

## Diplomatic vulgarity, undeniably

### WM Correspondent

It appears that the long held policy of India to foist its ugly dictates on Nepal has begun to backfire.

The brazen attempts made by the Indian establishment since long to bull Nepal into acting as per its coveled interests seem to have triggered a possibility of intense public ire against it.

In the political front, its foxy tactics to elect a new Prime Minister of its choice are not working although there has been unwarranted delay in the same.

The southern neighbour also failed to bag away the lucrative contract of printing machine readable passport (MRP) despite its frantic somersaults exhibited to grab the same.

The Indian embassy ventured into flagrantly ridiculing the

diplomatic decorum to get the contract but it could not work due to the professional fairness shown by Nepali media.

The country's media bodies strongly presented themselves against the sheer diplomatic indecency displayed by the Indian embassy.

As such, the embassy recently vented its frustration over the Nepali media by accusing the latter of being involved in making negative publicity about Indian joint ventures (JVs) operating in Nepal for not been able to elicit advertisements from such JVs.

Nepali media dutifully disseminated the news about the filthy materials found in Real Juice, a product of Dabur Nepal, an Indian JV, since it was also directly related to public health.

However, the embassy, in its



cunning bid to exempt the Dabur Nepal from its gross insensitivity, ridiculously argued that the entire Nepali media was bent to defame Indian JVs for not getting advertisements from such businesses.

The media bodies strongly raised objections over this ludicrous accusation by stating that the Indian embassy is indulged in flagrantly mocked diplomatic norms as well as the country's press freedom.

The Parliamentary Committee on International Relations and Human Rights also directed the government to initiate a process to take action against Indian embassy while condemning the embassy for raising question the ethical practice of Nepali media.

Earlier, the parliamentary committee had directed the government to send back an Indian

official involved in threatening the Maoist leader Ram Kumar Sharma for his role in garnering Madhesi parties' support in favour of the Maoists.

There is an international practice that controversial diplomats are called back by concerned country or the host country expels such persons.

But, the refusal on the part of New Delhi to call back its controversial diplomats exposes its distorted sense of diplomacy.

"If New Delhi thinks that it can continue to treat Nepal as its private fiefdom to fulfill its vested interests, it may not always be palatable to Nepali people," experts opined, adding, "The recent emanation of widespread dissent against the diplomatic vulgarity of the Indian embassy perhaps justifies this point."

## War of ideology?



### WM Correspondent

The three different political strategies seen within UCPN (Maoist) is likely to be converted into two with the leaders close to chairman Purna Kamal Dahal and vice-chairman Mohan Baidhya seeking for harmonizing the political papers forwarded by the duo separately.

As such, the political strategy conceptualized by another vice-chairman Baburam Bhattarai has fallen behind in competition.

In the party's 147-member central committee, 80 members have favoured Dahal, 33 have supported Vaidya and only 24 are backing Bhattarai.

The rest 10 members have remained neutral.

The political paper of Dahal talks

about the tactic of launching mass revolt if peace and constitution making processes are hamstrung.

Vaidya's proposal also argues in favour of revolt.

All the same, the political document of Bhattarai has highlighted the urgency of the completion of the draft of a new constitution and peace process.

Likewise, both Dahal and Vaidya have deemed domestic feudalism and foreign intervention as the major antagonistic factor for the party to overcome.

But, Bhattarai has refused to fully subscribe to this notion saying that internal feudalism is the only main enemy at the moment.

With the majority of the party leaders supporting the political

strategies of Dahal and Vaidya, the party would most probably endorse the policy of resorting to revolt.

Importantly, Bhattarai had been able to get his political line endorsed since the Chunwang meeting despite his relatively weak support base in the party.

Undeniably, it was the political roadmap sketched by Bhattarai that enabled the former rebels to rule the roost in Nepali politics as the biggest party.

Now, it seems that the strategic dexterity of Bhattarai is losing its charm since the party has already achieved what it wanted with his policy.

With India blocking the Maoists from forming the government, Dahal and Vaidya are in favour of battling against

the influence of India.

On the other hand, Bhattarai believes that the party should adopt cautious approach in this regard.

After India played key role in engineering the downfall of the then Maoist-led government, Dahal and Vaidya have stood firm against the Indian intervention.

The stance adopted by Bhattarai is however soft towards India.

Dahal who had an alliance with Bhattarai in garnering Indian support earlier, failed to continue to relish the compassion of New Delhi. Consequently, it led to the fall of the coalition formed under his premiership.

So, there are doubts over Bhattarai's intention within the party for his alleged proximity with India.

In this situation, the chances for Bhattarai to get his political document passed from the central committee are slim, at best.

If the Maoists tread into the path of revolt, it will erode the possibility of them again leading the government.

Similarly, it might make other parties more confused and jittery about the political credentials of the Maoists.

The deficit of trust between the Maoists and the other parties could get more cavernous.

The present deadlocked politics is chiefly the result of a chronic distrust between the two sides.

## State itself is supporting those playing with consumers' safety!

### WM Correspondent

Dabur Nepal produced Real Juice was found to be containing inedible substances in several parts of the country. Some people even fell sick after drinking the juice.

A lab report of Department of Food Technology and Quality Control (DFTQC) has also confirmed that Real Juice was containing as filthy inedible substances as worms.

The government agency responsible for safeguarding consumers' rights is showing flippancy towards taking required actions against the guilty company.

This gross inactivity has only prompted Dabur Nepal, an Indian joint venture, as well as the Indian embassy to fallaciously negate the reports about the filthiness of Real Juice under the pretext of media biasness.

On the other side, six cement industries that produced and sold low quality cement, is now in the process of getting clean chit from the Department of Commerce (DoC).

The same body had confirmed that Mahalaxmi, Reliance Super Shakti, Agni, Trishakti, Jagadamba Ultra Premium and Nirman brand of cements were of low-grade quality.

As Minister for Commerce and Supplies Rajendra Mahato directed the DoC to recheck the quality amid pressure from the businessmen, these brands are likely to be sanctified by the

government itself.

More surprising is the fact that Mahato himself termed the inspections carried out by the DoC vis-a-vis these brands as unilateral.

If the person acting as Commerce Minister himself is not serious about the quality of the goods available in market, it will be gross gullibility to think that the state can safeguard the consumers' rights.

Similarly, common folks are compelled to pay around Rs 1200 more for a tola of gold compared to international market. At a time when the country is on the verge of major festivals including Teej, Dashain and Tihar, there is a huge inflation in gold market.

Usually, the gold price in domestic market should be in line with the international trend. Although the Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB)'s policy of limiting the gold import might have created some amount of shortage in the market, it is chiefly the rampant black-marketing in the bullion market that forced the ordinary people to fork out exorbitant sum to purchase gold. The central bank had decided to set ceiling on the imports of gold in order to improve the balance of payment situation of the country.

The government also does not seem serious to ward off the havoc the faulty LPG cylinders are creating.

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## Battle for presidency

### WM correspondent

Will the waves of change seen in the village and district level elections of Nepali Congress (NC) also reflect in the party's national convention to be held on September 17-21?

It is the exact question being raised following the elections of a huge number of youths in the relatively lower layers of the party from across the country.

Of course, the NC is a facing a grave leadership crisis following the demise of the late party president Girija Prasad Koirala.

In this light, the latest trend seen in the NC has also signaled the need

of replacing the old cantankerous leaders occupying the important positions with the new vibrant ones for the better future of the oldest party of the country.

Excited with the new found phenomenon in the party, about a dozen young turks have declared their candidacy for central committee members too.

In fact, the demand of youth leadership has been the voice of the nation as it was also somewhat manifested in



the constituent assembly elections.

Sushil Koirala, Sher Bahadur Deuba and Bhim Bahadur Tamang are the three party stalwarts vying for the post of president during the upcoming convention.

NC's chief ideologues like Narahari Acharya, Pradeep Giri and Chakra Prasad Bastola are reinforcing Tamang, who believes that a considerable portion of the general committee members will favour him for bringing a

new beginning in the party.

Tamang is ranked amongst the party leaders with clean repute and he is considered to have contributed hugely to the party.

However, a very few NC members subscribe to the possibility of Tamang overcoming the heavyweights like Koirala and Deuba, who have long been enjoying a colossal clout in the party.

On the other side, acting president Koirala is also acknowledged as a leader with clean image and his dedication towards the party is deemed as sincere and steadfast.

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## Editorial

### More than gloomy

**As the political parties continue to display their dirty and ugly power struggle, the state is gradually relegating into the quagmire of virtual collapse.**

**There are no signs that the ongoing power struggle will wane with the sixth round of prime ministerial election slated for Sept 5.**

**The decay in the political situation coupled with alarming downturn in economic indicators is only making the lives of common people abysmally hard.**

**The industrial sector has bled to anemic with regular power cuts and the militant activities of the various armed groups. The gloomy business climate has already forced more than 300 industries to close down their shutters.**

**When the entire world is ascending to the new ladders of progress, Nepal, unfortunately, is lagging far behind.**

**With the industrialization taking backseat, the dependency on subsistence agriculture is increasing.**

**It is the export of labour that has largely buoyed up the country's shaky economy,**

**However, too much dependency on foreign employment will not bode well to the economic well-being in a long run. The robust socio-economic growth of any nation hinges on how prudently it can mobilize its productive human resource i.e youths. The ever swelling exodus of Nepali youths to foreign lands can, in no way, be expected to contribute to a broad-based development of the nation.**

**Had remittance been answer to domestic growth, the Philippines, Vietnam, Bangladesh and other leading labor exporting countries would have been first world nations long time ago, rightly points out an expert.**

**On the other side of picture, the wrangling amongst domestic political forces has prompted international forces to outdo each other to expand their respective hedonistic clout in Nepal.**

**For example, India is so manically inclined towards micro-managing things in Nepal that has alarmed other external actors.**

**Multiple external actors who are playing with both covert and overt interest have brought the political process to a grinding halt.**

**At the same time, the political volatility is intensifying security disorder throughout the country. Both personal and political freedom of citizens has been severely curtailed.**

**In hinterlands, the state's authority has completely eroded.**

**The level of sophistication and impunity with which criminal elements operate in the country speaks about the power of the institutions on the ground. Both personal and political freedom of citizens has been severely curtailed.**

**For citizens, the collapse of the state is no more an abstraction. It is taking place literally.**

# Nepal's bid for UNGA chair

Yuba Nath Lamsal

It is the turn of Asian continent to get the chair of the United Nations General Assembly for the year 2011. Nepal has staked a claim for the chair of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) for which Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal has already started lobbying for Nepal's candidate. Some other countries including Qatar are also eyeing the prestigious post of the world body.

The chair of the UNGA, which is the top most position of the UN system, rotates among different geographical regions of the world that include Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin or Caribbean region and West Europe. In Asian's quota, Bangladesh, Malaysia, South Korea and Bahrain had got the opportunity to chair the UNGA in the past.

Nepal has proposed Kulchandra Gautam, a former assistant under secretary general of the United Nations, for the coveted chair of the UN General Assembly. The caretaker prime minister, in a bid to garner support for Gautam's candidacy in the UN, has already met ambassadors of some Asian countries based in Kathmandu and sought the cooperation from their respective countries.

As a Nepali, one ought to support Gautam's candidacy because it is the first time that Nepal has claimed for the UNGA chair. However, Gautam's chances to be elected to the prestigious job appear to be very slim. Firstly, Gautam does not possess high profile background required for such a high-level and prestigious diplomatic position. He is just a former employee of the UN system, who rose to the level of assistant under secretary general, which, in the UN hierarchy, is not a senior post but a medium level one. Being a former medium level employee of the UN system alone is not a qualification to get into such a high profile and prestigious job.

The way Gautam's name was picked and proposed, it looks as though he is Prime Minister Nepal's personal candidate but not of the country. Prime Minister Nepal personally picked him without consulting the constituents of the coalition government. The government should have held due consultation with all parties on the matter so that there would have been a national consensus on Gautam candidacy. That would have made Gautam's candidacy stronger. Even Foreign Minister Sujata Koirala and

officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were in dark when the decision on this matter was taken.

