

## What west wants in Nepal?



### WM correspondent

Although the European countries seem to be supportive to Nepal's progressive transformation, the latest gestured displayed by them have given an ample space to raise question over their real intention.

A 10-member team of European parliamentarians recently visited Tibetan refugee camps downplaying the authority of Nepal's foreign affairs ministry as they did not bother to inform about their politically propelled journey.

The Tibet issue carries high degree diplomatic values in terms of Nepal's relations with her northern neighbour China.

As per the international diplomatic norms, foreign delegates cannot meet

with anybody without official approval of the host country, let alone enjoying the excessive leeway of visiting such a strategically sensitive place.

Likewise, the European team is scheduled to meet with the leaders of Limbuwan and Khumbuwan, who are brazenly waging extortion drives in the eastern hills of the country.

According to officials of the Foreign Ministry, the European team has not demanded for the schedule to this effect. Neither they have thought it appropriate to send the attachment of their programme schedule to the ministry.

Two years back, a delegation of the French parliamentarians gave the flags resembling so called "Free Tibet

movement" to some Tibetan refugees residing in Nepal.

Naturally, the very crafty move propelled China to issue warning to France to stay away from meddling into the Tibet issue.

Relevantly, Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal has recently told the European countries to cease themselves from interfering into Nepal's affairs in the light of their perceived backing to the Maoists.

In a linear fashion, vice chairman of National Planning Commission (NPC) Dr Jagadish Chandra Pokharel has also expressed rage over 'unwarranted interference in policy making of Nepal' by foreign countries.

Lately, the vested interests of the

especially European countries and India regarding Nepal have collided.

The mandarins of New Delhi desperately want the continuation of the incumbent wobbly coalition at any cost.

However, some European nations have voiced publicly in favour of the formation of a new national consensus government with the participation of the main opposition UCPN (Maoist).

Interestingly, it appears that the tentacles of the European concerns over Nepal are gradually creeping not only into the arena of politics but also into other equally sensitive domains.

About two weeks ago, outgoing French ambassador Henry Farault asked the PM on behalf of European

Union to introduce the rights to religious conversion in the country.

Currently, France is the chair of the local EU presidency.

As per its letter forwarded to the PM, European Union wants the government of Nepal to allow 'full freedom' to proselytize while drafting the new constitution. The letter said that the current constitutional provisions on religious rights were "limited".

The sinister motive behind this step is more than crystal clear: the ongoing process of turning poor Nepalis into the followers of Christianity should be legalised.

Nepal, as a secular nation, has already allowed every citizen to practice the religion that meets his/her conscience.

The country's law has only banned conversion of religion forcefully or by the ploy of luring.

The EU, which has exhibited unnaturally big interests on Nepal's religious status, is absolutely silent about Malta, Monaco, Greece, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and England, which still are not as religiously liberal as Nepal.

Likewise, it has never shown a scintilla of interest in religious standards of Germany and Finland, where the Evangelical and Roman Catholic Church and Finnish Orthodox Church enjoy a de facto privileged status.

Obviously, the European leaders are indulged in undermining the Nepal's unwillingness to adhere to religious fundamentalism.

Europeans are frantically advocating for "religious freedom" in Nepal. But, ironically, the state of religious freedom in their own countries is bleak.

France banned the use Muslim symbol head scarves in schools two months ago by making a law amid widespread protest from the Muslim world.

A recent US State Department says in its International Religious Freedom report, the French government's "discriminatory treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses and Scientologists remained a concern". The report says, "Some religious groups voiced opposition to legislation passed in 2001 and 2004, which provides for the dissolution of groups under certain circumstances and bans wearing of conspicuous religious symbols by public school employees and students."

France not only violated its own 1905 law on the separation of religion and the state that prohibits discrimination on the basis of faith by banning Muslim symbols and allowing Christian symbols to be worn.

However, no student has even been expelled from any Nepali school on the ridiculous basis of religious faith.

Notably, the two female junior high school students, Dounia and Khouloudewere, aged 12 and 13 respectively, were the first to be expelled under a draconian French law for refusing to take off their headscarves on Oct. 20, 2004 from a school in Mulhouse, Alsace.

Since the Maoists played a key role to lead the country towards secularism, the Europeans have displayed soft approach towards the Maoists, whose ideology totally contrasts with that of the west.

So, it is not hard to smell a rat in the warmth displayed by the European countries towards the Maoists.

## Nation slipping into catastrophic zone

### WM correspondent

The nation has completely diverted from the course of political consensus it had taken after the beginning of peace process some four years back.

The ceaseless squabble amongst the major parties-UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) - for relatively trivial issues has not only aborted the promulgation of a new constitution by May 28 but has also bled the peace process to anemic.

The pathetic political outlook of the country can be ascribed to the debacle of politics of consensus.

The Maoists rejected providing presidential post to the immediate NC president Girija Prasad Koirala that deterred the party from taking part in

the government led by them. The formal rebels also irked the CPN (UML) by not adhering to their earlier promise to support its senior leader Madhav Kumar Nepal as the first president of the country.

In this way, the consensus politics gradually went downhill, thus pushing the entire country into the edge of a catastrophic political crisis.

Although the UCPN (Maoist)-led government was formed with the support of CPN (UML) and other parties, it failed to take the NC into confidence.

In a tactical bid to garner political generosity of the UML, the Maoists had also brought the UML senior leader Madhav Kumar Nepal in the constituent

assembly (CA).

But, the Maoists' differences with the NC and the K.P. Oli faction of the UML continued to take a more vicious shape.

As the then Maoist-led dispensation decided to book the immediate army chief Rukmangat Katwal, the NC and UML leaders pressed hard the president to foil the very decision.

Subsequently, the immediate Prime Minister Puspa Kamal Dahal resigned claiming the existence of two parallel power centers in a single country.

The open Indian intervention to topple the Maoist-led government as well as the controversial video tap of Maoist chairman Dahal addressing his combatants in the Shaktikhor

cantonment further magnified the already big trust deficit among the parties.

During their nine-month rule the Maoists failed to give any remarkable impression of change to the long suffered people.

The pace of the peace process also could not move ahead smoothly during their days in power.

The constitution making process was however gaining speed to some extent with the CA members accomplishing the task of collecting people's opinions, albeit not so effectively, for a new statute from across the country.

With the formation of the current [Cont. on page 6]

## I am not engaged in day dreaming: Ex King

### WM correspondent

Former King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev has said that it will be an illusion to think that any party advocating for the restoration of Hindu kingdom is associated with him.

In his interview with Image channel, Former King also stated that he was not interested to join the politics. "If I was willing to do so, I would have done it earlier."

While responding to questions related to his religious visit to places like Janakpur and Nepalgunj, Former King said, "It is the fundamental right of every citizen to meet with others."

He also flatly denied the agitation that he was daydreaming about the return of his lost power and privileges.

However, Former King opined that if the people asked him to save the country from the deepening political crisis, he could think to assume some sort of role for the sake of the country and people.



## Hegemony at its worst form

### WM Correspondent

The southern neighbour has been utterly cold towards the repeated pleas of Nepal to stop carrying out such activities that result in the drowning of the latter's territories along the bordering areas between the two countries.

India has recently changed the natural course of Koshi to the Nepali side in a brazenly unilateral manner.

There is a mutually agreed provision that requires both the nations to seek approval from each other before proceeding with any construction work on the Koshi river.

Nepali officials have bemoaned that

India has mocked the agreement that says the decision over whether the course of the river should be changed to west-ward could be taken only after the modelling test (impact assessment in both Nepal and India).

In what can also be termed as a blatant manifestation of its hegemonic tendency, India started works on changing the course without providing details of the study to Nepal.

India had tried to change the course of Koshi two years ago after the river caused huge damages in the Indian state of Bihar as its dam crumbled down,

A huge area the Saptari district may

be inundated with the recent change of the course of Koshi to the Westward.

Experts warned that many villages of the district such as Bhardaha, Jojniya, Hanumannagar, Inaruwa, Rampuramalhaniya, Sakarpura, Gobargadha, Tilathi and Launiya would severely suffer from the latest Indian waywardness.

Nepal has already reeled under the yoke of the Koshi Treaty (reached between Nepal and India) when the Koshi dam was swept away two years ago causing humongous losses in the bordering areas of the two countries.

The nagging delay on the part of the Indian authorities in the maintenance

of the dam was mainly responsible for causing the big miseries of the people living on the both sides of the border.

It is not the first time that India has ventured into the construction of embankment unilaterally.

The Laxmanpur barrage in Banke, Rasiawal Khurdalaton barrage in Rupandehi and Mahalisagar in Kapilvastu are other examples that corroborate the unfettered Indian hooliganism which has proved very costly to Nepal.

The Laxmanpur barrage constructed by India within 300 meters of the International border was undertaken not considering its

effects on the Nepalese side of the border.

Neither did India deemed it fit to seek for the necessary approval from Nepal before the construction of this afflux dam.

It is mandatory to take prior-approval of a bordering country for the construction of any structure within 8 kilometers of the international border.

India is a signatory of the Helsinki Convention which says that no country can build dams and embankments that affect the neighbouring country.

The southern neighbour had already breached the convention by pig-headedly building the embankment

which eventually displaced thousands of Nepali people residing in Mahalisagar and Rasiawal-Khu owing to massive inundation.

Nepal's excessive dependence on India especially in politics and trade has rendered the possibility of challenging the illicit activities of India at the international court very slim, at best.

It goes without saying that the fundamentals of the incumbent coalition are largely engineered by the southern neighbour.

As such, it is pretty tough to believe that this government will raise the issue of inundation of Nepali lands with its de facto authority.

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## Editorial

### Economy in doldrums

The central bank's report on macroeconomic situation based on nine months' of the current fiscal year has painted a bleak outlook of Nepali economy.

The state of prime economic indicators like inflation rate, Balance of Payment (BoP) record, revenue mobilization, recurrent expenditure and gross foreign exchange reserves shows that the economy is going downhill at an alarming pace.

The inflation still hovers around double digit, Balance of Payment (BoP) has recorded a deficit of Rs 22.10 billion, exports have plummeted and imports have gone up pushing the trade deficit up to double compared with the same period last year. Moreover, revenue mobilization has witnessed poor growth, the government expenses have augmented and the gross foreign exchange reserves continue to deplete.

The year on year (y-o-y) inflation - as measured by the consumer price index - moderated to 10.8 per cent in mid-April 2010 compared to 11.9 per cent increase in the same period last year.

According to the NRB, the rise in the prices of spices, pulses, grains and cereal products is to be blamed for double digit inflation rate.

The total government spending has also gone up by 30.9 per cent to Rs 140.09 billion compared with an increase of 18.5 per cent in the same period last year.

Similarly, Nepal's merchandise exports plunged down by 10.4 per cent to Rs 45.67 billion in contrast to a growth of 20.3 per cent in the same period last year, according to the report published by Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB).

Exports to India alone recorded a decline of 6.6 per cent against a growth of 10.5 per cent and exports to other countries plummeted by 16.5 per cent against a growth of 40.7 per cent in the same period last year.

In contrast, merchandise imports soared by 22.6 per cent compared to a growth of 18.2 per cent in the same month last year.

Imports from India grew by 37.1 per cent compared with a growth of 11.5 per cent and imports from other countries grew by 46.9 per cent compared with a growth of 49.6 per cent in the same period last year.

Total trade deficit expanded by 58.9 per cent to Rs 238.47 billion against the rise by 27 per cent in the same period last year.

Trade deficit with India augmented by 53.8 per cent compared with a growth of 12 per cent in the same period of last year, whereas trade deficit with other countries expanded by 65.1 per cent compared to a growth of 52.3 per cent in the same period last year.

The gross foreign exchange reserves also declined by 15.8 per cent to Rs 235.75 billion from a level of Rs 279.99 billion at mid-July 2009 as against a growth of 29.8 per cent in the same period last year.

Nepali economy, which has already been reeling under the yoke of energy as well as political crisis, is getting more vulnerable to a total debacle.

However, neither the financial authorities nor the political leadership appears serious towards tiding over the looming economic meltdown.

# Welcome to Nepal, despite the Himalayan pollution

By Satis Shroff

Opening the doors to the world and tourists has brought not only advantages but also disadvantages to Nepal for instance. Tourism and foreign aid have brought not only dollars, deutsche marks, sterling pounds and yen, but also its share of environmental pollution or as the Germans prefer to call it: Umweltverschmutzung.

The unglorious oxygen cylinders, the PVC waste and the synthetic wrappings and empty bottles and other refuse lie strewn along the expedition routes, waiting for the non-existent garbage disposal team to come and pick them up. Tragically enough, in this case, we have only isolated cases of a few people in the West making a lot of noise in the international media-circuits and achieving and doing very little to keep the Himalayas clean. For the story of pollution in the Himalayas is as old as the history of mountaineering when the first climbers from Europe came to 'conquer' the highest peaks in the world.

Pertemba Sherpa, the Nepalese who climbed Everest thrice, is of the opinion that the 'oxygen cylinders left behind by Edmund Hillary in 1953 are still there: intact'. Hillary himself said that 'there are an estimated 100 empty oxygen bottles, all spread around' in a Newsweek interview on May 3, 1993.

