

The Nepal Digest

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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 \(TND\)](http://TheNepalDigest.org). 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.

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Editorial: "Remembering Fateful June 1st, 2001"

By **Ujjwal Bhattarai**

Dear Readers:

Perhaps, the single-most poignant day in the history of Nepal was the Friday night of June 1st, 2001, when King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya were shot dead along with nine other family members, apparently by the crown prince. Thus, King Birendra, the beloved guardian of the Nepali people, was snatched away from us in a bloody massacre overnight.

Today, after 3 long years of witnessing a piece of history written in blood, with half-choked voice, I express my undefinable shock and sadness, and with trembling hands I offer the dead ones bouquet of reverence.

This issue of TND is dedicated to beloved Late King Birendra.

Thank you.

Ujjwal Bhattarai
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Who said what?

TND Research

"If you would want me to give it to the corrupt and those who misgovern, I would do it tonight."

King Gyanendra to Kanak Mani Dixit, editor of Himal South Asia

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"King is against the formation of an all-party government, so he will not hold elections in the country." -

Deuba

.....

"Since a political way-out to the present crisis is impossible through selection of a Prime Minister and formation of a new government, our party stresses the need for a dialogue among the king, parties and the civil society under UN facilitation,"

- **Prachanda**

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"I came from India to Harvard in 1976, and I was one of only three Indians in the undergraduate class. Five years ago, when I went back, Harvard had 1,500 South Asian students. Which means in five more years, America will be run by people who look like us. We bear no illusions about the elite anymore. We are the elite."

- **Meera Nair**



Letter to Editor: "Forgotton Hero: Jagannath Acharya"

- By **D.R. Bhattarai**

While Girija P. Koirala and Madhav P. Nepal were busy visiting King Gyanendra, media taken over to cover the news and to predict possible names for new Prime Minister of Nepal, only a few people noticed that a star freedom fighter of Nepal, Mr. Jagannath Acharya, a true *kisan neta* of Nepal, quietly paid his debt at the age of 81.

Many remembered Late Mr. Acharya as the "Field Commander" of the 2046 people's movement of Nepal that established the multiparty democracy in the country after 30 years of autocratic Panchayati System. He was the coordinator of the movement for Bagmati Zone and hence planned, implemented and oversaw all the activities of popular movement in Kathmandu valley and in the overall zone itself. Since Ganesh Man Singh, Krishna P Bhattarai and others were either arrested or under house arrest, all the freedom fighters looked unto Mr. Acharya for policies, and instructions.

Late Mr. Acharya was a true peasant leader of Nepal, pioneer of land reform in Nepal from the time of B.P. Koirala in 2016 when he was a Member of Parliament (M.P.) to his minister-ship after 2046 people's movement and so he remained until his death. He was a firm believer in his opinion that the worker should be the real owner ("**Jasko Jot, Usko Pot**") that he even rebelled against his own party when Girija P. Koirala lacked the courage to implement his proposed land reform bill.

Mr. Acharya's demise is a terrible loss for the people of Bhaktapur whom he represented, all peasants of Nepal, and to the country itself.

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Interesting News from Nepal

- By TND Research

News: "How to find out Rent-tax in Lalitpur? Go Online."

Now if you collect basic information about Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City and its various wards, or you need to be informed about various tax, fees, maps, or various procedures of the city, now it can be done online at <http://www.lalitpur.org.np/>

This easy to navigate informational site also consists of data such as number of schools, colleges, hospital, clinics, tourist spots, as well as number of wells in the area. Visit <http://www.lalitpur.org.np/>

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News: "Need Permission to Wed"

Dailekh–Villagers now need permission from the Maoists even to get married. In Bindyabasini village, the rebels abducted 41 couples, all newly married, and three Brahmin priests. Their crime was marrying without the permission of the local 'people's government', making them liable for punishment. The Maoists are now going to every village with the message that no one can marry without their approval. They also threatened the people against reporting abductions, especially to the press.

Source: Rajdhani, 11 May

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Immigration Questions and Answers

- By Ramesh K. 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)

There are 3 questions in this issue.

Question #1

Molayos Shre from the USA <molayos@****.com> asked:

My Dad received his Green Card couple years ago and he has been going back and forth between US and Nepal with his Re-entry Permit. He left to Nepal on Aug 2003 after applying Re-entry . Now-a-days Reentry Permit decision takes almost 2 years, so he'll have to come back by this years July 2004 (within 1 year of applying). But because his bad health situation and because he has to take care of his parents, he doesn't want to do all these travels.

- 1) Is there anyway to maintain GreenCard without him have to come this July?
- 2) Is there anyway he could come only after he receives his Re-entry permit?
- 3) If he is willing to give up his GreenCard, is there a form he has to fill out so that US immigration knows and if he ever wants to come US, he'll then have to get the visiting visa?

Thank you

Answer:

Dear Ana ji:

A reentry permit is valid for 2 years. If your father has already applied for such permit, he can wait until it is approved. However, it is recommended that he enter the U.S. within one year due to the huge DHS backlog. In his case, it appears that he left last year in August. If his reentry permit is approved, it will be valid for 2 years from the time he applied for. You can calculate the timing by checking the Service Center Processing Time Report at www.USCIS.Gov. If your father fails to comply with the residency requirement, it will automatically be deemed that he abandoned his resident status. As a result, he must get a nonimmigrant visa to enter the United States.

Question #2

J. Shah from Brookline, MA asked:

Dear Sir,

I would like to bring to your knowledge that many Nepalese were innocent victims of fraud by reputed lawyers who represented their cases to obtain their green card. The case closed recently and the money was sent back to the victims. Was that a fair judgement? What is the next step for the victims? Is there another chance to try and get a greencard. What advise do you give to all the victims? Could some influential organization bring this matter up to the concerned authorities so that they could compensate in terms of the time lost in this case, i.e. almost 4 years. Please help the victims understand and clear the confusion.

Thank you

Answer:

Dear Shah ji:

First of all, it is not clear which green card fraud case you are referring to. I heard of one fraud case in Washington D.C. (if I am correct) where many Nepalese people were involved and lost their hope and money. Other than that, if there is any other case somewhere occurred in the United States, I do not know about it.

If you are referring to the Washington D.C. based law firm case, the beneficiaries whose labor applications were filed prior to April 30, 2001 are eligible for §245(i) of INA. In other words, they can go for a second application (either labor certification application or any other immigrant petition) now and can adjust their status in the United States under §245(i).

I am not sure how the victims would be entitled to compensation for their lost dream, where there is a clear presumption that the beneficiaries were also a part of the scam.

Question #3

Rudy Baptiste ([rudybaptistepo@**.com](mailto:rudybaptistepo@****.com)) from the United States asked**

Dear Mr.Shrestha.

I'm a U.S citizen, my girlfriend live in Cuba. Would it be faster for me to travel to Cuba and marry her or file a fiance petition.What is the fastest way for her to come to the U.S.

Thank You.

Answer:

Dear Rudy:

You have two options. Either you can file a fiance petition (K-1) or you can go to Cuba and marry her and file K-3 petition. It all depends on your preference and your situation. In terms of time involvement, the K-1 option will be faster. But there are some subsequent conditions you must comply with. You will have 90 days to effectuate your proposed marriage from the time your fiance enters the United States.

Good luck.

Ramesh K. 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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Remembering Late King : "Narayanhiti-Parba"

- *By Surendra R. Devkota*

As June 1 approaches, I always remember that black day as another day of emergence of the conspiratory theory (CT) in Nepal. How it works? Who defines, and executes etc.? These seem futile exercises for few, but in many cases it deserves to pay some attentions.

What is a conspiracy theory?

'Conspiracy' is derived from the Latin "conspirare," ("to breathe together"), and in contemporary usage it is a situation where two or more people agree to perform an illegal or immoral act. The vital machineries are the involvement of a group of people, secrecy, and malicious intent. Conspiracy is the act of working in secret to obtain some goal, usually understood with negative connotations. In United States v. Shabani (1994) the US Supreme Court ruled: "...Congress intended to adopt the common law definition of conspiracy, which does not make the doing of any act other than the act of conspiring a condition of liability..." This ruling indicates that conspiracy, without any further action, can be criminal. Note that a "conspiracy", as a legal term in the US, does not always require more than one person. (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Conspiracy+theory>).

Motivation

A conspiracy theory alleges that some particular event -- such as an assassination. In its most common use, assassin has come to mean someone who kills (assassinates) an important person, usually for ideological or political reasons. The immediate motivation for an assassin may be money (in the case of a hit man), opposition to a person's beliefs or belief systems (in the case of a fanatic, for example), orders from a government (often carried about by a subversive agent such as a spy), or loyalty to a competing leader or group.

Two Royal Examples:

In recent years global community witnessed two royal examples of CT: death of Prince Diana, and carnage of late King Birendra's family.

After six years of ups and downs about Lady Diana's fatality, an ongoing new inquiry will try to unfold the CT about her death. Back to Nepal it seems the royal chapter is closed forever. What a pity? A beloved king and his inheritance were eliminated in an opaque event of bloodshed but general people are deprived of facts. If a ruler tries to rule based on CT, you don't get perfect information then doubt will emerge that may backfire the system. From time to time Girija P Koirala, the then prime minister

during royal bloodshed used to spent few words or sentences about the Narayanhiti CT, but his efforts were limited just to pressurize the King rather than to disclose perfect information.

It seems that the present King does not want further digging in the mud. Who knows whose face will be smeared? New theories are wiping the old ones! Why shouldn't be there a new inquiry about the June 1 2001 assassination in Nepal? That cruel day of June 1 2001 turned into a black day of Nepal as entire family members of the former King Birendra, brother of present king, were killed. Further it ended nearly 300 years' traditional ruling system set by the Shah dynasty in Nepal.

It is still mysterious who and why anyone killed the former king and his entire family, though a commission set by the present king briefly explained how it happened as if it witnessed the entire carnage drama. The so-called commission just simply blamed the dead one so that ghost will never emerge! Why the so-called people's government in Nepal didn't bother further about this royal massacre? Whether the people of Nepal simply believe what is written in the royal commission's incomplete report?

History of modern Nepal, i.e., after PN Shah reveals some pertinent examples of CT. We all read the incidents like *Kota-Parba*, *Bhadarkhal-Parba* etc., which were orchestrated by the royalists to seize the power from one guy to other. The recent *Narayanhiti-Parba* is indifferent from that perspective. May be we have to wait further to know about the Narayahiti CT? But for how long?

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Politics: "Achievement of Peace"

- By Dr. Tara Nath Sharma

You know that it is a very important and all-encompassing political problem that has ruined the sleep of many thinkers today. I was asked to give a lecture on the topic of The King and the Maoist Insurgents in Nepal to the students and teachers of Florida International University on March 3. I had been avoiding to give vent to my feelings on this controversial issue for long, but when I was confronted with this task in a US university, I had to say something on this nerve-racking topic. I began with the importance of monarchy in the Nepalese geo-political context, as it is the symbol of unity and existence of the nation.

The Maoists advocate like true and classical communists a republic form of headship for Nepal. They do not like to follow the Constitution of Nepal (1990) as they say it was a compromise document prepared by the royalists, the Nepali Congress representatives and the moderate leftists headed by the Unified Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Maoists quite logically assert that the real Nepalese people, through their elected representatives, had no say whatsoever in the frasing of the constitution. Hence they have been calling for an election for a Constituent Assembly for making a new constition. Their plea that a constitution made by nominated members of three groups is just a compromise of three selfish interests and groups leaving aside a large majority of the common people of the Motherland.

It is indeed a most tragic situation if arms are indiscriminately used to resolve issues. Whoever may be the user of arms, it is always harmful to the smooth functioning of the society and the nation. Whenever a bitter infight like the one in Nepal is brought to a close, it naturally gives a tremendous boost to peace and genuine hopes of happy, free and secure life begin to grow.

