



in Bhaktapur against the Maoists.

Earlier, the ruling parties had decided to mobilise their respective youth wings to retaliate against the Maoists.

This sort of stubborn tendency on the part of ruling parties may lead the country to the vortex of an unimaginable chaos anytime soon.

All the parties have theoretically agreed that the peace building and constitution making process will be fruitless without reaching consensus.

However, they, in practical, are not ready budge an inch from their respective egoistic stance, which has alarmingly jeopardized the already fragile peace process.

The parties have already agreed to find a solution to the political mess in a package.

Among the six issues finalized by the parties for discussion a few months ago, they are chiefly wrangling over two issues—the management of the Maoist combatants and the leadership of a new national government.

The other four issues include adherence to the earlier agreements, confidence building measures, uniformity in understanding the step

taken by the president with regard to the restoration of the then army chief removed by the previous Maoist-led government and disagreement over the constitution making process.

Nepali Congress (NC) and CPN (UML), the two major ruling allies, said they will give in to the idea of a new national government only if the UCPN (Maoist) amputates its combatants from the party structure.

It denotes that two parties may agree to form the new Maoist-led government if the combatants are brought under the purview of the special committee and the number of the combatants to be integrated with the security agencies is finalised.

The Maoists, however, insist the combatants at first must be asked whether they want to join the security agencies or be rehabilitated with certain incentives.

According to the Maoists, only after this the number of those who will be integrated in the security apparatus can be determined.

The former rebels have maintained that it is not possible to complete the process of integration within the next few

days as little progress has been made on the issue over the last two years.

Be that as it may, it is not hard to surmise that the NC and the UML will not easily allow the Maoists to again ascend to the power corridors.

UML chairman Jhala Nath Khanal and NC leader Ram Sharan Mahat recently told the Maoists not to construe their status as the largest political party as a mandate to lead the new government.

The distrust between the Maoist and the non-Maoist parties, that started right after the election to constituent assembly two years back, continued to worsen and the formation of the current coalition only acted as a catalyst in this regard.

The current government, the fundamentals of which were engineered by New Delhi, did nothing to bring the Maoists on board.

No wonder, New Delhi seems utterly eager to endow the frail government with some vigor to continue its "meaningless" tenure.

During the course of the recent 16th SAARC Summit in Thimpu, the Indian Prime Minister told his Nepali

counterpart to go for creating alliance of democratic forces to prolong his premiership.

The Indian establishment clearly wants to bar its betes noires in Nepal i.e.

China worried over Nepal's peace

WM Correspondent

The gross flippancy being exhibited by Maoist leadership in the country has disappointed the non-Maoist leadership.

China has always been benevolent towards Nepal's peace and stability. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a regular dialogue with the Nepali government. She has political differences with the Nepali government but peace and stability in Nepal is her top priority.

China has always been benevolent towards Nepal's peace and stability.

The latest anxiety expressed by the Nepali government is deemed as natural in the light of the fact that China has a legitimate internal security interest in Nepal.

China has also been supporting Nepal's permanent member of UN Security Council.

"We sincerely hope the Nepalese political leadership will take its national interest into consideration, hold dialogue, reach a consensus," Jiang further said.

Peace process in

WM correspondent

The government is preparing to formally ask the United Nations for further term extension of the UNMIN (United Nations Mission in Nepal).

To put it frankly, the government has been forced to lengthen the stay of

Indian conspiracy on Lord Krishna's birthplace a challenge'

the motion adds.

In its crooked bid to distort the historical facts, India has renamed Naugadh, Tahasil as Kapilvastu and formed new Siddharthanagar district by breaking down Wasti district in UP.

The Indian government has

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political and economic disaster

haphazard infighting and non-Maoist parties for issues culminated into the general strike the nation is

UCPN (Maoist), the main driving "crusade" against the government in the form of a complete shutdown, the people are palpably angry at the country's politics. The Maoist led government wants to be ousted with power discarding the people's grievances while the opposition wants to replace it with new government at any cost.

Their early promises that they would deliver the new constitution, ultimately peace to long-term major parties are themselves commitments by pushing the edge of yet another crisis.

The political bosses are always in giving more thrills to the nation, enacted drama, May 28, the new constitution, is more fictional.

The people joined their call to propel the country towards peace and prosperity by electing a new governing rules.

The citizens are feeling they are getting into more troubles by the government. If the major political parties bury these facts to bury their image, their eroding image will be heavily.

The fact that the country will slip into a state of wrangle over the political issues is more insignificant than the

economic stifling the nation, the economic meltdown has

The economy continues to slide downwards so rapidly that it will take a few more months, the inflation-blown macro-economic situation.

In the first six months of the current fiscal year, the foreign exchange depleted up by Rs 43 billion, Rs 16 billion worth of foreign exchange with the central bank.

In the same period, our trade deficit (between export and import) has increased by 10 percent to reach Rs 213.33 billion. The foreign exchange inflow remained very low for the last eight months and failed to replenish the foreign currency reserves.

occasion during the last about a decade and a half, the group's summit meetings have made critical contributions towards lessening bilateral tensions in the region through diplomacy on the sidelines. The latest example is the productive outcome of the meeting between Pakistani Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani and the Indian Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh on the sidelines of the 16th summit in Thimphu (Bhutan). Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Quereshi has described the meeting as "warm, engaging and cordial", and said that the outcome of the meeting was beyond expectations.

This is not the first time that the informal sideline diplomacy of SAARC summits has succeeded in breaking the Pakistan-India deadlock over bilateral issues. The initiative on the stalled peace process and resumption of the Composite Dialogue in 2004 was also the result of a meeting between Pakistan's former president Pervez Musharraf and then Indian prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, on the sidelines of the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad. The Composite Dialogue had remained suspended due to the Kargil episode in 1999. The Musharraf-Vajpayee meeting in Islamabad was itself facilitated by the famous handshake of General Musharraf with Vajpayee during the 11th Summit of SAARC in Kathmandu in 2002. Before that, former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral had been able to end in 1997 a four-year hiatus in communication between Pakistan and India, by holding informal discussions in Male. The understanding reached between the two prime ministers at Male led to the resumption of Pakistan-India structured talks on eight subjects that now form baskets of the Composite Dialogue process that had been suspended since the Mumbai terrorist attacks in November 2008.



process between Pakistan and India, it has also played an important role in defusing the tensions between India on the one hand, and Nepal and Sri Lanka on the other, caused due to the alleged Indian role in their internal affairs. Former President of Sri Lanka, J Jayawardene was so bitter about the Indian tactics of pressure and arm-twisting on the Tamil Tigers' issue that he had refused to participate in SAARC summits. Similarly, Nepal was angry on India's dubious role of secretly arming the Maoists while pretending to side with the Nepali government. In both cases, SAARC leaders played an active role on the sidelines of SAARC summits in bringing about reconciliation between the two sides.