Climbers flocking to follow Hillary's footsteps have been carelessly dropping their plastic food wrappers, tins and empty gas containers all the way up to the Everest summit. Sir Edmund was of the opinion that that 'the pollution problem was serious even on the South Col of Mt. Everest, and he thinks that legislation alone will not help to combat pollution. Prospective climbers should be educated about the need to keep the Himalayas clean. They should be taught to bury their rubbish and not throw it about'. But burying plastic, styrofoam, bottles and other PVC products in the Himalayas isn't the right answer either. Organic wastes might be better buried so that they can decompose in a natural way, but the rest of the civilisation's garbage has to be brought down by all expeditions and trekking groups.

The most popular trekking jaunts in Nepal are: Everest, Helambu, Gosainkund, Langtang, Jomsom, Dharund and lately Dolpo, which has been raised to new heights by the writer Peter Mathiessen in his book 'The Snow Leopard'. In all these routes the trekking parties and mountaineering expeditions have in the past been leaving behind a trail of tins, cans, scraps of paper, rags, broken bottles, glass, wastes of the field kitchen, trash and garbage of all sorts. The routes in the Solukhumbu area, especially from Lukla via Namche Bazaar to the Everest base Camp or Kala Patthar (5545m) are visited by many international groups during the trekking seasons, and the groups range from 10 to 30 persons. Sherpas and porters are more than twice this number, and in some cases the high altitude yaks and mules carry the provisions. Besides the waste mentioned above, bottles and plastic bags are still used by the alpine residents.

There's no denying that if this trend catches on, the trash of modern Western civilisation littered in the Himalayan landscape will become a permanent factor.

Some settlements like Namche and Phortse have forests that are alarmingly decimated, and the high terrain around the settlements has to be protected from becoming bare mountain tracts (karsts) and also to prevent landslides and rock-streams occurring. Moreover the young trees and shrubbery have to be sheltered from the yaks, sheep and mountain goats, as they have the habit of devouring any bit of greenery.

Soldering or Menial Work: Living in the Himalayan environment in poverty means the survival of the fittest at the expense of Nature. The trekking agencies might in the future bring their own kerosene but what chance does the average poverty-stricken Nepalese hillman have of affording to buy a biogas-plant to cook food for his family, when he cannot even give his children a decent meal, leave alone clothing and education? What alternative does the Nepalese in the hills have other than to leave his family and go to the plains in the south in search of a menial job by lifting loads for rich merchants, or working in a factory at Biratnagar or elsewhere as a seasonal worker? No wonder the young and sturdy lads from the hill tribes of Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai and even Chhetris dream of a career as a Gurkha soldier under the Indian tricolor or even under the Union Jack.

But not all young people are taken into the armies of Nepal, India and Britain. The rejects have to contend with looking after the ancestral farms or acting as porters for trekking tourists and expeditions. They have to be mobile, because only mobility, flexibility and physical prowess guarantees success in finding jobs and thereby surviving. There is a regular seasonal migration of the population of the Nepalese hill population to the paddy fields of the Terai, and even further towards the Indian subcontinent in search of a livelihood.

It has become the 'in' thing to do among the tourists of the richer northern hemisphere to travel to countries like Nepal and take photographs and thus document the poverty and helplessness of the people in the developing countries, to take shots of humans burning in the funeral pyres at the ghats of Pashupatinath to prepare slide-shows on the 'gaudy and macabre blood-sacrifices' at the Dakshin Kail temple, and to expose Nepalese and Tibetan children with running noses and coy smiles. And it is no secret that the country being visited by the hordes of tourists are obliged to adapt to the delights, fantasies and whims of the tourists, with the result that there's a total sell-out of the touristic land.

With wool imported all the way from New Zealand from sheep that grazed in the Canterbury Plains, and carpets produced in Kathmandu Valley, you have a true Tibetan to decorate your exclusive apartment. It shows that you're a cosmopolitan indeed. I prefer the gaudy old carpets with their traditional ethnic designs, with all their peculiarities for the sake of their originality, and not because 'friends might find them shocking, loud and indecent', as though one would have to be ashamed to have a taste for bright traditional colours.

According to a spokesman of the Nepal Mountaineering Association, each climbing expedition leaves on average more than 500 kg of garbage. The NMA estimates that there are more than 500 kg of waste piled up at the Everest Base Camp, and on the highest mountain in the world. The trend at the moment is to call for a moratorium on Mt. Everest, so that the much-scaled mountain, and other well-trodden trails may recuperate from the adverse effects of pollution caused by humans.

Though the big expeditions that assault eight-thousanders have done their share towards Umweltverschmutzung in the peaks of Nepal, Sikkim, India and Pakistan, it is the masses who take part in treks to see the Himalayan countryside and the snows, who have been leaving wastes along the mountain trails.

The Nepal Mountaineering Association was able to bring down 16

tonnes of garbage from the Sagarmatha (Everest) base camp at a cost of 24 million rupees (\$60,000 dollars), which is an expensive waste transport, and according to an estimate there are 50 tonnes of waste up there. There are existing laws for climbers but no one seems to adhere to them.

Tourism with Insight: What are the negative aspects of tourism in Switzerland? This was the question raised sometime back in a research paper with the title 'Alpensegen, Alptraum' (Alpine Blessing or Alpine Nightmare?) by a team headed by Prof. Jost Krippendorfer (Bern) under the aegis of a world-wide UNO-analysis. According to the report 'the local Swiss people think only of money now. There's no social cooperation. There are too many strangers, aliens, foreign visitors. The local scenery is vanishing and the towns bow to the pressure of tourism'. This could hold for Kathmandu and Nepal in general.

During a recent visit to Kathmandu after a decade, I was surprised to see Thamel turned into a flourishing tourist bazaar with hotels, lodges, curio and carpetshops catering to the demands and delights of dollar-toting hotel guests and low budget tourists. It just wasn't the Thamel of my college days at the Amrit Science college. Along the Jhochey Tole (Freak Street) you could hear, 'Sir, dollar change?'. The hashish shops had vanished. The Yin Yang tantric restaurant, a reminder of the hey-days of Hippiedom in the sixties and seventies still stood there. And according to an article in The Rising Nepal the number of drug-addicts in Kathmandu alone had risen to 15,000. Is this perhaps also a side-effect of the low budget tourist invasion? You have Nepalese organisations waging a losing battle against drug-abuse in Kathmandu.

Back to the Swiss report: the Alpine scenery and countryside has been raped in the last 30 years. An entire infrastructure of road networks and tunnels have been built across the alpine country with Swiss thoroughness. 1200 ski-lifts, 500 ropeways and mountain-trains (the famous Glacier Express included) that transport 1.2 million tourists and holiday-makers, 250,000 chalets and holiday-homes have shot up like mushrooms. In the Cantons Wallis and Tessin, every fourth apartment was turned into a holiday-home for the tourists for some weeks every year. This reminds me of the tendency to let 'well-furnished flat for foreigners only' in Kathmandu due to the staggering incomes of the foreigners in comparison to their Nepali counterparts. The prices of all commodities have been shooting up in the Himalayan capital, and buying land cost a fortune in Kathmandu Valley in terms of Nepalese rupees.

Taking the example of Switzerland, Nepal too must make a gradual turn to strike a balance between economic interests and Nature, between agriculture and tourism, between local inhabitants and outsiders (visitors). The mountain communities should also profit through mountain tourism and not only the travel and trekking agencies based in Kathmandu. Otherwise, as far as the mountain-folks are concerned, the tourist invasion only disturbs the tranquility, serenity and socio-economic, cultural and age-old traditional lives of the various ethnic-Nepalese living in the countryside in a negative manner.

Perhaps the much acclaimed 'Sanfte Tourism' (tourism with insight) is the answer towards a better use of the beauty of Nature. Trekking, climbing and sight-seeing tourism has come to stay in a country like Nepal whose only assets are a ravishingly beautiful countryside and a heroic, proud folk even though they belong to the category of the LDCCs (least developed

countries). The insight has come rather belatedly, but it is welcome nevertheless, for the Himalaya environment is not only the heritage of the Nepalese but also of mankind in general. As in the Alps, the thousands of tourists who trek to the fragile Himalayas do leave evidence of their encroachment upon the mountains in the long run. The problem is to keep the damage due to this encroachment at a minimum.

There are 50,000 tourists going on mountain treks to Nepal at the moment. What is alarming is that even the Nepalese government wants to step up the number to 1 million tourists by the year 2000. Even Toni Hagen, a Swiss geologist-turned-development expert suggests that it is the quality tourists who bring in the big money, and not the masses. The Annapurna area alone has 25,000 visitors every year. The lodges and hotels catering to the tourist's gastronomic delights have switched over from dal-bhat (rice-lentils) to pizzas, lasagne, hamburgers, vienna schnitzel and applestrudel, not to mention the video tastes of the tourists along the Himalayan trails. When the trekkers would take and show the same care and consideration that they do in their own forests and national parks, a lot of the damage could be averted and trekking-tourists would be welcome visitors in the Himalayan countries. The European or Western tourist must not forget that he or she has a pedagogic function even in the Himalayan environment of Nepal by setting an example of good trekking and woodmanship. The Nepalese will be only thankful if you give them an example worth emulating. What is the use of being a privileged Westerner with a better education and broadened horizon if you can't give a piece of your knowledge regarding hygiene, garbage disposal and good human relationship to the poor, uneducated, unprivileged but well-meaning Nepalese? It is this 'insight' that you have that should distinguish you from other visitors to this country.

The seminar also called for the propagation of the Kathmandu Declaration approved by the Union of International Alpinist Association (UIAA) in 1982 through different channels. It was advocated that a Code of Ethics be established by the mountain tourism industry throughout the Himalayan region to encourage 'environmentally and culturally sound tourism'. It was also suggested that community-based models for environmentally-passive commercial campsites for trekking parties, environmentally suitable lodges for tourists, trekkers and climbers, and shelter for porters at hazardous locations. An average of 50,000 foreign trekking and climbing tourists visit Nepal every year, and the Nepalese Tourism Ministry has set a target of over one million tourists. Even the late Toni Hagen admonished that this is dangerous for Nepal and suggested quality tourists who really bring in money and not all and sundry.

It must be mentioned that Nepal is not Bhutan, and there is a new federal republic where the former zones (anchals) have been renamed cantons like in Switzerland. Nepal is a free, democratic country and the Nepalese are known for their hospitality. The Nepalese souls have what we call in German 'die Heiterkeit der Seele', for despite the odds you see a smile on their faces. Unlike in Bhutan, where only an exclusive set of high-paying tourists are let into the country, Nepal was, and still is, a backpacker's delight. According to the American Medical Association a walk in the Nepalese countryside is very good for your health. No trams, no subways, no ICE trains, no Transrapid. You have to go on pedis. Namaste, and welcome to Nepal.

On the occasion of 2554 Buddha Jayanti

# The Ten Aspects of Buddha Nature as Propounded in the Uttara Tantra Sastra

Prof. Dr. Khadga Man Shrestha, Registrar, LBU

## Introduction:

The Buddha taught three turnings of the wheel of Dharma (Law). In the first turning the Buddha taught the four noble truths dealing with the relative level of reality. The Buddha revealed that the nature of suffering consisted of the first noble truth. The origin of suffering is to be found in all previous actions and emotions obscurations. This level belonged to second noble truth. The third noble truth is related with cessation of suffering. At this level one eliminates the two courses of suffering. Finally in order to realize the truth of cessation, one has to enter the path which is the truth of the path. The Buddha then showed how one has to progress along five different levels of the path before reaching complete enlightenment. The Buddha taught about the ultimate nature of phenomena in the second turning. He said that all phenomena are empty by nature. In the third turning the Buddha showed that the emptiness of phenomena does not mean simple absence of things. When beings are in impure phase they still possess, the essence of Buddhahood. When they read Buddhahood, there is the presence two fold Jnana of how it is and variety of phenomena. The Uttara Tantra relates to the third turning because it is concerned with the presence of Buddha nature in all beings. Dhamakaya of the Buddha pervades all phenomena, suchness or actual nature of Nirvana or Samsara. Phenomena is undifferentiated. There is only one suchness of all phenomena. Thirdly, all beings possess the foundation for Buddha Nature. When it is purified it can develop into full Buddhahood. Chapter six of the Uttara Tantra elaborately deals with ten aspects of Buddha Nature.

## Ten Aspects of Buddha Nature:

The Ten aspects of approaching the essence of Buddhahood or Buddha Nature are nature, cause, result, influence, endowments, approach, all-pervasiveness, inalterability and inseparability of equalities.

### 1. The Nature Of Buddha Nature Is Inherently Pure.

The nature of Buddha Nature is explained illustrating the examples of a Jewel, the sky and water. Buddha Nature is compared with a jewel, the sky and water. It is a jewel like Dhamakaya, totally free from any impurities. It is like the sky, when there are no clouds present. It is like natural pure water. In this way Buddha Nature is perfectly pure. The four different ways of manifesting Buddha Nature are

- to aspire Dharma
- to accomplish it with intelligence.
- to accomplish it by way of Samadhi (meditation)
- to accomplish it with compassion.

Buddha Nature possesses tremendous powers. It is compared with a precious jewel which is valuable and has power to dispel poverty. It is compared with the sky which never changes. In essence water has a wet and flowing quality. By its mere presence everything can grow. Buddha Nature also possesses a moistening quality, the lubricating quality of compassion.

### 2. The Four Causes That Allow Buddha Nature To Manifest:

The four unfavorable obstacles of Buddha Nature Buddha hood are

- hostility or a natural dislike to the Dharma
- Strong belief in the reality of self
- Fear of suffering in Samsara and lack of an inclination to help other

beings. To put in simple term, these abstracts can be removed by opposite qualities.