Mr. Pushpa Kamal Dahal,s declaration of cease-fire and its immediately following support by a reciprocal announcement of the government have paved the way for a peaceful settlement of a sad issue destroying the very fabric of the Nepalese nation for the last seven years or more. Bleak future with no inflow of decent life created fear at every step and made the life of innocent people a journey to the veritable hell.

Most political analysts may blame the Maoists for it all as the Maoists, on their part, have been relentlessly waging a brutal internecine armed struggle, particularly concentrating their activities in farflung hilly and rural regions of the country, but, to be honest, it is the doing of the so-called democratic leaders elected by the common people. For the last thirteen years, these political leaders acted openly and unhesitatingly as ruthless warlords and selfish despots throwing the laws of the land

overboard and nakedly defying the rule of law. Instead of fulfilling the promises of rebuilding the nation as they made when appealing to the innocent people for votes during elections, these cunning representatives began to collect money for their private use by hook or by crook and by ruining the basic infrastructure of the country.

The money that had to go for constructing much needed roads, hospitals, schools and irrigation canals were channelized to their own private gains in making palatial buildings, on foreign joy trips and on amassing wealth for their families for generations. The quality of education alarmingly deteriorated, the morale of the government employees went down steadily and the whole nation began to make a nose-dive in every field of developmental activities. On the one hand, the silent majority suffered, but on the other hand, a few youths began to revolt this evil state of affairs openly. One of the outspoken and vehement elements emerged in the country is known today as Maoists.

They felt that all the Nepalese children should have an open access to education and healthcare, appropriate jobs should be provided to all and everyone should have a decisive say in the administration. With these basic human values of equality, Maoists appeared in the scene. Naturally, those enjoying the fruits of the nation without any opposition from any side got infuriated and didn't tolerate any sharp criticism of their own totally undemocratic behavior.

Ideologically, these dissatisfied young persons looked toward the Unified Marxist Leninist Party of Nepal with hope, but the party which had mustered second largest number of votes in the democratic elections, had developed into as inactive and corrupt-prone as the majority party (Nepali Congress). Not only this, the UML (communist) Party when came to power behaved almost the same sloppy way as the Nepali Congress. Then these youths organized themselves as the extreme leftist party advocating total change in the country. Their main demands are:

1. Free education for all (without any discrimination)
2. Free and fair election for Constituent Assembly
3. Freedom from economic exploitation
4. Establishment of a Democratic Republic of Nepal

With these objectives in view, they launched their violent struggle from rural areas. The innocent uneducated mass appreciated their many reformative, just and progressive gestures to begin with, but as time passed they grew violent and when arms became an answer to social conflict, the atmosphere grew tense and more and more terrifying. Not only the adversaries but innumerable innocent people lost their dear lives. More than seven thousand people got mercilessly killed. Among those the majority was made up of young boys and girls who were sacrificed unnecessarily in the prime of their youth. Teachers, students, young activists together with low rank policemen and army men got brutally killed. It was a loss of Nepalese blood on our Motherland's sacred soil for nothing.

Had there been no flexibility in their demands, why would the Maoists opt for coming to the table leaving aside their arms? As far as the 1990 constitution is concerned, it is in deed a good one, but no constitution can be and should be made totally rigid and for all time. Like the people and their needs, like their demands, everything is in a flux and the constitution is also not above and beyond the universal law of change. The existing constitution should not come in the way of joining hands between brothers and sisters, nor as an impediment to time-honored change. If we proudly advocate the sovereignty of the people, we must also without any reservation recognize their exclusive right of amending the constitution according to their needs.

The main issue is the achievement of peace, security, progress and prosperity for our nation. We love Nepal and the Nepalese people. Our main objective is and should be a free and fearless life for us all.

To promote a permanent peace and respect for diversity through citizen participation in programs that develop a consensus around peace issues. To contribute to the definition of a permanent national peace policy through action, ideas and research aimed at the construction of a society based on policies of social justice and sustainable, humane development.

Democracy is another name for the emancipation of the common people and also equal opportunity for all the citizens. Our ultimate goal is to achieve true democracy and to achieve that goal for the happiness of all our people.



Politics: "People's Power"

- By Pramod Mishra

"Give real power back to the people and see what happens."

Given his past reputation and present dealings, for many Nepalis, King Gyanendra's effort to run the country by fiat is illegitimate and his aspiration for heard-and-seen monarchy suspect. His insistence on having elected representatives, however corrupt, at his beck and call is futile. The slogan of patriotism has bled itself dry for many in Nepal—they want their sovereignty back.

This has not stripped the legitimacy of the monarchy yet, but how long can the king continue to be intransigent while being violently challenged by the Maoists, impatiently sloganised by republican youths and stiffly opposed by the parties? Doesn't he need to prevent irrevocable damage to the institution that has made him who he is?

In the short term, he may inflict some broken bones in the streets but this way he and his dynasty stand to lose big time in the longterm. All his speeches about the Shah dynasty following the people's wishes may not be enough to rescue the monarchy if he waits too long.

But the agitating party leaders also have a responsibility to find a way out of this deadlock. The willingness to clash with the police may show moral courage, but it is not enough to rescue a failing state with vision, clarity and fortitude. Nor is it enough to convince the common Nepali, disillusioned by a 12-year political circus, to join the struggle for democratic revival.

Even if their head wounds allow some politicians to atone for their past sins, it will not convince skeptics that they have turned a new leaf. What guarantee is there that they will not engage in the same corruption, willful misconduct and constant, shameless backstabbing of those in power by those outside the circuit, relentless factional strife and intrigue? The way, for example, that tainted figures have been coddled and sheltered even after CIAA indictments does not bode well.

If the parties have a blueprint for a reformed democracy, they haven't told us what it is yet. Now that the Surya Bahadur Thapa government has resigned, and they are jostling for berths in a future government, we see the beginnings of the same intrigue and fractiousness that characterised their years in power.

Do they, especially the faction-ridden Congress, have the courage to own up to their lapses and show us that this time it is going to be different? The public doesn't seem convinced that the past won't be repeated.

True, as some columnists in this paper have argued, lots of good things happened since 1990. People became sovereign, their enthusiasm rose and democracy created a grassroots demand for elected representatives who performed. Partly fueled by global tendencies, Nepalis with their limited skills are now more than willing to risk journeys abroad for betterment. But the political leadership lacked the vision and training to channel that optimism to cleanse and uplift Nepal. They became engrossed, and ultimately lost, in their own petty rituals of power.

That said, no matter how much we hate them, the reinstatement and future of democracy lies with these very parties and their untainted leaders. The conscientious and courageous among them need to step out with specific, detailed and concrete manifesto about the future. For starters: how about throwing out the rotten apples? If the people had a forum, this is what they would be asking the leaders: why should we trust you now?

Nothing is more important than a reaffirmation among the Nepali people of their right to rule themselves through their own elected representatives and the right to throw them out in the next election if they don't like them.

(Dr. Mishra is an advisor to TND. This article was also published by Nepali Times at http://www.nepalitimes.com/issue196/guest_column.htm)

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Analysis: "Resolving the National Conflict in Nepal"

- By **Dr. Poorna Kanta Adhikary**

Resolving the national conflict in Nepal has now become the greatest challenge of our time. The Nepali violent conflict has two dimensions: one is related to the historical part, described by persistence of structural causes of societal tensions and the other is the present national tri-polar political conflict. Both of these dimensions interact and reinforce each other, bringing each time much deeper mutually hurting stalemate after every cycle of failed peace negotiation. The first dimension is the persistence of repressed feelings from the centuries old oppression, which found the way to explode through expressions in the free atmosphere provided by the restoration of democracy in 1990. The country, which was integrated geographically and militarily two and half centuries ago, fell far short in its integration socially, economically and culturally. Nepal and Switzerland were formed around the same time and they did not differ much then. The difference that is appearing between these two independent nations now after two and half centuries, has probed the questions: "What has gone wrong with Nepal? What role the Nepali monarchy has played in this context?"

Nepal has the characteristics of a nation which has a spectrum of reality distributed from the 12th to 21st century. Managing a country of such a diversity and inequalities and resolving the underlying conflicts has not been an easy task. Resolving the dimension of the conflict related to the structural causes is not a one time shot or an over night effort but needs a sincere and patient attempt on the part of the civil society, academic, bureaucratic and political leaders. It requires the genuine practice of the accountable governance and polity, which is not only democratic but also judicious, transparent and efficient. There is no over night solution to such a conflict, which has to be addressed through clearly defined programs with short, medium and long term strategies.

It is true that the people have lost their patience as their political leaders, rather than making sincere efforts to resolve their problems through the above mentioned strategies, have been found more engaged in nepotism, favoritism and corruption. The opportunity provided to them by the people through the elections has been simply wasted. The country which is between two giant economies each having almost double digit increments per year is approaching to be called a "failed state". This is the reason why people have been showing indifference to the call of the political parties against the King's action of October 2002. The current movement of the political parties has not taken as yet the momentum to the level of their expectations. It should be noted here that their anti-regression slogan has been far short of becoming as yet people's agenda. The intension of this article is not to deal with this dimension of the conflict at this point but the second one, which is about the tri-polar conflict.

The second dimension of the conflict is the complexity of the push and pull factor of the tri-polar tension of mutually exclusive political ideologies represented by autocratic monarchy, multi-party democracy and one party dictatorship. No matter how complex it is, it can be and should be addressed right away. Here the King has a significant role to play. King Gyanendra was very well regarded as a very self-assertive and intelligent man, who had the qualities of a well groomed statesman, politician, businessman, manager and environmental activist blended all into one, with a very wide experience right from the grass-roots to the international level. It has been natural for many people to have high expectations from him to lead this country to prosperity. However, his performance as the chief executive officer (CEO) of the country during the last 18 months of his direct rule has been terribly disappointing. By having fired the elected Prime-minister in October 2002, the King had voluntarily put himself into the center of the national conflict. People wondered then that he must possess a "trump card" in the game of managing the national conflict?" Having failed in bringing a negotiated settlement with the Maoists, nor any cooperation from the mainstream political parties in managing the country's affairs, nor hold the national election, which was over due since long back, he has isolated himself further. His recent call for election without resolving the Maoist conflict only puts "horse before the cart". An implication of such a scenario could easily lead to another blood bath.

It seems that the King has neither the "trump card" to resolve the Maoist conflict nor any means to take the country forward. His own words of October 2002, which labeled the elected Prime-minister Deuba as "incompetent to hold election" have only back fired on him bringing an unprecedented allegation against the Nepali Monarch. Obviously, choice of the words made then was not at all appropriate as it did not even fit the basic norms of a constitutional monarch of a democratic country of the twenty-first century, nor could it even reflect the sensitivity of the prevailing situation of the country then. Rather it reflects an opportunistic approach to rob away the rights of the people. This indicates the kind of out-dated environment the Nepali Royal Palace is still having and that it has not been able to transform itself as yet to the needs of the time. It is the sentiment behind this that has

echoed in the words being used by the youth in the streets of Kathmandu against the King. Having said this, this author still thinks that the King must have a significant role to play in the resolution of the prevailing violent conflict and pave the way for a democratic and prosperous Nepal.

The palace coterie, under the illusion that the people are no longer with the political parties, influenced the King to take up the anti-constitutional step in October 2002. The coterie seems to have no answer to the current stalemate except to provide "emperor's new robes" to the King through the so called facilitation (Abhinandhan) programs in regional and district headquarters while the more conscious mass has been busy in pointing out his share nakedness as demonstrated in the streets of Kathmandu valley. It seems as if the King also has become the prisoner of his own coteries and has not been able to rise above them just as some of the political leaders have been so with their own corrupt cadres. As he has got hold of the executive power of the country, he cannot escape criticism of what he has done. A brave action is warranted from him not only to liberate the people but also himself from the ongoing stalemate of the violent conflict. The situation is now developing into such an explosive situation, any delay in his action, with continuation of the status-quo can only be counter productive, which could only have serious implications to the monarchy as a whole. This author can also tell from his experience in the Iranian revolution that the palace coteries in times of crisis are always two steps behind the emerging events. Similar indications are appearing in Nepal as well.

