She was so happy and funny, but so quiet she would hide her face."

By sponsoring Renuka, McNerney is financially supporting the orphanage, which will cost about \$50,000 a year to run. He also took about seven hours of film, hoping it would help with fund raising when he got back home.

It wasn't all work. McNerney got some time off, taking a week to hike in the Himalayas. He says he intends to return to Nepal, helping the children who would otherwise be forgotten. "I just feel like the luckiest person," he said. "I'm staying with them forever."

(Reported by Alex Breidler who can be reached at abreidler@redding.com
Read complete story at <http://www.redding.com/news/stories/20040111lo024.shtml>)

Announcement: INLS NH Chapter

उमेश कोइराला

अनेसासको न्यु हेम्सायर च्याप्टर स्थापना

नेपाली जहां भए पनि जहां रहे पनि नेपाली भएरै बाँच्नु पर्छ । नेपाल रहे नेपाली संस्कृति रहन्छ, नेपाली संस्कृतिलाई जोगाउन सके मात्र नेपालीको अस्तित्व विश्वमाभर रहिरहन्छ । यही आदर्शतालाई अभियानको रूपमा हाँकन विश्वभरि नै नेपाली भाषा, साहित्य, संस्कृति र कलाको संरक्षण, विकास र विस्तार गर्न लम्किएको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय नेपाली साहित्य समाजको यात्रामा सहयात्री बनी सेवा गर्ने उदेश्यले यही जनवरी ५, २००४ का दिन अनेसास न्यु हेम्सायर च्याप्टरको स्थापना गरिएको छ ।

संस्थाका पदाधिकारीहरु निम्न बमोजिम चयन गरी कार्यसमिति गठन गरिएको छ ।

- कार्यकारी संस्थापक पदाधिकारी तथा सदस्यहरु:

अध्यक्ष : उमेश कोइराला

उपाध्यक्ष : राम भण्डारी

महासचिव : चिन्तामणी सिवाकोटि

सचिव : कोमल पोखरेल

कोशाध्यक्ष : शोभा कार्की

सदस्यहरु : सुरेन्द्र आचार्य
सुधिर अधिकारी,
मीन गोतम,
चन्द्र कडेरिया,
कञ्चन के सी,

नवीन खनाल,
सन्तोष नेपाल,
दिनबन्धु प्रेमी,
भेषराज शर्मा,
डा पुर्ण सुवेदी

- संस्थापक प्रमुख सल्लाहकार : डा शिव गौतम

विविध जात जाति, भाषाभाषी, कला संस्कृति र साहित्यिक संरचनाले भरिएता पनि हाम्रो देश नेपाल एउटै राष्ट्रिय नेपाली भाषाको धागोमा फलहरु उनीएर माला बनेका छौं । यसरी स्वपहिचान बोकेको नेपाली भाषा, संस्कृति कला र साहित्यलाई विश्व सामु समुन्नत एवं व्यापक बनाउने तर्फ अग्रसर हुने हाम्रो मुख्य लक्ष्य रहेको छ ।

उपरोक्त लक्ष्य र उदेश्य हासिल गर्न नेपाली समुदायको व्यापक सद्भाव र सहयोग प्राप्त हुनेछ, भन्ने अपेक्षा गरेका छौं । धन्यवाद ।

उमेश कोइराला

अध्यक्ष

अनेसास, न्यु हेम्सायर च्याप्टर

सुन्तली

- गान्धि राज भट्टराई

मिति : २०५५ साल ५ महिना १४ गते
 नाम : सुन्तली के.सी.
 लिंग : महिला
 वर्ष : २३
 वैवाहिक स्थिति: _____

.....

त्यो भन्दा तल्ला लाइनहरुमा पनि भर्नुपर्ने धेरै कुराहरु थिए । तर यहाँनेर आएर सुन्तलीको कलम अड्कियो । के लेख्ने वैवाहिक स्थितिको बारेमा ? सत्य कुरा कसरी लेखिन्छ, यो एकपाने कागतमा ? जागिर खानको लागि बनाइएको यो सानो फारममा लेखिएका गिनेचुने शब्दहरुले के उसका अनन्त विवरण दिन सक्छन् ? के यो फारममा रंगाइएका एउटा एउटा शब्दले उसको जीवनका एक एक पाटाका कथाहरु बोल्न सक्छन् ? प्रेरणा फाउण्डेशनको 'यौनरोग तथा एचआइभी एड्स विरुद्धको सचेतना कार्यक्रम'को लागि आवश्यक साथीशिक्षिकाको दरखास्त भर्ने बेलामा सुन्तली घोरिइ ।