- aspiration (to over come dislike of Dharma)
- Prajna (to over come belief in self)
- Samadhi (to overcome fear of Samsara)
- Compassion (to overcome selfishness).

The first obstacle is found with the persons who are hostile to Dharma. The second obstacle is found in the Tirthikas, who believe in the presence of a self. The third is present in the Sravakas who are individuals who want to find liberation only for them selves because they are afraid of suffering. The fourth obstacle is found in Pratyeka Buddhas. It is stated that the four obstacles can be removed by their opposite qualities. Aspiration for Dharma eliminates hostility towards the Dharma. Great Prajna eliminates belief in self. The best from of meditation, Samadhi eliminates the fear of Samsara and compassion eliminates the lack of interest in the sufferings of other beings. The Uttara Tantra emphasizes that inseparable union of emptiness and clarity is Buddha Nature.

Precisely speaking, Buddha potential is reflected from innate aspects developed through practice. Through practice and presence of certain qualities Buddha Nature can manifest favorable conditions, one can work towards Buddhahood and little by little approach the state of the son of a Buddha a - Bodhisattva, creates favorable condition. Aspiration for the Dharma creates all the qualities needed on the path and will eventually lead to Buddhahood. This process is compared with birth of a child. Aspiration for the Dharma is compared with seed (semen). The quality of Prajna is compared to the mother became the semen needs a special environment for it to develop. The work of the mother represents meditation. If there is some degree of understanding of non-self and the nature of phenomena, this understanding will grow more and more. In favorable environment, the embryo of a child develops. Similarly Prajna needs the favorable environment of meditation to real full development. Compassion is compared with nurse maid. Compassion makes the qualities of Prajna and meditation with compassion for beings. It is obvious that one understands, grows and one's meditation improves this example if one has the qualities of aspiration, Prajna, meditation and compassion. One can become a son of the Buddha and truly work on the path of enlightenment. It is commented that meditation referred is mostly tranquility meditation (Samatha). It is connected to intelligent side of Prajna and the compassionate side of caring for beings.

### 3. Fruition of Buddha Nature Originates The Qualities Of True Purity, Identity, Happiness And Permanence:

When Buddha Nature completely manifests the third quality i.e. fruition occurs. Fruition is the ultimate goal of Buddha Nature. It is stated that the fruition of Buddha Nature has the transcendental qualities of purity, identity, happiness and permanence. Complete purity is achieved when Buddhahood is achieved. When one is beyond self and non-self, one achieves the transcendental quality of identity. It is also explained that Buddha Nature is "reversion for suffering" and longing for peace. Buddha Nature makes us recognize the suffering of our existence. The influence of Buddha

Nature is to make individuals want to eliminate suffering and find happiness. It is mentioned that there are four things that contradict these conditions of the Dharmakaya. They are impurity, suffering, impermanence, and absence of true transcendent identity. Due to Samsaric illusion, we perceive everything as opposite to what is really is. In the Hinayana teachings, the Buddha taught that the belief in self is mistaken; that phenomena are devoid of any self-entity. The ultimate reality transcends the four aspects and their opposites and goes beyond pure and impure, non-self and self. The quality of transcendental purity is beyond pure and impure. It is also explained that the belief in non-self is developed by them that practice Hinayana and the general aspect of Mahayana. It is important to understand that both the belief in self and a belief in non-self are just mental



concepts and have no actual reality. Transcendental identity corresponds to the complete purification and disappearance of all illusory fabrications of the idea of a self or non-self.

On the Hinayana path, the actual nature of Samsara is suffering. But in the special aspect of Mahayana teachings, suffering and happiness of Samsara are illusory. One learns that suffering is only a mental creation of the five aggregates; being produced by the very fine mental imprints on the mind created by ignorance. The ultimate nature is beyond both the idea of suffering and the idea of happiness and this is transcendental happiness. It is also referred that we must be free from extremes of Samsara and Nirvana and fall back into Samsara or enter into the one sided Nirvana of liberation for ourselves. In the root text it is mentioned that those with compassionate love will "cut through all self cherishing" because they cherish all beings; cherishing means not to drop people without any concerns but to really help them.

### 4. The Function Or Influence Of Buddha Nature.

Regarding the function of Buddha Nature, it is stated that sentient beings would not feel weariness of suffering and would not therefore want to go beyond suffering (Nirvana). Non sentient objects such as trees or stones do not have Buddha Nature. By possessing Buddha Nature, we are able to see that worldly existence brings suffering and can conceive Nirvana. So we aspire to go beyond the suffering of conditioned existence. If one did not have this seed of Buddhahood, it would be impossible to

perceive these aspects and strive for Nirvana.

### 5. The Endowments Of Buddha Nature:

The endowments of Buddha Nature are compared to the ocean. On the path these are: a) Dharmakaya (vastness of ocean), b) two fold Jnana (jewels in the ocean), c) Compassion, wetness of ocean. The other example may be set by butter lamp at fruition. a) Clear cognition (light of the lamp) b) stainless Jnana (heat of the lamp) c) clarity (color of the lamp). To explain - Buddha Nature in detail Buddha Nature has potential for achieving Buddhahood. It already has all the various qualities of Buddhahood. Vastness of ocean is compassed with aspiration for enlightenment. The qualities of Prajna and meditation are compared to perceive these aspects and strive for Nirvana, the jewels. If one did

of butter lamp shows how three qualities of Buddha Nature are inseparable.

### 6. The Approach of Being to Buddha Nature:

Approach of sentient beings Bodhisattvas and Buddhas are referred in this part. It is stated that Buddha Nature is present in all beings. Three types of individuals are referred to in this context in a) ordinary beings not yet free of their emotional insatiability b) the Bodhisattvas c) the perfect Buddhas as Sang-gay (pure perfectly blossomed). The three types of individuals have different approaches to Buddha essence. The ordinary beings approach is in a mistaken way. The Bodhisattva's approach is without mistake. The Buddhas see it directly. The Buddhas see Buddha Nature just as it is with their direct, clear, extensive and vast vision. The Bodhisattvas do not see it in its entirety.

### 7. The Phases Of Buddha Nature Are Impure, Mixed And Pure.

Buddha Nature in terms of phases is impure, slightly impure and totally pure. For the ordinary being Buddha Nature is obscured by the emotional and cognitive obscurations. The mixed please is powerful than the first. Two kinds of impurities are - impurities from insight and impurities from cultivation of this insight. The Buddhas are in the third stage of having purified all obscurations.

### 8. All -Pervasiveness of Buddha Nature:

All pervasiveness means that Buddha Nature embraces everything of the two natures of mind (emptiness and clarity) emptiness is compared to space. Clarity indicates Buddhahood. The name given for it is immaculate space. Buddha nature is a general characteristic of all beings irrespective of what qualities they possess.

### 9. Inalterability of Buddha Nature:

In the example of ordinary beings: a) earth b) water c) air, in the example of the Bodhisattvas a) beyond birth b) beyond aging c) beyond sickness d) beyond death, in the example of the Buddhas a) permanent b) eternal c) non dual d) indestructible this. It is stated that one's faults are identical to Buddha Nature and one's good qualities are an inherent part of Buddha Nature. The nature of Buddha essence is that it never changes and has just temporary faults covering it up.

Secondly Buddha Nature is unalterable. Everything arises and disinterests in the uncreated space of Buddha Nature. The qualities are inherently present in Buddha Nature and manifest in enlightenment. Buddha Nature is changeless. It is like space which is void and pervades everything. Buddha Nature has been present in all beings but it was covered by the impurities of anger, jealousy and stupidity etc. which do not affect the nature of this Buddha Nature.

Thirdly Buddha essence has never been burned out by the fires of death, sickness and old age. Fourthly Buddha Nature is unalterable. At the formation of universe, the earth element rested on water and this ocean rested on a great circle of air, and the air rests on space. So all the elements rest on space while space rested on nothing. The elements of thought and sense faculties rest on Karma. The true nature of mind (Buddha Nature) like space does not rest on anything. The true nature of the mind is compared to space because space is never created or destroyed.

The Tibetan word for "realized" is Pagpa which literally means "higher". Those beings who have reached a higher state, refers to the first level of Bodhisattva. One redeclates this domain

when one reaches the path of insight which is the moment when phenomena are seen directly. The activity of Bodhisattvas on the tenth level goes everywhere and embraces every one and is compared to space.

Perfect Buddhahood, the Buddha Nature does not change for four reasons. In the first phase, Buddha Nature is the Dharmakaya or stainless Dharmadhatu is non dual. Within it is the suchness of Samsara and Nirvana and all the qualities are pacified because there is no conceptual difference.

Buddha Nature is unalterable, indestructible to and eternal. It over comes the duality of Samsara and Nirvana. Buddhahood is immutable. The name "Buddha Nature" shows it can bring forth all the qualities of the Buddha. Buddha essence is also changeless.

### 10. Inseparability Of The Qualities

Buddha Nature is given four different names: the Dharmakaya, Tathagata, highest truth and supreme Nirvana. It is called Dharmakaya "because it is the truth nature of all things. It is called the "Tathagata" because it is the ultimate fruition of seeing what is there. It is called the highest truth" because the realized ones see phenomena as it is. It is called the "ultimately true Nirvana" because it is beyond the suffering of Samsara. When Buddhahood is achieved there is no other Nirvana beyond that and no other truth. Different qualities are needed to achieve Buddhahood. It is stated that conditions for reaching Buddhahood are there if all the qualities of the six Paramitas are present. In that situation voidness can be approach ended. The voidness with all the aspects is not emptiness but the great fullness of these qualities with the quality of clarity in which all these aspects of knowledge can flourish. For this voidness to be realized all the qualities of the Paramites have to be present.

The inseparability of the qualities Prajna, Jnana and freedom from impurities is illustrated by the sun light, sun rays and the orb of the sun. They are luminous radiant and pure respectively. The example states that without sun light, the sun's rays the sun cannot be seen so the qualities of the Buddha are inseparable.

### Importance of Buddha Nature:

As mentioned above the Buddha turned the wheel of Dharma three times. The second turning showed the voidness of all phenomena. In these teachings the Buddha said there is no form, sound taste, smell etc with everything being devoid of any actual nature. Everything is void beyond the four extremes of existence and non existence and beyond the eight mental fabrications. Everything is the Dharmadhatu devoid of any actual nature of its own. In the third turning the Buddha stated all beings had Buddha Nature and he described the nature of Buddha Nature in detail. Ordinary people say that there is contradiction between Buddha's second turning and third turning. In the second turning the Buddha said there was not anything and in the third turning he said that there we matter which appears to contradict the second turning. The answer to this contradiction is that we should understand the presence of Buddha Nature in all beings. Not to understand this will make five mistakes. The Buddha taught phenomena's are devoid of actual nature; they are like a cloud, a dream or an illusion. The Buddha in his actual teaching stated that all beings have Buddha's essence. Everything knowable is devoid of any actual nature that is always void and always has been void. In the third turning the Buddha said that all beings have Buddha issuance.

## Complexities within medical profession

By Sudan Prasad Neupane

Thomas Jefferson said in 1776 during the American Independence that all humans are born equal. It took nearly a century before slavery was formally abolished in the United States, and its remnants are still found widespread in one form or the other. Humans are arguably living in a world of relative equality and a flagrant hierarchical reality. The self-evident truth of human equivalence holds also in terms of biological faculties. We consider Nepalese culture to be rich in many senses. Given the fact that cultural domains are adaptation of practices over time, social scientists are constantly warning against development of undesirable social convenances.

While Nepalese politics and bureaucracy face the blame of being victim of favoritism, flaws are prevalent elsewhere, too. It became evident in the recent past that the forgotten Hippocratic note 'to teach medicine to the sons of my teacher' was brusquely called for. On the other hand, the concept of partnership among the practitioners is ever sinking. The insiders of the medical community in Nepalese hospitals are not away from several fears and coercions. It takes years of experience and knowledge of good practice to become a successful clinician. But, it doesn't require all that to garner qualities of a good healer. Many, if not all medical novitiates experience some forms of threats to one's personal integrity as do other political neophytes, fired with a blatant remark of being 'too young for it.'

One fear behind such covert is the evil of exams. One may not be surprised of the assertion that a medical student would not speak out aloud due to the fact that he has neither the grey hair nor a consultant's hegemony; above all he has to pass the tests. Medical teaching has always been promoted as an apprenticeship. A blending of this art of teaching-learning together with the culture of hierarchy in Nepalese settings may be

the driving force behind some medical student's adverse experiences in their early career. Ragging practice is just an example which dichotomizes the complexes of seniority and juniority. Can a medical intern speak against a corrupt consultant who prescribes a packet of antitubercular antibiotics which cost the poor patient half a dollar every single day for at least 6 months, which is, otherwise freely available through DOTS programme? Does a medical officer who believes a poor comrade hailing from the mountains deserves as good care as does a sick elite staying at the paying ward, dare to speak out for him? Does a resident in Medicine hold a liberty to erase his consultants' cardex order of useless drug because a recent trial proved the agent to be of no value, if not harmful? The seniority complex seems more naked and the complex of juniority, in most instances, helpless.

We have experiences of corruption both in professional and administrative arenas from the part of a consultant doctors, antidotes for which has hardly ever been sought. Hospital amelioration has been apparently limited to changes in directorship of major hospitals with a change of government. As doctors are considered the 'right animal' so do the administrators perceive themselves. The recent corruption row in the country's largest medical institute has waned with a bleak note of confession. The timeline for its purification seems nowhere in proximity.