The choices for the King at this time are only two: One is to go back to pre-October 2002 by either reinstating deposed Deuba government or by forming an all party-government which is acceptable to all of the agitating main stream political parties and let them proceed from there to deal with the Maoists on their own. This means that the King brings the Constitution back into the track and accepts the position provided to him by the people and constitution. Here it should also be noted that reinstated Deuba alone cannot resolve the conflict unless he can mobilize the support of other political parties and the Maoists. His reinstatement can only become a starting point to move towards resolving the conflict. The second is the King to speak out boldly that the 1990 Constitution does not give enough space for him to become "constructive." In this case he will have to operationalize what he means by being "constructive" and have that agreed by every political party including the Maoists. This means that he will have to call the round table conference as the Maoists have been demanding and put up his case there. His recent initiative in holding consultation with political leaders is commendable indeed. Such an initiative should be made with honest intension to resolve the problem. Otherwise, every failed consultation based upon mutual distrust leads to higher level of conflict reinforcing mutually hurting stalemate.

The tri-polar conflict scenario of Nepal, which this author presented right after the royal take over in October 2002, did not convince then many of those who have been brought up to understand human conflict in binary model. Many of the international agencies were also after the binary model as the conflict to them is only between the sides: the government and the rebels. The Maoist-Government cease-fire of January 30, 2003 and the dialogue between them after that was also influenced by this thought. This author was not at all surprised by the break down of the dialogue as he had expressed publicly on his prediction of its breakdown, mainly because the mainstream political parties, which are equally the important party to the conflict have been missing from the dialogue table. Although the mainstream political parties were not against the dialogue, rather they were supportive of it, it failed mainly because the two parties-Maoists and the King's government had nothing in common except both could push people through the barrel of their guns. Only one of their common interests if any was met then, which was to sideline the mainstream political parties, who by not going through the scheduled election were made to lose their common parliamentary political platform.

Besides, the biggest bottleneck of the past dialogues was that they had no professional approach to its management. The appointed so called facilitators did not do any task related to dialogue facilitation, as they had no knowledge nor skills in facilitation tasks. They were reduced to become the initiators and observers and at times advisors. Having seen a similar situation in the first round of Maoists-Government negotiation, this author had put up an article on "Conditions of Dialogue" and distributed widely, which tries to make aware the concerned parties to understand the gravity of the problem and the role of a facilitator/mediator in such a dialogue. The negotiators from the government side did not have any thoughts about the consequences of the issues they were discussing. The issue related to the army limiting to the 5-km radius area was really strange, which surprised everyone around the world. It seemed as if neither side was serious about the dialogue. It looked that it was only an excuse for doing something else, which was not possible during the war time. Doramba incident became another excuse for the breakdown of the dialogue, as if neither side really wanted a

negotiated settlement. Anyway, one can only learn from the past mistakes and avoid repeating similar experience in future.

Kofi Annan's anxiety in Nepal's conflict and his willingness to extend the support of his good office in its mediated resolution is commendable indeed. There is no doubt in the sincerity in Mr. Annan's offer, as during the last decade the UN has been drawn more and more into dealing with internal conflict of the member nations. The experience from the past conflicts around the world has been that post-conflict rehabilitation is many more times expensive than preventive measures. The loss of human life has been invaluable and cannot be counted in terms of dollars. An early action for conflict prevention or mitigation, oriented towards saving lives and properties is always preferable than the eventual post-conflict rehabilitation. From this point of view, UN's interest in mediating for resolution of Nepal's conflict is understandable and so is the faith demonstrated by some people for their entry into the task. However, one should also look into the limitations of an agency like the UN, which has to operate only in the mandate provided by the member governments. The government the way it is in Nepal right now, serious questions are being raised about its own legitimacy. Even if the UN were to act as per the mandates provided by the present government, one can question the acceptability of the results coming out by the other parties to the conflict. Besides this, Nepal has its own geo-political conditions, which require a different attention.

We can also learn from the experience of Norway brokered Sri-Lankan peace process. This author has not been surprised at all by the action of Sri Lanka's President Kumaratunga, first to sack the important ministers from the Prime Minister Wickremesinghe's cabinet and then to dissolve the parliament. The Norwegian facilitator seems to have been encircled by the binary conflict model-government vs. rebels as they just confined themselves to look at the interests of the whole spectrum of power politics of Sri Lanka through the eyes of Wickremesinghe's government alone. As a result, the President felt alienated from the whole peace process and felt threatened by it. That is why she acted on it by throwing Wikremesinghe out. The peace settlement in Sri Lanka is much farther now than it was a year ago. Even now, Kumaratunga with her own party government and with Norwegian support will not be able to resolve the conflict with the Tamils without the full support of her opponent Wickremesinghe. For a permanent settlement constitutional change is inevitable for which they all have to come together.

Similar situation applies here in Nepal as well. The King cannot resolve the conflict in Nepal by dealing alone with the Maoists, nor can he do so only by dealing with the mainstream political parties. Even if he decides to go back to pre-October 2002 condition, neither a single party government nor an all party government can resolve the conflict with the Maoists without the support of the King. All of the three power centers have to come together to resolve the conflict. Cooperation from the external power centers has to be obtained simultaneously. The binary approach simply will not work even if the King's government goes right away for UN brokered peace process.

We can note here the words of Bill Clinton while he was talking about "A Global Community", as published in International Herald Tribune (The Kathmandu Post, November 7, 2003). He said that "As we see every day Iraq, the United States has the only super-military in the world. We can win any military conflict all by ourselves, but we can't build the peace all by ourselves. So what does that mean?" In a multi-ethnic multi-cultural world today "most of the problems we have today are ill suited to unilateral action." ... "I believe that fundamentalism - the sense that you have the certain truth and the entitlement to impose it on the others - is not well suited to solving the problems of the modern world in either religion or politics." As said by Chairman Mao, the power definitely comes for two Nepali "bandukes" through the barrel of their guns. This power can definitely push people around by force, but it in no way can it build peace and prosperity in Nepal.

Here Mahabharata is equally relevant on what was said by Bhisma from his death bed to Yudhistira: "When politics becomes lifeless, the triple Veda sinks, all the dharmas (i.e. the bases of civilization), howsoever developed, completely decay. When traditional State-Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered. In Politics are realized all the forms of renunciation, in Politics are united all the sacraments, in Politics are combined all knowledge: in Politics are centered all the worlds" (Shantiparva, 63.28.29). So let politics not be confined into only the game of tricks by anybody, as such tricks can only back fire the players in times of trouble.

(Author is President of Institute for Conflict Management Peace and Development (ICPD), which is based in Kathmandu. - Ed.)



Politics: "Why Hesitations for Constitutional Assembly?"

संविधानसभामा जान के को आपत्ति ?

विधान आचार्य

तातेको सडक, आक्रान्त देश :

सडकमा गणतन्त्रका नारा घन्किरहेका छन् । ती नारा लगाउनेहरू माओवादी घुसपैठिया हुन् भन्ने सरकारको मत छ । ती गगन थापा भन्ने नेविसंका ठिटा कहिले माओवादी भएछन् कुन्नि ? भारादारी सरकारको यस्तै दृष्टिका कारण होला, नेपालमा राजतन्त्र र गणतन्त्रका बीचको बहस सुरु भएको छ । विविध घटनाक्रमका कारण नेपालको राजतन्त्रले आऽनै औचित्यमाथि प्रश्न उठाउने काम आफैले गर्‍यो । राज-तन्त्र ले राज-नीति बुझेन । सयौं वर्ष पुरानो दरवारिया संस्कृतिलाई लाद्न खोज्यो । प्रत्येक पुस्तामा संस्कृति फेरिदै जान्छ । पुरानो संस्कृतिको समयानुकूल परिमार्जन भए अस्तित्व जोगिन्छ । नत्र इतिहास सारै कठोर हुन्छ । धेरैको अस्तित्व मटियामेट पाछै ।

देश माओवादीहरूको जनयुद्धबाट आक्रान्त छ । युद्धमा चल्ने बम गोलीका आँखा हुँदैनन् । मानवअधिकार स्वाहा भएको छ । शाही सैनिकले चलाएका र माओवादीले हानेका बम गोलीले तिनका शत्रु शत्रु छानेर मात्र प्रहार गर्दैनन् । बीचमा जो आइपुग्छ त्यो सिकार बन्छ । धेरैपालि यस्तो भएको छ । कतिपटक विवेक शक्तिको दुरुपयोग हुनाले दोहोरैतर्फबाट निमुखा र निर्दोषहरू पनि मारिएका छन् । शाही नेपाली (अर्थात् राजाको) सेनासित पनि बन्दुक छ, माओवादीको सेनासित पनि बन्दुक छ । बन्दुकले बन्दुकसित कुरा नगरीकन अहिलेको अवस्था साम्य हुँदैन । गिरिजाबाबु वा माधव नेपाल, हाल सत्ताधारी थापाहरू वा विर्चोलियाका भूमिका गर्ने भनिएका पदरत्न तुलाधरहरू खालि तपसील मात्र हुन् । राजाले स्वयं अधि बढेर कुराकानी थाल्न आवश्यक छ । नत्र धेरै मानिस मर्छन्, धेरै संस्था र शक्तिहरू विस्थापित हुन्छन् । देशले फेरि उठ्न दशकौं लाग्छ ।

नक्कली बखान :

नेपालमा राजालाई मान्नेहरू धेरै छन्, त्यसकारण बहुसङ्ख्यक जनताको मागअनुसार राजसंस्था बहाल रहिरहन पर्छ भन्ने भनाइ राजा र राजावादीहरूको छ । होला । राजा ज्ञानेन्द्रका अभिनन्दनहरूले पनि त्यस्तै देखाउन चाहेका हुनसक्छन् । परशुनारायणहरूको सक्रियतालाई पनि त्यससित गाँसेर हेरे हुन्छ । त्यसै कोटिमा पर्छ अहिलेको सरकार र त्यसका मन्त्रिगण । तर यी सबै शक्तिपूजाको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित आऽनो दूनो सोझाउने अस्थायी चाल मात्र हुन् । भोलि नेपाल गणतन्त्रमा परिणत भयो भने सबैभन्दा अधिल्ला हारमा बसेर त्यसको बखान गर्ने पनि फेरि यिनीहरू नै हुनेछन् । पञ्चायतलाई जोगाउन अन्तिम साससम्म मरिमेटनेहरूले संसदीय प्रणाली आउनासाथ बहुलवादी राजनीतिको उपदेश दिन थालेका थिए, नेपालीले विसंका छैनन् । त्यसैले पनि यो भीड वास्तवमा दरो बैशाखी हैन भनेर दरवारले बुझेकै हुनुपर्छ ।

भूमिकामा परिवर्तन :

गणतन्त्रमा जाने नजाने निर्णय सडकबाटै गर्नखोज्नु भनेको रक्तपातपूर्ण क्रान्ति गर्नु हो । प्रतिगमन सच्याउन राजाले नै पहल गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने पार्टीहरूको भनाइ छ । तर कसरी सच्याउने भन्ने प्रविधिमाथि अलि राम्रो बहस हुन आवश्यक छ । चैत्र मसान्तमा संसदको म्याद सकिएकाले फेरि त्यसको पुनर्वाली भन्नुको तुक छैन । अब आयो सर्वदलीय सरकारको कुरो । सर्वदलीय भनेका कुन कुन दल हुन्, र तिनको कति सामर्थ्य वा जनाधार देशमा छ र त्यसलाई मिल्दो सर्वदलीय सरकार कसरी बनाउने भन्ने होमवर्क गर्न जरूरी छ । यो काम राजाले प्रमुख आन्दोलनकारी पाँचदलका दलका नेताहरूलाई बोलाएर वार्ताद्वारा गर्नुपर्छ । पाँचदललाई उपेक्षा गरेर, खालि पशुपतिशम्शेर, देउवा वा बट्टी मण्डल प्रभृतिमात्र देशको समस्या किनारा लगाउन सक्दैनन् ।