In fact, sideline diplomacy of the SAARC summits has become so useful and regular that it has prompted growing demands from within SAARC circles, especially from the smaller countries of the region, that this practice should be institutionalised. The need for such an arrangement is badly felt because SAARC does not have any dispute resolution mechanism. It was formed with a clear objective of promoting economic, social and cultural cooperation among the member countries with a view to raising the standard of living of the people of the region. Hitherto, almost all the successful agreements reached under SAARC fall in the economic, social and cultural fields. Progress on the political issues has been absent due to the presence of a

disputes and contentious issues were excluded from the SAARC framework on the insistence of India, which feared that the smaller countries of the region might form a united front to overrule India. The principle of unanimity in the decision making process was also included for the same reason.

But the persistence of bilateral disputes, particularly Pakistan-India differences, has proved to be the biggest obstacle in the way of forward movement of the SAARC process. The least developed countries of the region, such as Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Afghanistan and Maldives, which have greater stakes in the progress of SAARC, are wary of tension between the region's two nuclear-armed neighbouring states. These countries have always urged Pakistan and India to narrow down their differences and not to allow their bilateral disputes to block the progress of the SAARC process. It has also been suggested that SAARC should have a separate mechanism for discussing matters relating to peace and security on the pattern of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), but since it will require Indian willingness to reach a unanimous decision, such an arrangement does not seem to be a possibility in the near future. As an alternative, the smaller member countries of SAARC take full advantage of the presence of heads of state/government at

Singh broke India's suspension of large scale scene states. The at the drama two countries trans SAARC moving of bilateral mem intern with t obser peac coope South partic to b under De dispu rema SAAR prove move of t inter parti gover annu outco only such t provid dealin bilate

Political turmoil affects investors

By R.K. Regmee

Nepal Stock Exchange (Nepse) behaviour in the past week - a fall from 423.41 points to 419.28 - cannot be termed too discouraging for the period of time when it had to battle not the financial turbulence, but the impact of political commotion on entrepreneurs' psyche. The UCPN- Maoists' move to unseat the Prime Minister from the street and the government's

programme, which was also transmitted through 200 FMs all over Nepal. Entrepreneur-questioners alerted the top brass of Nepal's leading parties about the political confrontation's ill effects on economy including investment sector. Political turmoil and

Baburam Bhattarai's stress on high investment and Dr. Ram Sharan Mahat's call for "no strike-no stoppage-for three years for economy - sounded well but that offer was not enough to avoid nervousness felt in Nepse and in investment. The umbrella body of the

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struggles which have emerged against the new economic policies of neo-liberalism in India. Not one act of violence has been committed by any of the various struggles in Orissa: against the Posco project in Jagatsinghpur, against the mining projects in Kashipur and Niyamgiri, against the Vedanta university project between Konark and Puri, or, as against the Tata steel project in Kalinganagar.

So why is the State hounding them like criminals in their own land, making them suffer a spiral of injustices, putting them in jail with false cases, beating them up, forcing them to the brink, even killing them in cold blood when democracy itself looks like a total farce? If they don't want to leave their land, why should they be forcibly displaced?

So why are they being crushed so ruthlessly? And can they crush the human spirit because they are driven by nothing else but profit and greed parroted as 'development' endlessly by the media, and especially the Union home minister? What about their side of the story? The people's version?

People too are adamant. They have witnessed the dehumanisation in the name of rehabilitation in earlier projects - there have been struggles earlier against other projects too in this area, followed by intense repression, when men had to run away to the forests. The immediate provocation now is the construction of a common corridor project, which the tribals are opposing.

Now, the people think, the corridor is a ploy to divide the villages physically. They will not allow the corridor to happen. Hence, the current police siege. "In fact, the road was supposed to be used not as a common corridor by many industries, but as a major passageway to the site earmarked for the proposed Tata steel plant," said Jual Oram, after he was attacked by BJD supporters.

There is a thread of this magical inheritance in the geography of their indigenous journey from one tribal land to another, because their maps are always differently designed. In these unwritten maps, drawn like a line on the moist ground next to a river, are enshrined the folk narratives of the oral traditions and their beautiful hand-written script, like the paintings crafted on mud walls.

In this rain-soaked narrative, lies silent, subaltern tribal theatres of amazing fluidity and sharp memories: their land, trees, rivers, forests, water bodies, earth, sky, flowers, birds, wildlife, poetry, songs, dances, fires, fertility, love, lust, midnights, drums, darkened bodies of the forest and the sun - they all share and form a common, collective ethos.

All that belongs is for everyone. All what nature gives must be shared. And they will die if this indigenous birthright and geography is snatched away from them by aliens - often with guns.

telescope or militant rainbow
the arms industry) and other treasures
in the mineral rich, water-rich hills and forests.

Journalists have been beaten up by goons of the contractors, people have been arrested and packed off to jail, police repression has followed countless times: but this indigenous movement has not lost its innocence.

It is relentless, dogged and refusing to move. They have seen the ravaged landscape near the Vedanta Aluminium Plant at Lanjigarh in the neighbourhood. Rivers, mountains, streams, trees - brutalised and poisoned. They will not allow this miracle of the Eastern Ghats to be ravaged like that. And the fact is, despite the repression, they have blocked the mining mafia and refused to move.

At Maikanch in this remote tribal belt, there are some little stones placed on top of a hill, a few flowers and a branch of leafy tree. This is the simplicity of memory - of those shot dead by the police in the peaceful resistance in Kashipur. The 'Maikanch murders' of December 2000, when three young tribal men were shot dead by police as they demonstrated against the Utkal Aluminium Joint Venture between Canada's Alcan, and India's Hindalco, are etched in the historical legacy of these epic non-violent struggles in Orissa and elsewhere. As in Niyamgiri and Jagatsinghpur. As earlier in Jagudoda in Jharkhand, Gandhamardhana hills and Chilika in Orissa, Raigarh in Maharashtra, Dadri in UP, and Nandigram and Singur, among countless other simmering struggles all over India, as in the Narmada valley and Garhwal hills. Victorious, still fighting, defeated, not defeated. As yet.