The 'tapain baad' is no less affecting the medical circle. Unending discussions have failed to resolve as to whether it fosters the brotherhood in the discipline or it creates fissures in interpersonal relationships. One thing for sure - it causes more harm than good. If all humans are equal why a junior is by age or experience 'limi' and a bald head 'hajur/sir'? Does it articulate our richness of culture of respect for

seniors or is it a beacon of exploitation of a subordinate? There is no reason why one can't look at it progressively and list a department's team in an alphabetical order - no matter where name of the head of the department falls. There is a tendency to love the degree so much that even a coffee shop meeting would start with 'I am Dr. X' inciting an abrupt response 'Namaste, Doctor saab' as if the title was inseparable and gives him his whole dignity or divinity. But then as the title truly signifies the guy should be able to teach his fellows how important a sweeper 'Sp. Y' is in preventing nosocomial infections. It will be really interesting to see our medical practitioners adhere to the human values of individual respect.

It is a unique feature to most 'busy' clinicians who consider themselves superior to not only juniors in the field but also to the clients, simply for the fact that they are specialists for special reasons. It is now time to consider what benefit it has given in building concordance to treatment, if at all that is the principal intention of the clinician. 'Listen... follow my advices if you want to feel better' is usual tone heard in consultations - more so often in the rooms of highly acknowledged specialists. It won't be an oversimplification of social etiology behind antibiotic resistance to define in four words, 'lack of clinician's ears'. We do not want to listen to the patients because we think we know all. This pathological conviction comes on the way of outcome and at an expense of the patient. A close analysis of this aspect reveals that the costs a patient and his family are forced to bear are added up by the clinician.

Medical professionals who make not only the educated but also responsible members of the society have time and again failed in their roles leading to mistrust and disrespect from the community. We have experienced the bitter truth of doctors refraining from

the very noble duties to help the sick, for days and weeks in one or another pretext. This admittance evolves from expectation from the predecessors of medical profession in our country. Have they taught us both the Science and Art of medicine or have we actually been able to learn it? Our contribution to the New Nepal should not have been limited to the way we carry out strikes and use the same strategy as any offender of social harmony does.

As any other professional fronts, political influence in this branch of service industry is unavoidable and necessary. But it appears that we have showed our readiness to succumb to the ugly politics and corruption that anybody else is easily alleged with.

Our credibility and security comes mostly from our own behaviour and the personality we develop. As we confront violence from the part of partially anesthetized patient in an operating table to the street we walk, the fundamentals will remain the same - to be humble as a good human being. The demands of extra security again can be considered as a demand for extra respect that we consider ourselves deserving of. It can be arduous in a society like ours to reconsider and possibly withhold the special recognition that we are blessed with. A reflection of the duty we are conferred with and the courage to forsake the evil we have tamed in ourselves can be crucial in moving forward. A review of the hegemony inherent in the title of a doctor at a compromise of our grandiosity should be the starting point.

Time is changing and divinity is not reserved to any group of people or individuals. People judge every individual from their virtues, and the power roles are fading than ever. It is a high time that doctors learn to respect the equality and individual integrity and forsake the complexes within themselves. All of us love being respected but have we really thought about being respectable by showing and meaning equal respect to others?

## Nepal faces looming political crisis

Political leaders in Nepal are locked in 11th-hour negotiations to avert a looming crisis as a deadline to draft a new national constitution approaches on Friday.

Nepal's parliament was elected in 2008 with the task of writing the new constitution within two years, as well as overseeing the completion of a peace process that began in 2006 and paving the way for fresh polls this year.

Its mandate ends on Friday, but the constitution remains incomplete and the peace process severely behind schedule after prolonged disputes between the former rebel Maoists and their rivals for power.

The Maoists fought a decade-long civil war against the state before winning 2008 polls, abolishing the Hindu monarchy and declaring Nepal a secular republic.

But they have been in opposition for the past year, and are now threatening to use their power of veto to block an extension of the parliament, called the Constituent Assembly (CA), unless the current prime minister steps down.

Analysts said the party would likely agree at the last minute to extend the parliament's term and avert a political crisis but this could force another change of administration in a nation that has had 10 governments in as many years.

"The CA is the child of the Maoists, it was their idea. To destroy it would be like killing their own child," said Lok Raj Baral, politics professor at Tribhuvan university in Kathmandu.

"I think the Maoists are mentally ready now to extend the CA. But if that happens, the prime minister will have to step down, and the parties will begin bargaining for a negotiated settlement."

The Maoists formed a government after the 2008 elections but a year later their leader, Pushpa Kamal Dahal, resigned as prime minister in a disagreement with the head of the army over the integration of their former fighters.

They have been agitating for a return to government ever since, and earlier this month they brought the country to a standstill by forcing a nationwide general strike to press their demands.

The strike was called off after six days following intense international pressure and a mass rally in the capital Kathmandu protesting the disruption of schools and businesses.

The three main political parties — the Maoists, the ruling Nepali Congress and the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) — have held several meetings since, but made little progress towards agreement on how to proceed.

The resulting instability has hampered the peace process, with key issues including the merging of the national army with the Maoists' People's Liberation Army still unresolved.

Almost 24,000 members of the Maoists' army were confined to cantonments around the country after the end of the civil war.

Around 4,000 were formally discharged this year after UN checks found they did not qualify as soldiers, and several thousand more are thought to have drifted away from the camps and returned home in the intervening years.

But more than 15,000 are estimated to remain, and their fate is a key stumbling block in the peace process.

Rhoderick Chalmers, South Asia project director for the International Crisis Group, said it had become clear the peace process could not be completed under the current coalition government.

"If I were betting, I would still bet on an extension (of the parliament) by consensus," he said.

"The Maoists will no doubt hold out, and use their blocking veto as bargaining leverage. And it is still hard to see what shape a new government might take."

"(But) under the right conditions, it will make sense for (Prime Minister) Madhav Kumar Nepal to stand down."

Nepal has so far refused to resign. But just six percent of respondents in an opinion poll carried out last month for the Nepali Times weekly said they supported him as prime minister.

The Maoist leader, Dahal, also known as Prachanda, enjoyed much higher levels of support, with 20 percent saying they would back him as prime minister.

Although the current coalition is weak it enjoys the support of India, which has substantial political influence over its northern neighbour and is said to be keen to keep the Maoists out of government.

India has its own Maoist insurgency to deal with, and its relationship with the former rebels in Nepal has at times been troubled.

"It is interesting how sustained and visceral this anti-Maoist feeling is," said Chalmers.

"They would find it hard to accept a Maoist-led government, and particularly a government led by Prachanda. But if everyone agrees on that, India will have to accept it."

Sifynews

## Building a house of diversity

By Ramesh Gautam

Learning is a lifelong process but it is challenging for immigrants who come from an entirely different cultural background to learn the culture and language of the new country and to get integrated among native people. The complication in integration for Asians is very high in Europe where culture, tastes, social system and daily behavior widely vary. Bhutanese refugees resettled in Norway presented their difficulties through a drama-like session.

For Bhutanese refugees, being resettled in Europe is a tough task yet it's an overwhelming experience. Some of the Bhutanese refugees resettled in south-west Norway recently participated in the Gruntvig Project activities, which works for raising awareness among the local people about their view towards new immigrants in their settlement area.

Gruntvig Project has been trying to turn these challenges into opportunity for the natives and the settlers and for local policy makers to learn how difficult it is for those people in acquiring the basic skills and getting acquainted with

a new way of living. The project has been working in seven different European countries including Norway, Denmark and The Netherlands where about eight hundred Bhutanese have made their new home presently.

Participants from one elderly language center from each of these countries were given opportunity to intermingle and exchange the difficulties they have been facing, with funding from European Union (EU). Bhutanese refugees became part of the intermingling through Tysværoplæringscenter of Norway.

The language center, where Bhutanese go for learning Norwegian, was totally decorated in a Bhutanese style aiming to make it resemble a place in southern Bhutan. Pictures, maps, placards, things made of coloured papers, different utensils, dress, articles of cultural importance and books on Bhutan were on display. Traditional Bhutanese tea was served.

### The drama

Interview began. Participants

could know about their turn just by listening to their names. For the particular day, they were immigrants to southern Bhutan where they were to live and work. They were to learn the language and get used to with the long practiced culture and tradition. There were several questions. Everybody was uncertain about what they will be doing in near future. The interview was meant to show the state of newly arrived immigrants to a new country.

All the instructions were given in Nepali. Speaking Norwegian was restricted for the period. Participants would turn mute as the instructions were given. This proved that the language was more than anything for anybody.

Learning a new language is a real challenge. Different sounds in different languages, language mechanics and grammar and many others are determinants in learning a new language. This can be exceptionally wearisome for illiterates and for those who come from families, whose members belong to different linguistic groups. This was clearly seen during the course of Nepali teaching though the participants coped up the situation much easily, being learned, and could translate the pronunciations into their mother tongue.

A course in social skills could give a little insight of the typical culture in southern Bhutan. Information about housing, food, daily life, Bhutanese hospitality, school system, administration was given. Though the participants were supposed to be in Bhutan, many raised questions about

the exodus of one hundred thousand people from this little kingdom. Some sentences about hypothetical philosophy of Gross National Happiness contributed a little to judge the other side of Bhutan. For many in Norway, Bhutan is the land of 'Happiness' and mountain range.

The expression by the participants in the round table interview showed that many could experience the difficulties one encounters while being in a new country. Many participants also revealed that they could collect some information on aspects of living in southern Bhutan and many commented to further conduct the programme in a regular basis.

### Conclusion:

Immigrants face several sorts of complications as they first come to a new, developed and technology-driven country like Norway. Norwegian culture had not been amalgamated for centuries and therefore, it is reserved in nature to some extent. First entrants were Pakistanis who came to Norway as labour immigrants in 1970s. After this, refugees and asylum-seekers are entertained to a considerable degree. This has helped in changing the attitude of the common people to think immigration as a common phenomenon. Nevertheless, many problems and complications persist in practice for immigrants. The first thing that all must take note of is the integration. An arrangement like this helps everybody understand the challenges of the immigrants and in fact, motivates immigrants for getting integrated into the Norwegian society. 'Building a House in Diversity' proved to an important event for Bhutanese.

## Nepali woman mountaineer scales Russia summit

Nepali woman mountaineer Junita Sambahamphé successfully scaled the 5,642 metres high peak of Russia, Elbrus, on Tuesday.

An expedition of 11 climbers, including Sambahamphé led by Russian national Sasha had reached atop the mountain at 11.37 AM in the morning as per Nepali time, according to her family.

She had left for Russia on May 15 carrying a message to stop the melting of Himalayas due to carbon emission.

Climber Sambahamphé had already scaled the world's highest peak Mount Everest and has set objective to reach the summits of Antarctica, Africa, North Africa, South Africa and Oceania by 2013.

हाम्रा हरेक कदमहरू राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थबाट प्रेरित हुने संस्कृतिको विकास गरौं ।



नेपाल सरकार

सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय

सूचना विभाग



## Region:

## China's contribution to regional peace

Kim Jong Il's visit to China recently was a gentle reminder that the road to Pyongyang leads through Beijing. China is the only power that has remained engaged with North Korea, through many ups and downs, whereas Russia, Japan, US, and South Korea have all come and gone.

By keeping a door open to North Korea's leaders, China is making a substantial contribution to regional peace. This is bold diplomacy - for which China is given little credit - at a highly sensitive moment. Nevertheless, China's "leverage" over North Korea is in part illusory. Kim's visit should be evaluated in terms of Chinese-North Korean relations as they are, rather than as others might wish them to be. Doing so reveals the role left to America and South Korea to engage the North in order to revive the denuclearisation process and repair inter-Korean relations.

Three widespread misconceptions distorted the coverage of Kim's visit to China. The first misconception is that he desperately sought Chinese aid to prop up his regime in the face of

By John Delury

seething discontent after botched currency reforms. But, although North Korea's latest economic travails have shaken the leadership, the regime has weathered worse. And the economic relationship between China and North Korea is driven as much by material interests and economic factors as it is by concerns over geopolitical stability.

Indeed, trade overshadows aid, and China is now North Korea's main trading partner and source of foreign investment. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao announced a major trade package during his trip to Pyongyang last November, perhaps on the order of \$10 billion. North Korea recently established the State Development Bank and Taepung International Investment Group, charged with attracting foreign investment. There has also been renewed interest in developing the port city of Rason near the China-Russia-North Korea border as a special economic zone. Although North Korea has doggedly stood behind its outmoded model of state control

and central planning, Kim's visits to the boom cities of Dalian and Tianjin reflect his tentative, but ongoing interest in alternative ways to achieve "strength and prosperity" for his country.

The second misconception is that Chinese President Hu Jintao offered Kim a "big package" of aid in exchange for returning to the Six Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear programme. Hu no doubt looked for ways to resuscitate the talks, but not by buying off Kim with aid. Rather, Hu would have determined the level of Kim's readiness to resume, what preconditions and incentives are at play, and what room for maneuver exists, given the position of the other parties.

Kim apparently reiterated his government's willingness to return to the talks, but the question is what kind of assurances he was able to give Hu in order to persuade a wary US and hostile South Korea that he is really ready to deal. Moreover, Kim, too, needs assurances from Hu - that the Americans, South Koreans, and

Japanese are prepared to give and take.