फारम त भर्ने पर्छ । यसमा विवरण खाली राख्न मिल्दैन । संस्थाको नियम त्यही छ । तर यतिखेर उसको कलम रोकिएको छ । के लेख्ने यो फारममा ? अविवाहित उ पक्कै होइन । किनभने संसारलाई थाहा छ उसको आठ महिनाको एउटा छोरा छ । यतिखेर उसको काखमा निर्दोष अनुहार लिएर निदाइरहेको त्यही बच्चो छ । त्यसो भए उ विवाहित हो । तर सुन्तलीलाई आफुलाई विवाहित भनेर लेख्न मन छैन ।

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उसको सेतो पहिरनले जनाइरहेका थिए उ एउटी विधवा हो । अनि उसका मैला कुच्चिएका लुगाले देखाइरहेका थिए उ असमयमै आफुले नगरेको पापको दण्ड भोग्न बाध्य एउटी असहाय नारी हो । हो उसको पनि विहे भएको थियो । एउटाको उ स्वास्नी थिई । धेरैकी उ बहारी थिई । उसले धेरैको सेवा गरी । धेरैको बृहार्तन सहेर बसी । तर यतिखेर उसको दुःखमा साथ दिने कोही छैनन् । उ सबैकी थिई तर अहिले उसका कोही छैनन् । नितान्त उसको मात्र त्यही एउटा काखे बालख छ । तर कतिन्जेल उसले आफ्नो भन्न पाउने हो उसलाई थाहा छैन । उ बाँचेकी थिइ आफ्नै सहारामा । तर उसको त्यो पहिचानलाई सम्मान गर्ने फारमहरु अहिलेसम्म कोरिएका थिएनन् । नेपाली कार्यालयका कुनै पनि दरखास्तमा एउटी जीउंदी महिलाको पहिचान मरेको पति भन्दा माथि राखिएको छैन ।

फारम भरेर बुझाए पछि उसलाई अर्को कोठामा बस्न भनियो । कार्यक्रमका संचालक संस्थाको बैठकमा थिए । यो कामको लागि उसले अन्तर्वाता दिनु थिएन । आठकक्षासम्म पढेर छोडेका उसका सर्तिफिकेटहरु देखाउनु पर्ने थिएन । उसले भोगेका पीडा र मानसिक यातनाहरु उसका सिफारिस थिए । उसले आंसु पिउँदै मर्न नसकेर बाँचेका दिनहरु उसको जीउने अठोट र संघर्षशीलताका प्रतिविम्ब थिए । यो संस्था र उसको कार्यक्रमलाई उसको त्यही अनुभव चाहिएको थियो । उसले गरेको संघर्षको कथा चाहिएको थियो । उसको त्यही दर्दनाक कहानीलाई संस्थाको क्षमताले भ्याउने सहायता दिएर किन्न चाहेको थियो । अनि उसको लागि? उसको लागि आमाको दूध पीउन नपाएर घाँटी सुकेको बच्चालाई खुवाउनको लागि आहार खरीद गर्ने द्रव्य चाहिएको थियो । आफ्नो शरीरमा प्राण रहेसम्म यो शिशुलाई हुर्काउने सहारा चाहिएको थियो । यो एउटा परिस्थितिले जुराएको मौका थियो अथवा यो उसको परिस्थितिसंगको सम्झौता थियो । त्यसैले यो काम उसकै लागि थियो ।

सुन्तली यौनरोगीहरूसंग छलफल र भेटघाट गर्नको लागि छुट्टयाइएको अलगै कोठामा बसेर पर्खन लागि । यहाँ आउदैमा सबै यौनरोगी र बेश्यावृत्तिमै लागेका मान्छे मात्र हुँदैनन् भनेर भनेका थिए उसलाई भेट्न आउने कार्यकर्ताहरुले । तर पनि कता कता अष्टेरो लागिरह्यो उसलाई । कसैले उसलाई यहाँ देखा के भन्लान्? जेठाजु जेठानीले के भन्लान् ? वास्तविकता नबुझेका छिमेकीहरुले के ठान्लान्?

जसले जे भनेपनि जसले जे सोचे पनि उसलाई जीउने सहारा चाहिएको थियो । उसले संचालकलाई भेटेर आजैदेखि काम शुरु गरेको देखाउनु थियो । नियममा रहेछ भने अतिकति रकम पेशकी लिएर आजै बजार गएर बच्चाको खुराकी किन्नु थियो ।