In Jagatsinghpur, in this demographically diverse and amazingly rich bio-diversity zone with multiple rivers, streams, water bodies, fertile land, fishing, agriculture and vegetable crops, and the smell of sea nearby, the multi-million multinational Posco project, the prime ministers' pet project, is hanging like a sword which must slash through the tribal heartland, if necessary with pure brute force. Here they grow paan so soft and sweet, that it melts inside the mouth. And the people have made barricades outside the villages to block 'outsiders and musclemen' - they are not allowed to enter the project area. The villagers have refused to move.

They have tried dividing the people. They have done police raids. They have threatened them of dire consequences. They have tried to smash the movement. They put their leader, Abhay Sahoo of CPI, for ten months in jail for no crime other than leading a completely non-violent struggle.

Recently, the tribals did a long march from the port of Paradip to Puri, when hundreds of locals marched, and others from the various movements in Orissa joined in solidarity. "Even today, everyday, hundreds of women and men sit on peaceful sit-ins. And yet they want

branded Maoists, eye-witnesses killed, others disappeared, kidnapped and eliminated. All this by the police of the BJP-led state regime, and the armed Salwa Judum led by Congress leader Mahendra Karma and directly patronised by the state government and Centre. Even the ashram of Gandhian Himanshu Kumar was demolished several times. When he followed the Supreme Court order to rehabilitate displaced tribals, his activists were arrested, beaten up and packed off to jail.

The media reports only the police version. This too is embedded journalism. Only Maoist violence is reported. Censorship is legitimate. The Maoist statements on extra-constitutional encounters, murders and rapes are not reported.

There is no semblance of either development in these squashed memories of under-development, or an iota of constitutional rights or justice. If the testimonies of the people of Dantewada are evidence, than there have been unprecedented brutalities and there are thousands of tales of unimaginable injustices. And anybody can be raped, killed, arrested, shot dead in an encounter by Salwa Judum, Special Police Officers, para military forces and police.

Arundhati Roy narrated one of the many stories from Dantewada in the tribunal. Stunningly heart-rending, a story which shatters the cracked mirror of Indian democracy: "I met Chamri, mother of Comrade Dilip who was shot on July 6, 2009. She says that after they killed him, the police tied her son's body to a pole, like an animal and carried it with them. (They need to produce bodies to get their cash rewards, before someone else muscles in on the kill.) Chamri ran behind them all the way to the police station. By the time they reached, the body did not have a scrap of clothing on it. On the way, Chamri says, they left the body by the roadside while they stopped at a dhaba to have tea and biscuits. (Which they did not pay for.) Picture this mother for a moment, following her son's corpse through the forest, stopping at a distance to wait for his murderers to finish their tea. They did not let her have her son's body back so she could give him a proper funeral. They only let her throw a fistful of earth in the pit in which they buried the others they had killed that day. Chamri says she wants revenge. Badla ku badla. Blood for blood."

So is Maoist violence the only truth of this cracked mirror?

In this silent zone of absolute suffering, despair and tragedy - mass legitimacy of the Maoists and the total loss of legitimacy of the Indian State are feeding onto each other. Locals say, and so do the Maoists, since Operation Green Hunt, 100 tribals and Naxalites have been killed. "Why don't the media report about them?" they ask.

The tribunal also noted what the



The expedition will set off from the Nepal weekend and reach the Everest's South Col

After setting up camp on the South Col, the

of Everest and start working their way down, p

Seven-times Everest climber Namgyal Sher

He says this is the first time anyone has clea

but that it is important to do so to preserve th

mountain safe.

"I'm a climber and I can say frankly that I'm

Mount Everest because of the rubbish," he say

Avalanches

Because of the lack of oxygen, freezing

conditions, the Sherpas say they will not be ab

person and that they will spend no longer than

go.

They will stay on the South Col for a week

death zone, before returning to base camp, r

operation twice more.

Namgyal Sherpa says the task will be da

experienced enough to cope.

"We need to focus on avalanches and the

the technique and if you have proper experie

says.

The team expects to remove 3,000kg of old

food packaging and camping stoves from the

They will also bring back the bodies of clim

attempting to climb Everest.

"I have seen three dead bodies laying on the

another dead body also which we heard about a

The team plans to bring down the body of

base camp, where they have been given pe

cremate it.

"We have a special stretcher to bring the

dead body on a stretcher and then drag it slowly

'Holy mountain'

They expect to bring down the body of A

climber Scott Fischer.

Fischer died on Everest in 1996 - the m

season.

Fifteen climbers died that year, eight of the

Journalist Jon Krakauer later published the

Into Thin Air.

The team also suspect they will find the bod

Hall, who also died in 1996.

Namgyal says some families have expresse

on Mount Everest, as they feel this is what the

However, the expedition project co-ordin

Nepalese people do not want the mountain to

"We respect the sentiments of the family

Everest," he said.

"But it is a holy mountain and our governme

be no dead bodies on the mountain.

"All dead bodies should be brought below b

cremated. They shouldn't pollute the mountain

New standard

As well as bringing down bodies, the team

old ropes from expeditions as long ago as 195

These are still attached to the mountain and

who do not know whether they are secure or n

"Those ropes are all the same and lo

misunderstand which ropes are new and wh

Namgyal.

"If they attached themselves to an old rope

Namgyal says he hopes this expedition w

economically subsidized its clients in exchange for political control. The US replaced the European colonial powers via a worldwide network of military treaties and the forceful penetration of former colonial states with a system of neo-colonial dependencies.

The collapse of the Soviet empire and the implosion of the USSR briefly opened new vistas in Washington, for a unipolar empire without competitors or challengers, a 'pax Americana'. This 'vision' based on a superficial one dimensional analysis of US imperial military supremacy ignored several crucial weaknesses.

The relative decline of US economic power faced with stiff competition from the EU, Japan, the newly industrializing countries and beginning in the early nineties from China.

The fragile foundations of US imperial power in the Third World based on highly vulnerable client collaborators whose economies, subject to pillage, were not sustainable.

The de-industrialization and financialization of the US economy leading to a decline of merchandise trade and an increasing dependence on income from financial services. The almost complete specularization of the financial sector led to great volatility and the pillage of productive assets as collateral for the mounting debt overhang.