The final misconception is that Hu might have demanded an explanation from Kim as to the causes of the fatal sinking of a South Korean vessel in late March. Hu, having recently met with South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, may have discussed the issue with Kim, as well as the intense pressure Lee is under to respond, if not retaliate. But the Chinese do not assume that North Korea is guilty. Even in the face of strong evidence of North Korean wrongdoing, the Chinese are inclined to view the incident in the context of inter-Korean relations, and do not want to let it determine the fate of the Six Party Talks.

Rather than criticize China, Obama and Lee should now reach out to the Chinese for through debriefings about what was learned from Kim's visit - on security as well as economic issues. China should continue to lead the effort to encourage reform and opening of the North Korean economy, with help from international financial institutions.

- Khaleej Times

## Indian intervention in Balochistan proved

Sajjad Shaukat

Although Pakistan's civil and military leadership has repeatedly stated that Indian secret agency RAW supports separatism in the province of Balochistan, and its evidence will be shown to the western counties at the right occasion, yet Indian intervention in Balochistan is not confined to verbal statements, it has in fact proved in light of the following developments.

In the recent past, the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi organised a seminar titled: South Asia 2020 in connection with Balochistan. In their speeches, various scholars and thinktanks maligned Pakistan in one or the other way. Besides the seminar, on November 5, 2009 a secret conference titled: "Pakistan is Problem in Balochistan" was organised by the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in New Delhi. It was headed by the former secretary of RAW and Indian former chief of army staff. In that conference, high ranking selective officials, journalists and three Baloch leaders, namely, Dr Wahid Baloch, Khan of Kalat and Munir Mengal participated.

The speech of Dr. Wahid Baloch, General Secretary of the American Friends Balochistan (AFOB) is of special attention. He distorted the history by pointing out that in 1948, Balochistan was forcibly occupied by Pakistani armed forces because Nawab of Kalat had refused to abide by the demands of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It is well-known fact that the partition of India was made on the basis of religious demographics that led to the creation of Pakistan. The people of Balochistan, overwhelmingly decided to join Pakistan in a referendum that was held on June 30, 1947. The Indian Independence Act, 1947 allowed the independent states to join either India or Pakistan. The Khan of Kalat acceded to Pakistan on March 27, 1948 as a result of the free will of the Muslims of the province.

While vocally raising false allegations in line of the Indian conspiracy against the federation Pakistan, Dr. Wahid Baloch explained, "Balochistan still remains under the occupation of Pakistan and the international community should interfere in preventing atrocities on the Baloch people, being committed by Pak Army and ISI. Dr. Wahid also indicated his misperceptions that several Baloch leaders, engineers and doctors were kidnapped, torture and killed ruthlessly through Pakistan's state terrorism." In fact, the secret conference organised by the Indian officials itself and participation of the Baloch leaders including anti-Pakistan elements proves that Indian RAW is behind all the events like hostage-takings, sectarian violence, targeted killings of the high profile leaders and other subversive acts being committed in Balochistan. Besides, people of Balochistan enjoy equal rights and opportunities like the people of other provinces of Pakistan. Meanwhile, on Dec 12, 2009, the signing ceremony of the National Finance Commission (NFC) Award was held in the port city of Gwadar. In this regard, Punjab province has shown much flexibility as a good gesture of sacrifice especially for Balochistan. So it is wrong to say that Balochistan is under occupation.

While favouring the Sardari system (Feudal lords), Dr. Wahid maintained that Balochistan is a tribal society which follows the directions of their tribal chiefs. In this way, he not only justified support for the Baloch Sardars but also for Khan of Kalat as they have been leading separatism in the province. As a matter of fact, the unrest actually started in Balochistan when various projects were undertaken by the previous government to develop the backward regions of the province. The sole aim was to eliminate frustration among the people by providing infrastructure and employment opportunities. The Baloch Sardars who had been backed by India and other external powers started opposing all the developmental projects. These Sardars who were running their own private jails and 'farrari camps' resisted the government plans as they did not want to give up the old system of feudal lords. It was Pak Army which occupied private jails and farrari camps and thus set free several innocent people.

Dr. Wahid accused in the sense of foreign propaganda campaign against Islamabad that Quetta Shura and Taliban leaders have taken shelter in the capital of Balochistan with the help of Pakistan. In reality, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) which has been fighting for secession of the province get logistic support from India, while another CIA and Indian-supported separatist group, Jundallah (God's soldiers) is also working against the cordial relationship of Pakistan with China and Iran. In the past few years, their militants with the cooperation of foreign agents kidnapped and killed many Chinese and Iranian nationals in Pakistan, while committing other subversive acts in the province.

While impressing New Delhi, Wahid Baloch said, "We are a secular nation and not Islamist or extremist... our secular culture is under attack by Pakistan and Iran for which we need your help. He requested, "We also need your help for newly established council of Balochistan so that we can establish its offices all over the world." Dr. Wahid read out a message of Balochs to the audience, appealing the Indian government "to take a bold step in order to stand up against the tyranny and state terrorism of Pakistan inside Balochistan." He also appealed to the Indian high officials to raise the question of Balochistan on all international forums and the UN bodies. Concluding his anti-Pakistan speech, Wahid Baloch pointed out that the ultimate goal of Baloch struggle was to seek a greater Balochistan comprising territory on either side of the Goldsmith line in Pakistan as well as Iran.

Indian officials and RAW ex-officers in connivance with the participating Baloch leaders and friends also decided to continue the process and to establish some new organization which they decided before conducting the next meeting. Besides, Khan of Kalat expressed similar thoughts like Dr. Wahid, indicating that the meeting has been a source of good interaction with the Indians, and they will use every source so as to get support for their struggle of independence. Indian involvement in Balochistan plot could also be judged from the fact the Munir Mengal who repeated the thoughts of Dr. Wahid in the meeting held with the faculty of IDSA which assured him that India fully backs Baloch struggle and will definitely undertake necessary steps for making the same a success. It also pledged that all future activities of Baloch movement like guidance and help will be coordinated by a US team under the sponsorship of IDSA. Besides Munir Mengal also gave a presentation at ORF in which he also misinterpreted the economic aspects of Gwadar Port as a threat to international community, opposing proposed China's naval base at Gwadar.

America which signed a nuclear deal with India in 2008, intends to make India a mini-super power of Asia by containing China and destabilising Pakistan as well as Iran. Balochistan where China has invested billion of dollars to develop Gwadar seaport irritates both Washington and New Delhi. Nevertheless, finally, Dr. Wahid, Munir Mengal and Khalat remarked that their visit was very successful. They also met Indian deputy minister and other officials who told them that this is ever first meeting of its kind and things will further improve by the next such meeting. They also assured to the Baloch leaders that Baloch movement has not gain the momentum so far as expected, therefore, they could not support them openly-however, covert support will continue. While encouraging Baloch leaders to continue their struggle with full zeal and enthusiasm, the Indian officials paid 25000 dollars to each Baloch leader, assuring them more positive response by the next secret meeting to be held in February 2010.

Meanwhile on November 21, 2009, with the consent of the Baloch national leader Mir Hrybyair Marri, Laurie Deamer who is active member of the Independence American Friends of Balochistan read out the resolution in the first international conference at the Nation Press Club in Washington DC. The resolution also raised same allegations in connection with Pak Army and state terrorism by implicating Islamabad and Tehran, emphasizing the necessity of an independent Balochistan. Nonetheless, while taking the breaking of Pakistan as inevitable and in the interests of the international community, especially the Baloch people and the United States, the conference called upon the US government and its affiliated departments to talk directly with Baloch independence, sending American leaders in Balochistan and abroad. No doubt that after these conferences and secret meetings among the Indian officials, foreign agents and Baloch leaders, particularly Indian intervention in Balochistan has been proved.

## Member of the civil society responds to Chidambaram

Dear Shri Chidambaram,

This is in response to your repeated taunts on NDTV that the civil society must respond to the wanton killing by the Naxals. It appears that the interview was tailor made for getting the consent of the Cabinet for more firepower and airpower to combat the Maoist. The diabolic support of Arun Jaitley, be it by describing you an injured martyr, was designed to achieve his ambition through the support of the mining barons of the BJP ruled states.

As a member of society I hope I am being civil in disagreeing with you on your hard line approach against the innocent tribal.. I also hope you will not find it too shocking for being accused of being largely responsible for the rise and growth of Naxalism, as the following happened on your watch as Finance minister.

Is it not true that Naxalism grew exponentially in the last ten years to become the present menace? In fact you have yourself identified the time frame of the last ten years in your interview with NDTV.

Is it not true that the rise in popularity of Naxalism is also coincidental with the rise in iron ore mining profits which increased from around Rs50 per tonne to over Rs5000 per tonne in the last ten years?

Is it not true that the map of Naxalism is also the map of the Indian Minerals. These minerals belong to the people of India but have been handed over to mining barons and corporate in a relationship of mutual benefit, more appropriately described as crony capitalism. It is for this reason that Arun Jaitley is your staunchest supporter because the fate of four state government ruled by BJP is dependent on the money from the mining mafia..

Is it not true that during your watch as Finance Minister for four and half years, corporate raked in a profit of over two lac crores through legal and illegal mining, mostly in the iron ore sector? How was this profit shared?

Is it not true that during your entire tenure as FM the royalty on iron ore was not revised and remained at a ridiculous Rs 7 to 27/tonne (depending on the type and grade of iron ore) with the average of around Rs 15 per tonne.. This royalty was neither made ad valorem nor was it revised from year

By A K Agrawal

2000 onwards when the international price of iron ore rose to dizzy levels.

Is it not true that the minerals are owned by the people of the State? Is a meager 0.5% royalty on iron ore profits adequate compensation to the owner of the resources? Would you sell your own one crore property for Rs 50,000?

Did you fulfill the oath that you took as a Minister to abide by the Constitution, in particular Article 39 (b) and (c) of the constitution which directs the government to use natural resources owned by the people of the country are used to subservise the common good? Would the Naxal problem have been there if 25% of the mining profit was spent on the poor and the tribal living in the mining area and whose life was uprooted by the greedy corporate/mining mafia with active connivance of the law enforcers and policy makers?

What prevented the government from nationalizing the iron ore mine industry and handing it over to a PSU or NMDC whose shares of Re1/- was lapped at a premium of Rs300(30000% premium) and using the profit for benefit of the people?

Are you aware that even a resource rich and affluent country like Australia with a low population base is imposing an additional 40% windfall tax on the mining profits? Can a poor country like India afford to forgo these windfall profits?

Will you reveal as to how many times you have defended public interest through PIL and how many times you have defended corporate interest during your professional career as a lawyer? The question is relevant because of your empathy for the corporate sector is in apparent conflict with that towards the toiling masses.

Is it wrong for the civil society to conclude that both as Home Minister and Finance Minister you have been protecting the corporate profiteers (by first allowing them to loot the mineral wealth belonging to the people and now securing these mines for them) and not protecting the interest of the poor and tribal people who are victims of corporate greed and crony capitalism of the political parties? You in particular should have known better having been

a Director of Vedanta Resources!

In your appearance on NDTV you talked about the two prong approach and one of them having been weakened. It is the prong of development which has been weakened and is non-existent. The royalty collected is not sufficient to pay for the various types of direct damages done by the mining industry (health, environment, water, roads, rehabilitation etc) let alone the cost of security forces.

Is it not true that the killing of innocent security forces and tribal is the direct result of the policy of securing the mineral wealth for the corporate profiteers and political parties who share the loot?

It was shocking to know that you were more concerned about your CV falling short by a few months of completing five years as Finance Minister when you met your maker) refer the NDTV interview) than about the blood of the innocent that has been spilled on both sides as a consequence of corporate profiteering.

It is not surprising that all the State government which get reelected on the money of the mining mafia are interested in using air cover to make mining safe and profitable ever after. You should know better the role of money in elections after having managed to squeak past the post while the DMK MPs romped home with handsome margin. Mr. Raja retained his portfolio.

What is at stake is the credibility of the State: that it is using force to benefit the mining mafia and that it has a vested interest in the profiteering of the mining mafia which is prospering because of crony capitalism.

To restore its credibility the Government should resume all the mines which in any case belong to the people and give a solemn pledge that a minimum of 25% of the mining profits will be used for the benefit of the local people. The solution is not only just but one mandated by the Constitution. It is only after restoring its credibility that the State will have the right to act. That one hopes, will not be necessary because honest development based on the resources belonging to the people is

the best contraceptive against the Maoist ideology. (One is happy to note that according to newspaper report the Mining Minister has made a similar proposal and not surprisingly facing resistance)

What happened Mr Chidambaram, you used to be a nice guy? You resigned over the Fairgrowth affair when you were not even guilty.

Life is not about arguing a brief in Court for money. It is about arguing for what is right. You have wrongly accused us being "clever nor being devious" (refer interview with NDTV), because we are not capable of it. We cannot argue the way you do. Your arguments in Parliament over the oil for food programme while shielding Reliance from being referred to the Pathak Committee were indeed "brilliant." Were you being clever or devious in your arguments? (Refer the book Reliance the Real Natwar written by the undersigned for deciding the issue) Please do not use the civil society as an excuse for your omissions and commissions. We have no vested interest except that what belongs to the people should go to the people and that innocents, whether the security forces or the people forced to join the Maoist, should not die for corporate profits.. We are not powerful to tie the State governments with legal cases on police excesses. Those trying to uphold human right violations do so at considerable risk to their life and liberty and deserve our respect and not condemnation as misguided romantics.