देश चारैतिर रक्तपातको चपेटामा छ । राजसंस्थाले नेपालमा अहिलेसम्म जे भूमिका खेल्थ्यो वा खेल्न पायो, भोलिका दिनमा पनि त्यस्तै होस् भन्ने चाहना दरवारले पनि राख्नु हुँदैन । सबैका भूमिकामा इतिहासमा समयानुकूल परिवर्तन हुँदै जान्छ । यो स्वाभाविक हो र सबैले यस्तो परिवर्तनलाई स्वीकार पनि गर्नुपर्छ । हामी पहिले यस्तो थियौं, फेरि पनि त्यस्तै हुनुपर्छ भन्ने आग्रह राखियो पनि परिवर्तनकामी शक्तिको बाढीले धेरैथोक बहाएर लैजानसक्छ ।

माओवादी : निकासको अपेक्षा

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माओवादीहरूले पनि आऽना नीतिमा लचकता ल्याउने पछि । जनताको भलाइका लागि राजनीति गरेको भन्नेले जनता चारैतिरबाट चेपुवामा परेका बेला निकासका केही उपाय खोज्ने पछि । युद्ध भनेपछि, गैरसैनिक वा सुरक्षाकर्मीबाहेकका अरूमाथि आक्रमण हुनुहुँदैन भन्ने DnDविद्हरूको धारणा छ । वास्तवमा देशको दीर्घकालीन सैन्य सुरक्षाको अवधारणाबाट हेर्ने हो भने शाही नेपाली सेना र माओवादी सेना गरी दुवै सेनालाई एउटै राष्ट्रवादी धारमा ल्याउन सकेमा मुलुकलाई ठूलो हित हुन्छ । यी दुई एक अर्काका शत्रु नभएर पूरक भए भने देशको सुरक्षा व्यवस्था कति प्रबल हुँदो हो ?

राजाले एक वर्षभित्रमा चुनाव सुरु (सम्पन्न हैन) गर्ने भनेकाले त्यो एक वर्षअगावै चुनावको वातावरण बनाउनु राजा आफैका लागि राजवाक्यको मान राख्नु पनि हो । तर, के थापाहरूDारा नेतृत्व लिइएको यो भारादारी सरकारले नेपालका सबै चुनाव गराउन सक्छ त ? सोभो उत्तर छ सक्दैन । समस्याको अर्को पाटो पनि छ, माओवादीले देशका कयौँ गाउँहरू कब्जामा लिएका तथ्यलाई अस्वीकार गर्न सकिन्न । त्यसैले प्रस्ट छ, उनीहरूलाई पनि चुनाव गराउने धारमा नल्याईकन देशमा पूर्ण चुनाव हुन सक्दैन । त्यसोभए माओवादीलाई पनि चुनावमा ल्याउने उपाय के हो ? गणितका समस्याको हल गर्दा क्रमैसित एकपछि अर्को पड्कित गर्दै उत्तर निकाल्न हिसाब गरेजस्तो समस्याको चिरफार गर्दै जान आवश्यक छ । के अहिले भएजस्तो संविधानका अवस्थामा प्रतिनिधिसभा, जिविस वा गाविसका चुनाव गराइयो भने माओवादी भाग लिन आउँछन् ? वा तिनले आऽना आधार क्षेत्रमा समेत चुनाव गराउन दिन्छन् ? सोभो उत्तर छ, यो सम्भव छैन । छैन भने के गर्ने ? माओवादीहरूले समस्याको निकास खोज्ने सिलसिलामा उनीहरूलाई मान्य हुने बुँदा सार्वजनिक गर्न फेरि आवश्यक छ । किनभने पाँचदलको आन्दोलनपछि देशको अवस्था, सामान्य राजनीतिक वृत्तिको समेत सोचमा परिवर्तन आएको छ ।

संविधानसभा : एउटै मात्र निकास

अहिलेसम्मको स्थितिको विश्लेषण गर्दा माओवादीहरू चुनावका सहमतिमा आउने एउटै सम्भावना हो संविधानसभाको चुनाव । तिनीहरूले बारम्बार भनिआएका छन् अहिलेको संविधानमा केही फेरबदल हुनुपर्छ । संसारमा कुनै पनि वस्तु अपरिवर्तनीय भन्ने हुँदैन । पञ्चायती संविधानले त्यस व्यवस्थालाई निर्विकल्प मानेको थियो । खै त, विकल्प आयो । अहिलेको संविधानमा पनि परिवर्तन हुनसक्छ । केही संशोधनको खाँचो भएको अनुभव सबैलाई भएकै छ । धारा १२७ र ४२ कै क, ख र ग का दाउपेची प्रयोगहरूले संविधानको व्याख्याता भएको सर्वोच्च अदालतलाई धेरै धुमाउनुसक्ने आधारहरू छोड्न हुँदो रहेनछ भन्ने अनुभव भएको छ । कुरा पुनर्लेखनको, संशोधनको वा नयाँ निर्माणको जे भए पनि अहिलेको संविधानमा जत्रोसुकै किन नहोस् परिवर्तन आवश्यक छ भनेर सबैले एकै स्वरले स्वीकार गर्नेपछि ।

एकातिर जङ्गलबाट र अर्कातिर व्यारेकबाट बन्दुक तेर्सिँदा बीचका जनताले लुक्नेसम्म पनि ठाउँ नपाउने अवस्था सृजना भएको छ । यसरी नै जनता त्रस्त भएर देश चल्ने हो भने इतिहासकालीन बर्बरतातिर देश जान्छ र यसको अन्तिम परिणति भनेको बाहिरी शक्तिले देश कब्जा गरी हामी पराधीन हुन्छौँ । आज भूटानीहरू शरणार्थी भएर हामीकहाँ आएका छन्, उनीहरू बेग्लै सांस्कृतिक समूह भएका कारणले शरणार्थी भएका हुन् । आजको जस्तो अवस्था नेपालमा केही वर्ष कायम रह्नु भने भोलि नेपालीहरू वैचारिक कारणले शरणार्थी भएर अन्यत्र पलायन हुनु पर्नेछ ।

यदि संविधानसभाको चुनावका लागि सबैको एक मत हुन्छ भने यसमा राजाले पनि मानिबक्सिनु पर्छ । किनभने राजावादी शक्ति त त्यसै छँदैछ, संसदवादी शक्तिमा पनि धेरै त संवैधानिक राजतन्त्रका पक्षधर छन् । अलि पहिले भन्नु धेरै थिए । जब ठूलो जनलहर आऽना पक्षमा छ भनेर राजाले ठान्ने, सबैभन्दा ठूलो कहलिएको काङ्ग्रेसलगायत त्यसैको हाराहारीमा भएको एमालेले पनि संवैधानिक राजतन्त्र मान्न आपत्ति नभएको अभिव्यक्ति दिन्छ भने भोलि बन्ने संविधानसभाको बहुमतले गणतन्त्रकै पक्षमा वकालत गर्छ भन्ने ग्यारेन्टी पनि त छैन । कदाचित् त्यसले नेपालको राजतन्त्रलाई संवैधानिकरूपमा राख्न स्वीकार गर्‍यो भने राजा भन्नु जनताDारा नै छानिएका, पक्का र बलिया राजा हुने भए । बरू राजाप्रतिको सोच जनतामा मर्यादित रहँदा नै राजाबाट कदम चालिबक्सिए त्यसको धेरथोर फाइदा राजसंस्थालाई हुँदो हो ।

कदाचित् संविधानसभाको चुनावको परिणाम त्यसको उल्टै भयो भने पनि यो नेपालको राजसंस्थाको देशका लागि ठूलो गुन हुनेछ । इतिहासका पानामा यसका गुणअवगुणका चर्चा र विवेचना गर्नेहरूले राजसंस्थालाई सराउनेछन् । फेरि जनइच्छा नै हाम्रो शासनको एक मात्र आधार हुनेछ भन्ने बेहोरा राजाहरूका धेरै सम्बोधनमा परेको छ । अनि यो जनइच्छाको परीक्षणमा जान केको आपत्ति ?

केही पूर्वसर्त :



The years of 2002 and 2003 were characterised by heavy fighting between government and rebel forces, which displaced hundreds of thousands of people and further ruined what was left of the country's infrastructure. It has become clear that previous peace agreements have failed because they were mainly interpreted as silencing the guns. However, it recognized that some adjustments may be necessary to take account of the changed realities on the ground.

At the beginning of the year there had been small signs of hope and the emergence of the possibility of dialogue in Nepal. The seeds of peace were also being sown in the country. Also of note was the invitation to the United Nations to become more fully involved in the peace process. That was good news, because the UN could set the stage for peace and dialogue with Maoists. Maoists must play a more constructive role in Nepali society if it wanted to be a part of the country. The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme needed to be looked at more closely with the United Nations.

What would the next steps be in the resumed dialogue between the Government and Maoists? Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai must show their intention for peace and give up their policies of violence.

Given the context of the conflict, it is important to look closely at Nepal's humanitarian situation, particularly ways to allow access to the war-affected population. Safety of humanitarian aid workers are the priority concern even much remained to be done, however, to provide assistance to the wider population. The severe humanitarian crisis in Nepal affected the negotiation process. The current Nepali political system, when viewed as a whole, completely lacks the democratic legitimacy demanded by the Nepali constitution, as well as by the standards of international public law.

To see how best we can contribute to the reconciliation process. Without political leaders support it is next to impossible to get a government going so it is logical to have them involved.

Although the Special Envoys/ Representatives acted during different phases of the conflict and peace process, their contributions to the restoration of peace in Nepal were equally valuable. Over a period of almost seven years, the Special Envoys/Representatives were responsible for designing the negotiation process, maintaining contacts with all parties to the conflict and integrating the efforts of other countries and organizations. Real success in Nepal would be difficult to achieve without any improvement in the relationship between the Government, Maoists and the United Nations or any strengthening of the atmosphere of trust.

With the human costs of war escalating rapidly, several international NGOs should come to Nepal to provide humanitarian assistance, help civilians, and facilitate a peaceful resolution of the conflict. UN mediators, with support from the Security Council, will be able to build consensus in Nepal. The Special Envoys/Representatives can apply a wide spectrum of negotiating formats and techniques to stimulate progression. It is important that the UN negotiating team should prepare all the draft agreements. This will help to strengthen the confidence of the parties and encouraged their compliance in implementing the agreements. Although Nepalese people cannot forget how the UN's involvement in support of the peace process has been widely acknowledged as a success, it had its imperfections.

To get permanent peace, If we work hard this year, we can see that by 2005 we can be engaging each other at a level where we are consolidating the peace. This should not wait for the end of the year, because this in itself will create the atmosphere we need to talk and to develop, because there is so much mistrust among Nepalese however, civil society and all other "actors" would have to reach a point where they had a "common understanding of the nation we want, not only through understanding the causes of the tragedy we have, but also the vision to put an end to it once and for all.

The peace we have to talk is the transformation of the tragedy of the war situation into a situation of peace. That means we have to bring in some new balance in terms of social and economic relationships. Very often our leadership in government forget they need to try to understand that the people will not always look at them in the same way they did in 1990. There is a kind of tiredness.

This has been crucial to the success of the peace process. Nepal strongly supports this path, which the parties have courageously agreed to follow. However, to sustain peace, it is crucial to promote and sustain socio-economic development. The two are indivisible. Therefore, we urge the donor community to contribute generously not for the financing of the peace process but also in promoting long-term socio-economic development in an area that so badly needs it.

Peace building includes activities such as the identification and support of measures and structures that will promote peace and build trust, and the facilitation of interaction among former enemies in order to prevent a relapse into conflict. In essence, 'peace building' is mainly a diplomatic/developmental process. Peace missions should therefore be viewed as long-term endeavours, which include a significant investment in peace building, and not merely as short-term engagements.