काखको बच्चा विउंभेर रुंदा भ्रसंग भइ सुन्तली । मैलो सानो भोलाबाट दूधको सिसी भिकेर खुवाउन लागी । बच्चा दुधको बोतल चुसेर शान्त भयो । सुन्तलीले उसलाई अफिसको कार्पेटमा खेल्न छोडिदिई । संसारको विसंगतिहरुसंग अनभिज्ञ, उ आफ्नै दुनियामा रमाएर भुईंमा खेल्न थाल्यो । आमाको दुर्भाग्यमा परेका दुःखका केही भाग जन्मनु अघिदेखि नै उसले भोग्दै आएको थियो । मातृस्तन चुसेर तृप्त हुन पाउने अधिकार समेत खोसिएको थियो उसबाट । तर उसलाई आफ्नो अधिकार खोसिएको अनुभव छैन । अनुभव नै भएपनि त्यसलाई व्यक्त गर्ने उसंग शब्दहरु छैनन् ।

विस्तारै त्यो अफिसमा मान्छेहरुको चहलपहल भयो । कोही चिनेका, कोही नचिनेका मानिसहरु आउन लागे । मानिसहरु उसलाई त्यहाँ देखेर मुखामुख गर्थे । कोही बोल्न खोज्थे । कोही मुन्टो बटारेर निस्कन्थे । सुन्तलीलाई त्यहाँ बसिरहन अप्ठेरो लाग्यो । छोरालाई लिएर अफिस पछाडि निस्कइ । शीतलमा राखिएको बेन्चमा गएर बसी ।

शीतलमा बस्दा बच्चा फेरी बेखबर निदायो आमाको काखमा । भिना हातहरुले सुम्सुम्याएर माया गरी उसले छोरालाई । शान्त, निश्चल अनुहारमा हेर्दाहेर्दै कता कता छोराको अनुहारमा नारनको भल्को आयो । भित्र भित्रै उद्वेलित भई सुन्तली । नाम लिन्न त्यो असतीको भन्दा भन्दै खाटा बस्न लागेका विगतका घाउहरु कोट्टिन थाले ।

.... भण्डै दश वर्ष अघि सुन्तलीका माता पिता यो ठाउँमा बसाई सरेका थिए । सुन्तली समेत दुई छोरा र तीन छोरी थिए । दुईटा भाइहरु र उसलाई लिएर उसका माता भित्री मधेश भरेका थिए । आएको एक वर्ष त नयाँ ठाउँमा अभ्यस्त हुन समय लाग्यो । गाउँमा बेरोजगारी थियो । केटाहरु हुर्केपछि कामको खोजीमा निस्कन्थे । भाग्यको खेल कोही दिल्ली पुगेर मेकानिक हुन्थे कोही बहादुर । सुन्तलीको भाइ पनि यो सालदेखि गाउँकै मनिरामको साथ लागेर दिल्ली गएको थियो ।

छोरीहरुको विहे सानै उमेरमा गर्नु पर्छ, भन्ने मान्यताका थिए उसका पिता । उ अठार वर्ष पुगेदेखि नै राम्रो घर पाए दिने भनेर हेर्न थालेका थिए उसका पिताले । पल्लो गाउँका तिवारी कान्छाको छोरा नारन दुई वर्ष 'दिल्ली'मा काम गरेर छ महिनाको छुट्टिमा घर आयो । दिल्लीमा मेकानिक बनेर काम गरी बसेको नारन असल केटा ठहरियो । सुन्तली र नारनको विहे छिनियो ।

“खै किन हो म जीवनभर विहे गर्दिन भन्ने खालका कुरा पनि गर्थ्यौं रे” सुन्तलीले त्यतिखेरको कुरा सम्झइ । अन्तमा विना कुनै कारण टार्न नसकेपछि उनीहरुको विहे भएको थियो । विहे गरेको महिना दिनमा नारनलाई कम्पनीले बोलाएर दिल्ली फर्कियो । त्यतिबेले टौवाबाट खसेर ससुराको खुट्टा भाँचिइ राखेको हुनाले सुन्तली जान पाइन । नारन एकलै दिल्ली फर्कियो ।

घरबाट निस्केको छ महिनापछि दिल्ली नफर्कने गरी नारन घर आयो । नारन पहिले भन्दा दुब्लो, पातलो भएर आएको थियो । सुन्तली खुसी भई अब नारन यतै बस्ने गरी आएकोमा । तर उसको खुसी विहानको शीत जसरी नै विलायो । उसको पति पहिलेको जस्तो थिएन । संगै भएर पनि टाढा भएजस्तो, आफन्त भएर पनि पराई भए जस्तो । नारन यतिखेर कम बोल्ने, सधैं एकलै बस्न रुचाउने भएर फर्केको थियो । सुन्तली चाहन्थी उसको पतिले उसलाई अंगालोस्, संगै बसेर दुःखसुखका केही तीतामीठा कुरा गरोस् । तर नारनलाई यी कुनै कुराको वास्ता थिएन । दिनभरी बजारतिर डुलेर आउन्थ्यो अनि बेलुकी खाना खाएर कोल्टे फेरेर सुतिदिन्थ्यो । सुन्तली तडुपिन्थी पतिको न्यानो अंगालोमा कस्सिएर निदाउन । तर नारनले उसको प्यास मेटाउने कुनै अभिचेष्टा गरेन । परम्परागत संस्कृतिलाई अंगालेर हुर्केकी सुन्तली आफ्नै कर्मलाई लाञ्छना लगाउँदै तक्रिया भिजाइरही ।