On a personal note Sir, Will you resign and argue my PIL before the High Court involving three lac crores of iron ore being gifted by the State to Posco and Arcelormittal (as Palkhivala did to argue the Minerva Mill case) . It will be difficult to lose the case because law, facts and most important you will be on the same side.

If you agree to do so, Sir, I am sure He will give you far more credit than He would for the extra six months that you missed out as Finance Minister!

In case you are interested I will send you a copy of the petition.

Looking forward to hearing from you. For far too long you have been shifting the blame on the civil society. We too need answers..

# Donors are disrupting Nepal's development

Vice president of National Planning Commission (NPC) Dr Jagdish Pokharel has said NPC is facing difficulties to proceed with its responsibilities due to unwarranted interventions on the part of foreign donor countries, reports Karobar daily.

Dr Pokharel refused to categorically divulge the names of those donor countries or multilateral agencies indulging in disrupting the works of the NPC.

However, he said that regional and international clusters like European Union (EU) are more prompted towards leveraging the proposition of development to serve their own respective interests.

"It is due to variation in political belief, religious inclination and the

By Nirjal Dhungana

desire for military supremacy amongst the donor countries that the world has long been suffering from conflict. As such, they are also craftily executing games to impose their own set of principles in Nepal," he was quoted by the daily as saying.

"The political belief and social understanding of the donor communities determine their respective modus operandi to fulfill their parochial interests in any country. They all adopt various strategies in this regard. In this light, not a single foreign donor provides largesse to Nepal just for the sake of the country and its people," he reportedly added.

Dr Pokharel also bemoaned that it is very difficult to work in tandem with

various power centres.

"Their tendencies show that Nepal sans their assistance cannot do anything. But this is a fallacy. We are capable to design and execute planning that best suits the ground realities of Nepal," he further opined.

He also ascribed the undesirable augmenting sway of foreigners in development paradigm of Nepal to frequent change in government, extremely weak bureaucracy and ceaselessly squabble amongst parties for power and privileges.

Dr Pokharel also stated that the foreigners are treating Nepal as their play ground since the country is in the phase of political transition.

"Until and unless the country gets a strong leadership through free and fair elections, the game will continue unabated," he opined.

He also urged the political leadership to come up collectively to chalk out the areas of development which demand utmost priority.

In another context, he said that food deficit has emerged as the biggest challenge for the NPC as well as the whole country.

"Nepal is yet to be totally market-oriented and the transportation cost is exorbitant. As such, the situation of food deficit has gotten worse."

He is also of the view that Nepal must reorient its strategy on agriculture sector to expedite the socio-economic development.

## Incompetent central bank

WM correspondent

The regulatory body of Nepal's robust financial industry Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB) failed to appoint chief executive officers of two anemic state-owned commercial banks- Nepal Bank Limited (NBL) and Rastriya Banijya (RBB)- in the fifth attempts, ultimately transferring the rights of doing so to the World Bank (WB).

The NRB, which had taken over the management of the two largest banks to save them from plunging into fiasco, has failed to overturn their negative capital structure yet.

The failure on the part of the central bank to execute the task like appointing CEOs served as solid evidence to its inefficacy as the regulator of the larger than life financial institutions.

The meek handover of the authority to the World Bank which is the main financier of the financial sector reform programme initiated to revamp these banks suggests that the NRB is acting as a branch of the WB instead of an independent body.

This decision has been taken at a time when the governor is Yubaraj Khatiwada who is considered as a reliable name to navigate the NRB smoothly. Although there were enough applicants for top jobs in the largest two banks, the central bank has not clarified why it cancelled the appointment process in the fifth time.

It has been told that Khatiwada was not happy with the very proposition of handing over the management of the two banks to foreigners.

The concerned employees unions had also demanded for Nepali CEOs to steer their respective entities.

NRB officials have said that the appointment process was cancelled as the two sides failed to reach consensus on terms and conditions. But, NRB is not willing to divulge the details about the actual reasons of cancellation.

The process of resuscitating a new life into the NRB and RBB is not only fraught with dismal outcomes.

In fact, they are making profits and also expanding their respective technological infrastructure. But, sadly, the RBB's net worth is still negative by Rs. 13 billion and the same figure is Rs. 5 billion in the case of NBL.

Any bank with negative net worth cannot be said to be in good stead. It may take years to these banks to escape from negative net worth if a new volume of capital is not injected immediately into them.

Of course, the government has been refraining from capital injection fearing public furor.

In this context, the reform program can be called a failure as well. But, the banks are also deeming it better to adopt better system than before with the competition in the financial market getting more aggressive.

## Contribution of Tibetan Lama ...

judicious decision in preventing sectarian conflict.

### VII. Phags-pa creates script for Mongols

In 1268 Lama Phags-pa received instruction for creating a script for Mongols. As a Buddhist scholar he created a square style script or alphabet which could be used for all the languages of the Mongols's vast empire and though short lived as a functional system, it is still known as Phagspa script.

In 1278 he wrote a treatise for Zhenjin (1243-1285), Kubilai's son and heir apparent called "Zhang suo Zhi lun" containing the basic creeds of Sakya-pa sect i.e. lam dre doctrine. It was translated into Chinese by Su-pa (1259-1314) and is included into Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka.

Phags-pa further accomplished the prodigious task of rendering the voluminous Tibetan Buddhist canon into Mongol language comparing with Chinese texts.

### VII. Gift of Dharma to Kublai Khan

Lama Phagspa has secured goodwill by his talents and excellence.

Following his conversion to Mahayana Buddhism, the Yuan emperor requested his teacher Chogyal Phags-pa, to provide him with a summary of the essential elements of Buddhist doctrine to which he, the

emperor, could refer as a guide in his own practice. Chogyal Phagspa responded by presenting him a with forty-eight verses of instruction entitled "A Gift of Dharma to Kublai Khan". Some of the selected passages are reproduced here:

#### A Gift of Dharma to Kublai Khan (As spoken by Chogyal Phakpa)

1. To the incomparable Enlightened One, who is endowed with the splendour of fame in name and the splendour of wondrous virtues in actual fact, I offer homage.

2. Although you, mighty emperor, know already the discourses on worldly and spiritual science, still, as with the songs and music of musicians to which you listen again and again even when you have heard them all before, why shouldn't a poet repeat wise words?

3. All of the countless teachings of Dharma taught by the Sage for the sake of countless disciples indeed are meant to be practised. But how may this be done?

4. Just as a man bound by fear and shame would not disobey his king's command but dwell in right conduct without harming others and, as a result, would ever grow in good fortune and even earn the praises of his king, so, too, with a person who accepts, in accordance with his ability to accomplish them, the rules of discipline enjoined by the Sage to help beginners

on the Hinayana and Mahayana paths; if, after properly receiving vows from an abbot, that person would then guard them because he is bound both by fear of seen and unseen sufferings in worldly existence and by shame whenever he reflects, "The multitudes of Noble Ones who know the thoughts of other beings will be shamed if I break my vows, ..."

5. He, as a result, would become a foundation not only of seen and unseen joys in worldly existence, but of the virtues of perfect liberation; he would also become a worthy object of veneration for men and gods and even receive the praises of Buddhas.

6. These three realms of existence, after all, are just suffering, while Nirvana, too, is just peace. Looking with pity, therefore, on those who wish either for worldly existence or Nirvana, it is the Buddha alone who, Himself free from sorrow, removes sorrow, and who, having Himself attained great Joy, bestows joy. And He has appeared from amongst beings like ourselves.

7. The methods He used we can also use. Without timidity and laziness, therefore, you should unwaveringly aspire to win highest enlightenment and feel free to think, "I must surely attain Buddhahood." Guard as your own life the vows you have made which, if violated, will cause you to be burnt in hells and which, if preserved,

will enable you to experience truly wonderful results in proceeding from Joy to Joy even now.

8. Since the three sets of vows--of the Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana paths--are the foundation whereon all virtues may arise, remain and grow within oneself and others, try from the very first to be firm in their observance.

9. Become certain that the Teaching, which is virtuous in its beginning, middle and end, and whose words are quite flawless and not contradictory to the two logical proofs of valid knowledge, is the unique spiritual way among ways.

10. Know, too, that the Enlightened One who taught it is endowed with unhindered wisdom and great compassion -- since He revealed (the truth) without close-fistedness -- and also with tremendous power.

11. Because they are His followers and a gathering of beings with virtues similar to His, because also your own sphere of spiritual activity is identical to theirs, know the noble Assembly of Bodhisattvas to be the best field for increasing your merit.

12. Realising that it is your preceptor who points out and introduces you to these Three Jewels, that he is endowed with the same virtues they have, and that he sustains you with kindness, always attend and meditate upon him with unflagging faith.....

## Govt divides business community

WM correspondent

The demand raised by the Federation of Nepalese Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FNCCI) for the resignation of Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal turned too costly for the apex body of the business community as the government snatched its sole role to issue certificates of origin (CoO).

Confederation of Nepalese Industry (CNI), that organised itself under the leadership of former FNCCI president Binod Chaudhary played cards at right time to snatch the FNCCI's monopoly in issuing CoO.

Although CNI was demanding the same rights since eight years, it intensified the demands when the FNCCI asked resignation of the Prime Minister after the Maoists withdrew indefinite strikes and presented them in a flexible way.

The CNI used this golden opportunity to snatch the sole right of FNCCI. Being a constituent assembly member from the CPN (UML), Chaudhary got favour from the UML led government. It may be the first time that the government took

decision on the private sectors demand for policy change proving the fact that the government's decision was politically motivated. This is a big setback to the leadership of FNCCI president Kush Kumar Joshi.

Now, FNCCI is in a mood of launching agitation against the government decision. The FNCCI is of the view that there must be a one-window policy for issuance of CoO to ensure credibility of Nepali goods in the international market. CNI is of the view that the latest government's decision will create healthy competition between the FNCCI, CNI and Nepal Chambers of Commerce (NCC) who got rights to issue CoO.

In a meeting of business community representing various business organisations including FNCCI, CNI, NCC among others at the Ministry of Commerce and Supplies on Tuesday, the FNCCI and CNI officials exchanged wars of words as there was no ground for dispute settlement.

Although the meeting formed a core group to settle the row, it will be very difficult to settle the issue. CNI has

claimed that its member's exports goods worth Rs. 20 billion out of Rs. 26 billion and its rights to issue CoO was legitimate.

The government allowing the CoO issuance rights to CNI has encouraged other various institutions including Federation of Nepal Cottage and Small Industries and other commodities associations including Handicrafts Association of Nepal, Central Carpet Associations of Nepal, Association of Nepalese Rice, Oil and Pulse Industry to demand the same rights.

### Nation ...

Madhav Kumar Nepal led government, the already worse situation just got worst.

Terming the coalition as a puppet government remote controlled by India, the Maoists went sharply against it.

The Prime Minister also did not think it suitable to bring the largest political force into confidence at least for the sake of logical conclusion of the peace process.

Thus, the Maoists have been

District chambers such as Butwal Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Mechi Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Sunsari Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Morang Industry Association also demanded rights to issue CoO.

Now, the cold war between the FNCCI and CNI surfaced leading to hot debates, argument and counter arguments between the two. The question arises how the divided private sector would collectively move ahead to secure its interests.

clamouring for the replacement of the coalition from the podiums and the streets for the last one year.

Prime Minister Nepal, while ascending to the power corridors, had promised three things-logical conclusion of peace process, writing the constitution by the set deadline of May 28, 2010 and maintenance of law and order.

The Nepal-led government however has failed pathetically on all three fronts.

Despite the sharp amplification in

## New Delhi prompting PM: Biplav

A senior leader of UCPN (Maoist) has said that resignation of Prime minister Madhav Kumar Nepal is sine qua non for the extension of the tenure of the Constituent Assembly (CA).

While speaking at an interaction organized by Jana Sanchar Abhiyaan in the capital, Netra Bikram Chand, politburau member of the party, repeated the stance of his party that it will not allow the extension till the PM steps down.

Chand also said that the major source behind the courage of the PM to downplay the amplifying voice for his resignation is New Delhi.

voices made from both domestic and international sector for his resignation, the Prime Minister is busy just relishing the taste of power and privileges at the expense of the entire country.

Even there is a huge pressure on him within the UML for resignation with the majority of parliamentary party members of his own party wanting him to step down without further ado.

Notably, Nepal wrote resignation letter at the standing committee meeting of UML before jettling off to Thimpu to participate in the SAARC summit where he also hobnobbed with his counterpart Manmohan Singh.

After returning back home, he however boasted that his coalition is bestowed with the unflinching support of New Delhi, giving crystal clear message that he had changed his mind

to resign.

Given that Nepali people rejected him in the CA election, Nepal's desire to continue cling onto power should not come as a big surprise.

Even after the two years of CA elections, the promised dividends of peace process new progressive constitution and conclusion of peace process continue to elude the country.

By May 28 mid-night, the CA tenure is going to expire. As we go to the press, the attempts on the part of the three major parties-UCPN (Maoist), NC and UML- to carve out a solution to avert the looming constitutional crisis have proved a fiasco. Their persistent inability to rise above the petty partisan interests has pushed the country to the edge of a new political catastrophe.