When the candidacy for UNGA chair was first mooted, the Nepali Congress had informally proposed its central leader Dr Ram Sharan Mahat. However, some differences occurred among the coalition partners in general and between the foreign minister and the Prime Minister in particular about Dr Mahat's candidacy. Moreover, Dr Mahat himself was not interested as he was not sure of his victory for the post because oil-rich Qatar, which has more diplomatic maneuvering and influence in the international arena, has already claimed it on Middle-East quota. All Gulf and Muslim countries are likely to back Qatar's bid. Still Mahat could have been better candidate as he, who served as the finance and foreign minister as well as the chairperson of the National Planning Commission, has more political clout and credentials. Gautam lacks that credential and clout. He was not even holding any formal position in Nepal when his candidacy was proposed. Knowing, perhaps, this, the caretaker Prime Minister hurriedly announced Gautam as his foreign affairs advisor, which was done just to give him an official credentials. His name was proposed by the caretaker prime minister who had already resigned, which is the weakest point for Gautam's candidacy. The decision of the caretaker government may not necessarily be endorsed by the new government. This decision should either have been taken before the prime minister had resigned or waited till the new government is formed.

It would, of course, be a matter of prestige and honour for Nepal, if Gautam gets elected to the prestigious UN post. Every Nepali citizen would be proud to see a fellow Nepali to be on the top job of the UN system. However, the government's hasty decision has made Gautam's candidacy weaker right at the beginning. At the same time, the questions are being raised from some quarters about the justification of Gautam's candidacy for the UN chair. People are asking and will ask in future what contribution he has made for Nepal and why he should be chosen as Nepal's candidate for the UN job. What had he done for Nepal when he was in the United Nations system? Now he has spoken of having more

representation of Nepal in the UN bureaucracy. What he did when he was in the position of doing a lot during his service in the UN system. These are the questions that need to be answered either by the government or Gautam himself to the satisfaction of the people.

Gautam holds good degrees from the United States universities. He was selected as a Fulbright scholar to study in the United States universities. He was chosen as a Fulbright scholar on condition that he would return and serve in Nepal after completing his degrees in the United States. But he did not comply with his own pledge but joined the United Nations service. This speaks of his dishonesty. In the list of Nepali Fulbright fellows, his name figures as the ones 'whose whereabouts is not known'. This may also make his chance weaker.

Moreover, Gautam spent almost 30 years, best of his life, serving the UN and doing virtually nothing for Nepal. After retirement from the UN service, he has, now, sought even more plump and prestigious job on Nepal's quota, which can by no means be justified. There are some qualified diplomats, former ambassadors and ministers who have worked for Nepal throughout their life. They could be better and more justified candidates for the post of the chair of the UN General Assembly.

Given this background, it may be not possible for Gautam to be chosen for the coveted post. Firstly, Gautam's background may not be sound to claim the chairperson of the UNGA. As a former medium level employee may not be well received and appreciated by the Asian countries. More than that Nepal's diplomatic maneuvering is weak compared to its competitor. In recent years, Nepal's image has been badly tarnished in the international arena because of the political instability at home and diplomatic incompetence abroad. Given the political instability, uncertainty and conflict, Nepal is being dubbed in the international arena as one of the failed states in the world. This is the making of Nepal's political parties. This is also likely to weaken the position of Nepal in its bid for UNGA chair.

The ongoing row with the United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) is yet another case that has dampened the image and credibility of Nepal in the international community. The

government and the ruling parties trying to send the UNMIN packing as the UN Mission's performance did not suit their partisan interest. The UN mission came to Nepal not on its own choice but at the formal invitation of the government of Nepal and political parties to monitor the Constituent Assembly election, peace process and the management of the arms and armies of the Nepal Army and the Maoist combatants. Now only half of the mission has been accomplished. The main job of the management of the arms and armies remains unresolved. The tripartite agreement between the UN, Nepal Government and the UCPN-Maoist has outlined the mandate and jurisdiction of the UNMIN, according to which it has been functioning in Nepal. After completing its mission, the UNMIN would automatically go away. But it depends upon the political parties. If political parties act swiftly and agree on early management of arms and armies of the Maoist combatants, the issue would be resolved early, which would pave the way for UNMIN's departure from Nepal. But the government and the ruling parties are making a big hue and cry in public against the UNMIN and are demanding UNMIN's early exit from Nepal. But they have failed to follow the due procedures. If the government and parties, at all, want UNMIN to go away, they must write to the UN Secretary General and the UN Security Council.

The UNMIN would go back only when the Security Council calls it back. What the government and the ruling parties are saying and doing is against the accepted norms and rules of international diplomacy, which is yet another example of diplomatic naivete of Nepal. Moreover, the government is just one constituent of the three parties that signed the tripartite agreement. The rest two parties are the UNMIN itself and the Maoists. Since the Maoists are not in favour of UNMIN's premature exit, the decision of the government alone would not be binding for the UNMIN. This row with the United Nations regarding its mission in Nepal is likely to cost heavily for Nepal in the election for UNGA chair. If Nepal wants its candidate to be elected, it has to immediately end its row with the UN Mission in Nepal and create a better and more credible image in the United Nations and in the international arena as a whole.

## President's rule can be an option

Surendra R Devkota

The ongoing futile exercises at the Constitutional Assembly (CA) may be compelling to the citizens to rethink about the future political roadmap very seriously. Nobody knows when and how this record breaking political circus of 601 CA members will end. Further, their inability to elect a new prime minister obviously raises several questions including efficacy of CA and its decision making status. So far, we lived under a very wishful presumption that CA would solve everything, but that turned out to be a mere deception. Despite its incompetence, their unanimous self-renewal for one year was a mute mandate in credit by people of different walks of life, but that was not unanimous outside the CA including this author. As of now it turns out to be a wrong step, and 601 jamborees in CA seem a credit-less institution because they not only failed to deliver the constitution in time but also unable to make any decision including elect a PM after several rounds of voting in two months. So there are many natural questions to be answered by CA that may not happen in near future. In such a dismal background, is that any

rationale of continuation of CA? Who are the ultimate decision makers in Nepal? When these 601 folks will realize the forgone socio-economic cost of their inaction?

Many of us who have gone through the classical history books that decorated Nepal with different adjectives such as 'never colonized', 'independent', 'sovereign', 'peace loving' and 'majestic nature' etc. are simply blown away by the contemporary politicians. As of now we are too dependent upon others for our daily survival; we have exhausted our resources for either personal or political or both causes; and we even encourage export of human resources. The gap between 'haves' and 'have not' has grown, which is the most pathetic symptom of failure. Many times people simply can't trust the rhetoric of 'national interest' when different breeds of so-called political leaders make self-invited trips to neighboring countries for their personal gains. The general public has yet to see how the historian will interpret the multiple roles of comrade 'Prachanda', who not only ridiculed the national political stakeholders but

himself turned into a political joker.

Now time has come for the real national entities to think in pragmatic ways to save national sovereignty and institutionalize the federal democratic norms and values. For which we have just two choices: either to be one of the onlookers of both - a deadlocked CA and dogfight of party leaders or urge the President to do something for the betterment of people and country. It has been proved time and again that the former option including rotation of PM chairs or modification of rules at the middle of game won't herald a permanent solution except a repetition of the same problem. Secondly, silent majority is wondering on whether the president can do something so that law and order will be restored and people will be able to enjoy both peace and political stability.

President's role should be to facilitate to bring peace and political stability through ballot. The country needs a new verdict to streamline the politics and let the people decide through referendum on federal structure and future government model such as deciding between

presidential and prime ministerial system. Now, next question is should we go for second round of election of CA? Affirmatively, but with a different model because if we repeat existing system that will obviously lead to 360 degree. The new prototype could be an exclusive body of elected individuals and one individual could represent about one lakh of population. It will be the responsibility of each party to make their nomination inclusive and election commission could verify its inclusive criteria prior to election. Its' only job is to draft constitution within six months or so. But president rule may last until new constitution is adopted.

Since the CA is as good as dead no oxygen is going to bring it back to life. The communist ideologues in this country should take a primary responsibility of failures of the CA since they not only controlled both CA and executive offices but also kept country in a deadlock. People are fed up hearing hollow mantra of consensus. Now some one has to break the ice and let's urge the president to take a significant responsibility for holding a referendum and an election together. It's never too late, though.

# Recollection of Yunnan Visit

I visited Yunnan province of China on August 16-25, 2010. Since the last two years, I have been doing study to write a book on "Buddhism in China and its relations with Nepal". I had been to

**Hiranya Lal Shrestha**

spiritual and emotional relationship since Buddhism was introduced in Xishuangbanna in 7th century, between

641 AD) and built Buddhist Temples in Tibet with close cooperation with Chinese princes Weng Chen. Similarly



Mainland China several times and visited Han Buddhist sites like Wu Tai, Xian, Nanjing, Chengdu, Beijing etc. I visited Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) on China twice and seen major

Buddhist followers and its founder, birth places Lumbini. There is sacred relic an interred bone of Lord Buddha kept in Jiele Golden Pagoda, relic of Nepalese glorious son Sakyamuni. In

Myanmar Princess Nam Suwana Padoma married Dai King Zao Yin Men in 1579. She built Buddhist known as Golden Lotus temple in 1581.

According to Dai historian Mr. Axiang, Dai kingdom was established in 312 years before, first king was Zao Fa Long Mo Han. Last Dai King was Zao Mao Han Le. He ruled till 1950. The Chinese peoples liberation Army has liberated Xishuangbanna and adjoining areas in 1950. The Dai has a population of about 1.07 million. The main Dai settlements are in Xishuangbanna, Dhang and Jingpo prefectures and the basins along the Lancang River. The Dai people all believe in Theravud so sending children to the Buddhist temple in Theravud. So sending children in the Buddhist temple and being a monk is a honorable thing for Dai people. There are many similarities between Dai people of Yunnan and Sherpas & Tamang people in Nepal. Their settlements are also in valleys surrounded by Hills like Pokhara. Like Yunnan, Nepal is also land of multi-ethnic people. Yunnan is interpet between North and East Asia, and South and South East Asia. Nepal is also a transit state between North and South Asia. In Yunnan, northern and southern Buddhism schools coexist, similarly in Nepal also, Mahayana, Theravud and Vajrayana schools of Buddhism co-exist and there is one Han Buddhism Temple in Lumbini. Nepal and Yunnan can share its fine experiences in multi-culturalism and "unity in diversity."



sites of Tibetan Buddhism. Without visiting Theravud Buddhist site in Yunnan, my study could not be complete. This time I got this opportunity to visit Xishuangbanna prefecture of Yunnan, a living museum of Theravud Buddhism in China. At the same time, my visit to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, became

almost all temples in Xishuangbanna there are wallpaintings of scenes from Nepal's Lumbini and Kapilvastu district birth and growth of Siddhartha Gautam.

Recent example of Relationship are that Nepali scholar monk ven. Dr. Anil Sakya has delivered keynote speech during 1st international conference on palm-leaf manuscript held at



memorable, because of all three sects of Buddhism, i.e. Han Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism and Theravud Buddhism, coexisting there. In Yuantong temple complex, I found cultural treasures of all these three sects of Buddhism there. The Panlong temple complex is another glorious site, where temples of Taoism, Confucians and Buddhism are erected side by side it contributed a lot to make us easy to understand the three roots of ancient Chinese civilization.

## Xishuangbanna

Xishuangbanna seems unique in many aspects like continuation of Theravud Buddhism there since 1237 years ago; it is a living museum of typical pagodas and temples, green valley full of rainforest products, flowers and fruits, important riverport in the Mekong River system, moreover it is a glorious settlement of Dai people, rich in their cultural originality and hospitality.

Meeting with Theravud sect chief in China master Long Jom Mong Vannasiri in Chung Huang Manting Temple is also memorable to me. My stay at the Buddhist college hostel at Jinghong is also very educative to me. Monks are maintaining Theravud traditions there, observing 'Sheela' and 'Pragnya'.