In other words, the 'external edifice' of a unipolar empire obfuscated the deepening internal rot and deep contradiction between greater external expansion and domestic deterioration. The rapid military expansion of the US, replacing the USSR's Warsaw pact with the incorporation of the Eastern European countries into NATO created the image of an irrepressible dynamic empire. The pillage and transfer of wealth from Russia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republic gave the appearance of a dynamic economic empire.

There were several problems with this viewpoint insofar as the pillage was a one-shot windfall; the plunder, mostly enriched Russian gangster oligarchs; and the privatized public firms passed mostly into the hands of Germany and the countries of the European Union. The US Empire which bore the cost of promoting the downfall of the USSR was not the prime economic beneficiary – its gains were mostly military, ideological and symbolic.

The fateful long term consequences of the post Soviet, US military victories occurred during the Bush senior and Clinton regimes of the early and mid 1990's. The US invasion of Iraq and rapid fire smash-up of Yugoslavia gave an enormous impetus to US military driven empire building. The rapid military victories, the subsequent de facto colonization of Northern Iraq and control over its trade and budget revived the idea that imperial rule via colonization was a viable historical

Chinese social revolution. The social revolution created a unified country, ousted colonial enclaves, created a healthy educated labor force, basic infrastructure and industry. The new capitalist leaderships turned the economy outward and invited foreign capital to provide technology, open overseas markets and capitalist managerial skills, while retaining control over the financial system and strategic industries. Most important its semi-privatized agriculture, created a multi-million surplus work force of low paid wage workers for intense exploitation in labor intensive coastal assembly plants. The new capitalist rulers eliminated the social safety net of free health and basic education forcing high rates of savings to cover medical bills and tuition and increasing the rates of investments to astronomical levels.

China's overseas expansion was market driven based on a triple alliance of state, foreign and national capital, in which over time, the role of each actor varied according to political and economic circumstances and the realignment of internal capitalist forces.

From the beginning the internal market was sacrificed in the pursuit of external markets. Mass consumption was postponed in favor of state and private elite investment, profits and wealth.

In contrast to the EIP of the past and the US today, China as a RIP, subordinated banks to financing industry-manufacturing especially the export sectors. Unlike EIP like the US, China abjured big military spending on overseas bases, colonial wars and costly military occupations. Instead its goods penetrated markets, including that of the EIP. In a sui generis situation of borrowing technology and marketing expertise from imperial based multi nationals and then turning around and using the acquired skills to rise up the production cycle from assembly plant to manufacture, to design and innovative high value products.

The RIP increased its merchandise exports while sharply limiting the penetration of financial services, the new driving force of the EIP. The result over time was a ballooning of a merchandise trade deficit not only with China but with nearly 100 other countries around the world. The pre-eminence of the financial military driven imperial elite inhibited the development of higher tech merchandise development capable of penetrating the market of the RIP and reducing the trade deficit. Instead the backward under developed and uncompetitive manufacturing sector were not able to compete with lower wage Chinese products and together with a backward looking overpaid bureaucratic trade union elite complained of unfair competition and "undervalued Chinese currency". They overlooked the fact that the US deficit was a product of domestic economic configurations and gross imbalances

over the financial sector hence it lowers the outflow of 'invisible earnings' paid out to the EIP.

EIP engages in vast non-productive and inefficient (with billion dollar cost overruns) military expenditures and high cost colonial wars without 'imperial returns'. In contrast a RIP like China pours hundreds of billions, building up its domestic economy as a springboard for conquering external markets. The brutal imperial-colonial wars of the EIP savage millions of conquered peoples but at the cost of the disaccumulation of capital. In contrast the RIP, like China, harshly exploits hundreds of millions of migrant workers, in the process of accumulating capital for extended reproduction in the home and overseas markets. Unlike the past, it is the EIP which resort to military aggression to retain markets while the RIP expands overseas via market competitiveness.

The 'economic disease' of the EIP is their tendency to overextend their financial sector and shift their policies from promoting industry and trade to speculative and other malignant activity that feeds on itself and self-destructs. In contrast the RIP shift bank capital from financing domestic manufacturing to securing overseas raw materials for industry.

Differences Between Imperial Centers and "Diasporas"

There are important differences between past and present Imperial countries and various overseas Diasporas. In the past the imperial centers generally dictated policy to their overseas dependencies, securing mercenaries, conscripts and volunteers for their imperial wars, as well as profitable returns on investments and favorable trade relations. In some cases, settler colonies via their representatives in parliaments did influence imperial policy, in some cases up to and including devolution of power. Moreover, in some cases repatriated colonists did receive political support from the imperial center in securing financial compensation for expropriated properties. However, the imperial center always overrode the resistance of overseas settlers when it came to fashioning a pact with the ex-colonies which preserved larger economic and political interests.

In contrast the US imperial state pays a multi billion dollar tribute and submits to war policies dictated by its apparent "dependency" Israel as a result of the Zionist power configurations pervasive penetration of strategic policy making. We have the extra-ordinary circumstances of the "Diaspora" (ZPC) of a foreign state (Israel) trumping the interests of strategic economic interests (oil industry) and top imperial field commanders and intelligence agencies of the imperial center in setting Middle Eastern policy. Unlike any previous EIP, in the US the entire mass media propaganda apparatus, most academic

policies. The RIP today, China, is not shackled by overseas racist colonial settlers. They are free to advance their economic interests anywhere in the world, particularly in regions and countries and among peoples targeted by the fifth column, ZPC, embedded in its rival EIP (USA).

China has over \$24 billion in lucrative investments in Iran and is its principle oil importer. The US has zero investments and trade. China has displaced the US as the principle importer of Saudi oil, as well as a major trading partner in Syria, Sudan and other Muslim countries where the Zionist promoted sanctions policy minimize or eliminate US economic activity. While China's nationally and market determined policies have been the motor force for enhancing Chinese global economic position, the US harnessed to the needs of a tributary colonial power is a huge economic loser. Equally significant while China's diaspora is strictly interested in expanding economic ties, the Israeli diaspora – the ZPC – is strictly tied to militarizing US policy, engaging in extraordinarily costly prolonged wars and antagonizing almost every major Islamic population with blatant Islamophobic rhetoric and hate propaganda.

The turn to a totally "unbalanced" militarized foreign policy, promoted on behalf of Israel, has completely unhinged the link between US military policy from its overseas economic interests.