Peace building involves the inculcation of respect for human rights and political pluralism; the accommodation of diversity; building the capacity of state and civil institutions; and promoting economic growth and equity. These measures are the most effective means of preventing crises, and are therefore as much pre-crisis as post-crisis priorities. In all cases, peace missions should aim at the empowerment of Nepalese peoples and be based on local traditions and experiences, rather than the imposition of foreign modes of conflict management and governance.

The experience of other countries indicates that multinational peace missions contribute to the professionalism of their personnel that participate in these missions - be they civilians, police, or military. If Nepal is to fulfil its obligations under the Charters of the UN, it must be prepared for the contingencies and requirements of a broad range of peace mission scenarios, and signal this preparedness to the region and the international community. Given the strong preference of the Nepali government for contributing to peace making and peace building, some form of standby arrangement is necessary for delineating and preparing civilian and civilian police volunteers, as well as the military for participation in multinational peace missions.

The UN Agenda for Development, as presented by the Secretary-General in May 1994, states: "The reintegration of combatants is difficult, but it is critically important to stability in the post-conflict period" and "effective reintegration of combatants is also essential to the sustainability of peace." The Supplement to an Agenda for Peace, presented by the Secretary-General in January 1995, refers to "the all-important reintegration of former combatants into productive civilian activities." Most recently, the Copenhagen Declaration adopted by the World Summit for Social Development in March 1995 makes the commitment that "we will foster the social protection and full integration into the economy and society of veterans"

We should press Maoists to abandon war and return to the political process; support from civil society will be an important aspect of the peace process; and the Government should encourage to implement programmes of political and economic reforms, as additional contributions to the peace process.

Recent reports indicated that various organizations had been active in Nepal in demanding an immediate ceasefire and had also pledged to work towards peace. The non-governmental organisations, community groups, associations and independent individuals commit themselves, in a responsible and united way, to taking action to strengthen civil society's participation in the process of peace, reconciliation and democratisation in Nepal. Civil society groups in Nepal have demanded that citizens be allowed to play a more active role in a peace process which has so far been dominated by discussions between the government and Maoists.

Non Residents Nepalese (NRN) voice in America

According to **Dr. Alok Bohara** There are three areas:

1) Providing technical assistance: The warring sides still have to do all the talking and offer compromises, but a team of mediation experts can handle all the logistics. They can create an atmosphere of dialogue, organize news releases, and help diffuse tensions, and also provide some parameters.

2) Monitor elections: There is no alternative to elections and it must be free and fair. Even if we have an all-party government, this must be our priority. The international community can provide help to monitor such elections.

3) Post-conflict reconstruction: The international community can create a trust fund to address the needs of the people, especially those who are directly affected by the conflict. **Mr. Kul C Gautam's** effort in this area has been commendable, and he could be a good resource person. The most hard-hit areas like Rolpa, Rukum, and Salyan and others such as Jajarkot and Jumla (e.g.) must get immediate attentions: job training, schools, health posts, feeder roads, agriculture extension programs, just to name a few.

The UN can play a similar role as I outlined above. They also can put pressure on the King to reconcile with the political parties. These two forces must come together to address the Maoist problem collectively. An all-party government is a good start. The neighbors like India and China and other forces such as the US and the UK should welcome the help of the UN and should not view this as an intervention. The Maoist insurgency has cost many lives and the economy of a tiny country like Nepal is in shamble. The UN's role in the reconstruction is vital and it can also provide a neutral buffer. In fact, any involvement of the other countries can be very tricky. It is quite sad to see a country like India, such a big power in the region, not welcoming the UN to mediate the conflict in Nepal".

Ambika P. Adhikari stressed that "For the past eight years, Nepal is experiencing a sad state of conflict. The international community can facilitate the peace process in Nepal. They can also encourage the Government to initiate dialogue with the Maoists. For example, by limiting options for the Maoist, international community can also steer Maoists to the table for talks. However, the role of international community can not be central in the resolution of problems in Nepal. The three protagonists, Maoists, the King and the parliamentary parties have to come to a realization that they all loose in this stand-off, and the cycle of violence, which may propel Nepal to become a failed state. With the stalemate, the biggest losers are the Nepali people.

UN has offered its good offices for possible mediation, but the present government has declined any international role to resolve Nepal's conflict. I think, the government's view is shortsighted; they should not rule out external mediation, especially that of the UN. For example, the peace process in Sri Lanka, although experiencing a setback right now, was helped by Norwegian mediation, the perennial Israeli-Palestinian conflict has also been eased at various times through international mediation of the US, Norway, UN and other parties. No one becomes smaller by accepting respectable international involvement; sometimes it can actually help save face of warring factions. The UN is perhaps in the best position to offer mediation in Nepal, because even the Maoists on some occasions have said such will be acceptable to them. However, all the three Nepali protagonists have to themselves realize this".

Dr. Shyam Karki also said that International community can promote the process of negotiation and reconciliation by being honest broker whom all sides can trust. UN can facilitate the process as it has experience, skilled negotiators and credibility".

INLS's president **Puru Subedi** says "One requirement for solutions to these problems lies in commitment to human rights with a special sensitivity to those of minorities, whether ethnic, religious, social or linguistic. Mutual confidence and good faith are essential to reducing the likelihood of conflict. There should be no attempt from any quarter to disturb the peace".

Suman Timsina also said " Peacemaking operations, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among Nepalese people. Our goal should be creating more international pressure on current administration".

Sharda Thapa said "Our ultimate aim was to influence policymakers here and elsewhere to try and make the decision makers in Nepal to move towards the six-point agenda.

Girija Gautam stressed that "At this juncture, especially in view of the continuing movement to restore democracy and to bring peace in Nepal slowly and gradually building up, the king faces tough choices. Either continue to suppress the peaceful movement, detain a large number of activists for extended terms, and in doing so take responsibility for the consequences to follow, which is pushing Nepal more towards republic or genuinely reach out to the political parties, mutually work out a workable way out of the current situation, form an all aptry government and then collectively devise plan to approach maoist problem by seriously inviting them to come to the negotiating table.

S.M. Sainju said "Unequivocally, if there is no pressure from the UN, the USA, and other European nations, peace is a far fetched notion in the present context of Nepal. In my opinion, what we should do is, collectively approach the US President/ Congress and of course the UN and the European Leaders for such pressure on the KING and the Maoists for negotiation. I think much preparation is a must if we are to embark on this avenue and if we do this, I see dim light at the end of the tunnel.

Dr. Shiva Gautam said "We appreciate in particular the UN courageous decisions and strong commitment to peace. Sustainable peace, is only possible through negotiation.

According to **Dr. Anup Pahadi** "We hope that the United Nations role in Nepal will continue to work there and to stay the course in facilitating the full implementation of the peace process".

Dr. Gaury Adhikari, who represent the non resident Nepalis in America said "with fall of Thapa government in Nepal and possibilites of new political beginning , diaspora's input may be more meaningful than we think.

Sushil Koirala said "small and insignificant the initiative may be please take into account the spirit and dedication. So, every voice matters and your little efforts also makes a large difference when combined together.

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Business: "WTO: Is this a Nightmare for Nepalese SMES?"

By Bashu Dev Phulara

Nobody loves them but everybody needs them. Due to smelling rat on the marketplace, the Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) of Nepal have been shocked by this very aphorism, despite their outstanding performance in Financial Sector Development (FSD) over the recent years now. Indeed, the SMEs are the dominant pillars of any economy, be it developed or developing. With world heading towards becoming a borderless village, their role in generating new jobs/employment and the poverty alleviation is going to increase manifold. At the moment, Nepal clearly needs some more breathing space to achieve these goals properly.

Concerns

As Nepal made history by being first ever Least Developed Country (LDC) to accede to the WTO by fulfilling all the negotiation processes, the focus of Nepalese Entrepreneurs, by and large, is concentrated on how to protect and promote the interests of the domestic SMEs- that are most useful as well as vulnerable actors, while competing with the challenges posted by the WTO. In general, SMEs present a majority at National Trade (NT) but only play a limited role in International Trade (IT). Known their size and variety of sectors in which they function, SMEs are highly adaptable between north and west, provided that trade barriers are negated. Recognizing the vital role of SMEs, most of the government around the world also have been strongly seeking ways and means to support and expand them.

For Nepal, the role of SMEs is very important from economic point of view. It is even more important for ensuring balanced regional development and maintaining peace, tranquillity and harmony in the society. In Nepal, SMEs account for 90 percent of all enterprises, employ 95 percent of the non-agricultural work force and contribute 50 percent of the industrial GDP. Because of this very reality, the SMEs need strong -to come up to-face global competition.

Though, we have no doubts on the positive role of Nepalese SMEs in the exciting new economy now taking place, however, with the furtherance of economic globalization, they are encountered with unprecedented challenges apart from opportunities. Hence, more practical strategies and solutions - market access and technologies need to be delivered timely in order to save and guide them in the age of multilateralism. Until and unless the best solutions are provided,they could not be able to adapt quickly, innovate, and respond rapidly to challenges and opportunities in the world trade-war.

As World Trade Organization (WTO), is the only one International Organization setting global rules for International Trade to ensure that commerce flows as smoothly, predictably, and as freely as possible, Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs) rely on governments to further level-playing field for their continued growth. In this context, it becomes all the more important to examine the topical issues confronting the SMEs sector. It becomes even more important to monitor the issues such as positive and negative implications of WTO on the SMEs.

Worries from certain quarters have been expressed over the potential implications of WTO in Nepal, especially in the areas of SMEs, Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) and Bio-diversity, food security, agriculture, dumping practices by foreigners, unnecessary restrictive measures, and among others. Mainly the country's SMEs could be the worst sufferers from the overdose of competition. Privileges granted to farmers and SMEs will be disputed and eroded. They will be forced to compete with Multinationals (MNCs).

Nepal has so much to do within the deadlines promised. It has to conform its standards and inspection procedures to WTO norms. This will eliminate excessive testing requirements and other barriers that are especially devils for SMEs. Once the TRIPs becomes operative from 2007, they will lose significance. With the WTO regime aiming at almost every item becoming freely importable, there will be large room of threats to domestic producers from import surge. These points are being frequently raised by opponents.

More interestingly, the Nepalese business communities, by and large, have been failed miserably to understand the severe implications of World Trade Organization on the country's SMEs. A matter of deep concern for Nepal is the virtual reluctance of her major trading partners to allow meaningful access to their products and creation of non-tariff barriers in various forms. There are deep concerns in service and private sector also. While most of the big economies have already called-for their smart-SMEs for greater market access in the international level, Nepal would not be able to do so until and unless the proper institutional capabilities are built.

Despite these challenges, the Nepalese SMEs need to be retuned to compete with International Giants (IG). While there is a great responsibility of the government to help the Small Enterprises whenever they run into problems, the industries should be geared to help themselves. They have to find formulas to capitalize on their strengths. Gone, or going are the days for business peoples who add little value. SMEs need to adapt, revitalise and relocate themselves in order to seize the opportunities from the WTO while minimizing the adverse effects. But that proves to be much easier to say than to do.

WTO has some rules that allow the countries to take safeguard measures to protect the domestic economy in specified conditions. Hence, the Nepalese Government, in its role as a facilitator, could protect and cheer Domestic Enterprises (DE)-SMEs through various tariff/domestic measures, wherever required. It could be best ensured if the quantitative restrictions on imports are sustained, to some extent, by classifying these as a matter related to Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs), and not just a trade. In spite of everything, Nepal needs assistance from WTO and her major trading partners for domestic capability enhancement, financial and legal services, logistics, testing and regulatory services and so on.