Nepalese and Dai people have a

Xishuangbanna on April 20-21, 2010. Master Sakya was there as a member of entourage of H.H. Sangharaja of Thailand visiting Xishuangbanna a few years ago. It is interesting to note that thousands of palm leaf scriptures are preserved in Xishuangbanna.

Head of Theravud Bhikshu Sangha of China Ven. Phra Krupa Jong Mung Vannasiri also visited Lumbini in



1992. There is a good prospect of pilgrimage tourism from Xishuangbanna to Lumbini.

## Bhrikuti & Padoma

I found a similarity between Nepal and Myanmar in contribution to spread Buddhism through marriages. Nepalese princes Bhrikuti Devi married Tibetan king Tsong Tsan Gampo (633-

## Nepal & Yunnan

In old days "Tea and Horse Route" linked Yunnan and South Asian peoples. Nepalese art and craft products are popular in Yunnan. Buddhism was a factor in mutual relationship from ancient time. When I visited world famous museum of Yunnan Military Academy in August 17,



2010. I recollected the story about two officers of British Gurkha Nik Man Bahadur Limbu and Naik Asbir Rai of 10th Gurkha Rifles, who served in Chinese Army in Yunnan along with a few other Nepalese in 1910. British Government in a letter to then Nepali Prime Minister requested to pressurize to withdraw them from Chinese Army Service, so that British military skill

won't be transferred to the Chinese side. (V.K. Manandhar "China's Recruitment of Ex-Gurkha Soldiers: A peep in the Forgotten Past" voice of History Vol. XII, No 1, July 1997, PP 61-66).

There might be such interrelationship in different fields in old days. Let historian digout these things in course of researches. Let me refer a few recent visits from Yunnan. Vice Government of Yunnan Mr. Gao Feng visited Nepal on August 2009. Chinese Private sector delegation from Yunnan visited Nepal in 2009. That delegation was led by Mr. Li Jiming, Director - General Department of Commerce of Yunnan. Nepalese Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FNCCI) received them warmly and discussed the prospect on trade, investment and tourism between Nepal and Yunnan. Chinese media person from Yunnan under the banner YSCICE also visited Nepal in 2010 as invited by "the Weekly Mirror." It is because of wide coverage in Yunnan media about Nepal, visitors from Yunnan to Nepal are gradually increasing. Yunnan media friends have provided me an opportunity to interact in their office.

I have a meeting with Mr. Dao Shuren President of Yunnan Buddhist Association of Yuantong Temple complex. He told me that he has visited Nepal eight times and contributed during the construction of Chinese monastery in Lumbini, birth place of Lord Buddha, on behalf of All - China Buddhist Association. When I met abbot of Panlong Temple Ven. Nong Shou and Assistant abbot ven. Ren wing, they told me Buddhist relationship between two countries are very close and warm. Both of them visited Nepal in 2005. I find there is a scope for further development of this relationship.

Yunnan Academy of Social Science has organized an interaction program for me with persons from different sectors like foreign affairs experts, tourism sector officials, and academicians and media people. We have extensive discussion to explore the prospects of developing multidimensional relations between Nepal and China. Both Nepal and Yunnan should use the opportunity provided by Kunming - Kathmandu direct Air service.

## Kunming -Pokhara sister city Proposal

In the last leg of my visit to Yunnan, Mr. Yu Guang Cun, The Foreign Affairs & Overseas Chinese Affairs officer in Kunming Municipal people's government has received me warmly. He asked me to convey to Pokhara Municipality Authority to establish sister city relation with Kunming Municipality in Yunnan. Kunming, the capital city of Yunnan is surrounded by mountains in three sides and adjoining Danchi Lake to the south. It covers an area of 21000 sq. km. and 7.2 million people are there in Kunming city. For reasons of its yearround mild climate, Kunming is known as the "City of eternal spring" Kunming has sister city relation with 15 cities of the world like Fujisara (Japan), Zurich (Switzerland), Ching Mai (Thailand), Mandalay (Myanmar) etc. Both Kunming and Pokhara cities are famous for natural beauty and hospitable people worthy to be linked as twins.

My visit to Yunnan materialised, by initiative of Ms. Prem Kumari Pant Editor-Ex-chief of "The Weekly Mirror", and invitation extended by Yunnan Society for China-India Cooperation and Exchange (YSCICE) to me. This society is active to bring the people of Yunnan and South Asia closer and promote better understanding and co-operation between two countries. YSCICE officials and cadres received me warmly and coordinated visit program efficiently and successfully. I am deeply influenced by Chinese hospitality. Nepal-China state level relation is cordial and satisfactory. I firmly believe people-to-people relations are more warm and friendly.

# NC 12th Convention : Can it revive democratic socialism?

**Ritu Raj Subedi**

Nepal Congress (NC), the oldest democratic party of the country, is going to hold its 12th general convention in Kathmandu from September 17 to 21. The NC's national gathering is being seen with much meaning and curiosity as it is expected to bring significant change in its internal life. The party, for the first time, is witnessing the leadership transfer from first generation to second generation in an institutional manner. More importantly, youths, who make up around 50 per cent of elected convention delegates, could act as catalytic force to give a new dynamism to the party dominated by the old horses. They could help the party regain ideological direction that it lost for many years.

## Pivotal Role

The NC has played its pivotal role in the country's democratic movement. It led the armed revolution in 2007 BS and peaceful democratic movement in 2046 BS. During the April Uprising in 2062/2063 BS, NC president late Girija Prasad Koirala was at the forefront although the many of its agenda were of the Lefts. NC's democratic credential has been beyond doubt but it has been unable to rise above formal democracy. While in power, it failed to bring about substantial changes in the life of majority of populace reeling under abject poverty and inequality.

Nationality, democracy and socialism have been its cherished goals since its inception but today it has almost forgotten its socialistic agenda. The NC formally adopted democratic socialism as its one of guiding principles at its sixth convention held in Birgunj in 2012 BS. Party's charismatic leader BP Koirala had proposed and Subarna Shumsher Rana endorsed it. During his 18-month long stay in power, BP carried out many reforms in line with the spirit of democratic socialism. The abolition of birta and rajya rajauta reflected its commitment to socialism. But, the party lost its socialist face with the rise of junior Koirala in 1991. Today democratic socialism is almost dead in the party and its top leaders have stopped uttering this phraseology in the public meetings.

Socialist thinker Pradeep Giri said that the party's socialist theory was vanished in the wilderness of globalisation that swayed the world since the early 90s. The party's marriage with market economy put its slogan of social and economic justice on the backburner. Constituent assembly was primarily the agenda of NC but today it is the Maoists, not the NC, who own the CA.

This writer remembers a remark of an intellectual close to the NC. He said that the NC is now devoid of its own original political and economic agenda. "CPN-UML first took away 'social democracy' from us following the political change in 1990. Then, the Maoists stole our 'economic justice' to cash in on their ruthless insurgency in 1996," he said.

## Historical Factor

There was a reason for the NC to take on neo-liberal agenda, which was historical product of Regan-Thatcher's era as the capitalist world was in euphoria over its victory over communism. Bolstered by the collapse of socialist states, the conservatives pushed a slogan 'There is no alternative' that meant liberal democracy is without a rival. It is the ultimate stage of human development, they argued. This idea reached a high point with the publication of Fukuyama's 'End of History.'

Still, there existed two schools of thought even within the capitalist world - hard and soft liners. They can be also better described on two other terms - shock-therapists and gradualists. The shock-therapists were for forceful yet blind persuasion of privatisation and opening of capital markets in the developing nations but gradualists argued that privatisation should not be enforced without building the needed infrastructure. The IMF and the World Bank, coming under the sway of neo-cons, forced the developing nations to liberalise and privatise their economy. The shock therapy experiment resulted into unimaginable economic debacle. It triggered financial crisis in East Asia, Russia and Latin America. Pioneer of gradualist school of thought Joseph Stiglitz, who always stood against the recipe of economic reform dished out by the IMF, revolted against the kitchen cabinet of Bill Clinton and quit the job in the World Bank.

## Privatisation experiment devastating

In Nepal too, the neo-liberal agenda took its toll on national economy. NC's finance minister Dr. Ram Saran Mahat, groomed in the neo-cons school of United States, blindly followed privatisation. The NC-led government sold about two dozen public enterprises, most of them were running in profit, at throwaway prices. At the hand of dishonest and incompetent management, they could not run well and finally went bankrupt. As Nobel laureate Stiglitz said, privatisation could not work in an ill-equipped economy like Nepal. Unlike China where the gradualism was the mantra of open economy, the privatisation experiment in Nepal was devastating.

Late GP Koirala's neo-liberal agenda was hardly compatible with BP's Koirala democratic socialism. Would the NC realise its past blunder in its upcoming convention? It is difficult to answer. But, the candidacy of veteran Bhim Bahadur Tamang in the post of president and Nara Hari Acharya in the general secretary posed an ideological challenge to Sher Bahadur Deuba and Sushil Koirala, who are vying for the top post. Tamang and Acharya have not openly advocated the democratic socialism in their joint document but said they would follow the sweeping socio-economic programmes, end the ideological ambiguity of the party and transform and give the party a national character based on BP's theory of inclusiveness.

It cannot be expected that the NC will uphold socialism in the convention because it is now a party of middle class and a champion of market economy. This is why the Maoists, who have been carrying many of the radical agenda of new Nepal, pushed the NC into the status quoist position. One of the reasons behind the rise of Maoist violent campaign was the NC's rejection of socialism and the principle of social and economic justice.

## Embrace social justice

The NC can revive democratic socialism and embrace the spirit of social justice. In the matter of democracy and pluralism, the NC might not hobnob with the Maoists but the two can join hand when it comes to bringing about the socio-economic transformations of the Nepalese society based on the homegrown political and economic model. Since the democratisation of the Maoists and radicalisation of the NC was the need of the hour, the NC convention should be able to cast off its status quoist image. At the same time, it should also prove that it is not only a party of rich and urban elites but also of the grassroots and the downtrodden.

# Socio-economic development through Modern or Buddhist economics

Much has been debated about the social and economic development but nevertheless problems have been solved. There has been failure in this field

due to improper methodology and technology. So there must be some way out to rectify this issue. "Right livelihood" is one of the requirements of the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path. It is clear, there fore, that there must be such a thing as Buddhist economics.

A modern economist may engage in highly sophisticated calculations on whether full employment "pays" or whether it might be more "economic" to run an economy at less than full employment so as to ensure a greater mobility of labor, a better stability of wages, and so forth. His fundamental criterion of success is simply the total quantity of goods produced during a given period of time. "If the marginal urgency of goods is low", says Professor Galbraith in *The Affluent Society*, "then so is the urgency of employing the last man or the last million men in the labor force."

From a Buddhist point of view, this is standing the truth on its head by considering goods as more important than people and consumption as more important than creative activity. It means shifting the emphasis from the worker to the product of work, that is, from the human to the subhuman, surrender to the forces of evil. The very start of Buddhist economic planning would be a planning for full employment, and the primary purpose of this would in fact be employment for everyone who needs an "outside" job, it would not be the maximization of employment nor the maximization of production. Women on the whole, don't need an "outside" job, and the large-scale employment of women in offices or factories would be considered a sign of serious economic failure. In particular, to let mothers of young children work in factories while the children run wild would be as uneconomic in the eyes of a Buddhist economist as the employment of a skilled worker as a soldier in the eyes of a modern economist.

For the modern economist this is very difficult to understand. He is used to measuring the "standard of living" by the amount of annual consumption, assuming all the time that a man who consumes more is "better off" than a man who consumes less. A Buddhist economist would consider this approach excessively irrational: since consumption is merely a means to human well-being, the aim should be to obtain the maximum of well-being with the minimum of consumption.

The challenge of Man's Future, here Professor Harrison Brown of the California Institute of Technology gives the following appraisal:

Thus we see that, just as industrial society is fundamentally unstable and subject to reversion to agrarian existence, so within it the conditions which offer individual freedom are unstable in their ability to avoid the conditions which impose rigid organization and totalitarian control. Even if this were dismissed as a long-

Shankar L. Chaudhary.

term, view there is the immediate question of whether "modernization", as currently practiced without regard to religious and spiritual values, is actually producing agreeable results. As far as the masses are concerned, the results appear to be disastrous: a collapse of the rural economy, a rising tide of unemployment in town and country, and the growth of a city proletariat without nourishment for their body or soul.