How Empires React to Decline: Past and Present

Like the US today, declining empires in the past have adopted various strategies to minimize losses, some more successful than others. In general the least successful and costliest policy was the attempt to roll back mass anti-imperialist movements to restore colonial domination. In a period of declining global economic power, colonial restorationist polices have always failed. The non-military strategy was the least costly and most successful, in at least securing some semblance of imperial presence. Success was based on negotiated transitions to independence in which market supremacy ensured continued imperial hegemony in partnership with an emerging colonial bourgeoisie.

Historically, declining imperial powers resorted to five strategies or a combination of them.

Attempting to recover colonies or neo-colonies by renewed military offensives. After World War II, France in Indo-China and Algeria, England in Kenya paid a severe economic and political price in trying to restore colonial rule and ultimately they failed.

Negotiating a neo-colonial settlement. England severely weakened by its losses during World War II and facing a multi-million independence movement, thought it the

financial press as well as the economists and 'experts', advocates intervening into China's domestic economic policy in pursuit of measures designed to disarticulate its dynamic growth model. The most widespread demand is that China overvalue its currency to erode its competitive edge and weaken its dynamic export industries.

The anti-China coalition, led by the Washington-Wall Street complex, has been pressing Beijing hard to deregulate its financial sector to facilitate the takeover of China's financial markets, claiming 'trade and investment' violations.

Washington has imposed protectionist measures, contrary to WTO rulers, in the form of tariffs on Chinese exports of steel and tires and Congress has threatened an across the board 40% tariff on all Chinese exports to the US – a call for a 'trade war'.

The US has blocked several large scale Chinese investments and buyouts of oil companies, technology firms and other enterprises. In contrast, China has allowed US MNC to invest tens of billions and to subcontract in the most diverse sectors of the Chinese economy. China as a rising world power is confident that its dynamic economy can harness US MNC to its continued growth while the US in the face of its deteriorating position is fearful of any acceleration of "Chinese takeovers", a fear borne of economic weakness, couched and disguised in the rhetoric of a "security threat".

Washington encouraged China's sovereign investment fund and overseas investors to link-up with US financial houses engaged in speculative activity, hoping to strengthen outflows to the US and creating a 'speculator culture' in China, to weaken the power of productive capital in the state planning apparatus.

Washington has escalated its threats of economic retaliation in order to undermine and exclude China's dynamic export sector and to secure concessions which will compromise the domestic political standing of its rulers, if and when they adopt Washington's dictates. Chinese political leaders who allow Washington to determine its domestic economic policies will provoke internal opposition from business and workers prejudiced by those policies. Once compromised and weakened and facing inflamed national opinion, China's leaders will face pressure from within and without – threatening China's stability.

Washington has mounted a concerted international media campaign, mobilizing the IMF and the EU to weaken China's national industrial model, blaming the rising world power for its decline. From the leading columnist in the 'serious' financial press to the sensational mass circulation 'yellow press', from political leaders in Congress to senior executive officials, to leaders of uncompetitive

export competitiveness is a prime factor in unbalancing world trade; its growing economic ties in Asia threatens their 'national security' etc. These and numerous other propaganda pieces packaged as serious economic analysis in the Financial Times, Wall Street Journal and The New York Times are designed to blame China for the weaknesses and decline of US economic competitiveness in the world. The purpose is to influence and pressure 'malleable' or 'accommodating' neoliberal Chinese officials to change policies. Equally important these 'critiques' are designed to unify the business, banking, political and military elite and justify aggressive moves against China. The basic problem with these expert diagnoses is that they have repeatedly been refuted by the reality of China's continuous dynamic growth; its ability to manage and regulate financial lending to avoid bubble busts; the growing positive reception by its African hosts to new investment deals due to their relatively generous loans and infrastructure projects which accompany investments in extractive sectors. More recently Washington has influenced India and Brazil to join the chorus blaming China for trade imbalances, a most dangerous alliance in the making.

Strategies to Counter Established Imperial Powers

China affirmed that its exchange rate was an "internal matter" and even acceded to US demands and revalued its currency (2006 – 2008) by 20%. Later China responded by pointing out that the currency brouha had little to do with the US trade deficit, pointing to the structural weaknesses in the US economy, namely to its low level of savings, capital formation and loss of competitiveness.

Initially, China merely protested at US human rights attacks, either denying the charges or claiming they were internal affairs. By 2010, however, China went on the offensive, publishing its own documented inventory of US domestic human rights violations. When Washington protested at China's violation of the human rights of Tibetan and Uigher separatists, China rebuked Washington's interference in China's internal affairs and threatened to take reprisals which led Washington to drop its crusade.

China does little to directly constrain US overseas expansion, (since Washington does a good job at self-destruction) rather it focuses on enhancing its own economic based strategy of increasing overseas investments, borrowing technology and upgrading its high tech industries. China, despite pressure from Washington, refuses to join its sanctions campaign against Iran and develops investment ties in Afghanistan while the US military occupation costs billions and alienates most Afghans including its client regime. China refuses to lend support to Obama's military centered strategy to

resorting to force and conquest – to lay the foundations for a sustainable economic empire. The strategy includes a complex mix of domestic and overseas measures.

1. Overseas investments to secure strategic resources, especially energy, metals and food.

2. High levels of domestic investments to build up manufacturing capacity, introducing advanced technology to upgrade value added and lessen its dependence on imports of manufactured parts. Sustained high levels of investment are perceived as necessary to sustain export competitiveness.

3. Big push to upgrade the education of the labor force to achieve industrial supremacy – with the emphasis on engineers, scientists and industrial managers over and against stock speculators, investment bankers and lawyers. However, China's efforts to upgrade its labor force will not succeed unless it recognizes and integrates its 200 – 300 million migrant workers whose children are currently excluded from advanced public education in the major metropolises.

4. Multi-billion dollar investments in infrastructure, including dozens of new airports, high speed railroads and improved waterways linking the coastal regions to the interior, enhancing the dynamic growth of industry. As a result, there is less migration to the established coastal manufacturing centers resulting in some cases in labor scarcity, which in turn has led to a significant rise in wage levels and less geographic imbalances between old and new poles of development.

5. As skilled labor begins to replace unskilled labor and as dynamic growth proceeds up the ladder to higher value added production, so do wage levels and social consciousness, leading to pressure to diminish the gaping class inequalities.

6. As a result of class pressures from below evidenced in over 100,000 annual locally based protests, strikes and demonstrations, the government has slowly moved to lessen class tensions in part with investments in social welfare and greater social spending. China is shifting from buying US Treasury notes to investing in subsidizing public health and education in rural areas. By bringing the state back into social development instead of relying on the market which has proved highly inefficient, it is upgrading rural labor for modern production processes.