Opportunities

All this may not tell the whole story of Nepalese SMEs. But, nobody can deny that they are the core enterprises of Nepal. They have yet to achieve the international market: potential for their goods or services. Hopefully, WTO will create expanded international market for Nepal -may be through the process of networking, international linkages and partnerships. The list of the benefits from WTO is very long, but so will be the list of threats. The overdose of competition, fair or unfair, may not be good for the SMEs at present. But, it will better create the number of participants, value of merchandise, new vistas of growth and broad range of markets they enter. After all, the WTO will lead to the enhancement of efficiency of the Nepalese SMEs. It will also make them more competent by promoting better environment in the days ahead.



Political Humor: "Change of Prime Ministers"

- By Raman Raj Misra

As expected, the 13th Prime Minister, since the advent of democracy in 1990 has resigned in less than a year. This will bring the average duration of a Prime Minister to be about 13.2 months in the last 14 years. This is a fact of our political situation. It is nothing to be surprised of, given the fact that we have not been able to retain a single Prime Minister for a duration of five-years not only after 1990 but since 1950. The comedy is that in spite of such 54 years of historical pattern, our intellectuals and politicians keep believing that a government should last for a duration of five years, which indubitably indicates the level of intelligence of our intellectuals and politicians.

Before the advent of the Rana rule in 1847, the Prime Ministers together with the rest of the bureaucracy were subjected to an annual review called "Pajani". Depending upon their annual performance, their services could be terminated or extended. At that time, the duration of the majority of Prime Ministers (then called Kazis or Muktiyars) was only one year. During the Rana Period, we had a system of life-long Prime Ministers, unless they resigned or were forced out of office. So our historical systems had provision for either an annual Prime Ministers or Prime Ministers for life (then

called Sri Teens). But after 1950, we have come to believe that a Prime Minister should be in office for the duration of five years, but have been unable to translate our beliefs into actual practice.

No Prime Ministers from Mohan Shamsheer JBR in 1950 to Surya B. Thapa in 2004 have managed to remain in their post continuously for a five-year period. This uncertainty regarding the duration of our Prime Ministers has existed through the four (some may say, five) different types of Constitutional dispensations we have adopted in the last fifty-four years. This does indicate our general national tendency of not being able to tolerate the Chief Executive for a reasonable period of time. And given the precedent set since 1950, the new Prime Minister can also be predicted not to last very long in his post.

Nepali intellectuals, who think that simply by imitating a "modern" (imitated) democratic Constitution will negate our past history or our political culture or simply create competencies where there are none have as yet shown no mental capacity to discern the hiatus between their imported beliefs and our political reality. Yet our reality is that no sooner a person obtains the post of Prime Minister, oppositions begin to mount up for his ouster and varieties of intrigues are resorted to, for this purpose. Such intrigues occur even within the party that initially sends the Prime Minister! And, of course, such oppositions are deceptively laced with attractive "democratic rationale". This past pattern of political behaviour can be predicted in the case of our new Prime Minister also. He will surely face similar oppositions and intrigues as his predecessors. We may delude ourselves as being "modern", by seeking unsuccessfully to imitate foreign political forms and practices. Yet our behaviour since 1950 seem to show that in practice, we are attracted towards our pre-1847 system of "Pajani" of Prime Ministers! Yet our mental or moral level seems to be such that it precludes either the capacity or desire for honest self-appraisal.

It has become apparent that most of us in Nepal tend to support the politicians and their parties from whom we get or expect to get some personal benefit. And we tend to oppose anyone, who cannot or will not fulfil our petty interests. The issue of right or wrong, proper or improper does not seem to feature in our respective support or opposition. Perhaps we have lost the capacity to distinguish right from wrong.

Given this general tendency, the high ideals or the imported ideologies we tend to express in public become just a means for deception. Supporting one particular Prime Minister at a given point of time seems to be based on judgements guided by our petty self-interests. Such petty mental attitude of ours has prevented us from tolerating any Prime Minister for a reasonable period to allow him to complete the job that is expected from him.

Perhaps the instability we create by facilitating the fall of our Prime Ministers is a reflection of our incapacity to imitate imported foreign systems. We have been continuously pulling down any Prime Minister, whether appointed, elected or selected for more than half a century. So perhaps we should give a formal legal status to our actual, historical tendency. It seems that we delude ourselves by adopting a Constitution, which does not conform to our political behaviour, capacity and real vested interests. So perhaps we should think (if we really can) of having a realistic Constitution that suits our temperament, covert desires and actual capacity. Rather than seek to imitate a political system that we can not even comprehend to translate it into reality, perhaps we may be better off reverting back to our pre-1847 system of annual "Pajani" of Prime Ministers.



Social >> "Gender Impact of Armed Conflict"

- By Bindu Chaudhary

In contemporary armed conflicts around the world, the civilians have become the major focus and target of war. Women perceive and face conflict in different ways than men during war or post war period. Children are affected from armed conflict differently than adults, younger children differently than adolescents and girls and women differently from boys and men. As civilians, women are subjected to innumerable acts of violence.

Human rights violations against children and women occur in unprecedented numbers during wartime, with girls at particular risk of gender-based violence and sexual exploitation. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "gender-based inequity is usually exacerbated during situations of extreme violence such as armed conflict."

Sometimes, women are especially targeted during war because they are women, in incidents such as rape and sexual violence in order to humiliate, punish, defeat and frighten their "enemy" group. Rape and other forms of sexual violence has long been considered as an instrument of violence and terror, but lately the international human rights groups have recognized rape as a war crime. Moreover, sexual violence also brings with it the wrathful packages of unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, causing long term physical and psychological effect on the survivor, family and the society.

Throughout the armed conflict in Nepal, thousands of women and girls have been subjected to sexual abuse and violence. There have been news reports about the incidents of sexual exploitation of women and girls after the Maoist insurgency, and the survivors have reported of forceful recruitment of girls, sexually victimizing them, and even torturing them if they showed inhibition for physical contact. One of such incidents was the abduction of girls from a school in Nawalparasi who were forced to carry guns and were sexually exploited.

Based on the 2003 National Women's Commission's report, women account for around 33 percent of the Maoist militia in some districts, while "in the most highly mobilized Maoist districts", the figure is as high as 50 percent. Women account to 50 percent of cadres at the lower level, 30 percent of soldiers and 10 percent of members of the central committee of the party. According to a study conducted by National Women's Commission, women Maoist cadres were sexually harassed and exploited by their male comrades, without any accountability whatsoever against such acts of sexual violence and other appalling human rights abuses.

Everything seems to become immobile during armed conflict, including the children's way to school and way back home. The fear of sexual abuse and abduction most often discourages girls from attending schools. It becomes dangerous to travel all the way to school and hence the best protection seems to be discontinuing classes. With the frequent mass abductions of school children; with the recent abduction of 13 girls in Achham district, some 45 lower secondary schools in western Nepal have been closed to prevent further such incidents. A report from Surkhet too said that girls were quitting schools to protect themselves from being forcefully recruited to join the insurgency. Where education is regarded as the inevitable factor contributing to national economic growth, the impact of the declining number of girls (and boys) going to schools can well have implications on the nation's post-conflict recovery. Ironically, even if the girls are bound to restrict their mobility towards their way to and from school, they have to move out of their house due to the work related to gender division, especially in the hills. As the women are "supposed to" collect water and firewood and graze cattle, they may be exposing themselves to untoward incidents and possible physical harm at the time of conflict.

When the male members of the household have either died or fled, detained or missing in connection to hostilities, women have an additional responsibility to take care of children, aged parents and other dependents in the absence of their men folk. They face increased insecurity amidst instability and lawlessness that characterize armed conflicts; they are more burdened to support their children and dependents within or without any resources and income, and are at increased fear of attack. They are in fact more bound with their social obligation within family and community, their roles as mothers, wives and daughters; due to their economic dependency and the cultural conceptions of gender roles. Moreover, due to the breakdown of traditional support mechanisms in their community and the loosening of community ties, insecurity persists even if they stay back or flee to some other places.

Sometimes, even if they want to flee away, their physical condition may not allow women to run and escape at the time of attack, especially when they are pregnant or because of their need to watch over children, sick and old.

On the health front, women could be more disadvantaged during armed conflict than men due to their gynaecological and problems related to reproductive health. The expecting mothers and women who give birth during conflict have to deal with economic and psychological consequences of raising children amidst limited mobility and inadequate systems of support. The destruction and disruption of health infrastructures and medical services, along with the 'bandh' and curfew called during armed conflicts may even risk lives due to limited access to reproductive health services such as gynecological complications, labor, and pre and post-natal care, and other emergencies that might affect the health of both the mother and the child.

More men are employed as combats and soldiers than females, and consequently the former fear more loss of lives in armed struggle. Similarly, men are more likely to get detained for the same

The most common way to end psychological pressure which people usually acquire is committing Suicide. To them thinking of suicide is the most accessible solution to the problems that they are facing. These problems may be Social, Economic, Educational and even Political.

On researching the psychology of the suffer it has been found that they are living the life in the cage .The cage where the bars are made up of social, economic, political alloy and they are not just a parrot living feeding on the favorite chilies but they feel like a poor eunuch living in the male female dominate society. They don't want to concentrate on work but they only want to dance in their sorrow and eat food just to fulfill the needs of the body.

For them, suicide is the end and the beginning of the new world.

Do you think that these final wordings will close the chapter of life permanently?

Mostly we believe in suicide is the exit But it is the beginning of the problems, although it will close the chapter of life but only temporarily. The word "suicide" is far more beginning of the new issues ... difficulties for the family facing such situations.

Look at the face of the family members whose one of the member committed suicide. Their face shows deep regret, pain and sorrow and internally there is a feeling of shame and hesitation while answering the distinctive questions by journalist and the society.

The whole ancestry experiences the huge questions mark towards their duties in the form of caring, sharing, accommodating, upbringing when the baffling questions were put by the society.

Suicide not only creates a problem for the family but it also harasses the family of not performing the moral and fundamental duties as well. Even in the society they don't have the courage to stand with pride. The family always lives in the dilemma that because of their carelessness towards the suicidal member the whole scenario has taken place they always feel that they are the one who are the oil the lamp of death.

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Opinion: "Now Erasing Peace and Love"

- By Rajendra Thakurathi

Someone said the full form of "NEPAL" was "Never Ending Peace and Love". However at present it is more appropriate to say "Now Erasing Peace and Love". Nobody knows where "peace" has "hidden". The peaceful environment of Nepal has now completely evaporated from Nepal.

The question is "Is it going to be the situation forever?"

After every prelude, there is a wonder. So, I appeal to you and to every citizen of Nepal, - help stop this. Don't let the peaceful country be ruined and the birthplace of Buddha demise.

Don't rely on others. Noone else is going to help our country to grow and prosper, however a little effort from everyone of the county can make a big difference. Our unity will make a great sense for our youngsters.

First of all, let us restore peace and then properity would follow automatically. Look at examples of China and Korea and likes. Their do's and hard work has made them great. Shanghai was akin to Nepal before few decades but now it has become one of the wealthiest and developed cities of the world.

Why can't we visualize tomorrow's Nepal as a small but developed country. However simply talking about it won't do - the first step to alter the nation, right now is to restore peace. We have caliber, our country has caliber - to grow and to develop. All it needs is your support.

(Author can be reached at zealer_raz@hotmail.com - Ed.)

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ANA: "Greetings from the Wild West"

- *By Smriti Dhungel Gyawali*

Havasu Falls is situated in the western edge of the Grand Canyon. People mistake them for the Havasu Lake, which is also in Arizona. The only difference is the ten-mile hike needed to bring you closer to a living paradise- if there was a heaven on earth; it is here...it is here... it is here.

For starters, I am definitely not a hiker and more so to be precisely accurate- not a camper. However, since we finally had our permits to visit Indian Territory, I decided to move with the pack. We were six in number. Rod who always studied the minute details and traveled in accordance to his basic necessities and the rest of the "gin bang," meaning us. We preferred to pick up anything that could make our camping more closer to home. We backpacked everything from stoves, fresh vegetables to rice and "Ghundruk- Bhatmas". It seemed exciting.