It is in the light of both immediate experience and long-term prospects that the study of Buddhist economics could be recommended even to those who believe that economic growth is more important than any spiritual or religious values. For it is not a question of choosing between "modern growth" and "traditional stagnation". It is a question of finding the right path of development, the Middle Way between materialist heedlessness and traditionalist immobility, in short, of finding "Right Livelihood."

Moreover, the global economy is overwhelmingly controlled and run by consumerism and salespersons in which things are brought not because people need them but because they want them. The modern economic notion that more production of goods would make people happy is misplaced. As pointed out by Schumacher, an attitude to life which seeks fulfillment in the single-minded pursuit of wealth in short, materialism does not fit into the world, because it contains within itself no limiting principle, while the environment in which it is placed is strictly limited.

**Interdependence and reciprocity are Fundamental to Buddhist Economic Thought:**

Not only the inherent value of life itself but also the interdependence and reciprocity of human and other forms of life are a fundamental Buddhist belief. In other words, as part of the

Dependent Arising (paticcasamuppada), humans are seen as affecting their environment not only through the purely physical aspects of their actions, but also through the moral and immoral qualities of such actions. That is, karmic effects sometimes catch up with people via their environment. This message is also strongly implied by the Agganna Suttanta of the DTgha Nikaya (II80-98), which shows that though in the beginning nature was bountiful, but it became less so when humans began to take greedily from it. When they began to harvest more rice than they needed, it was not naturally able to grow quickly enough. This necessitated cultivation which in turn caused division of land into private fields, so that property was invented. Origin of private property became the root cause of different social and economic ills.

**Buddhist Economics is guided by cooperation and Human well-being instead of competitiveness and Exploitation:**

Our current socio-economic system promotes competition rather than cooperation. This is bound to generate

conflict and resentment. Production must serve the real needs of the people, not the demands of the economic system. Buddhism promotes a wide distribution of basic necessities so that no one has to suffer deprivation as deprivation is the root cause of social conflict.

**Buddhist Economics is devoid of Egoism and Greed:**

Hoarding wealth in any form is looked down upon in Buddhism (v4.II222) and if a wealthy person were to enjoy his wealth all by himself only, it would be a source of failure for him (sn.v.102). In fact, pride of wealth or economic snobbery is given in Buddhism as a cause of one's downfall (sn.v. 104)

**Profitability can never be the sole criterion in Buddhist Economics:**

In the present profit-driven global economic system anything that is "uneconomic" is sought to be obliterated out of existence. Buddhist economics would take into account not only the profitability of a given activity, but also its effect upon people and environment.

**Buddhist Economics emulates voluntary simplicity, contentment, Liberty, and Generosity:**

By pointing out that the vulgar chase of luxury and abundance is the root-cause of suffering. Buddhism encourages restraint, voluntary simplicity, and contentment. The cultivation and expansion of needs is the antithesis of wisdom. It is also the antithesis of freedom and peace.

**Buddhist Economics aims at Localization and Decentralization:**

As pointed out by Schumacher, from the point of view Buddhist economics production from local resources for local needs is the most rational way of economic life, while modern economists differ from these assumptions.

**Buddhist Economics aims at achieving maximum Non-wastefulness and Recycling:**

To-day we understand natural capital as the sum total of renewable and non-renewable resources, including the ecological systems and services that support life. It is different from conventionally defined capital in that natural capital cannot be produced by human activity. What was unimaginable 50 years ago was the speed with which the loss of natural capital would affect human mankind.

**Buddhist Economics would use Middle-ranged Technologies with a Human Face:**

Since human beings are social creatures who naturally come together for common ends, this means that a social order guided by Buddhist principles would consist primarily of small-scale communities in which each member can make an effective contribution. Only small-scale social arrangements can rescue people from the portending future disaster. Considering from a Buddhist point of view, the huge polluted mega cities and uncaring bureaucrats and politicians typical of our age are unsuitable for a proper welfare of sentient beings. The most suitable and compatible economy would be small-scale and localize.

**Buddhist Economics lays emphasis on Economic Justice, social Equity, and Right Livelihood:**

Economic justice and social equity are essential and very pertinent issues so that no one is deprived of a fair standard of living. As Schumacher said the problem children of the world are the rich societies and not the poor. To live peacefully, we must live with a reasonable degree of equity, or fairness, for it is unrealistic to think that, in a communications-rich world, a

billion or more persons will accept living in absolute poverty while another billion live in conspicuous excess. Only with greater fairness in the consumption of the world's resources can we live peacefully, and thereby live sustainably, as a human family.

**Buddhist Economics would have Reverent Attitude towards nature:**

The Buddhist values mean that environment should not be over exploited. As the Tibetans say very wisely that not too much of anything that is precious should be taken from the earth, as then its quality fades and the earth is destroyed. The Buddhist ideal, in fact, is co-operation with nature, not domination. As pointed out by E.F. Schumacher; the world is ruled from towns where the feeling of belonging to an ecosystem is not realized, his results in a harsh and improvident treatment of things upon which we ultimately depend, such as water and trees.

**People and not Goods that Matter in Buddhist Economics:**

Pollution and accumulation of large amounts of highly toxic substances is an important feature of the emerging global economy. An entirely new system of thought is needed, as system based on attention to people, and not primarily attention to goods. It could be concluded up this way, production by the masses, rather than mass production, what was impossible, however, in the nineteenth century, is possible now. That is, the conscious utilization of enormous technological and scientific potential for the fight against misery and human degradation—a fight in intimate contact with actual people, with individuals families small groups, rather than states and other anonymous abstraction.

Instead of Indulging in Mass-production, Buddhist Economics would produce for the Masses.

The driving force of such an economy would be the promotion of well-being both material and social, not commercial profit and unrestrained expansion. The technology of mass production is inherently violent, economically damaging, self-defeating in terms of non-renewable resources, and stultifying for the human person. The technology of production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience, is conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources, and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines.

**Buddhist Economics would shift the Emphasis from Material to Spiritual Needs:**

We are trying to satisfy nonmaterial needs with material goods. For Buddhism material satisfaction merely provides a starting point for the pursuit of higher goals. The Buddha called upon people to wake up and liberate them from the illusion that craving for things leads to happiness. The ownership and the consumption of goods is a means to an end, and a Buddhist economics is the systematic study of how to attain given ends with the minimum means.

**In fact Buddhist economics aims at towards purification of human character:**

Buddhist economics is very different from the modern economics, modern materialism, since the Buddhist sees the essence of civilization, real human values, morality not in a multiplication of wants but in the purification of human character.

Thus we see that Buddhist economy is more sustainable and pragmatic. So small nations like Nepal should move towards this to achieve better economy, peace and harmony in a short period of time

## Maoists in Nepal about to Bury their Infant Live

Prakash Bom

Recall the Maoist insurgency that lasted a decade. The arm struggle popularly known to Maoists "People's War" meant to eradicate feudal establishment, the monarchy to establish "People's Republic of Nepal." But it thrived with a "Comprehensive Peace Accord 2006", which gave the nation the interim constitution to commission the "Constituent Assembly elections" for drafting a new constitution of Nepal.

Had there been no demand for "Constituent Assembly elections" by the Maoists, the other main political parties - NC and UML could have continued with the status quo. Also, because of the Constituent Assembly elections the Maoists became one of the main political parties with the simple majority in the Constituent Assembly.

With their simple majority the Maoists succeeded to form a coalition government under their leadership. But the mistakes they have committed with their simple majority in the Constituent Assembly are horrendous. The grossest ones were reflected during the nomination of the president and their government's self-conceited resignation.

The Maoist politics seems to be too crude and cruel, which deprives them from doing right things to people and the nation. Frankly, once the Maoists have committed to the comprehensive peace accord, it is foolish to try things otherwise. It is at this point in Nepali politics the Maoists can gain power in the future by only democratic means with fair and smart play.

The Maoists have lost the major political power in the current politics when they resigned from their government leadership. Now in every way they have lost the game with the incumbent government, particularly the Prime Minister MK Nepal with their tactic.

With their every tactic the Maoists are trapping themselves, the nation and people. The Maoists agreed with the demand of NC and UML, particularly integration of the Maoist combatants. But the Maoists took the stand that until the Prime Minister MK Nepal steps down they will not sit for talk. Yet the Maoist leaders have been participating in talks with other main political parties in coalition government.

Finally, at the eleventh hour while the nation is about to face the constitutional crisis the Maoists oppose the term extension of the Constituent Assembly, which expires on May 28, 2010 because in their opinion it is meaningless to extend its term without forming a unity government.

Such a tactic as the political stand jeopardizes the future of Nepali people and the nation, coming out of their ideological rigidity and egotistical political attitude. At this point, the Maoists must lose the game to save the nation from falling into the constitutional vacuum and political turmoil.

I believe the Maoist leaders who are now sitting in their Central Committee meeting have heart not to kill so cruelly their own infant "Constituent Assembly" that was conceived through their own minds for the people and the nation.

I hope the Maoist leaders at their Central Committee meeting will be capable of giving up all their ideological rigidity and conceal for not to kill their own infant, which is the newborn and the only hope for the nation and people of Nepal.

## House panel directs govt to seek Indian envoys clarification

International Relation and Human Rights Committee of the Legislature Parliament has directed the government to seek clarification from Indian ambassador to Nepal, Rakesh Sood, for his statement on Nepali media, Monday.

A meeting of the Committee on Monday directed the government to seek clarification from the Indian envoy concluding the embassy's statements were blatant interference in the free press.

Some of the lawmakers speaking at the meeting also urged India to call back Sood as he was involved in too many controversies.

The Indian embassy had accused some Nepalese media of publishing and broadcasting news on sub-standard products of an India-Nepal joint venture for not providing advertisement.

## FNJ cries foul at Indian Embassy statements on Nepali media

Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) has taken strong exception to the recent statements of the Indian Embassy accusing Nepali media of publishing false reports on the quality of products manufactured by Indian Joint Venture companies operating in Nepal.

"FNJ believes that the embassy's statement targeting the Nepali media is improper and uncalled for. FNJ completely disagrees with the statement," the umbrella body of Nepali journalists said in a press release.

FNJ also said it is preparing a detailed report on the recent developments vis-a-vis the embassy's reactions on Nepali media and vice versa.

The FNJ also urged all concerned sides to realise their respective responsibility and respect the value and norms of each other's profession.

Meanwhile, senior UML leader, KP Sharma Oli has said the act of interfering into the media by any country would not be tolerable.

Oli said this during a meeting with a group of journalists at his residence this morning.

In yet another reaction against the statement of Indian embassy, minister for peace and reconstruction, Rakam Chhemjong, asked the government to seek explanation from the Indian envoy over the embassy's statement.

घरेलु हिंसा अपराधको जघन्य प्रकार  
सबै मिली गरौं यसको प्रतिकार



नेपाल सरकार  
सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय  
सूचना विभाग



## Region:

## Bhutanese regime and its art of lying

By Dr. Bhampa Rai

It is an undeniable fact that most of the nations know that Bhutan is a country of immigrants, who entered into Bhutan through different time periods. However, the country itself is yet to admit this fact. Therefore, labeling citizens, whose entry into Bhutan dates back to not before the 17th century, as "illegal immigrants" of Bhutan is neither logical nor justifiable.

All the Bhutanese in exile, who have been dwelling in ramshackle huts in Nepal or elsewhere with hardship since two decades, are confidently ready to prove themselves to be bona-fide Bhutanese, be it in the presence of unbiased representatives from the international community. So, the question here is not how over 100,000 Bhutanese refugees prove their "Bhutanese identity", but it should be, instead, is Bhutan prepared enough to accept them when these so-called "illegal immigrants" certify their status in the presence of international community?