# San Miguel BEER

International :

# US military strategy unravelling in Afghanistan

By Patrick O'Connor

Afghan Taliban fighters launched a sustained assault on the heavily fortified US Bagram Air Base on last Wednesday, killing an American contractor and wounding nine coalition soldiers. The operation, coming less than 24 hours after a suicide bomb attack killed five US soldiers and a Canadian officer travelling in a NATO convoy in Kabul, again demonstrated the escalating crisis confronting the US-led occupation force in Afghanistan. Military authorities retain a highly tenuous control over the capital and immediate surrounds, with increasingly bold guerrilla attacks threatening coalition forces in every part of the country.

The Bagram assault was carried out by a group of fighters armed with rockets, grenades, and rifles. Several reportedly wore suicide vests. The operation was effectively a suicide mission, as the Bagram base is the most heavily fortified area in Afghanistan. It is surrounded by high blast walls and encircled by US and NATO troops and their Afghan army and police proxies. The base's perimeter was reportedly not breached, but the Taliban fighters inflicted 10 casualties before being repelled. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, battles continued for hours as US-NATO forces pursued the guerrillas in farming areas surrounding the base. About a dozen guerrillas were reportedly killed.

Bagram Air Base is one of the high profile symbols of the despised US-led occupation. Located about 60 kilometres north of Kabul, the vast facility has developed into one of Washington's key Central Asian strategic assets. In the eyes of ordinary Afghans, the base is regarded as further evidence of US plans for a permanent military presence in their country. It is also associated with indefinite detention and torture. At least two prisoners are known to have been murdered by US military guards in the facility since 2001, while the International Committee of the Red Cross recently revealed the existence

of a separate and secret prison on the base in which detainees continue to be beaten, abused, and subjected to sleep deprivation, sensory deprivation and other forms of torture.

Thousands of additional US troops are being deployed to Afghanistan under President Barack Obama's escalation strategy. Far from stabilising the situation confronting the US-led forces, the "surge" is producing a significant escalation in violence. This month marked the 1,000th American fatality in the Afghanistan war. As the *New York Times* noted, the first 500 deaths occurred over nearly seven years, while the next 500 were killed in fewer than two.

Afghan civilians have borne the brunt of the violence. The Agence France Presse news agency reported that Afghan authorities tallied 170 civilians killed between March and April this year, one-third higher than the same period in 2009.

A US Army statement this week said a "small number" of its soldiers were being investigated for the alleged murder of three civilians in Kandahar Province earlier this year. Few details were released, though the military admitted there were additional allegations of illegal drug use, assault and conspiracy.

CBS News reported: "Members of a squad of about 10 American soldiers are under investigation for murdering at least three local villagers who had angered them. According to the allegations, this is not a case of civilians being mistaken for Taliban fighters and not a one-time moment of rage. Instead, it happened on different occasions over the past several months. The squad leader, a sergeant, is said to have done the shooting. In addition, some members of the squad are accused of smoking hash."

No doubt, this is not an isolated incident. Deployed as part of Washington's strategy of gaining an advantage over its rivals in Europe and Asia by seizing control of Central Asian energy reserves and pipeline routes,

US troops are now locked in a classic colonial-style dirty war. Confronted with a hostile population, and with no clear distinction between civilians and anti-occupation fighters (indiscriminately labelled "Taliban" by US authorities), American and allied forces are increasingly demoralised and brutal.

At the same time, the counter-insurgency strategy advanced by General Stanley McChrystal is in considerable crisis. The "hold and clear" tactic, which is based on concentrating troops in urban centres and attempting to gain the support of residents by destroying Taliban and resistance influence, has nowhere proved successful.

In February, about 15,000 troops were mobilised to seize the rural district of Marjah. The operation was regarded as a forerunner for the forthcoming offensive in Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city. Several recent reports from Marjah, however, point to the inability of the US-led forces to maintain control. A *New York Times* report published May 16, "Taliban Hold Sway in Area Taken by US, Farmers Say", noted: "The military had seen Marjah as a 'clear and hold' operation in which the first part, clearing the district of militants, would be wrapped up fairly quickly. In fact, clearing has proved to be a more elusive goal."

An estimated 200 resistance fighters, predominantly young men who have lived in the area their whole lives, remain in the district. They are fed and sheltered by the local people, who regard the US forces with deep distrust and hostility. American forces continue to be regularly ambushed, while locals have largely shunned the various aid and construction programs offered by the occupying troops and Afghan government officials. Increasing numbers of civilians caught in the middle of the conflict are fleeing as refugees.

"Every day they were fighting and shelling," Abdul Malook Aka, a 55-year-old farmer said. "We do not feel secure in the village and we decided to leave."

Security is getting worse day by day." Another farmer, 40-year-old Mir Hamza, added: "I am sure if I stay in Marjah I will be killed one day either by Taliban or the Americans."

If US troops have proved unable to take control of Marjah, a lightly populated farming region, against a vastly outnumbered and outgunned enemy, there is little likelihood that the situation will be any different when they attempt to move into Kandahar, a city with several hundred thousand people. The urban centre was the former stronghold of the Taliban, and opposition to the foreign forces and the corrupt stooge administration of President Hamid Karzai is just as intense as in Marjah. The president's brother, CIA asset and alleged drug lord Ahmed Wali Karzai, is nominally in charge of Kandahar and is especially despised by locals.

US military authorities appear to be now downplaying expectations for the Kandahar operation, which was previously promoted as a major offensive and one of the cornerstones of the new Obama-McChrystal strategy in Afghanistan. National Public Radio (NPR) reported yesterday: "Last month, American military spokesmen in Kabul began telling reporters it was incorrect to use terms such as 'offensive' or 'operation' in describing plans for Kandahar. Last week, Gen. Stanley McChrystal said the 'efforts' in Kandahar are a process, not an event."

The operation has reportedly been postponed. Whereas US military officials previously said it would be underway in spring or early summer and completed by August, it is now expected to be launched this autumn, at the earliest. "Instead, American soldiers will be training their Afghan counterparts in Kandahar, and targeting individual militants in the city and surrounding regions," NPR reported. "The major offensive is on hold while the US rethinks its strategy."

The apparent delay is only setting the stage for an even bloodier series of war crimes that will follow the finalisation of Obama's 30,000 troop surge.

## US death toll in Afghanistan tops 1,000

By Bill Van Aukun

The massive suicide bombing that ripped through a NATO convoy in Kabul last Tuesday claimed the lives of five more US soldiers, a Canadian officer and a dozen Afghan civilians.

The attack demonstrated the failure of more than eight years of US-led occupation, not to mention that of the puppet government of President Hamid Karzai, to secure even the center of the Afghan capital. It also marked a grim milestone for American forces, bringing the total number killed in action in "Operation Enduring Freedom" to the 1,000 mark.

There is little doubt that the Obama administration, like the Bush White House before it, will seek to gloss over the significance of this casualty figure. A White House spokesman issued a brief statement Tuesday praising American military forces for their "extraordinary sacrifice", but made no mention of the number of American dead in this war having risen to 1,000.

Such numbers, however, do have an immense significance and demand serious reflection. Behind them lie devastated family members and love ones, not to mention the tens of thousands more US troops who have seen their lives shattered by horrendous physical wounds as well as the immense psychological toll of repeated tours of duty fighting a hostile population as part of an army of occupation.

In 2009, 17,538 military personnel were hospitalized for mental problems, compared to 11,156 for injuries and battle wounds. "War is difficult. It takes a toll," commented the Army's surgeon general, Lt. Gen. Eric Schoomaker.

No doubt, the same can be said for any war. But when soldiers are sent to kill and die in a war based upon lies, a war whose human costs are covered up by the government and a servile media and a war that is waged to suppress popular resistance to foreign occupation, this psychological toll is sharply intensified.

For what have 1,000 US American soldiers died? What has justified the shattered bodies and minds of many thousands more? And what can excuse the slaying and maiming of tens of thousands of Afghans over the course of the last 103 months in this, the second longest war in US history?

The Obama administration's claims—echoing the lies of Bush and Cheney—that US imperialism is fighting in Afghanistan to prevent another terrorist attack on US soil have been discredited by the military commanders themselves, who estimate that no more than 100 Al Qaeda members are operating inside the country, and acknowledge that their counterinsurgency efforts are directed against indigenous resistance.

US soldiers are dying to prop up the venal puppet regime of Hamid Karzai, which represents a group of brutal warlords and heroin traffickers on the CIA payroll, but, according to the US military's own surveys, enjoys no significant base of popular support in any part of the country.

And, in the final analysis, they are dying in pursuit of a strategy of aggression—elaborated well before 9/11—that is aimed at establishing US military hegemony over energy supplies and oil pipeline routes that are of immense importance to the countries neighboring Afghanistan—in particular, China, Russia, Iran, Pakistan and India.

This strategy is designed to benefit a tiny ruling financial elite at the expense of working people not only in Afghanistan, but in the US as well. Under conditions in which working people are being told that there is "no money" to deal with unemployment, poverty and deteriorating social conditions, the Democratic controlled Congress is preparing this week to pass another \$59 billion "emergency" supplemental bill to finance the Afghan war and its escalation.

Meanwhile, even according to the Pentagon's absurdly low estimates, the number of unarmed civilians, the majority of them women and children, killed by US-led occupation forces in night raids, bombings, checkpoint shootings and drive-by killings by US convoys also doubled during the first quarter of this year, compared to the number recorded for the same period last year.

The level of bloodletting is set to escalate sharply, with the resistance launching its own summer offensive and US forces preparing for a siege of Kandahar, a city roughly the size of Detroit, which has been a stronghold of the Taliban. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's statement last week that the US military did not intend to "destroy Kandahar in the effort to save Kandahar" was hardly reassuring.

The broad popular hostility in the US to this war, as well as to the continued occupation of Iraq, both launched under the Bush administration and continued under Obama, has not disappeared. But it can find no expression whatsoever within the two big business parties or in the mass media, which largely echoes the official line that the US is fighting a "good war" in Afghanistan.

There is no doubt a broad sense that nothing can be done within the existing political setup, particularly after repeated elections in which masses of people have gone to the polls to express their opposition to these wars and, in 2008, elected as president, Barack Obama, who had appealed to these sentiments, only to take office and dramatically escalate US military aggression in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The experience of 15 months of the Obama administration has also exposed the bankrupt perspective of the middle class antiwar protest organizations that had maintained war could be opposed by supporting the Democrats against Bush. The Bush administration is gone, the Democrats control both houses of Congress and the war crimes continue. For their part, the protest organizations have become largely inactive, having adapted themselves to Obama's "progressive" agenda.

A genuine struggle against war can be waged only through the development of an independent socialist movement of the working class against the capitalist profit system, which is the source of militarism.

This movement must demand the immediate withdrawal of all US and other foreign troops from the Middle East and Central Asia. It must also fight for the dismantlement of the US war machine and the redirection of the trillions of dollars in military spending to pay for reparations to the populations ravaged by American wars of aggression and to deal with the deepening social crisis confronting working people in the US itself.

## American oppose war spending

By David Swanson

Forty-six congressional candidates and 17 activist organizations released a statement on Monday opposing any more funding for the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and inviting more candidates, incumbents, and organizations to sign on. The 46 candidates include 16 Libertarians, 15 Democrats, 14 Greens, 1 Independent, and thus far 0 Republicans (and more may be added to the website by the time you read this). Forty-two are candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, and four for the Senate. They do not all agree with each other on many topics, including their reasons for opposing war spending. But they all back this short statement:

*"The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have cost Americans over \$1 trillion in direct costs, and over \$3 trillion altogether. At a time when our national debt exceeds \$13 trillion, we can no longer afford these wars. It's time for Congress to reject any funding except to bring all our troops safely home."*

The Coalition Against War Spending (<http://warisacrime.org/caws>) has posted online a variety of divergent statements—in text and video—from signers elaborating on their reasons for opposing war spending. A wide ideological spectrum finds consensus around opposing more spending to continue

or escalate the current wars. The coalition is inviting any congressional candidate, incumbent or challenger, and any national organization to join.

This announcement comes just as Congress is set to vote on whether to spend another \$33.5 billion in an off-the-books "emergency" supplemental spending bill to escalate a war in Afghanistan that polls show a majority of Americans oppose.

One candidate who has joined the coalition is Tracy Emblem, a Democrat in California's 50th District (San Diego). Emblem said: "I support our troops. It's time to bring our troops home. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars' with thousands of civilian casualties have created more terrorists. Our brave troops have been killed and maimed and they are suffering from post traumatic stress. The military chemicals used are creating havoc on the environment and making our troops sick. Our priorities must change. We can no longer afford to blindly accept that these wars are 'just' or 'necessary' when so many people are suffering the effects of prolonged wars. My neighbor, a Vietnam veteran, who loves and fought for our country has tied a yellow ribbon on his fence to bring our troops home. And I'm joining him. We must start a movement to bring our troops

home now."

Another member of the Coalition Against War Spending is John Finger, a Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate from Colorado. "Both of these wars are a waste of valuable life and resources," says Finger. "As a veteran, I'd be the first to stand up for a war which is worth fighting. But these wars are going nowhere: there's no mission, there's no measure of success, and we're sending our overburdened troops to die or be injured in wars which do not affect our own national security. It's time to bring our troops home now."