यसरी नै केही महिना बिते । औसी पूर्ण जस्तो गरी दुई पटक भएको यौन सम्पर्कबाट सुन्तली गर्भवती भइछ । उसको पतिको चेष्टामा कुनै परिवर्तन भएन । बरु काम नगरीकन डुलेर खाँदा पनि दिनदिनै दुब्लाउँदै गएको थियो ।

सुन्तली गर्भवती भएको पाँच महिनामा नारन साह्रो विरामी भयो । कुटाइमको ज्वरोबाट शुरु भएको उसको विमारी अस्पतालको जनरल बेडमा गएर टुंगियो । डाक्टरहरुले धेरै प्रयास गरे उसको विमारी निको बनाउन । अनेकौं पटक रगत र पिसाब जाँचे, अनेकौं थरि औषधीको प्रयोग गरे । तर नारनको रोग घटेन । सुन्तली गर्भवती शरीर लिएर सधैं उसको सेवामा लागि रही । तर उसको सेवा र डाक्टरको औषधीले नारनको रोगसंग लडेर जित्न सकेन ।

त्यो दिन नारनको अन्तिम दिन थियो अस्पतालमा । उसका जेठाजुको व्यवहार अलि फेरिएको महसुस गरी उसले । उनले आफ्नै डाक्टरसंग भित्र क्याबिनमा गएर कुरा गरे । डाक्टरसंग कुरा गरेर आएपछि, एकलै बसेर नारनसंग पनि धेरैबेर कुरा गरे उनले । सुन्तलीले परबाट हेर्दा कुनै गम्भीर कुराकानी भएको जस्तो लाग्यो । नारनले सकी नसकी केही कुरा उनलाई भनिरहेको थियो । त्यसको लगत्तै जेठाजु फेरी डाक्टरलाई भेट्न गए ।

सुन्तली नारनको छेउमा आएर बसी । नारनको अनुहारमा कुनै भाव थिएन । दलिनतिर हेरेर टोलाइरहेको थियो । सुन्तलीले साइनो बिना उसलाई बोलाएर छेउमा आफु उभिएको संकेत गरी । नारन केही बोलेन, बरु कोल्टो फकाईदे भनेर इशारा गर्‍यो । सुन्तली खिन्न मन र क्लान्त शरीर लिएर बेडको छेउमा बसेर टोलाइरही । दुब्लो शरीरमा पुटुक्क उठेको उसको पेटले उसका गर्भावस्थाका लक्षणहरू प्रष्ट देखाइरहेका थिए ।

त्यतिखेरै डाक्टरको कोठातिरबाट एउटा मान्छे आएर तपाईंको लोमनेलाई ठूलो सरुवा रोग लागेको रहेछ, तपाईंको पनि रगत जांच्नु पर्छ भनेर भन्यो । सुन्तली प्रयोगशालासम्म पुगेर आई परीक्षणको लागि रगत दिएर । उ प्रयोगशालाबाट फर्केर आउंदा नारनलाई घर लाने बारेमा कुरा भइसकेको रहेछ । उसलाई अचम्म लाग्यो । नर्सले केही भन्छन् कि भनेर सोधी ।

“तिम्रो लोमनेलाई एड्स भएको छ अब बांच्दैन । अब अस्पतालमा उपचार हुंदैन । घर लगेर उतैबाट गर्ने ।” नर्सले कर्कस स्वरमा एकैचोटी विस्फोट गरी । एड्स के हो उसलाई थाहा थिएन । अनिष्ट होला भनेर त उसले पनि कल्पना गरिसकेकी थिई । त्यसमाथी नर्सले देखाएको व्यवहार सहन सकिन उसले । त्यहीँ बसेर रुन लागी ।

“उसलाई पनि भइसकेको होला । त्यत्रो पांच छ महिनाको पेट भइसकेछ ।” नारनलाई टेम्पोमा राख्न लैजादै गर्दा ढोकाबाट बाहिर निस्कने बेलामा उसका कानमा परे । अधिको नर्स अर्को नर्ससंग चर्को चर्को स्वरमा उसकै कुरा गर्दै थिई ।