The hike down the Canyons was scenic. There was no other transportation other than the mule that the Indians rode to transport goods to the village. The walk seemed endless and I started to wonder whether the extra load on my back was worthwhile. My fellow hikers Mukunda dai, Sudhan , Kanchana and my husband Niraj seemed professionals having already hiked the Grand Canyon and other places. They kept good pace, but for me, every step for the seven-hour hike down the Canyons was a strenuous challenge.

Finally, as we reached our destination and as we gasped for air, time stood still for a moment. The first glimpse of the falls was simply breathtaking. The majestic Canyons towered the descending waterfall that plunged into an azure blue lake encroached by a sandy white beach. One could only marvel at the unbelievable splendor of the daunting and jagged Canyons sustaining the eloquent white waterfall that gushed out from the top of the Canyon. It is beyond what any vocabulary can describe. It was a living mirage and a beautiful oasis for all the weary travelers in the thirsty desert of Arizona. I felt part of a spiritual experience, which the Indian Tribes perceive as sacred.

The experience will remain sweet nostalgia. Having walked all the way and back itself made me realize the good old phrase, "when there is a will, there is a way," and as for the view- Absolutely amazing.

TIPS- A short compilation on places to visit in Scottsdale and Arizona

- **The City of Scottsdale** has a great selection of parks that can meet many of your personal needs.
- **Casino Arizona at Salt River** -Guests will find 1,500 ticket-pay multi-denominational slot machines, including 80 high-limit slots, live Blackjack, 50 poker tables, and live fast-action Keno. There's also a mahogany paneled high stakes poker room. The Starz Sportsbar offers video poker slots and numerous televisions for viewing sporting events.
- **Cinema Super Club** Going to Dinner and a Movie has taken on a whole new meaning in Scottsdale!! At Farrelli's Cinema Supper Club, you can enjoy great food while watching a current release, full-length feature film on the big screen!!
- **Rawhide Wild West Town** is celebrating 32 years of providing quality 1880's style family entertainment with worldwide recognition as a "must see Arizona destination." Gunfights, stuntmen, Main Street and theater style entertainment, stagecoach rides, a petting zoo, bull riding (mechanical & the real thing), gold panning, over a dozen games, rides, attractions and 12 unique shopping experiences.
- **The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation tour** is committed to advancing the ideas and principles of organic architecture, organic education, and conservation of the natural environment. If you are interested in architecture, this tour will be worth taking.
- **Helicopter rides to the Grand Canyon** Papillon Helicopter Company flies both to the South and West Rim of the Grand Canyon with three exclusive landing sites at the bottom of the Grand Canyon! Papillon continues its commitment to provide you the most value and service for your Grand Canyon Experience!

For more information on Arizona view **By Smriti Dhungel Gyawali**

When you somehow surpass a quaint sign along the way that says, "Chief Yellow Stone Welcomes you" or glance upon the picturesque landscape of jagged mountains, the giant cactus forests or the unbelievable Canyons that cascade endlessly down the Colorado river, it becomes definite that you

are in unique Arizona .Its inimitable desert landscapes enlighten us about the legends of brave Indians and suave Cowboys since the making of United America.

Welcome to Phoenix Arizona, the home of the 2004 ANA Convention. It is an exciting and new experience for the Nepali community of Arizona to be able to host the Convention in our hometown of Phoenix. Arizona is Located in the Southwest portion of the United States of America, Arizona is the sixth largest state with 113,909 Square Miles of Land. Arizona is home to several Native American Tribes, who occupy 25 percent of the state. The best known include the Apache, Hopi, Navajo, Papago, Pima, Phoenix, and the Yuma. Arizona is also home to the Grand Canyon, Monument Valley, Petrified Forest, and the Colorado River as taken from its official website information desk.

There are various ways to plan ahead for a pleasant vacation in Arizona while attending the convention. The Grand Canyon being the biggest attraction is worth the trip. The Grand Canyon is a 277-mile-long (446-kilometer-long) canyon cut by the Colorado River. There are various spots through which you can view the Canyons. Seen through the different angles, at different hours of the day these spectacular sceneries are feast to your senses and experience some feel is a spiritual that can only be felt. It is flabbergasting to set eyes on the splendid Canyons that drop hundreds of feet down below to the Colorado River. For those of you that are into hiking, there are easy, moderate and strenuous hikes for you and your family. There are pony rides, rafting and helicopter tours as well.

Another must see attraction that I personally recommend, having visited the place, is the cowboy town of Tombstone, a little further from Tucson. . Two thoughts will race in your mind- " Am I in a movie studio or it is possible to be transported back in time to the famous Gun fight at the OK Corral that happened in October 1881". This place is unbelievable if you are into cowboy movies because it is beyond movies- it is still there live and kicking. What's more exciting is that they still have gun fight shows at different times and the entire town from the Bird Cage Saloon to the dress up of the townsfolk remind you of the mean and wild west.

Phoenix, the fifth largest metro city in the USA is also the hub point towards various destinations. Las Vegas, Los Angeles and San Diego are all with 5 to 6 hours drive mainly from North Phoenix.

To furnish you a little insight on the residents here in Phoenix, at present, according to NAFA (Nepalese and Friend Association) statistics, there exist approx thirty families. According to early Nepali settlers here in the valley, ten years ago, there were only a few families. The population has definitely grown in a larger proportion. Larger concentrations of families reside in the Tempe area located near Arizona State University, one of the largest universities in the country. A few families also reside in the north end of town. The Iscon Krishna temple here in Phoenix holds a majority of Nepali priests who run the temple.

The journey towards a successful Convention is on its way. At present the meetings are endless and members rendering their full logistic support to ANA in sowing the groundwork towards its successful completion. With time we will slowly furnish you the details of our progress as we are relentlessly scrutinizing ideal venue for your comfort. As for now we hope that you gear up for your trip to amazing Arizona, to participate in making our Convention a truly memorable one.



Reflections from a decade back: "Dissolution of parliament"

("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 P. Shrestha
Date: July 16, 1994
Source: Agence France Presse(Dateline: Kathmandu, July 12)
Subject: Thousands demonstrate in KTM against King and PM

Was that a grave mistake on the side of people's representative?

Nepal faced a severe political crisis Tuesday as thousands of protesters took to the streets calling "unconstitutional" King Birendra's dissolution of parliament and order for snap elections.

Nearly 5,000 leftist youths, students and Nepal Communist Party-United Marxist and Leninist (NCP-UML) activists held demonstrations at the Marxist town of Lalitpur, known as the satellite city of Kathmandu.

Another 4,000 protestors took to the streets of Narayangadh, south of here.

The demonstrators raised slogans such as "down with King Birendra and down with traitor Girija" and called their actions "unconstitutional".

The Nepalese parliament was dissolved late Monday evening and mid-term polls were announced for November 13.

The King had taken the decision on the advice of Prime Minister Koirala, who resigned Sunday after losing a curcial parliamentary debate on his government's annual socioeconomic and political programme.

The king has asked Koirala to continue in office until elections are held, which he asked the prime minister to oversee, the radio here said.

The radio said: "His majesty, the king, hopes that the forthcoming parliamentary general elections to be held November 13 will be free and fair for all."

The king's decision has apparently angered all the major political parties in the 205-seat house of representatives.

Eighty-six members, including the leftist groups, had voted against the Koirala government's annual programme on Sunday, while 43 other members were absent during he vote, a parliament source said earlier.

The 36 NC dissident MPs were among 43 who abstained from voting on Sunday, prompting Koirala to step down after being defeated.

Madhav Kumar Nepal, the general secretary of the NCP-UML, said, "We cannot agree with the king's decision made on the advice of a minority prime minister."

"We will move to the streets to protest and compel the king to make him change his decision."

The NCP-UML claims to be the largest party in the 205-member house of representatives after the split of the Nepali Congress (NC) -- Nepal's largest democratic party.

"We want a coalition interim government if ... the snap polls have to be held," he added.

Meanwhile, the NC Central Working Committee (NCCWC) is holding an emergency meeting Tuesday to discuss the political crisis in the country, a committee source said.

The president of the NC, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, said: "I was never consulted by Prime Minister Koirala before he advised the king to dissolve the parliament and hold snap polls on November 13.

Jagannath Acharya, a former cabinet colleague and one of the 36 dissident members of parliament, told AFP: "The planned snap polls cannot be held on November 13 in view of Nepal's geophysical conditions."

"To hold polls in the month of November is not suitable from many aspects. First of all, it is not suitable for peace and security reasons, from the economic point of view and from the weather's point of view," he said.

"The king should not have acted so hastily on the advise of a most unpopular prime minister, who has already lost his identity in the parliament."

The politburo of the NCP-UML is also holding an emergency meeting Tuesday morning to discuss the political situation and its future programmes.

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Diaspora: "Networking for Nepal" By Rabindra Mishra

(HELP NEPAL Network (HeNN) is a global charity run on a fully voluntary basis bringing together individuals who love Nepal together, to contribute towards health and education in the remote parts of the country. The volunteers include people from all walks of life. The aim of the Network is to

encourage Nepalis and those with an interest in Nepal, around the world to contribute and provide assistance in the fields of health, education and emergency relief.

Recently, HeNN has started its network in the USA. With youths like Shailesh Gongol as its Chair, and Mabi Singh as its President, HeNN-USA hopes to achieve a lot. Presented in this issue of [The Nepal Digest\(TND\)](#), is an article by Rabindra Mishra "Networking for Nepal", which was previously published in Nepali Times. In TND's next issue, it is planning to publish an interview with Shailesh Gongol and Mabi Singh to highlight HeNN-USA's current and future activities. For more information about HeNN, please visit <http://www.helpnepal.net> - Ed.)

Diaspora: "Networking for Nepal"

- By Rabindra Mishra

Stop complaining, and start helping Nepal.

Health Post at Murma village in Mugu district constructed by HeNN at the cost of nearly \$8,000. The Network is trying to raise further \$7,000 to get the health post up and running.

Raju Adhikari is a scientist in Australia, Shailesh Gongol is an airport planner in America, Pranab Gyawali is a doctor in Britain, Arun Singh Basnet is a philanthropist in Nepal, Upendra Mahto is a successful businessman in Belarus, Suman Dhakal is a quality controller in a factory in Italy, Himali Upadhyaya is an international banker in Austria, Mahesh KC is an engineer in Sweden, Madan Gautam is a conservationist in New Zealand and Gokul Bhandari is a PhD scholar in Canada.

These global Nepalis all have one thing in common: a strong conviction that every Nepali must do something for Nepal. Otherwise, they say, there is no point just sitting and complaining about the country. To translate that conviction into action, they work with scores of other like-minded Nepalis in a charity called Help Nepal Network (HeNN) with formally registered chapters in Nepal, the US, the UK and Australia and informal chapters in six other countries.

The network draws its inspiration from late Gopal Yonjan's powerful patriotic lyrics, 'Dherai chha garnu swadeshko sewa, Nepali bannalai/Shir thado pari Nepali bhanne ma nai hun bhannalai/Hoina bhane Nepali nabhana, birko chhora, naatima nagana,' which has an audio-link on the charity's website, www.helpnepal.net. Nepalis returning from a holiday in Nepal would share experiences about how things were getting worse everyday. Over pints of beer, they analysed why this was so. But if someone asked what they had done to make things better, the answer was usually "nothing". HeNN changed that when it was set up four years ago. It aimed to encourage Nepalis, especially those living abroad, to contribute to Nepal.

The network urges every earning member of the non-residential Nepali community to forego a can of beer or carton of juice every month and donate the savings to the fund. In Nepal, it urges locals to have a plate of momo or a few cups of tea less for the same purpose.

HeNN-UK's Madhusudan Kayastha, says: "We expect more and more Nepalis to contribute actively to nation-building through any small way." The appeal has worked. In the last four years, the network has raised nearly \$50,000, virtually all from Nepalis. But it also accepts donations from non-Nepalis. The America-Nepal Alliance for Health, through the initiative of its president, Jack Starmer, donated \$1,000 to buy medical equipment for a \$8,000 health post in a remote village at Mugu.