In summary the pillars of China's dynamic push for global power rest on the rebalancing the economy, upgrading its productive base, expanding its domestic market, pursuing growth and social stability while maximizing access to strategic materials essential for production.

China's Version of "Rebalancing" its Economy: The New Contradictions

class, which ignores the need for developing the internal market, especially investments in social development. Secondly, the entire ruling class and governing elite while paying lip service to the need for upgrading labor, building a social safety net in rural areas and extending social rights to health and education to migrant labor, refuse to increase their taxes to pay for it, resist any redistributive policies and defend their family privileges, creating conditions for heightened class tensions and conflict.

Equally deleterious to the future foundations of China's external expansion is the emergence of a powerful speculator class, especially in the real estate, banking and local regional political elite which creates tendencies to bubble economics, which threaten the financial system. While the regime though its ultimate control over monetary policy and the financial system adopts policies to 'deflate' the bubble, it does nothing structurally which could undermine this sector of the ruling class. Moreover, speculation in real estate raises the cost of housing beyond the reach of most workers, while the inflated price of land leads to arbitrary dispossession of homeowners by local and regional officials linked to real estate speculators, fueling mass unrest and in some cases violent protests.

The growth in power of importers, financial speculators and real estate billionaires could provide an opening for the leading sector of the US Empire – the financial, real estate and insurance ruling class. Up to now the repeated instability and crises induced by these sectors in 1990 – 01, 2000 – 2002, 2007 – 2010, has undermined their ability to penetrate the Chinese economy.

Given China's continued growth, especially evident in the present, where it grew 9% in 2009 and 12% in 2010, while the US wallowed in and around zero growth, who has the most to lose if and when Washington decides to escalate into a trade war?

External Confrontation or Domestic Restructuring: Within the USA?

In the new competitive multi-polar world order, the US cannot successfully follow the earlier path of blocking a rising imperial power's access to strategic resources via colonial dictated boycotts. Not even in countries under US occupation, such as Iraq and Afghanistan, can the White House block China from signing lucrative investment and trade deals. With countries in the US sphere of influence, like Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, the rate of growth of trade and investment with China far exceeds that of the US. Short of a full scale unilateral military blockade, the US cannot contain China's rise as a world economic actor, a newly emerging imperial power.

Transition from Empire to Republic?

In the face of the US's demonstrable

Completed at the same time. The main entrance of the temple was facing China.

After these construction, there was no further interference from demons or evil spirits, due to powerful protection of the gods. Both temples were completed in an excellent condition.

Thereafter, the king and the queens went to the Red Hill palace and the next day the king inaugurated the new temples built by queens.

On the happy occasion of inauguration, the king had a notion that the lake was swelling under the surface of the temples, and he dared not go into the temple. At this the Nepalese queen threw her gold ring and the sound was as if it was skating on ice. Then the king, queens and ministers were inside the temple. On that occasion the king declared those temples were built mostly by a miracle. The king named the temple Ra-sa 'Phrul nang-gtsug lag khang which meant goat-earth miracle temple. This was because the first part of the temple construction was done by a goat carrying earth to cover the Milky lake. After that, the king commented on the details of the work done, such as the statues, paintings, carvings on wood, the style of doors and pillars. After these the king also started to build several other temples. The foundation of these were placed by Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti Devi, with the statues of Sariputra, maudgalyayana, Maitreya and other forms of Avalokiteshvara. All the statues were engraved by the Nepalese artist and blessed by Srong btsan sgampo.

III. The Description of the site

In front of the Jokhang Cathedral entrance there are three stone steles in two separate enclosures.

The tall stele carries an important historic bilingual inscription of the Tibetan-Chinese agreement of 821 between the Tibetan king Tri Ralpacan, and the Chinese emperor, Wen Wu Hsiao -te Wang ti. It reads thus:

Tibet and China shall abide by the frontiers of which they are now in occupation. As to the east is the country of Great China; and all to the West is, without question, the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth on neither side shall there be waging of war nor seizing of territory. If any person incurs suspicious he shall be arrested; his business shall be inquired into and he shall be escorted back'

The forecourt leading to the main entrance of the Jokhang is filled with pilgrims and devotees prostrating themselves in the direction of Jovo

enter and leave the Jokhang temple.

There are several chapels inside the Jokhang temple. Here the author has planned to describe some important chapels only briefly.

1. Jovo Shakyamuni Chapel

The central and most important shrine in the Jokhang is the most impressive and elaborate image of Jovo Shakyamuni. This image of Jovo Shakyamuni is heavily decorated with brocade clothing and jewelry. Before him are the several butter lamps in silver and gold burning.

The Main sitting image of Shakyamuni at the age of 12 is about 1.5m high. It is supposedly one of only three made during his lifetime. It was a gift from the Chinese Princess Wencheng to her husband King Songtsen Gampo. The Jowo sits on a majestic massive three-tiered stone platform. Two silver-plated dragons presented by the Chinese emperor entwine the ornate pillars that support an intricate double canopy over the Jowo. An ornate crown of coral, turquoise, diamonds, rubies, and other precious gems, sits on the Jowo's head.

2. Amitabha Chapel

In this shrine, Amitabha, the Buddha of infinite light, is flanked by two small guardian deities. Since this is the before the Jowo, here the pilgrim prays that his or her karmic hindrances to seeing the Jowo are fully cleared away. Between the Amitabha chapel and the Jowo are four raised, seated figures. The central image is King Songtsen Gampo. To the left is his Nepalese queen Bhrikuti Devi, and to the right is his Chinese queen, Wencheng.

3. Protector Maitreya Chapel

This shrine is guarded by two deities Brahma and Indra. The central image is a form of Maitreya connected with the king Krikin, a benefactor of former Buddha Kashyapa. It is said to have been brought to Tibet by Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti, in the form of dowry.

4. Chapel of Dharma king srong btsan gam po

This shrine located directly above the main entrance to the Jokhang is dedicated to the founder of the temple, King Songtsen Gampo. A large statue of the king dominates the shrine. He is flanked by his Nepalese queen Bhrikuti Devi (to the left), and the Chinese queen, Wencheng (to the right). Against the left wall of the chapel are three smaller images of

Bhrikuti and Marici.