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नारनलाई घरमा ल्याएको भोलिपल्ट उसले जुनी फेर्यो । पन्ध्र दिनसम्म हस्पिटलको बेडमा जण्डिस र ज्वरोसंग जुधेपछि, तुलसीको मठमुनि नारनले सुन्तलीलाई संधैको लागि छोडेर गयो । सुन्तलीको सिउंदोको सिंदुर पुछियो । उसको पेटको बालक गर्भमै टुहुरो भयो । त्यसको अर्को महिना एकदिन जेठानीले आएर उसलाई पनि एड्स लागेको छ रे भनेर सुनाइन् ।

उसलाई अझै थाहा थिएन एड्स के हो भनेर । न त उसलाई यो कसरी सधैं भन्ने नै थाहा थियो । नारनको मृत्युपछि, उ बाहिर निस्कन छोडेकी थिई । त्यसमा पनि पेट बढ्दै गएकोले बाहिर निस्कने बेला पनि थिएन । नबुझ्नेहरू सुन्तलीको भाग्यलाई दोष दिइरहेका थिए । पेटमा भएको बालकले समेत बाबु टोकाहाको अपजस बेहोरिरहेको थियो । सुन्तली बोल्न सकिदन्थी । न त बोल्नुको कुनै औचित्य नै थियो त्यो रूढीवाद र पुरातनपन्थी विचारहरूले जरा गाडेको गाउंमा ।

सुन्तलीको सुत्केरी हुने बेला आयो । तर उसलाई जिल्लाको अस्पतालले भर्ना गरेर सुरक्षित बच्चा जन्माउने व्यवस्था गर्न सकेन या गर्न मानेन । काठमाण्डौँ सिफारिस गरिदिने भयो । रकमको व्यवस्था कसरी गर्ने ? आफ्ना कोही थिएनन् । बाबु आमाले मुखले मात्र सहयोग गर्न सक्थे । रकम जम्मा गर्ने हैसियत थिएन । वचत रकम जेठाजूसंग पनि थिएन । आखिर उसले पछि पाउन सक्ने अंशबाट कट्टा गर्ने गरी जेठाजुले रकम खोज्ने भए । आफ्नो जातक भाइको एउटै चिनोलाई धर्तिमा ल्याउन लाग्ने खर्चको जिम्मेवारी सगोलमा गर्न सकेनन् उनले । सासु ससुरा मुख बन्द गरेर बसे ।

जेठाजुले उसलाई काठमाण्डौँ लिएर गए । राष्ट्रिय यौनरोग तथा एचआइभी रोकथाम केन्द्र टेकुमा उसलाई राखियो। काठमाण्डौँमा उसलाई त्यति दुख भएन । एक दुई दिन पछि माइतीबाट आमा आइन् । सुत्केरीमा कुनै समस्या आएन । बच्चामा जन्मंदा खेरी एड्सका किटाणुहरू भेटिएनन् । तर सुन्तलीले बच्चालाई आफ्नो स्तनपान गराउन नपाउने भई । आफुलाई पनि घाउचोटबाट बचाएर बस्नु पर्ने भयो उसले । डाक्टरले भने अनुसार बच्चालाई सम्भावित एड्स संक्रमणबाट बचाउने यही एउटा उपाय थियो ।

भण्डै एक महिनाको काठमाण्डौँ बसाइ पछि, सुन्तली काखमा बच्चा लिएर गाउं फर्किइ । जेठाजुको गाउंमा इज्जत फैलियो भाइको चिनो सकुशल लिएर आएकोमा । उसको व्यथा सुनेर अस्पतालले निशुल्क बेड मिलाइदिएको थियो। औषधी किन्दा लागेको रकम सहयोगी संस्थाहरूले तिरिदिए । भित्र जे जस्तो भए पनि उसलाई जेठाजुले नै सम्भावित कालको मुखबाट जोगाइदिएर ठूलो गुन लगाएका थिए ।

यी सबै घटनाहरूलाई इज्जतको खातिर लुकाउन खोजिएको थियो । सुन्तलीका जेठाजु जे भयो भयो अब यसलाई बाहिर ल्याउनु हुन्न भन्नेमा थिए । तर जेठानीको मुख बन्द रहन सकेन । सुन्तली काठमाण्डौँबाट फर्कदा गाउंमा

कतै कतै उसको रोगको बारेमा कुरा चुहिसकेको रहेछ । अलि अलि जान्ने बुझ्नेले जथाभावी यौन सम्पर्क गर्नेलाई यो रोग लाग्छ भन्ने कुरा फैलाउन थालेका रहेछन् । नारन दिल्लीमा बस्दा त्यतैका कोठीहरुको चक्कर काट्ने कुरा पछि उसका साथीभाइबाट खुल्न आए । तिनै कुराहरुमा आधारित भएर कतै कतै सुन्तलीलाई पातकीको स्वास्नी भनेर समेत हेला गरे । आफन्तहरु नै उसबाट रोग सर्ला भनेर पर पर भए । सुत्केरीमा एकसरो मीठो मसीनो पकाएर खाउने पनि कोही भएनन् । सुन्तलीले पाउनु दुख पाइ ।