So far, HeNN has supported the construction of a library in Dolpa and schools in Pyuthan, Dang and Parbat. It has conducted several health camps and, in collaboration with Nepalganj-based Sahara Group, supported children affected by recent violence in the country. It also helped Khotang's flood victims in 2002.

One of HeNN's strengths is that all the money is used for projects, there are no overheads. Until the end of last year, administrative costs were born by volunteer committee members but as activities expanded, it became more difficult to manage finances. This year HeNN opened a small office in Kathmandu. Its running cost is sponsored by two Nepali businessmen: Ashok Shrestha in the UK and Upendra Mahato in Belarus. The money, therefore, remains exclusively for charity.

HeNN has learnt that it does not take millions to make a difference, it just takes a desire to help, a dollar or a few rupees. The important part is a collection mechanism, and managing and using individual donations. This is what HeNN tries to deliver. "Just imagine how many schools, health posts, orphanages and old people's homes overseas Nepalis can build and support if they donated

just a dollar a month to a collective fund," says HeNN-Nepal president Arun Singh Basnet. "This is what our dream is all about."

Rabindra Mishra has been associated with Help Nepal Network from its inception. Donations: admin@helpnepal.net www.helpnepal.net

(This article was originally published on issue 193 of Nepali Times. http://www.nepalitimes.com/issue193/london_eye.htm)

Diaspora: "93rd Birthday of Siddhi Charan Shrestha celebrated"

- **Basu Shrestha**

The 93rd birthday of Siddhi Charan Shrestha was celebrated in George Mason University, Fairfax, VA organized by INLS DC Metro Chapter with various program.

To begin the program Mr. Basanta Shrestha recited a special poem dedicated to Late SC Shrestha. The program began after paying tribute on the late poet's portrait by chief guest Rudra Kumar Nepal (Charge De' Affairs of Royal Nepali Embassy) including all other officers of the INLS and participants followed by welcome speech of Basu Shrestha (VP DC Chapter).

Three different speakers Mohan Sitoula (President-DC Chapter), Dr. Hari Bhattarai and Mr. Subhas Upreti highlighted on SC Shrestha and his poetic character.

Various poems were recited by local poets for competition and non competition. Poems were recited by Basu Shrestha, Bhim Regmi, Dhruva Sharma Pageni, Gopal Regmi, Dr. Hari Bhattarai, Kalpana Subedi, Sarala Shrestha, Tika Pun, Prem Sangraula and Puru Subedi for non competition and Kapil Sitoula, Kalpana Satyal, Maya Sharma, Narayan Adhikari, Sharad Niroula, Sita Regmi and Suyog Parajuli for competition as well. Poems sent by Ramesh Satyal, Bharati Gautam and others were also recited.

In the midst of the program, a symphony was presented by Durga Kharel and Tika Pun on "Mero Pyaro Okhaldhunga"

The DC Metro chapter awarded 4 best poems recited on the spot on which Narayan Adhikari, Sharad Niroula, Maya Sharma and Kalpana Satyal bagged the 1st, 2nd, 3rd. and consolation prize respectively. The prize consist of cash \$100.00, \$50.00, \$30.00 and \$20.00 and certificate.

The cash prize for total \$200.00 was sponsored by Mr. Bharat Mainali of Richmond, VA.

The chapter also awarded the Letter of Appreciation to renowned poet, film producer and director Yadav Kharel who is currently visiting USA. Likewise, the chapter also remembered another Lt. poet Mahananda Sapkota.

The program was ran by Sashwat Parajuli (member-DC Chapter) and concluded by Mrs. Manju Niroula (member- DC Chapter).

After the program snacks were served.

Basu Shrestha

VP INLS DC Metro Chapter

05/23/2004

Announcements >> "NOA Convention 2004"

- **By Tribhuvan Tuladhar**

Dear friends and well-wishers!

JOJALAPPA! Namaste! Hello!

Newah Organization of America (NOA) is glad to invite you all to our Third Convention to be held in

the Washington Metropolitan Area this coming May 30, 2004, the Memorial Day Holidays. The last two Conventions has been interesting, fun-filled and memorable. We hope to do the same this year too.

NOA was formed in 2000 as a forward looking organization at the turn of the Century. We call on all to join and participate in activities of the organization as indicated in the HIGHLIGHTS. Your support is crucial and indispensable for the community or the organization to succeed and deliver what is important to the community.

HIGHLIGHTS:

- + Programs on Newah Culture and Tradition.
- + Exhibition of traditional Thanka Paintings
- + Show and Sales of Handicrafts and Artifacts.
- + NOA Language Center - Kids learn Newah language
- + NOA Business Forum - Topic on businesses
- + Business Stalls and Promotions
- + Fund- Raising
- + Cultural Programs - Songs and dances
- + Volunteers Appreciation Time
- + Games for the young and hearty
- + Samee Bajee - Newah delicates - Chwalaa - woha
- + Taste of Newah Cuisine - dinner
- + Cash Bar - All kinds of Snacks and Thwon - (Newah beer) and other drinks
- + Door prizes and Prizes of "Luck and Fate"

VENUE:

POTOMAC COMMUNITY CENTER
11315 Falls Road,
Potomac Md. 20854-2246
Tel: 301-983-4471 Fax: 301-983-3607

- 1.00 - Samee Bajee - Arrival & Registration
- 2.00 - Opening Session- General Meeting
- 3.30 - Culture Session Break
- 5.00 - Business Session
- 7.00 - Cultural Program
- 9.00 - Taste of Newah Cuisine
- 10.00- Prizes of "Luck & Fate"
- 10.30- Sign - off.

For all questions call or e-mail:

Mr. Beda Pradhan 301-949-7562 bedvidya@hotmail.com
Ganesh Kayastha 301-680-9797 gakayastha@yahoo.com
Daya Shakya 503-282-0447 Drasha@aol.com
Tribhuvan Tuladhar 703-713-0107 t.tuladhar@worldnet.att.net
Balaram Joshi 301-649-4104 balaramj@prodigy.net

Or Visit www.newah.org.



Literature: Poem >> "Nationality"

- By *Dinesh Adhikari*

They took away from me
The cloth around my thighs
My loincloth
And clacking their luxurious tongue
Emphatically instructed me:
Nationality is dearer than wealth
And more valuable than love
We should augment its venerability.
They added:
Why, where's your cap?
Why, Where's your national dress?
One's true identity is one's nationality.
Nationality is dearer than the pupil of the eye...
Their hands
In a gesture of giving
Could not match the hands of bali,
When I wanted to save a little
Of Whatever I had with me,
The dirt of my body,
It was not possible for it to substitute
The function of clothes.
I kept on listening
Looking
Waiting
Singing and humming:
Nationality is dearer than the laps of a mother!
They left me naked
Behind!

(This poem was translated to English by Padma Devkota. - Ed.)

Literature >> Humor: "Request of a Gajal-writer"

- By *SudipKoirala*

गजलकारको अनुरोध

- सुदीप कोइराला

अस्तिको गजल समन्धि कार्यक्रममा हाहाहुहुमै साथिहरुले प्रमुख अतिथी बनाईदीए ! अब परेन फसाद ! बोल्लै पच्यो ! बाध्यता आईलाग्यो ! त्यहि बेल्लाँ मुखबाट फ्याट्ट निकलेछ- “गजल भनेको प्रणयको तरङ्गहरुको अभिव्यक्ति हो ! ठूलाबडाले मजा लिन तयार पारेको विशेष किसीमको गीत हो नचनिमैयाँहरुको कटाक्षलाई बर्णन गरिएको लयात्मक रचना हो प्रणयका तारहरुको कुत्कृत्याउँदो भन्कार हो ।”

तालि यस्तो संग बज्यो कि अझ चार घण्टासम्म बोल्लूँ बोल्लूँ लाग्यो !

त्यसो त जीवन एउटा संघर्ष हो ! जीवनाँ केहि न केहि त गर्नुपर्छ केहि न केहि त बन्नुपर्छ संघर्ष बिनाको जीवन के जीवन ?! आदी इत्यादी सोचेरै गजलतिर लागेको मान्छे हुँ !

लागेको पनि धेरै भा' छैन ! तीन महिना' भो ! तीन महिनाँ तीन दर्जनजति पुस्तक निकालिसकेँ ! समालोचकहरूले तिनै कृतिको बढाइचढाइ गरेर लेख्याँ भराँ कमाको धनले घर ठड्याइसके ! लाग्छ-अब ता यस क्षेत्रको लागि मैले ठूलो योगदान दिइसकेको छु !

त्यसैले अब ता अलि अलि डर पनि लाग्न थालेको छ !

हैन ठूलो योगदान पनि गच्याछु भन्छ ! डर' नि लाग्छ भन्छ ! क्या हो ?! भन्नुहोला !

कुरो अलि अप्ठ्यारो छ ! ताली बजाउनेले बजाउँछन् - ठिकै छ ! छाप्नेले छाप्दीन्छन् - त्यो पनि ठिकै छ ! तर पत्रकार महोदयले, ल आजै लिदीउँन त यीनै महान् हस्ती गजलकारको इन्टरभ्यू भनेर मैतिर लम्केलान् भन्ने कुराको डर छ !

खासै इन्टरभ्यू लेलान् भन्ने डर पनि होइन ! नाम पनि हुने, दीए दाम पनि हात लाग्ने तर त्यत्रा तिनदर्जन कृतिका श्रष्टा म !, मलाई- “गजलका बारेमा यहाँको धारणा के छ त गजलकार ज्यू ?” भने भने के गर्ने भनेर असाध्यै डर लाग्छ !

अस्तिको प्रमुख अतिथी हुँदाको जस्तो 'सेक्सी जोक्स' लाई गजल भन्न पनि नमिल्ने पत्रकार हुन् यिनलाई ढाँट्न' नि मिलेन ! के गर्ने ? के नगर्ने ?! अचेल त मनाँ डर पालेर बस्या छु !

तर धन्य हो पत्रपत्रिकाहरु ! गजलकारको मनसाय ट्याम्मै बुझिदीन्छन् र म जस्ता केहि बनौं भन्ने हिसाबले अघि बढेका गजलकारहरुको 'फजल' लाई गजल भनेर ल्याम्मै मजाले छापीदीन्छन् !

हिजो पनि निक्लेछ मेरो गजल- “तिम्रो त्यो जवानी प्यून पाए हुन्थ्यो

तिमीसँग हाँसिखेली ज्यून पाए हुन्थ्यो”

गजलमात्र काँ हो र गजल सुहाउँदो पानको पात सात बनाएर चट्ट पारेर सम्पूर्ण भाव नै बुझे भैं गरि छापीदीएका रहेछन् !

बिडम्बना ! त्यो गजल मैले पनि राम्रोसँग बुझेको छैन !

जे होस गजल क्षेत्रमा लागेर मैले प्रशस्तै नाम कमाएको छु ! तालि पाएको छु ! शेर, मत्ला, तखुल्लास, मिसरा केहि नजाने पनि भाग्यवश महान् गजलकार भएको छु ! उत्का र उत्पात मच्चाएको

छु ! गजल लेखेरै मासिक दश हजार कमाएको छु ! खाई पिइ मोजमज्जा गरिकन पनि नेपाली गजलको फाँटमा एउटा नक्षत्रको रुपमा देखा परेको छु ! संघर्ष गरेर ठूलो मान्छे भएको छु !

र अन्त्यमा नाम र दाम कमाएर ठूलो मान्छे बन्ने भए सबैलाई मैले जस्तै संघर्ष गर्न अनुरोध गर्छु !

Did You Know? - "Soaring Gas prices"

- TND Research

Average gas price in the USA on 17th of May 2004 was \$2.017 up from \$1.844 during mid April, according to US government's Energy Information Administration. Many Americans are considering it very high. It is, at least by US standards however if looked in overall world's context, the result may surprise you.