Sense of cruelty: It is well agreed that Bhutan is a Buddhist nation with multi ethnicity and multiple religions. From the very beginning of the history of Bhutan, it has been continuously ruled by Buddhist rulers. However, the rulers seem to be far behind in concept of true philosophy of Buddhism, as a result of which they unleashed numerous chapters of "killing each other" mercilessly to hold supreme position. Although never mentioned in the history of Bhutan, even the reincarnations of Zhabdrung Ngawang the most famous spiritual leader of Bhutan, were assassinated from time to time to hold the power by the rulers.

The rulers, who also follow Buddhism, as commoners do, have been discriminating and suppressing other religions. A monk named Gomchen Karma from Tashigang, a follower of another sect of Buddhism Nyingmapa, was shot dead on October 27, 1997 by the district officer Lakpa Dorji and expelled many senior Buddhist monks of eastern Bhutan simply for attending a peaceful procession demanding equal rights to religions. After this incident, to appease this community and to avoid two front enemies, the regime promptly promoted Sharchop officers to the ranks of ministers. But all the ministers from other ethnic community are still under compulsion to dance to the tunes of the regime.

**Crux of refugee crisis:** Until late 70s, Bhutan remained as one of the poorest countries in the world. However, there existed very good relationship between the ruler and citizens. Such a relationship was, indeed, taken as an indicator of prosperity in the nation in the days to come. But that was not liked by the neighbor country which started creating melodrama, first in Sikkim and later in Darjeeling aiming at arousing Bhutan against the southern Bhutanese. In both the issues, the Indian citizens of Nepali ethnicity were projected in the front, ultimately Sikkim was annexed to India; people of Darjeeling had to be satisfied with old Hill Council and ethnic Nepali of those regions were blamed for swallowing Sikkim. Thus, the scaremonger easily motivated Bhutan to act against the southern Bhutanese of Nepali ethnicity.

The wisecracker rulers of Bhutan did not waste their time to hatch up conspiracies against the citizens of southern Bhutan, mostly Nepali-speaking people called Lhotsampas by the regime. The autocrat started executing discriminatory and suppressive policies upon the Lhotsampas targeting their culture, religion and livelihood. These people were left with no option but to request the ruler-turned-predator for institutionalizing human rights as enshrined in United Nations.

But the regime chose military crackdown on its citizens when many people were intimidated, arbitrarily arrested, tortured and murdered in jails. This is not enough. Many women were gang-raped, houses set ablaze, huge properties of the citizens destroyed and important documents were confiscated by the security forces to erase their "Bhutanese identity" permanently.

**Refugee arrivals:** Tragedies of Lhotsampas did not end there as the government started evicting them systematically on various pretexts. They had to enter India. Unluckily, those evicted Bhutanese were not given asylum in the first port of entry, India, rather the security forces of India motivated and even instigated them to enter Nepal. Thus Bhutanese never entered Nepal by their own will, but it was a Hobson's choice (without options). Fortunately, Nepal was kind enough to take them on humanitarian

ground and within very short time the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) came to assist these people.

Bhutan and its advisors were thinking that those Bhutanese after their eviction from their homeland would be assimilated in Indian borders as Duars and Nepal because of their similar language and ethnicity but that could not take place as they realized they and their forefathers had sweated and bled for their motherland and have remained determined to return Bhutan in days to come. To keep the ball rolling in his desired track, Bhutan even attempted to convince the Nepali authority for not granting them asylum. Probably, Bhutan wrote some letters to the UNHCR to stop its aid basket for these people. But, both couldn't happen as expected by the Bhutanese regime. Irked with such humanitarian supports from Nepal and the UNHCR, it instead started evicting citizens en masse.

Slip hope for repatriation: With efforts of constant negotiation from Nepali side due to the international pressure, Bhutan at least accepted the presence of some Bhutanese in the UN-monitored camps in Nepal. So, in very tricky manner it proposed to categorize its own citizens in 1994. Subsequently, Khudunabari camp was verified in 2003 after forming a Joint Verification Team (JVT) with Nepal. During verification the whole show was dominated by the team from Bhutan and the verification was conducted in very deceptive manner and according to the whim of Bhutanese team. The results were amazing. Two four-year-olds, Srijana Poudyel and Ramesh Poudel, both born in camp, were categorized as "criminals" of Bhutan. Can anybody in the world tolerate such open deception? The JVT declared 293 to be forcefully evicted from Bhutan, 347 to be having criminal records in Bhutan, 8595 voluntarily migrated from Bhutan and 2948 having no link to Bhutan, could be Bhutanese whose documents were confiscated or destroyed by the security forces during military crackdown before they were evicted.

In 2003, the Bhutanese refugees, except those having no link in Bhutan, as accused by the regime, were verified to be bona-fide Bhutanese

whatever the category they have fallen in. So Bhutan must take these people back to Bhutan with safety and dignity if it prefers to call it as a true democratic country where citizens enjoy their rights. The so-called democratic ruler must be brave enough to accept its mistakes if they have real faith in Buddhism and Bhutan as the last Shangri-la.

**Regime's art of lying:** Even after finding all facts, Bhutan is still persistently and shamelessly campaigning in international community saying that the people in the camps in Nepal are illegal immigrants who had entered Bhutan as laborers to work in country's first installed Chhuka Hydroelectric Project (CHEP) in early seventies. Bhutan must remember that I was deputized to this project as medical officer by the government. And, I was a doctor to sign on the medical fitness forms of those laborers coming from India and Nepal, if we accept Bhutan's allegation. Later, in mid 80s those laborers were thrown out of the project and Bhutan, after official agreement with India. Now, Bhutan is trying to confuse the international community about the eviction of those laborers of the CHEP with the eviction of Lhotsampas since early nineties. Such persistent attitude of regime is an indication of aftermath of eviction which still looms around the remaining Bhutanese of Nepalese ethnicity in Bhutan.

Bhutan often engages itself in telling the Bhutanese refugee stalemate is a humanitarian issue but never dared say who or what caused this issue. So far, Bhutan is very lucky as it is backed by a giant neighbour and its propaganda is sellable in the market. Why Bhutan does not dare sitting across the table with the refugees and prove them "illegal immigrants" if they really are as it claims? What the refugee community hopes is Bhutan will stop telling such lies to hide the stories of injustice to its citizens and violation of human right and will start following true philosophy of Buddhism. Telling lies upon lies is unforgivable crime in front of Lord Buddha and against the principle of Shangri-la, which the present Bhutan needs to learn.

(Dr. Rai is the chairperson of Bhutanese Refugee Representative Repatriation Committee)

## The real Kashmiri voice

Dr Raja Muhammad Khan

In his recent article entitled as "A Different Voice in Kashmir", the former ambassador, writer and eminent Indian scholar, Kuldip Nayyar, has pointed out that, situation Kashmir has changed altogether, and Kashmiri youth of post 1990, has taken over the charge of the renewed uprisings. Two aspects could be observed as quite obvious throughout during this new phase of uprisings: "one, there is no Pakistani hand, and two, the movement has nothing to do with the militants." This is an extraordinary acceptance of the reality by an Indian scholar, as the people of Kashmir and Pakistan have repeatedly saying this. Indeed, Pakistan has never been behind the Kashmiri's freedom movement. The movement has been and is an indigenous struggle of the people of Kashmir. It started in the first quarter of 20th century, against the cruelties of the repressive Dogra regime, once there was no existence of Pakistan on the world map.

The first formal exposure of the struggle came into the glare of publicity on July 13, 1931, once Dogra Army killed dozens of innocent Kashmiris during a peaceful protest, so how could Pakistan be behind it. The seething struggle continued thereafter, and in 1947, Kashmiri revolted against a fraudulent accession by Maharaja Hari Singh that led to the physical occupation of the state by India Army, against the wishes of Kashmiris. Thereafter, there has been phased revival of the struggle against the Indian occupation of the state: the major armed resistance against Indian repressive security forces started in 1990.

The current lot of the Kashmiri youth has resorted to adopt a peaceful way to attain their right of self-determination. Indeed, the prolonged armed struggle by their antecedents has taught them that, initially, they too were peacefully pursuing their demands, but compelled to take arms, which was not the solution, but certainly had an impact. They did not let the freedom movement to die for which they paid a heavy price. This cost of revolting against Indian occupation by Kashmiris surely remained unmatched. Over 93,000 people have lost their lives, thousands still languishing in prisons and torture cells and there has been brutal rapes and burning of houses and properties by the occupation forces. To the desire of international community, Kashmiri people suspended their armed resistance in 2002/03, thus giving way to peaceful political solution to the issue. They waited for some positive outcome until 2008. Seeing no positive outcome, Kashmir masses once again started their peaceful protests in 2008. This time the peaceful protesters were responded by economic strangulation and brutal massacres like the early 1990s. Nevertheless, in spite of resorting to peaceful means by Kashmiris, the international community did not make serious efforts to resolve the issue.

It is worth mentioning that unless pushed to the walls, Kashmiris are a peaceful nation. This is evident from the prolonged foreign subjugation, spreading over to centuries. Pelting stone is the maximum violence by Kashmiri youth, being practised even today. This too is done once they receive bullets from the Indian Army soldiers and paramilitary personnel. It is worth mentioning that, since the beginning of June 2010, over 100 innocent Kashmiris, mostly youth have been brutally killed by Indian Security Forces.

I agree with Kuldip Nayyar to the extent that the youth, "do not agree to the various formulas which have been presented for the solution of the Kashmir issue." However, they too do not accept the Indian rule over their motherland, which is the essence of the dispute. This indeed is the real cause of the anger in the youth against the establishment in New Delhi and Srinagar. In fact, it is the Indian establishment: a combination of Indian bureaucracy and strong Military power, the real power centre in India that denies Kashmiris to exercise their right of self-determination in the light of UN resolutions. What to talk of Manmohan Singh or Omer Abdullah, no Indian, and puppet Kashmiri leader has ever tried to understand the 'ethos of Kashmiri movement.' The recent shoe throwing on the Chief Minister by a policeman is a clear indication that Kashmiris should no more celebrate the independence day of their occupying power. This was an open revolt against the regimes and the systems, ruling them against their wishes since 1947.

The youth's rising has surely no economic agenda; therefore, can be lured in neither through job offers of Omer Abdullah for 75,000 people, nor Indian Army's illusory mode of good will gesture, put into practice through Operation Sadbahwana. They have only one agenda, "allow us to exercise our right of self-determination," as given to them by international community through over twenty-three UN resolutions. In this regard, they do not take a lead from the puppet leadership of the state that has been betraying their confidence for years and years, through the lollypops of the autonomy and self-rule.

Over the years, Indian establishment and pseudo scholars are making assertion that the growing unrest in IHK has the element of radicalism and Islamism fundamentalism. Some of them even compare it with the Naxalism, with a pronounced religious slant. However, the reality is that, Kashmiri movement is a peaceful political struggle for the right of self-determination, rather than a religiously motivated radical and Islamism movement. Dubbing the movement as the terrorism is indeed to betray the international community, which take this hazy term as a threat to the global peace. If at all there is terrorism in Kashmir, it is committed by Indian security forces on the innocent Kashmiri masses. There is a harmonized society in Kashmir comprises of Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and others. However, being in majority, the Muslim is the dominating community in Kashmir. But this is not like the India, where the dominant class: the Hindu majority, openly proclaim through its radical parties like RSS, BJP and other Hindu nationalist parties, that all non Hindu population have two options: either to convert into Hinduism or leave India. There has never been an infighting among Kashmiris of different beliefs. After partition of the Subcontinent into India and Pakistan, the then Kashmiri Prime Minister, Pandit Kak, a Hindu by religion, advised the Maharaja Hari Singh not to join the Indian Union, rather preferred to be part of Pakistan or Kashmir remaining independent.

Besides, Kashmiris cannot be called as separatist or secessionist, as they are not the Indian nationals. Historically, except the period of forced occupation, Kashmir has never been part of India. Practically Kashmiris are a different nation, then how can they be called as the separatists or the secessionists. Correspondingly, their political struggle cannot be equated with radicalism or the so-called terrorism, taking place elsewhere in India like Naxalism or Maoism. Terrorism was labelled to defame the Kashmiris struggle after 9/11.