सुन्तली निर्दोष थिई । एकछिनको यौनइच्छा रोक्न नसकेर कसैले गरेको अपराधको दण्डको भागी भएकी थिई । आफ्नो पतिसंग यौन सम्पर्क गर्नु उसको कुनै अपराध थिएन । यदि यस्तो होला भन्ने कल्पना मात्र भएको भए उसले आफुलाई त्यसबाट टाढै राख्ने थिई होला । घटनाको वास्तविक कारण गाउँमा धेरैलाई थाहा थिएन । कसैले उ प्रति सहानुभूति देखाउंथे र केही सहयोग पुर्याउंथे । कसैले पोइ टोकुइको संज्ञा दिन्थे । कोही मुल्याहा छोराले बाबु टोक्यो भन्थे । तर उ आफैलाई थाहा थियो उ कति टोकिइएकी छ, उसमाथि कति छल भएको छ भन्ने ।

कति पटक उसले आत्महत्याको विचार बोकेर हिंडीरही । कति पटक उसले आफैलाई सिध्याउने प्रयाश गरी । बच्चाको अनुहारमा नारनको झल्को आउंदा उसलाई सिध्याएर आफु पनि सेरिउं भन्ने सोचथिई । तर पुनः बालकको निर्दोष अनुहार हेरेर उसले त्यसलाई लागू गर्न सकिन ।

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गाउँ अझै व्युंभेको थिएन । सुन्तलीको घटना जस्तै घटना घर घरमा भयानक महामारीको रूपमा फैलन सक्ने सम्भाव्यता थियो । गाउँका अधिकांश युवा र अधवैशे मानिसहरु अझै पनि इण्डिया जाने क्रम रोकिएको थिएन, बरु बढ्दो बेरोजगारी र सामाजिक असुरक्षाको कारणले बढ्दो थियो ।

यो कुरा केही प्रगतिशिल युवाहरुबाट लुकेको थिएन । पहिले तीनै समाजसेवी युवाहरु जागे । निदाएका गाउँलेहरुलाई व्युंभ्याउने संकल्पका साथ 'प्रेरणा फाउण्डेशन'को गठन गरे । केही गरौं भन्ने भावना र अवनरत संकल्प बोकेर कर्मक्षेत्रमा होमिएका तिनै परीश्रमी युवाहरुले एचआइभी र एड्स विरुद्धको लडाईंलाई आफ्नो कार्य क्षेत्र बनाए । हो त्यसैको मूर्तरूप थियो प्रेरणाको यौनरोग तथा एचआइभी एड्स सचेतना कार्यक्रम ।

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“सुन्तली, तिमि भित्र जाउ अरे ।”

कसैले आफैलाई सम्बोधन गरेर बोलाउंदा सुन्तलीको सोचाइका श्रृंखला टुट्यो । विस्तारै उठेर भित्र गई । कार्यक्रमका संचालक आइसकेका रहेछन् ।

कार्यक्रमका संचालक नातामा दाजु पर्थे सुन्तलीको । धेरैबेर कुरा भयो । संस्थाको स्थापना र उद्देश्य देखि एचआइभी एड्स विरुद्धको संघर्षको पुरा कथा बताए उनले । यौनरोग र एड्सका कारण र लक्षणहरु विस्तृत रूपमा बताए । सुन्तलीले भोगेको सजायको कारक तत्वलाई स्पष्ट रूपमा चित्रित गरे । कति निर्दोष गृहिणीहरु अरुले गरेका भूलको सजाय असहाय भएर भोगिरहेका छन् भन्ने अवगत गराए । सुन्तलीले त्यो सुनिरही ।

उनको सामाजिक विकृति विरुद्धको आफ्नो संघर्षमा सुन्तलीबाट के चाहेका थिए त्यो पनि बताए उनले । हो उनले सुन्तलीको कथालाई उसकै शब्दमा सुनाएर समाजलाई सामाजिक विकृतिबाट जोगाउन चाहेका थिए । उनको प्रस्ताव स्वीकार गरेको खण्डमा सुन्तलीले गाउँ गाउँमा गएर अरु दिदी बहिनीको बीचमा आफ्नो कथा सुनाउनु पर्ने थियो । उनीहरुलाई स्वस्थ र स्वच्छ यौनजीवन विताउने सन्देश दिनु थियो ।