6. Chapel of Tsong Khapa and eight disciples

The first shrine to the left of the entrance is dedicated to Je Tsong Khapa, the founder of Gelugpa order. He is the main figure facing you as you enter, and is accompanied by a group of his eight pure disciples. The most famous of these are his two chief disciples, Khedrup je and Gyeltsap je, who are seated to Tsong Khapa's right and left.

7. Padmasambhava Chapel:

Padmasambhava is said to have manifested in eight different forms during his stay in Tibet. As an accomplished tantric master he was able to assuming different appearances. These eight transformations of the Guru are depicted along the two side walls of this chapel. The central figure is the most common form of Padmasambhava. On the altar in the center of this shrine you can see skull-cups filling with chang offered to the Guru. Such offerings are made only to the tantric figures.

8. Conclusion:

It is clear that Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti Devi left an outstanding legacy in the holy land of Tibet through the marriage with Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo in the year 633 C.E. The outcome of the harmonious relationship between Nepal, Tibet and China can be none other than this marriage. One must not forget the outstanding contribution of Princess Bhrikuti Devi in civilizing the Tibetan people, especially in the diffusion of Buddhist culture and Princess Weng chen in the development of agro-economics culture. She also helped Princess Bhrikuti in temple construction through her knowledge of geomancy.

Jokhang is the first temple of that nature. It was Princess Bhrikuti who established the first ancient Buddhist temples in Tibet and Bhutan. Some of the priceless images, which were created by Nepalese artists, should not be forgotten only because we cannot produce contemporary documents. Thanks to Oskar von Schroeder who recently published many artistic photographs of wooden materials and also published the works of art by Nepalese artists in Jokhang Temple dating from Seventh century. After all, these are the very cultural elements which bind together two neighboring countries. Since Jokhang temple architecture is the blend of Nepalese, indigenous Tibetan

Among those leaders who believe the coalition is precursor to a renewed confrontation, members, central committee members and co-

Gautam, who shares positive vibes with the propel the current UML led government to step formation of a new consensus government.

On the other hand, the another faction led by Oli, who is known for his anti-Maoist posture, Gautam claiming that latter's move had mock-

Amidst pressure from the Oli faction, UML's clarification from Gautam for forwarding a government led by the party itself to step down.

Since Jhalanath Khanal, UML chairman, clamour of Gautam, the possibility of the latter party is very slim.

In fact, Khanal himself had initiated a signal to exert pressure on Madhav Kumar Nepal to crisis.

Whenever any issue related to the Maoist intense internal fissures.

The dominant presence of the Oli faction reconciliation between the UML and the Maoist occasions in the past.

The UML that claims itself as a centrist left exhibit the required decisiveness and precision issues because of the internal discord.

Despite its status as the third largest party (CA), the UML, with its continued tendency of able to prove its potency to the national political

Press Freedom observed in

The World Press Freedom Day is being observed with the slogan "Freedom of Information: Right to Know"



In conjunction with the occasion, the Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) organised a morning procession rally on Monday.

FNJ president Dharmendra Jha, in a message on World Press Freedom Day, said that the status of the press is deteriorating and the free press and the journalism is under threat.

"I wish the World Press Freedom Day further to be dedicated to their duty," he said.

Similarly, giving a message on the occasion of World Press Freedom Day, the Minister of Communications Shankar Pokharel has said that the government is committed to the people's right to be informed.

Minister Pokharel also said the government is committed to consolidate freedom of press and speech which are these ideals that are the foundation of democracy.

Indian ...

It requires Rs.6 billion for the total completion of this mega project.

Upadhyaya has called for completion of the master plan within the next three years by devising separate plans. The master plan covers the development of 183 miles which needs to be extended to 383 mile buffer zone.

He has also urged for developing Lumbini area as an international peace town by including Ramgraha, Devdaha, Lumbini and Kapilvastu for the Buddhists as well as for those people who seek peace much like Makka Madina, Saudi Arabia for the Muslims.

the UN headquarters, perhaps some waving Israeli flags. At least, Mr Ahmadinejad hopes so, because he too intends to make an issue of Israel – not by threatening to wipe it out, but by pointing that Israel possesses a nuclear arsenal capable of wiping out Iran 20 times over, and yet doesn't feature in Washington's non-proliferation agenda.

So while the US hopes to use Iran's failure to fully comply with the transparency requirements of the treaty to raise support for new sanctions against Tehran, the Iranians plan to draw attention to western double standards in applying the NPT.

Exhibit A will be America's own nuclear arsenal, and the Obama Administration's new doctrine that claims the right to launch a nuclear first-strike on Iran so long as Washington deems Tehran to be outside its obligations under the NPT. The treaty, of course, makes no provision for the use of nuclear weapons in policing non-proliferation; on the contrary, it requires countries that already have such weapons to make credible moves towards complete disarmament.

The recent US-Russian agreement to trim their nuclear arsenals to some 1,500 active warheads each – enough to destroy the entire planet many times over – will do little to convince developing countries that the nuclear club is keeping its end of the bargain.

Iran will try to rally those countries with a message that those who complain loudest about Iran's nuclear programme are systematically violating

Ahmadinejad may indeed find a receptive audience for at least part of his message. While Iran's non-compliance with disclosure requirements of the NPT is the basis for the UN's demands that it suspend uranium enrichment until it can satisfy those concerns, the US insists that Iran cannot be allowed to enrich uranium even for peaceful purposes, because such capability would give it the means to create bomb materiel.

The US intelligence community believes Iran doesn't intend to build nuclear weapons any time soon, but that it is using its energy programme as cover to assemble the means to build a bomb should it choose to quit the NPT. The problem is that doing so is legal under the NPT – Japan is already believed to be at that threshold – and countries such as Brazil and Turkey are not going to accept that a country can be denied rights it enjoys under the NPT (to enrich uranium for energy production) on the grounds that it is not trusted by the West.

And then there is the matter of Israel, which won't be at the Review Conference because it is – together with India and Pakistan – one of three nuclear-armed states outside the treaty. That of course, will be Mr Ahmadinejad's point when he arrives in New York.

Nor will it only be the Iranians making this point: Turkey has repeatedly accused the West of a double standard for trying to deny Iran threshold capability, while turning a

restraint, but Israeli disarmament. And that puts pressure on the US, given its tacit understanding with Israel.

When pressed, the US president Barack Obama publicly calls on Israel to join the NPT, but he has, like his predecessors, reached an understanding that tacitly accepts Israel's "nuclear ambiguity", that in public it neither admits nor denies the existence of its nuclear arsenal.