Kashmiris are peace-loving people and the current phase of the youth's uprising is a peaceful political movement, cannot be mislead as radicalism or the religious fundamentalism. What all Kashmiris desire is the authority to exercise their right of self-determination as per UN resolutions? International community must fulfill its promise with the Kashmiris for giving them their basic right to live as per their wishes and should compel India to stop killing the Kashmiri people through gruesome human rights violations.

The writer is an International Relation analyst.

## China still behind Japan economically

Zhang Ming

According to newly released data by the Japanese government, Japan's nominal gross domestic Product (GDP) was worth \$1.286 trillion in the second quarter, compared with \$1.335 trillion for China, indicating that China will certainly overtake Japan as the world's second-largest economy this year.

This news sparked worldwide attention, with overseas media, especially, clamoring for China to take a more central role on the world stage as its economy expands.

Well, how should we rationally treat the phenomenon?

Analysts who are against using GDP as the primary indicator of a country's overall strength prefer the concept of per capita GDP. According to the International Monetary Fund, China's GDP per capita in 2009 was only \$3,566, significantly lower than that of Japan (\$39,573). China only ranked 99th worldwide in terms of per capita GDP.

GDP per capita is one of the most important indicators in identifying whether a country is a developed or a developing one. As per this criterion, China cannot be regarded as a middle-income country, let alone be placed on a par with Japan, whose economy has been the world's second largest for over four decades.

However, China's population is six to seven times that of Japan, indicating that the Chinese market has far more potential than Japan. With its vast territory and fruitful resources, China also has more space for industrial transfer and higher capability for economic self-support.

China's advantage over Japan is also presented in growth rate, demographic age structure and policy leeway. China's growth rate is expected to average 7 percent in the next decade, compared with Japan's 2 percent. China can still enjoy the demographic dividend until 2015, while Japan faces more severe aging problems.

In addition, Japan's debt-to-GDP ratio is approaching 200 percent, leaving Tokyo very limited space to adopt expansionary monetary or fiscal policies. With the current debt-to-GDP ratio at about 200 percent, Beijing still has policy leeway.

Actually, from the perspective of economic development history, many countries could lift their per capita GDP to the level of \$5,000. But only the Republic of Korea and Singapore have successfully raised the figure to \$20,000 from \$5,000 over the past 20 years. And if China wants to achieve the same

great leap, it must try to avoid two kinds of trap.

The first is the so-called Latin American pattern. Economies in South American countries, like Brazil and Argentina, bogged down when per capita GDP reached \$5,000 because the alliance formed by the government and interest groups strangled economic vitality and growth power.

The second is the Japanese-type bubble economy. The government's long-term obsession with loose monetary policy will finally lead to an asset price bubble that an economy cannot withstand.

Unlike Russia, China embarked on the road of gradually advanced reform at the beginning of the reforms and opening up. The biggest problem of progressive reform is the easy shaping of various interest groups, which hinder further reform. Trammelled by the formidable interest groups, there are still some uncertainties about whether China can engage in smooth reform in terms of economy, society and politics. So, now is not the time for us to get upsh.

Japan has entered an aging society, but before that they got rich. Though Japan experienced the bursting of the real estate bubble, it

was at a time when the nation's per capita GDP had reached \$20,000.

So, if China cannot rein in its monetary policy in the future, the nation's looming assets bubble might collapse when per capita GDP is at about \$4,000 to \$5,000. If the bubble bursts and leads to recession, we have to face the challenge of "aging before getting rich".

Finally, it should be pointed out that although both China and Japan have continuing current account surpluses, in the latter's current account surplus the proportion of investment returns has already surpassed the trade surplus contribution.

China's oversea investment return, on the other hand, has just turned into positive from loss. Moreover, despite both countries' huge oversea net assets, Japan's foreign exchange assets are mainly possessed by domestic residents and enterprises, while the majority of China's are under the control of the government. Compared with Japan, China still has a long way to go in saving a fortune for the people and storing foreign exchange assets in the people.

The author is an economist with Institute of World Economics and Politics under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

(Source: China Daily)

# Trade support: Changes in export sector

Since the beginning of 2000's, the World Bank has provided support to developing countries in their efforts to promote economy wide or poverty alleviation change. Asian country where efforts at structural change began earliest at 1990's and 2000's decades, appears to have gone faster in alleviating the anti-export bias in the economic system. The government took several steps to slim down economic policy framework. Bold reform policies introduced in virtually all aspects of the economy. These encompassed exchange rate policy, tariff reform, import liberalization, export incentives, general economic stability measures such as budget management, tax reform, monetary and credit policy, reorganization, of government administration, privatization of government owned enterprises, rationalization on investment code and sectoral policies particularly in agricultural and industrial sectors.

The first phase of the African structural adjustment program which began in 1981 was designed to deal with three main structural problems arising from exogenous factors as well as from the management of public investment during the 1960's and the 1970's. The second phase of African structural adjustment program (SAP) continued to address the same basic problems from 1983 to 1990. SAP started in January 1986 in Latin American countries. SAP had focused on reform of exchange rate system, improvement of debt management, improvements physical infrastructure, and provision of pre and post-shipment arrangement. But during 1990's and 2000's decades, poverty alleviation and new millennium goal was given emphasis.

Some of the level of commitment to export development include national commitment to export basis of export growth and political leadership. Ministries related to industry, agriculture, commerce, supplies, finance, planning commission are responsible for product policy and development. Infrastructure is related to telecommunications, road, railways, airports, and dry ports. The business sector, the banking sector, the private sector's role and the role of government are very important in export development of a country.

In most of the countries, the exporters have felt some sort of constraints to export development even if the sector is latest improved. Some of the hurdles for pro-incentive for almost year in export sector in developing countries can be: export licensing and export duty specially in African and Latin American countries, lack of competent and trained staff in organization especially for analytical work on export strategy and planning in developing countries.

There are inadequacies in the physical infrastructure, lack of facilities at port, airports and dry ports. Marketing activities have not been developed as needed for the export promotion. There are lack of export freight facilities in African countries. There are lack of technical support services from exporters in developing countries.

Dr. Suman Kumar Regmi

There is the problems with the distribution of imported inputs in African countries.

So, there is the need of institutional infrastructure for export development. For the export promotion of a country, formulation of macro policies and sectoral policies; assessment of country's export potential and strengths; formulation of indicative export plans, targets and priorities for the benefit of both public and private sector; and removal of systematic disincentive to export development and promotion of positive incentive.

Export promotion and support services should cover collaboration with markets community, creation of export awareness; promotion of investment in export projects; assistance to export oriented industrial sector; helping to resolve ad hoc problems of export enterprise through government agencies; and maintaining up to date records on export enterprise, manpower development for export in business sector.

Access to imported inputs for production for export can be facilitated through customs regulation and valuation norms with respect to imported inputs; duty exemption and duty drawback schemes; importation of capital goods; importations of other inputs like raw materials, components, and spare parts; scheme for exemption of imported inputs for the application of fiscal levies such as value added taxes; manufacture in bond for exchange; and export processing zone and international subcontracting scheme. Import policy and management of imports can help or hinder healthy economic growth which is necessary for export development.

For accelerating supply response; finance for export development; institutional infrastructure for export development and access to imported inputs for production for export should be arranged. Some guidelines for strategy for export development action are the arrangement of national commitment and principal institutions; finance for export development; access to imported inputs for export production, criteria for assessment of progress in export development, operation facilities for procurement inputs for export; creation of export processing zone, simplification of export procedures and documentation, progress in developing and improving the technical cum other specialized services needed by export enterprises and services for assessing exporter enterprises.

For implications for strategy, national economic reforms and macro policy climate should be arranged. Criteria for assessment of progress in export development can be: progress in evolution of macro-economic policies conducive to the development of exports; creation of institutions geared to improving the overall management of export development process, availability of financial facilities for export projects, availability of incentives for investment in the diversification and expansion of supply capacity for

export, and mobilization of business sector support for export development formation of exporter's associations and federations capable of articulating the needs of exporters and acting as export lobbies. Export is sweet because of money in it. Consider the world as your market. Choose that export oriented industries which are competitive advantage. Some of the export incentives are cash compensatory, duty drawback, excise refund and customs refund and vat refund. The export product selection is heavily based on labor content of products, promotion of labor-intensive products, such as garments, handicrafts and promotion of skill based products, e.g. software. Pricing is a matter of strategy. Pricing decisions affect cash flows and margins much more rapidly than any other marketing decisions.

Distributive options for export marketing are: to set up a distribution, sales offices abroad, to appoint distributors, to appoint agents, to sell directly to importers, to sell directly to changed member at the bottom of the distribution channel such as Department or Chain Store or a boutique, to sell directly to end users. This mostly happens in tender business.

Selection of an appropriate agent requires a good deal of home work. Model agency profile must assesses character, capacity and capital. Points to be considered while selecting agents are: size of agency firm, desirable outlets, complementary product life, specialized sales staff, location, marketing facilities, identification process, selection process, detailing regarding the firm, details regarding business conducted, references of agency firms, and selecting the relationship between parties and products.

One of the considerations in channel selection is its impact on final costs.

Under the Bangkok agreement negotiated under UN.ESCAP, the import of specialized items are allowed in the participating countries at over than MFN rates. In additions to the customs duties normally chargeable, there are two special duties which can be imposed by the government of the importing country under specific situations. These are the anti-dumping duties and the countervailing duty. Anti-dumping duties are imposed when governments of importing countries can prove that foreign exporters are selling their products at less than fair prices which are causing damage to the total competing firms countervailing duties on the other hand can be payable if it can be proved that exports are being subsidized by their respective governments enabling them to lower their prices. Some forms of export subsidy are not allowed under GATT(WTO) system.

Some countries have twin system of import control: one control is through import licensing and other the other through foreign exchange authorization. Import deposit scheme is also practiced

by some governments. Some quotas are extensively used both in developed and developing countries' markets. Quotas are administered through import licensing system. Quotas are of various types. Some of the important ones are: import control regime and non-tariff barriers. These include standard regulations administrative measures which make imports difficult, health and sanitary regulations etc. Different countries have different systems for assessing the duty payable on imports. GATT(WTO) has tried to introduce some uniformity in customs valuation procedures through what is known as the customs valuation code. consumer product features are: color preferences, pack sizes, styling, features, material used, usage conditions, use preferences. In packaging for consumer goods: color preferences preferred, container form, preferred material for packaging, preference for reusable, container packaging requirements for channel members, packaging, requirements in terms of product needs, protective needs should be considered.

Packaging requirements for shipping cover mode of transport, port handling charges, storage conditions in material and bonded warehouses. Legal requirements for product cover labeling requirements, band on use of specific use of input and mandatory safety regulations. Marketing strategies formulation cover buyer's profile on the basis of demographic, psycho-graphic, location-wise clusters, preferred purchase outlets, purchase decisions, country image in buyer's perception.

Competition arrangement cover main competitors, production related competitive profile in terms of product quality, price, delivery and services, identification of market segments. Marketing channel covers the areas related to channel available, channel being used by dominant suppliers, accessibility to the desired channel, cost of entering channel, needs of channel members. Physical distribution includes mode of transportation required, cost of transportation, packaging requirement and warehousing needs. Pricing and payments terms cover prevailing prices, normal quotation terms, preferential invoicing currency, normal payment terms, normal credit period allowed.

Under promotion, media available and costs of media used by dominant suppliers should be taken into account.

Product supply profile includes product description, standard used abroad, capability to confirm to international standard, major producing countries, market centers, estimated production, major buyers and others. Government policy includes status under export policy, cash compensatory support, duty and duty drawback, requirements in payment terms, letter of credit, etc if any. Besides these export tricks and techniques can be learned from the other country's export promotion experience.

(The writer is associated with Trade and Export Promotion Centre-ED)

~ News ~

## Ex-envoy Bhattarai no more



Eminent sinologist and former ambassador to Pakistan Niranjan Bhattarai passed away on Sunday in Kathmandu. A distinguished scholar, Bhattarai held an array of postgraduate degrees in Sanskrit, Hindi, Political Science and also Diploma in Chinese Language from various universities.