सुन्तलीले पुनः एक पटक आफ्नो अतितदेखि वर्तमान सम्म फर्केर सोची । अनि आफ्नो भविष्यको अवश्यंभावी मृत्युलाई नियाली । अब सुन्तलीलाई थाहा भइसकेको थियो उ धेरै बाँच्छिन भन्ने । छिटै मर्नु छ भने यो समाजलाई अलिकति गुन लगाएर मछु भन्ने अठोट गरी । आफुजस्ता दिदी बहिनीहरुको भाग्य र उनीहरुको अज्ञानता सम्झिइ र सास रहंदासम्म जीवनसंग संघर्ष गर्ने निर्णय गरी ।

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यसरी सुन्तलीले सहाराको कार्यक्रममा साथीशिक्षिकाको रूपमा काम गर्न लागि । उसलाई अहिले आफ्नो मृतक पतिको बेइमानीको कथा सुनाउंदा कुनै संकोच हुंदैन । उसले धेरैजना कार्यक्रमहरुमा सहभागी भई । उसको कथा सुनेर धेरैका आंखा रसाए । धेरै दिदी बहिनीका आंखाको बादल उनीहरुको आंसुसंगै पखालियो । गृहिणीहरुबाट शुरु भएको स्वस्थ यौनजीवन र सुरक्षित मातृत्वको ज्ञानको ज्योति सबै गाउँघरमा फैलियो ।

सुन्तलीले प्रेरणामा तीन वर्ष काम गरी । यसै बीचमा उसको सल्लाह र सुझावमा अनेकौं पटक महिला र पुरुषका लागि घुम्ति यौनरोग उपचार शिविरहरू संचालन गरिए । महिला र पुरुष दुवैलाई हुने गरी यौनरोग र एचआइभीको बारेमा सचेतना कार्यक्रमहरू गरिए । लुकाएर राखिएका यौनरोगहरूको उपचार पाएर महिलाहरूको शारीरिक, मानसिक विकास र उनीहरूको जीवनशैलीमा परिवर्तन भयो ।

आज सुन्तलीले यो संसारबाट सधैका लागि विश्राम लिई । उसको छोरा एचआइभी संक्रमणबाट मुक्त थियो । रोइरहेको छोरालाई उठाएर जेठानीले काखमा लिएर फुल्याइन् । घाटमा अश्रुपूर्ण नजरले सुन्तलीलाई विदा गर्दै जेठाजुले दागवत्ती दिए ।

अवर्न विश्वविद्यालय, अलावामा
मार्च ७, २००३

(This story has been originally published in INLS publication. -Ed.)

Poem: "Bidai ko Geet"

विदाइको गीत

भारती गौतम

आधा दशक सम्म आफ्नो ठानेको एक टुक्रा
जमीनलाई
मैले विताएका सबै पलहरूको साक्षी हरेक
दिनहरूलाई
चकमन्न रातमा पनि साथ दिने उजेलो जून लाई
टेबलमा राखेको फूलदानीमा सधैं सजिने सुन्दर
फूललाई
अनि
मेरो काखैमा गुटुमुटु निदाउने न्यानो रातलाई
भ्रिसमिसेमा भ्रिस्किएर मसंगै विउंभने प्रभातलाई
त्यसैगरी त्यही ठाउँमा फेरी भेट्ने
संभावनाको असंभाव्यता गाउनु पर्ने छ
किनकी आज मैले विदाइको गीत गाउनु पर्नेछ ।

कहिले हरिया पथहरूले
कहिले सेता बरफहरूले
कहिले केही नभएका रिक्ता हांगाहरूले भरिएका
अनि मेरो कोठेबारी भरि सजिएका
स्थीर अग्ला अग्ला रुखहरूलाई

भारती गौतम
बोस्टोन

(Sincere thanks to Gandhi R. Bhattarai for typing the poem in Devnagiri. - Ed.)

अब फेरी चैतमा चल्ने बतासले
उनीहरूको काठबाट पात मात्र नभएर
मसंगको नियमित साथ पनि उडाएर लाने बारे
सुटुक्क सानो सूचना गर्नुछ ।

मैले गाउने गीतमा
अहिले सम्मका संस्मरणका डोबहरूले डामिएको
मुटुको एक टुक्रालाई
मन पग्लिएर एकान्तमा बग्ने गरेका
आंखाको एउटा क्षणलाई
बेला बेला खुशी छल्किएर हांसो पोखिएका
ओठको अदृश्य मुस्कानलाई
अब आफुभित्र वियोगको विरह उम्लिए पनि
भक्कानिएर हांसन सारै कठिन भए पनि
विदाइको यो गीतमा हांसोकै साथ दिन भनेकी छु
विदाइलाई रोएर हैन हांसेर नै गाउने अठोट गरेकी
छु
विदाइको गीत हांसैरे गाउने अठोट मैले गरेकी छु

Reflections from a decade back: Shocking Tittle-Tattle

("Reflections from a decade back" is a regular feature of rejuvenated TND. Pramod Pandey compiles this section from materials published approximately 10 years ago. - Ed)

Compiled by: **Pramod Pandey**

Originally from: rajendra@coos.dartmouth.edu (Rajendra P. Shrestha)

Date: June 9, 1994

Source: The Independent, May 18th

News in Brief: Tittle-Tattle

You are in for an electric shock. Credentials of the key players in Nepal's water resources management go like this: minister has a degree in Civil Engineering, the secretary in International Law, and electricity boss in Chemical Engineering. Hare Ram, Ke garne?