Some candidates suggest where they would prefer to spend \$33.5 billion. Clint Curtis, a Democrat in California's 4th District, from which Green Party candidate Ben Emery has also signed on, is focused on jobs. "I would use the \$33 billion to create new jobs," Curtis said. "This could be done by beginning to rebuild the roads and bridges that have fallen into disrepair after almost a decade of neglect. Education is in serious need of funding, as are many municipal services. Specifically to this district I would develop broad band throughout the district. Because the district is so vast (larger than Maryland) and mountainous, over 30% of the citizens can not access broadband."

Other candidates do not want \$33.5 billion spent at all. Nick Coons, a Libertarian from Arizona's 5th District (Tempe / Scottsdale), said: "The funds being wasted overseas to 'promote democracy' should be given back to the taxpayers from which it was taken so they can use it as they see fit."

Roy Olson, a Green candidate from Washington's 9th District (Olympia) remarked: "I see our flag lowered to half-staff all too frequently. An economy based on perpetual war is hazardous to our health. I am the anti-war candidate and look forward to seeing our flag flying at the top of the flagpole."

Doug Marks, a Libertarian from Illinois' 14th District (Carpentersville) pushed for Congress to accept its responsibilities: "For far too long we have been bent on the Wilsonian path of 'making the world safe democracy'. This whole mentality is unconstitutional, financially devastating to our country, and destroys thousands of families annually. It is way past time to end these wars and bring our troops home. With this, we need to repeal the War Powers Act and force Congress to do the job they were elected to do: either formally declare war or bring all the troops home. After trillions of tax payer dollars and thousands of lives, who is any safer and how does this protect America?"

# Contribution of Tibetan Lama Chogyal Phags-pa in Yuan China

*(with special reference to Emperor Kubilai's period 1253-1294)*

By Min Bahadur Shakya

## I. Introduction:

In the early thirteenth century, Genghis Khan controlled and unified a vast expanse of land, both north and south of the Gobi, in a very short time. In 1206, he conquered the Xixia (Tangut) kingdom in North West China and posed a threat to Tibet.

At that time the opposing Tibetan Buddhist sects and feudal overlords that were preoccupied with their

To begin with Prince Godan Khan was the first person to invite Tibetan Buddhist Master Sakya Pandita Kundgah ryal mtshan (1182-1251), the head of Sakya-pa sect. Sakya Pandita went to Gansu to the court of Godan in 1241 and reaching the prince's camp in 1244. The purpose of this invitation was to preach Buddhism to his subjects and to keep the promise of his deceased ancestors.



internal rivalries sent their representatives to the Mongolian court, under the Mongolian threats of invasion, offering to give allegiance and tribute. The Mongol leaders accepted their allegiance and refrained from sending troops into Tibet. But the Tibetans did not carry out the duty of allegiance into practice and the Mongolian court was not pleased with this.

Having come to terms with Godan regarding Tibet's submission to Mongolia, Sapan sent an open letter to all the Tibetan temporal and secular leaders to persuade them to submit themselves to the Mongols according to the terms he had reached with the later. This letter is no other than the famous Sakya Pandit's letter to the Tibetans.

The letter cited facts to show that submission to Mongols would be in step with the general trend of events. Sapan said the Mongol court showed much consideration to the Tibetan people. The reason it had not yet attacked Tibet was that it was waiting for Tibet's submission. All officials accepting Mongols conditions were to keep their original posts: those refusing were to fall victim to the Mongols' punitive campaign. The condition for submission, Sapan said, was:

The Tibetan should recognize themselves to be Mongol Khan's subjects, abide by the laws and orders issued by the Mongol court, conscientiously pay taxes and do conscript labor; and the officials in charge of civil administration were to be appointed by the Mongol leaders,

After Phagspa arrived at Liangzhou, Godan had a detailed study program made for him. It was at this period that Phags-pa mastered the Mongolian language and read many Han classics. This put him in a very good position later to promote friendly relations between Tibetans, Hans and Mongols.

## II. Conversion of Mongols into Buddhism

It was no strange that the Buddhist altruistic attitude to humanity won over the cruel hearts of the Mongols. The dynamic rituals and logical doctrines of Tibetan esoteric Buddhism attracted the Mongol rulers as a device for administration, and on the other hand, the Tibetan scholars considered it profitable to associate themselves with the Mongol rulers from the political point of view.

The reason behind the adoption of Buddhism by Kublai Khan, as stated by John Man thus: "

People may think of Buddhism as a peaceful religion, and therefore unsuitable for an empire dedicated to world conquest, but it is not necessarily so. In Tibetan Buddhism, of the four heavenly kings who preside over the four corners of the earth is Vaishravan, a warrior armed with a lance cudgel with which to defeat non-believers. He was something like god of war. There is nothing in Tibetan Buddhism incompatible with Mongol imperialism. It was the teenager Phags-pa who showed Kublai Khan that Buddhism could serve his needs well. For Buddhism offered something that did not exist in the Chinese view of history, or Islam, or Christianity: not only did it claim to be a religion of universal truth, it also contained a model of the "Universal emperor, the cakravartin-rajah, who ruled people of many languages and turned the wheel of the Law".

Some previous rulers had experimented with this concept or idea: having themselves addressed as Bodhisattva, Emperor bodhisattva or Saviour of the World Bodhisattva. Buddhism was, in brief, "the best way for Kublai Khan to attach himself to a religion that not only was much more than Chinese but also offered an ideology that justified world conquest and world rule. Kublai would become both Caesar and Pope, head of both Church, and state, the fount of both worldly welfare and spiritual salvation. [John Man: Kubali Khan, p.177]

## III. Chos-rgyal Phags-pa as 1st Yuan Imperial Preceptor

Just as in the past Princess Bhrikuti and Wengchen Kongjo inspired the Tibetan King Srong bisan gampo (617-650) to Buddhism, Queen Chabi, the consort of emperor Kubilai Khan was an ardent Buddhist who possessed a much more advanced knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism than Kublai did, and gives her credit for persuading him to choose Phags pa as his Buddhist preceptor from Tibet. Kublai extended an invitation to Lama Phags-pa and the two met for the first time in 1253 at the palace of Hultu.

About the invitation to Chogyal Phags pa, G.N. Roerich quotes a passage from the early 14th century annals, fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tai, which related,

"Prince Kublai, before accession to the Imperial throne, had heard about a virtuous monk, Ch'o-li-sche-wa, in the West, and desired to meet him. He accordingly sent a messenger to His-Liang (Liang-chou) to Prince Godan (K'uo-tan) with a request to invite the Priest. The Prince informed the messenger that the Master had entered Nirvana, but that there were his nephew, Fassu-pa (hPhags-pa) aged sixteen"

When Chogyal Phags pa was 19 years old, he received a golden letter from Kublai Khan, the first Mongol emperor of China, who had extended his domain throughout Mongolia, China, Tibet, Kashmir and many other regions. Kublai was reluctant to recognize any other authority superior to the emperor at first.

Then later Phags-pa (1235-1280) alias Matidhvaja, became Kubilai's preceptor. In 1253, Phags-pa first converted Kublai Khan's influential wife, Chabi by initiating her in higher esoteric empowerment of Hevajra and Mahakala.

As an offering made to Phagspa for this occasion, she donated her dearest personal belonging as requested by Phagspa - a pearl on her earring which was given by her parents when she was married. Phags pa later sold the pearl to a Mongol for a large sum of gold and silver, part of which was subsequently to build a golden roof for the hall in the Sakya monastery where the golden Stupa was constructed by Nepalese Master architect Amiko dedicated to Sa-skya Pandita.

Only there after Phagspa brought Kublai under his religious influence urged by his empress, Kublai himself received four major tantric abhisekas including Mahakala. The Kublai Khan took Mahakala as his personal and tutelary deity.



## IV. Interview with Kublai Khan

Mongol Prince Kublai Khan posed a series of question to Lama Phags-pa before he was appointed as imperial preceptor and became totally fascinated by his eloquent wisdom and insight. Finally he even bestowed initiation to the Mongol prince, his consorts and twenty five ministers. Kublai presented to his teacher the title of Imperial Preceptor in the year 1271 and state preceptor in the year 1260.

Following were some of these questions and answer session recorded by Don Croner:

"So Khubilai wasted no time in

grilling the young lama about Tibetan Buddhism.

Who was the model man in Tibet? He wanted to know (Miliarepa, Phagspa replied):

Who was the greatest teacher? (Sakya Pandita, an ocean compared to which, Phagspa claimed, he himself was "like the minutest measure of water).

More to the point, Khubilai wanted to collect taxes and draft soldiers in Tibet for the Mongol Empire, and what did the young lama think about that?

"Tibet is a small distance borderland. It cannot provide you with even the least amount of taxes and conscripts," explained Phagspa.

If this was the case, riposted Khubilai, then they were just wasting each other's time and Phagspa would do better just to go back to Tibet.

At this point, according to the Rosary of White Lotus, Kubilai's wife Zangmo stepped into the breach and exclaimed that even gray-haired monks were no match for the young Phagspa. "Do not send him to Tibet," she "but enter into a Preceptor-Protector bond with him, learn from him, ask him questions about the Dharma!"

## V. Debate with Daoist and confucius

In 1258 he engaged and defeated Daoist monks who came to Kharkhorum for debates on the relative merits of Buddhism and Taoism sponsored first by Mongke and then by Kubilai.

## The following is the brief account:

So let's look at what happened once when Buddhism and Daoism came to blows.

It was in the cosmopolitan court of Kubilai Khan, during the height of Mongol power. There was a new,



worse, they were piling up the sacred books of these monasteries and burning them. They were also hanging around at the Mongol court, like everybody else, looking for patronage. It was here that the Daoists and the Buddhists started to squabble.

Kubilai's predecessor Mongke Khan convened two debates in 1255 and 1256 which the Buddhist side was represented by a mysterious monk called Namu.

The second Karmapa, Karma Pakshi was at Mongke's court at this time, and took part in the debate of 1256. These were opening skirmishes. It was in the reign of Kubilai that the decisive debates took place.

The monastery-occupying and scripture-burning activities of the Daoists had not abated. And now, adding insult to injury, they were also circulating printed copies of the Laozi huah jing, a polemical text telling the story of how the founder of Daoism, Laozi, travelled to India and invented Buddhism there as a lesser doctrine for the barbarians.

Kubilai's imperial preceptor at this time was Chogyal Phagspa, the head of the Sakya school, and by the Khan's command, ruler of Tibet. Phags-pa was upset by the Daoists' activities and asked the Khan to convene another debate. This time, the stakes would be higher - the losers would surrender their own scriptures to be burned. We know that this debate really took place in the summer of 1258, thanks to Chinese and Tibetan historians. We also have Phagspa's own account of it.

## VI. Bestowal of Initiation

With awakening of faith in Mahayana principles, the prince requested Phagspa to confer initiation into Vajrayana meditation. Phagspa bestowed Tantric consecration on the prince, his consorts and twenty five of his ministers on three different occasions. It was the beginning of Vajrayana taking its root in Mongol court.

She pointed out that Sakya lamas were especially proficient in secret Tantra teachings and perhaps to set an example asked that she and her circle of twenty-four female attendants be initiated into the Hevajra Tantra. Phags-pa complied, and to show her appreciation for the initiation Zangmo gave Phags-pa her ear-ring containing a huge pearl. Later Phags-pa reportedly sold the pearl and used the funds to put a gold roof on one of the temples at Sakya Monastery in Tibet.

Following his wife's lead Khubilai then asked to be initiated into the Hevajra Tantra. Phags-pa said this was not possible because Khubilai was a king and a king would not be able to

observe the vows necessary to take the initiation.

First, Phagspa explained, Khubilai would have to take a seat lower than the presiding lama's seat:

Second, he would have to recognize the Triple Jewel (skt:Triratna) as his sole refuge:

Third, he must follow whatever order his teacher gives him.

Kubilai agreed all this was impossible for a king. Again his wife stepped forward.

The King holds supreme authority in China and Mongolia, she pointed out, why not give Phags-pa supreme authority in Tibet and affairs of the Dharma? Although it did not fully address all the issues raised, Khubilai and Phags-pa agreed to this conciliatory compromise, and a Hevajra initiation was given to the Mongolian ruler and twenty-four of his associates.

In return he gave Phagspa an immense three-dimensional golden mandala encrusted with pearls "the size of sheep droppings" and granted the Sakya sect, with Phagspa at its head, both political and religious control over all of Tibet. "

## VII. Phags-pa as temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet -1271

1. First of all Kublai made an offering to his preceptor of the thirteen principalities of Central Tibet.

2. Secondly, Phags-pa was presented a relic of Lord Buddha and authority over the three provinces of Tibet.

3. Finally, on his ascension to the imperial throne in 1260, Kublai presented to his teacher the title of kuo shih and (State Preceptor) and later "Ti-shih (imperial preceptor) in 1271"

4. A promise to put an end to the use of cruel punishments of torture in Tibet and

5. The practice of drowning Chinese to control their population.

Under the leadership of Chogyal Phags-pa, Sakya reached its zenith and Sakya influence pervaded Spiritual life of Tibet, Mongolia, and China.

Kubilai Khan urged his imperial preceptor that all Tibetans should follow only one Sakya tradition. Chogyal Phags-pa replied: "By such evil desires and enmity would develop among the monks and affect their religious aspirations. Rather an individual must be encouraged to follow his /her path and propagate."

All the Buddhist schools would thus receive equal opportunities. Kubilai proclaimed "It is the wish of both the Preceptor and the Protector that each and every Dharma system should develop on its own," thus granting a degree of freedom to the various other sects in Tibet. It was Phagspa's

[Cont. on page 6]