Israel won't be the only example of western double standards cited by critics. Shortly before it left office, the Bush administration concluded a massive nuclear-energy deal that encouraged India to import technologies that others are being discouraged from adopting, despite New Delhi's continued refusal to sign the NPT.

While US officials like to paint a picture of the international community united against Iran and ready for sanctions, besides Washington and its closest allies, most countries believe that dialogue, rather than coercion, is the way to solve the issue, and are looking to broker a compromise rather than line up to endorse new sanctions.

So the New York conference could, in fact, prove to be tricky terrain for the Obama administration, because if Mr Ahmadinejad is able to paint its efforts to restrain Iran's nuclear programme as based on setting different rules for different countries, it's the US which, to use Mrs Clinton's phrase, will not get a very sympathetic hearing.

The National.ae

only Defence Secretary ever to be asked Administration.

In his 1996 memoir, *From the Shadows* the remarkable events from the late 1960s to the shadows, the proverbial fly on the wall of government, listening, watching and observing events of the century." The US special-operations to Robert Gates as the Black Chi-nook-care of business and gets out.

During his visit to India, prior to his tategorical when he stressed, "After the 26/11, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the patience will be limited." This particular was much to the chagrin of Pakistan. Its to have a go at Pakistan. Its defence plan the use of surgical strikes to take out special terrorist training camps alleged to be in Pakistan. DEBKAfile of December 4, 2008, disclosed Jerusalem to assist in the operational a Indian commando cross-border strikes against in Pakistan. The report informed that besides decision to embark on these in-and-out in Mumbai outrage, "Israel is willing to help th forays into Pakistan because it has its o brutal murder of six Israelis in Mumbai's CH terrorists and for the Pakistani Inter-Service hand in the atrocity." According to DEBKA the outline of this plan to US secretary of week later. She commented guardedly t strongly opposed to a full-scale war betw not averse to limited counter-terror opera

Emboldened, Indian Air Force fighter airspace and were intercepted. When th Pakistan's Armed Forces was made known sails. So much for Indian "restraint and sta oblivious of Indian malice and malevolence stage-managing another attack on its soil, l Pakistan. No wonder Time magazine has la of war". It's not that Gates has been wr-ong the reputation of a Cold War hawk, an intel Soviet Union as an implacable adversa Administration, he sided with hard-liners w failed to recognize that Mikhail Gorbachev v believe that Soviet power was collapsing. H never leave Afghanistan. They did. He sai Najibullah would never survive the Soviet de three or four years," recalls Mort Abramo State for Intelligence and Research at the serving as Deputy National Security Advis H.W. Bush, Gates was nominated again from the Soviet desk excoriated his cha honesty.

During his visit to Islamabad on Jan officers of National Defence University an U.S. made a "grave mistake" by cutting d the early 1990s and losing interest in the r left Afghanistan. Now Mr. Gates has pa rystal's recommendation to ne-gotiate w fighting. Robert Gates would be advised Taliban is to be opted for, then there sho UN sanctions against five Taliban leader others. Gates can rise to the occasion b Taliban leaders across the board, irrespo sponsored by Pakistan or India or Brita presented him a unique opportunity to be Peace" rather than "Man of War".

in's general election



David Cameron, leader of the Conservative Party:

Cameron was born in 1966, and elected leader of the Conservative Party in December 2005, on a mandate to change the party and change the country.

Cameron studied philosophy, politics and economics at Oxford, gaining a first class honors degree. He then joined the Conservative Research Department and became a special adviser in government, first to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and then to the Home Secretary. Afterwards he spent seven years at Carlton Communications, one of Britain's leading media companies, and served on the management board.

A first candidacy for Parliament at Stafford in 1997 ended in defeat but Cameron was elected in 2001 as the Member of Parliament for the Oxfordshire constituency of Witney. In 2005, he won the Conservative leadership election.

Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrats Party:

Clegg was born in 1967, and studied social anthropology at

apply for a postal vote. British citizens living abroad are also entitled to a postal vote as long as they have been living abroad for less than 15 years.

Last general election

The last general election in Britain took place on May 5, 2005.

Key figures in Britain's general election

Prime Minister Gordon Brown on Tuesday called a general election for

in history from the University of Edinburgh and spent his early career working as a television journalist. He has been a Member of Parliament since 1983, first for Dunfermline East and since 2005 for Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath.

In 1983, Brown was elected to Parliament and served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour government from 1997 to 2007 under former Prime Minister Tony Blair. Brown

लोकतन्त्रको विकासको अनिवार्य शर्त हो । त



Bahadur Shakya*

a spiritual centre of Lhasa.

The Aksobhya Buddha, brought by Princess Bhrikuti, has been transferred to the Ramoche temple (small Jokhang, as it used to be called by Tibetans and

transferred to 'Phrul Nang temple in Lhasa, from where it was stolen and buried in the sand. It was rediscovered during the period of Trisong Deu tsan through her paranormal abilities of divination, but it was subsequently moved to sKyid-grong in Mang yul on

queen was praying to the invaluable malachite bowl, and it supplied plenty of food and drinks. After that, they started to fill up the lake, and gradually

It had been touched by mystic liquids that were received by the miraculous priest Akaramatishila who had been sent to the nether world by

then a report never temple

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local Nepalese people, who were traders and have had shops in the Barkor area for generations).

the borders of Nepal by the order of the malevolent Ma Zhang, the Bon minister. After peace was restored under the auspices of the Great Guru Padma sambhava, the statue was restored to 'Phrulnang temple. Under the reign of perverse Langdarma, the statue underwent a second burial, but was once again returned to 'Phrulnang temple during the period of restoration which occurred basically in the eleventh century.



they were able to make four pieces of land in that land.

King Srong btsan sgampo. Then they laid thick slabs and bricks on them and tied them with melted bronze. Thereafter they made the ground even. The whole lake was covered completely in the year Earth Male Dog.

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It is said that Princess Kongjo moved Jovo Shakyamuni from the

II. Legendary Origin of Jokhang Temple:

How 'Phrul Nang was built in seventh century Lhasa is interesting to note in the following account of Gyal rabs gsal ba'l Melong. Although the account is also described in Mani Kabum, we prefer the version of Gyal rabs.

The narrative runs thus:

Previously we came to know that Princess Bhrikuti was overjoyed because the king had promised to help her in building temples. When she was instructed to build the temple in the