He served as ambassador to Pakistan, China, Turkey and Consul General to North Korea. He authored three books on Nepal-China relations, a book 'Memories and Experiences' and penned lyrics. He founded a Nepali library in Varanasi and a school in Kathmandu, which is now the Campus of International Languages.

His Last rites performed in Aryaghat on Wednesday. He is survived by his wife and three sons.

## Chinese ambassador releases tourist guide book

Olu Guohong, Chinese Ambassador to Nepal released 'Chinese Handbook' and 'Nepal Tour Guide Chinese' written by Nepali students at Confucius Institute of Kathmandu University.

During the book release ceremony, Ambassador Guohong said that the two books focus more on the spoken language than grammar, so one can easily go through the language book.

"The Chinese books have Nepali translations which definitely will help Chinese language for communication with the Chinese tourist arriving Nepal," said Guohong.

Kishore Thapa, secretary of Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation said that the book will help break the language barrier and help Nepali communicate easily with the Chinese tourist. "For the tourism year the government has targeted huge number of Chinese tourist arrivals to Nepal," Thapa said.

At another programme, Dr Mohan Prasad Devkota, Assistant Professor at Tribhuvan University unveiled his trekking manual Paryatak Pathpradarshak Pustak. Devkota said that the book will be instrumental in providing information on flora and fauna found in Nepal along with pictorial description for tourists.

## Villagers rescue abducted student in Kavre

A fifteen-year-old student, abducted by a group of four, was rescued proactively by locals of Tathali village, Kavre Tuesday.

The abductors were bringing Roman Bista, a grade nine student at Gyankunja Higher Secondary School in Banepa, in a taxi to Kathmandu via an alternative route when villagers in Tathali smelled rat.

The abductors left the taxi and fled when villagers suspected of the abduction. They were chased and caught by Shankar Basnet and other villagers nearby. The angry villagers beat them up, vandalized the taxi used for abduction and handed over the abductors and the abducted child to police.

The arrested abductors, Anish Rai, Lokendra Rai, Raju Subba and Suresh Balami revealed in the statement to the police that they had been hired to abduct Bista by one Kumar Karki.

Police later arrested Karki based on the phone calls he made to the mobiles of his accomplices.

## A drug free zone Campaign

Locals of Tinchuli, Baudha in the Capital on Tuesday declared the area from Tinchuli, Arubari to Charginare a drug free zone with the aim to discourage drug addiction among youths and curb the resultant crimes.



Youths, civil society groups, political leaders and other organisations have supported the campaign.

Local declared the area drugs free zone as theft, lootings and fighting among different groups turned area insecure. Local people are organizing an interaction soon with police, intellectuals, political leaders, journalists, lawyers and teachers to support the cause.



# San Miguel BEER

International :

# America's holy crusade against the Muslim world

We have reached a decisive transition in the evolution of US military doctrine. The "Global War on Terrorism" (GWOT) directed against Al Qaeda launched in the wake of 9/11 is evolving towards a full-fledged "war of religion", a "holy crusade" directed against the Muslim World.

Michel Chossudovsky

mentioned .

Since the early 1980s, Washington has covertly supported the most conservative and fundamentalist factions of Islam, largely with a view to weakening secular, nationalist and progressive movements in the Middle

Muslims throughout the Western World.

The objective is to instil fear, reuse and harness citizens' unbending support for the next stage of America's "long war", which consists in waging "humanitarian" aerial attacks on the Islamic Republic of Iran, portrayed by

profiling. They are considered a potential threat to national security. The threat is said to be "much closer to home", "within your neighborhood", in other words what is unfolding is an all out witch-hunt reminiscent of the Spanish inquisition.

In turn, Al Qaeda is described as a powerful multinational terrorist organization (possessing WMDs) with subsidiaries in a number of Muslim countries: Al Qaeda is present in various geopolitical hotspots and war theaters:

-Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) (comprised of Al Qaeda in Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Jihad of Yemen), Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia (Jamaah Islamiyah), Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb, Harakat al-Shabaab Mujahideen in Somalia, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, etc.

At no moment is the issue of atrocities committed against several million Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan considered a terrorist act by the occupation forces.

## The American Inquisition

A "war of religion" is unfolding, with a view to justifying a global military crusade. In the inner consciousness of many Americans, the "holy crusade" against Muslims is justified. While President Obama may uphold freedom of religion, the US inquisitorial social order has institutionalized patterns of discrimination, prejudice and xenophobia directed against Muslims. Ethnic profiling applies to travel, the job market, access to social services and more generally to social mobility.

The American Inquisition as an ideological construct, which is, in many regards, is similar to the inquisitorial social order prevailing in France and Spain during the Middle Ages. The inquisition, which started in France in the 12th century, was used as a justification for conquest and military intervention.

The arrests, trials and sentences of so-called "homegrown" terrorists (from within America's Muslim community) on trumped up charges sustain the legitimacy of the Homeland Security State and its inquisitorial legal and law enforcement apparatus.

An inquisitorial doctrine turns realities upside down. It is a social order based on lies and fabrications. But because these lies emanate from the highest political authority and are part of a widely held "consensus", they invariably remain unchallenged. And those who challenge the inquisitorial order or in any way oppose America's military or national security agenda are themselves branded as "conspiracy theorists" or outright terrorists.

Beyond the process of inquisitorial arrests and prosecution, which outwards the Spanish inquisition, an expedient extrajudicial assassination program sanctioned by the White House has been launched. This program allows US special forces to kill American citizens and suspected homegrown terrorists: "A shortlist of U.S. citizens specifically targeted for killing?"

The objective is to sustain the illusion that "America is under attack" and that Muslims across the land are complicit and supportive of "Islamic terrorism".

The demonization of Muslims sustains a global military agenda. Under the American inquisition, Washington has a self-proclaimed holy mandate to extirpate Islam and "spread democracy" throughout the world.

What we are dealing with is an outright and blind acceptance of the structures of power and political authority. America's holy crusade against the Muslim World is an outright criminal act directed against millions of people.



US military dogma and war propaganda under the Bush administration, was predicated on combating Islamic fundamentalism rather than targeting Muslims. "This is not a war between the West and Islam, but ... a war against terrorism." So-called "Good Muslims" are to be distinguished from "Bad Muslims":

"The dust from the collapse of the twin towers had hardly settled on 11 September 2001 when the feeble search began for "moderate Muslims", people who would provide answers, who would distance themselves from this outrage and condemn the violent acts of "Muslim extremists", "Islamic fundamentalists" and "Islamists". Two distinct categories of Muslims rapidly emerged: the "good" and the "bad"; the "moderates", "liberals" and "secularists" versus the "fundamentalists", the "extremists" and the "Islamists"."

In the wake of 9/11, the Muslim community in most Western countries was markedly on the defensive. The "Good Muslim" "Bad Muslim" divide was broadly accepted. The 9/11 terrorist attacks allegedly perpetrated by Muslims were not only condemned, Muslim communities also supported the US-NATO invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, as part of a campaign directed against Islamic fundamentalism.

The fact that the 9/11 attacks were not instigated by Muslims has rarely been acknowledged by the Muslim community. Al Qaeda's ongoing relationship to the CIA, its role as a US sponsored "intelligence asset" going back to the Soviet-Afghan war is not

East and Central Asia. Known and documented, the fundamentalist Wahhabi and Salafi missions from Saudi Arabia, dispatched not only to Afghanistan but also to the Balkans and to the Muslim republics of the former Soviet republics were covertly supported by US intelligence. What is often referred to as "Political Islam" is in large part a creation of the US intelligence apparatus.

## The Ground Zero Mosque

Recent developments suggest a breaking point, a transition from "the war on terrorism" to the outright demonization of Muslims. While underscoring the freedom of religion, the Obama administration is "beating the drums" of a broader war against Islam: "As a citizen, and as president, I believe that Muslims have the same right to practice their religion as anyone else in this country... This is America, and our commitment to religious freedom must be unshakable .

Beneath the political smokescreen, the distinction between "Good Muslims" and "Bad Muslims" is being scrapped. The proposed Ground Zero mosque is allegedly being funded by "the radical rogue Islamic state of Iran ... as the United States is stepping up sanctions on the regime in retaliation for its support of terrorism and what is feared to be an illegal nuclear-weapons development program."

The rising tide of xenophobia, sparked by the proposed Ground Zero mosque and community center, has all the appearances of a PSYOP (Psychological Operation) which contributes to fomenting hatred against

gas for cooking purpose. The government's failure to control the use of faulty cylinders has exposed the lives of many people to devastating risk.

Those instances show the government's apathy to consumers' rights is simply severe.

The most disgusting part is that the state itself is backing the companies that are playing with the safety of the people.

## Battle for...

But, the modus operandi of Koirala's leadership quality has often earned him criticism for his inward way of doing politics.

As far as the case of Deuba goes, his ability to keep the diverse

the media as endorsing the terrorists.

In America, the Muslim community as a whole is being targeted. Islam is described as a "religion of war". The proposed mosque and community center are being heralded as "violating the sanctity of Ground Zero".

".opening a mosque at Ground Zero is offensive and disrespectful to the city and the people who died in the attacks. The project is "splitting in the face of everyone murdered on 9/11."

## "Homegrown Terrorists"

The arrests on trumped up charges, as well as the show trials of alleged "homegrown" Islamic terrorists, perform an important function. They sustain the illusion, in the inner consciousness of Americans, that "Islamic terrorists" not only constitute a real threat but that the Muslim community to which they belong is broadly supportive of their actions:

"[T]he threat increasingly comes not from strangers with rough English and dubious passports. Instead, it resides much closer to home: in urban townhouses, darkened basements -- anywhere with an Internet connection. Homegrown terrorism is the latest incarnation of the al-Qaeda threat." How terror came home to roost, Ottawa Citizen, August 27, 2010, report on an alleged homegrown terrorist attack in Canada)

From a process of selective targeting of Muslims with radical tendencies what is now unfolding is a generalized process of demonization of an entire population group.

Muslims are increasingly the object of routine discrimination and ethnic

*factions within the party in balance has helped him to gain an extra edge in the party.*

*But, his image is not lainless since he is severely disliked for his move to facilitate the ex-king to assume executive power.*

*He is blamed for the malpractice of horse- trading of parliamentarians during the hung parliament a decade ago.*

*The political quality of the person leading the post-Girija Prasad Koirala NC is sure to have a big impact on the country's political situation.*

*Deuba represents rightist faction of the party while Koirala and Tamang are symbols of centre right and centrist paths respectively.*

~ News ~

## Twenty Years of Conflict has cost the Middle East \$12 trillion

The 20 years of conflict has cost the Middle East region 12 trillion U.S. dollars during the period from 1991 to 2010.

The report was published in a book entitled "The Cost of Conflict in the Middle East" by the Strategic Foresight Group in India and translated by the Institute for Peace Studies of Egypt.

The Middle East region afforded a high record of military expenses in the past 20 years and is considered the most armed region in the world, the report said.

The conflict had a negative effect on the Palestinians. The death toll from the conflict has increased to 4,000 Palestinians since 2000, while the number of people living under poverty line has risen to more than one million since 2006, the report said.

The report added that 42 percent of Palestinian families were barred from health care facilities due to the segregating walls that divide their lands.

Countries in the region could have reached a 6 percent growth of its national domestic production, but they failed due to the lack of political stability, it added.

## China to hold Yellow Sea naval exercises

China said Sunday it will conduct live-ammunition naval exercises in the Yellow Sea this week.

China's Ministry of National Defense said the Beihai Fleet's training will take place Wednesday through Saturday off the southeast coast of Qingdao, where the fleet is based, Xinhua reported.

The ministry's statement called it annual routine training that will primarily involve the firing of ship-mounted artillery, the state-run news agency said.

"The oncoming scheduled rehearsal will be held in accordance with the annual plan in a region, where exercises of the People's Liberation Army [of China] are traditional," the Russian news agency RIA Novosti reported the statement as saying.