Nepal has never been a fully sovereign state...thus Indian police raid in Baneshwor can't be considered interference in Nepal's internal affairs, says Gajendra Narayan Singh.

Shot in movie Mahadevi requires hero (Bhuvan) to kiss heroine (Karishma). Repeated retakes of the scene brought wrath to the heroine's actual husband, who thought more than one kiss too many and bashed up the director.

Vehicles used by Doctors Ram Prakash Yadav and Surya Man Shakya, both members of top-heavy and slow-moving Environmental Protection Council, miserably failed emission-control tests.

Sikkim-based doomsdayer Ram Chandra Paudel predicted the world would come to an end May 16. Now hear Paudel hospitalised due to burns received from a sacrificial fire. Well, for him the world nearly came to an end, but for the rest it was just another humdrum day.

Seems the visa authorities were careless in not stamping the date on an Australian lady's passport. It was noticed by the authorities as she was about to board a plane on departure. Eventually she had to spend the whole day explaining to officers, and pay a 500-buck fine. Her embassy sympathised, reportedly telling her that such things happen frequently here.

Quote of the Week:

This war is not an ideological one. It is between those who want stability and those who want to bring in instability. You may be sure that the Nepali Congress will not split. The confusion will be solved by discussions within the party.

-PM Girija Prasad Koirala, in Suruchi.

Original Humor: Nepal Man of the Year Award 2003

By "*Misunderstood Poet*" (M.P.)

Hello Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome to the first ever Man of the Year Award organized by Ministry of Whatever, His Majesty's government of Kathmandu. This award was started with a motive to expose and promote the hidden talents of aspiring politicians in the country. This program is partly being sponsored by The Sinking Nepal and the Simhadurbar-Bhakta Sansthan. Accept heartfelt welcome from your favorite announcer Misunderstood Kumar. I would like to start the program by Mr Controversial Award.

Nominations are:

Surya Bahadur Thapa : Also the nominee for Mr Confused, this veteran flips his words every now and then. For him, what is not constitutional today becomes constitutional tomorrow. He recently delivered an important message from India and, of course, modified it before telling it to the public.

Girija Prasad Koirala: Also the nominee for Mr Designed, Koirala is now on a tour of places he never visited during the last twenty years. He claims to have the insider-knowledge of the 2001 June massacre and is known for black mailing another nominee for this award, Gyanendra Shah.

Gyanendra Prasad Shah: Also the nominee for Mr Mute, Shah is hard to describe. Only person capable of twisting the 2047 constitution, Shah hails from Narayanhity and rules most of the country, namely the area inside Ring Road.

Madhav Kumar Nepal: Also the nominee for Mr Clandestine, Nepal is supposed to have discovered a tunnel from Kathmandu to Lukhnow to which no other Nepali has an access. Prospective candidate for the hot (and of course, boiling) seat of Simhadurbar, Nepal was recently labeled by our first nominee as "a responsible person who does irresponsible things."

Sabraj Rajbhandari: Following instructions without any opposition is the key to success, one might learn from his life story. Recently appointed as the chief commissioner of one of the apex bodies in the country, Rajbhandari is said to have no clue what he is doing.

So, let's see who the winner is! And to declare the results, I call a humorist who was recently voted as one of the sexist men in Nepal. Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome Mr Sexy cum oldy! Meanwhile, please do not leave your seat because we have many more interesting nominations. Some of the very interesting nominees are Gurung Karsaap for Mr Logic (remember the "logic" he gave for Rajib Shrestha's death in Banasthali Chowk), Lokendra Bahadur Chand for Mr Loser, Prakash Chandra Lohani for Mr Pancha, Parsunarayan Chaudhari for Mr Rally, Govinda Raj Joshi for Mr Wall and Chiranjivi Wagle for Mr Clean. Oh I completely forgot, can we now have a minute of silence for all those who have died or have been killed in the name of Maoism? Wait, wait, let me go to India and ask if having a moment of silence is ok with her?

[Misunderstood Poet, a student in suburban Philadelphia, can be reached at mispoet63@yahoo.com]