South Korea and the United States have conducted similar joint naval training in the Yellow Sea in the past several weeks and RIA Novosti noted they plan similar training activities in early September. South Korea and the United States have said the training is meant to convey a message of solidarity to North Korea.

## BRIC To Finally End Its Virtual Era

BRIC - the organization that unites Brazil, Russia, India and China - may soon change its name as it prepares to welcome another member - the South African Republic, the most developed country on the African continent. The organization has accepted the bid from South Africa's President Jacob Zuma; most likely, the answer will be positive.

Russia's Dmitry Medvedev said during Jacob Zuma's recent visit to Moscow that it could be possible to develop relations with South Africa via BRIC.

It goes without saying that other countries' intentions to join the organization seem flattering to Russia, as well as to other BRIC members. However, it brings



up a logic question: what does South African Republic need from the virtual organization and what can BRIC members gain from cooperating with South Africa? The meetings of BRIC leaders occur on rare occasions. More importantly, those meetings do not decide anything.

The name of the organization was invented by Jim O'Neill, a leading economist with Goldman Sachs Group Inc., in 2001. The specialist predicted that by 2050 the volume of BRIC economies would exceed the economies of the leading countries in the West and Japan (the Group of Seven).

It is not ruled out that Jacob Zuma hopes to obtain commercial preferences through BRIC membership. As for Russia, it considers South Africa an important and perspective partner. Russian official believe that South Africa's membership in BRIC would be highly productive.

This virtual organization has been more relevant economically rather than politically: it represents cooperation between the world's dynamically developing economies. South Africa has a fast developing economy too, although it can't be compared to the economies of other BRIC members. According to World Bank estimates, the GDP of BRIC's smallest member - India - quadruples the GDP of South Africa. There are other restrictions, which do not allow Africa's most powerful state reach the level of BRIC members. Human resources is a serious issue, for example. The population of South Africa is three times as less as that of the least populated BRIC member - Russia.

Experts of Russia's Supreme School of Economics believe that one additional member is not going to change anything in the structure of BRIC.

BRIC gathered for its latest session in April in Brazil. The leaders only released a number of meaningless statements and signed a memorandum of cooperation. The document stipulates joint efforts in the banking sphere regarding the issues of financial support in the field of high technologies, innovations and energy saving. The appeals from the BRIC leaders to find a new alternative to the US dollar as a reserve currency still look good only on paper.

The next summit of the organization will take place in China. It is not ruled out that South Africa will be invited for the event too. However, if a new member appears indeed, one may expect other countries to follow South Africa's example. International economists believe that Mexico and South Korea have very good chances to join the organization.

## State itself ...

Gas Dealers' Federation of Nepal recently claimed that 30 percent (1.2 million) gas cylinders have not passed through a hydrostatic test to check the quality of the cylinder and can explode anytime.

There are about 4 million cylinders in circulation in the country.

About 300,000 cylinders out of the 30 percent that have not been tested are sent back to the market with only their foot rings changed. "These recycled cylinders are like a cylinder bomb," according to dealers. Currently increasing number of Nepalis started to use

# President Hu holds talks with DPRK top leader Kim Jong Il



Chinese President Hu Jintao held talks last Friday with top leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) Kim Jong Il in Changchun, capital city of northeast China's Jilin Province.

Kim, general secretary of the Worker's Party of Korea (WPK) and chairman of the DPRK National Defense Commission, paid an unofficial visit to China from August 26 to 30 at the invitation of Hu, also general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Hu said that at present, China and the DPRK are increasing vigorous exchange and cooperation in various fields, among various departments and between provinces along the borders. The two sides have maintained close communication and coordination on issues of the Korean Peninsula and the region.

Hu said China is ready to work with the DPRK to carefully safeguard and develop friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries.

During the talks, Hu put forward three proposals for further strengthening relations between the CPC and the WPK and between the two countries.

Firstly, the two sides should maintain high-level contact, which is of great significance to continuously pushing forward the development of the China-DPRK links. Leaders of the two sides should continue to maintain regular communication in various forms.

Secondly, the two sides should advance trade and economic cooperation. Expanding and deepening mutually beneficial and win-win trade and economic cooperation is in the basic interests of the two peoples. China is ready to grow trade and economic cooperation on the principles of government guidance with enterprises playing a major role, market operation, and mutual benefits for win-win results.

Thirdly, the two sides should strengthen strategic communication. Since the regional and international situation is undergoing profound and complicated changes, prompt,

thorough and in-depth communication between China and the DPRK on major issues is of critical importance to effectively maintaining peace and stability in the Northeast Asia region and to promoting common development.

Kim said he fully agrees with Hu's comment and proposals on advancing the relations between the WPK and CPC and between the two countries. Kim said the northeastern part of China is the place where DPRK-China friendship began. He said through this visit, the DPRK side had yet another in-depth experience of the preciousness of the DPRK-China friendship created by older generations of revolutionaries from both countries.

Kim said at present, the two sides should strengthen friendly exchanges and cooperation in various fields, among various departments and between the provinces along the borders. He said the two sides should also attach importance to exchange and mutual learning of their young people so as to continuously push forward the development of traditional DPRK-China friendship.

During the talks, Hu and Kim briefed each other on the internal situation and development plan of their respective countries. Hu hailed the achievements the DPRK people have made in economic development. He expressed his hope that the upcoming national plenary session of the WPK will be a success.

Hu emphasized that it is a basic experience of China's reform and opening up drive in the past more than three decades to unwaveringly adhere to the central task of economic development, push forward all causes of socialist modernization in an all-round way and continuously secure and improve the livelihood of the people.

Hu said economic development calls for self-dependence but cannot be achieved without cooperating with the outside world. This is the inevitable path of the times that accelerates the development of a country.

Hu said the Chinese side respects and supports the active

measures the DPRK side has taken to maintain stability, develop its economy and improve the livelihood of its people.

Kim said China has rapidly developed with strong vitality in all fields since it began to reform and open up to the outside world. Kim said, as a witness of this historic process, he believes it proves the correctness of the guidelines and policies the CPC and the Chinese government adopted to reinvigorate China's traditional industrial zones, such as the northeastern area, develop its western areas, realize balanced growth of different parts of the country and build a harmonious socialist society.

Kim expressed belief that under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people will complete the goals of the 11th five-year plan (2006-2010), smoothly embark on implementing the 12th five-year plan (2011-2015) and celebrate the

90th anniversary of the founding of the CPC with great achievements.

Kim said the DPRK is now focusing on developing its economy and improving its people's livelihood. He expressed his wish to strengthen exchange and cooperation with China.

The visit was the second Kim has made to China this year, after he visited Beijing in May.

Hu warmly welcomed Kim on his second visit. Hu thanked the DPRK for sending a message of condolence to China after a devastating mudslide hit Zhouqu County in northwestern Gansu Province earlier this month. Hu expressed heartfelt condolences to the DPRK for the floods that hit some areas of the country.

Kim thanked Hu for his invitation and warm welcome.

During his China trip, Kim visited Jilin City and Changchun City in Jilin Province and Harbin City in

Heilongjiang Province. Kim visited enterprises of machinery manufacturing, railway transportation, chemical industry and food processing, as well as some agricultural projects. He said Jilin was a place where he once lived, and he was greatly touched and impressed to see its many changes and development when he came back this time.

Kim said China's northeast region borders the DPRK and has a similar landscape and industrial structure to his country. The DPRK hopes to strengthen exchange and cooperation with China's northeast and learn from China's experience, he said.

Kim was accompanied by a number of officials in his visit to China, including Kim Yong Chun, Kim Gi Nam, Kang Sok Ju, Jang Song Thaek, Hong Sok Sop, Kim Yong Il and Kim Yang Gon.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's leader, Kim Jong-Il, paid an unofficial visit to China. He met with top Chinese leaders, and discussed bilateral as well as regional issues.

## Kim says to further develop DPRK-China friendship

Kim Jong Il, top leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), has said his country will further develop DPRK-China friendship in generations and centuries to come, the official news agency KCNA reported.

Kim made this pledge at a banquet held for him on Friday in China, according to the KCNA.

He said the DPRK would as ever "make every possible effort to put this friendship on a higher level."

With the international situation remaining complicated, it was the important historical mission of the DPRK to hand over the baton of the traditional friendship to the next generation as a precious asset, he said.

Kim said steadily developing the friendship through generations was an important issue in defending

peace and security in Northeast Asia and the rest of the world.

His meeting with Chinese President Hu Jintao last May further deepened the political trust and strikingly displayed the invincibility of the bilateral friendship again to the world, he added.

According to the KCNA, Kim visited Northeast China from Thursday to Monday.

## Kim Jong Il hopes for early resumption of six-party talks

Top leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) Kim Jong Il has said he hoped for an early resumption of the six-party talks to ease tension on the Korean Peninsula.

Kim expressed the hope during talks with Chinese President Hu Jintao Friday in Changchun, capital of northeast China's Jilin Province.

Kim, general secretary of the Worker's Party of Korea and chairman of the DPRK's National Defense Commission, paid an unofficial visit to China from August 26 to 30.

He said the DPRK's stance on adhering to denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula had remained unchanged, and the country "is not willing to see tensions on the peninsula."

Kim expressed the wish to maintain close communication and coordination with China in pushing for an early resumption of the six-party talks to ease the tension on the Korean Peninsula, and to maintain peace and stability of the peninsula.

Leaders of the two countries also exchanged views on the situation of the Korean Peninsula and other international and regional issues of common concern.

Hu said there had been some new developments of the Korean Peninsula situation since the United Nations Security Council adopted a presidential statement on the Cheonan warship sinking incident.

Maintaining peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula accords with common aspiration of the people, he said.

(Source: CNTV.cn)

## Fidel Castro says he feels "revived"

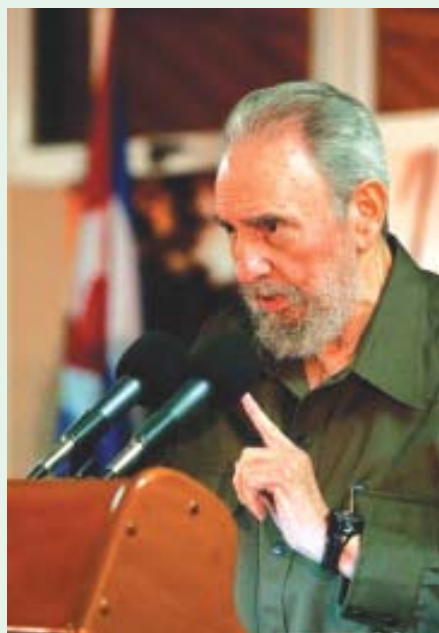
Former Cuban leader Fidel Castro said he felt "revived" from a serious illness and still has "things to do", the official website *Cubadebate* reported.

"I came to be dead (...) I no longer aspired to live, much less ... I asked several times if these people (his doctors) would let me live in these conditions or I would be allowed to die ... Then I survived, but in very poor physical condition," Castro said in an interview with Mexican daily "La Jornada".

During a five-hour meeting, Castro, 84, recalled the severe intestinal disease he suffered in July 2006, which forced him to delegate the presidency for the first time after 47 years in office.

Castro added that after leaving the hospital he found "a crazy world" that "no one could understand" but that he "had not wanted to lose."

"I do not want to be absent in these days. The world is in the most interesting and dangerous phase of its existence and I'm pretty committed to what will happen. I still have



things to do," he said.

"We need to mobilize the world to persuade U.S. President Barack Obama to avoid a nuclear war. He is the only one who may or may not push the button," Castro said.

The former leader had warned several times of a possible nuclear war if the United States attacks Iran.

Castro, with a height of around 1.9 meters, also revealed that after his illness he only weighed 66 kilos. "But now I weigh between 85 and 86 kilos. And this morning I walked 600 steps, without crutch, without support."

Since Castro returned to public life on July 7, he has held several meetings with leaders, politicians, journalists and artists, focusing on a "nuclear war deriving from a U.S. attack on Iran."

Although he handed over power to his brother Raul, Castro keeps his influence in Cuba as the first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee.

(Xinhua)