

## Next government?



### WM Correspondent

After the latest three-point agreement among the three largest political parties UCPN (Maoist) Nepali Congress (NC) and CPN (UML), Prime

Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal was widely anticipated to step down to pave the path for a new national consensus government.

However, the three parties are

engaged in interpreting the deal to extend the Constituent Assembly (CA) tenure in their own parochial version. As such, this has prompted the PM to dillydally his resignation

The ruling parties are saying that the PM will resign after the Maoists fulfill their obligations with regard to peace process, especially on integration of Maoist combatants in the security agencies and dismantle of semi-armed structure of Young Communist League (YCL)

However, the main opposition UCPN (Maoist) insists that the Prime Minister should resign within the five days of the agreement as per the verbal understanding between the three parties.

The Maoists first want the

implementation of the third point of agreement that mentions the Prime Minister will resign without delay. Nevertheless, the NC and UML are saying the first point that speaks for carrying out all the remaining works related to peace process should precede the resignation issue.

The Prime Minister, who has been adamantly glued to his post, has felt somewhat weak after the agreement even though the recent meet of the 11 ruling parties gave some energy to him to continue to revel in the power.

Despite the hovering uncertainty over whether the premier would resign anytime soon, there has been discussion within the parties about the replacement of the incumbent dispensation.

The Prime Minister will surely face national and international pressure to step down if he continues to defy resignation call.

It has been crystal clear that under his premiership neither peace process nor constitution writing process would move ahead.

The Maoists have already negated any possibility of dialogue with NC and UML until the Prime Minister resigns.

However, a step towards bringing the Maoists combatants under the special committee and the PM's resignation could pave the way towards the much-needed reconciliation.

If PM Nepal quits his saddle, the question as to who will succeed him is of paramount importance.

The Maoists will enjoy a natural

claim over the leadership of the new government for being the largest party in the parliament.

Given that Maoist chairman Puspa Kamal Dahal has become the bete noire of New Delhi, the possibility of him again becoming the premier is slim.

As the Maoists have said that they were open to the alternative to Dahal,

Chandra Poudel or senior leader Sher Bahadur Deuba.

On the other hand, the ambition harboured by senior UML leader K.P. Oli to elevate himself to the post of prime minister is also not a hidden fact.

The strategic move made by him to settle the difference between the ruling parties and the Maoists shortly before

### Three point agreement

*We are committed to moving ahead with consensus and cooperation to take the peace process to a meaningful conclusion, to carry out all the remaining works related to the peace process, and to accomplish the historic responsibility of completing the task for writing the new constitution*

*Through a significant progress has been made in the constitution writing process, it has not been completed yet. Therefore, we have agreed to extend the tenure of the Constituent Assembly by one year.*

*Based on the agreement to fulfill these responsibilities and works as soon as possible, we are ready to form a national consensus government and for that, the Prime Minister of the incumbent coalition government is ready to resign without delay.*

the party vice chairman Babu Ram Bhattarai may claim the post.

But, there might be discord within the Maoists itself in this regard because Bhattarai heads one of the two opposing factions of the party.

The NC could also strongly claim the leadership as both the Maoist and UML leadership have failed to lead the peace process and constitution making process to a logical conclusion.

All the same, the NC is also sharply divided per se as to which leader should steer the new government-the parliamentary party leader Ram

the expiry of the CA tenure on May 28 is guided by his desire to garner required support for him to fulfill his dream.

Right after three-point agreement, Oli jettied off to New Delhi under the pretext of medical treatment.

His journey was purely political as he hobnobbed with senior leaders of ruling and opposition parties in New Delhi.

The chances of New Delhi backing Oli to grab a prime ministerial post are simply high because of his proximity with the Indian establishment.

## Tributes paid to late King Birendra

### WM correspondent

Floral tributes were paid to the late King Birendra Shah on the ninth anniversary of his death Wednesday.



The late King Birendra and members of his family were killed in an appalling incident that took place at the Narayanhiti Palace nine years ago.

People who had gathered at Jawalakhel to commemorate the death anniversary offered garlands to the statue of the late king there.

The Birendra Peace Foundation central committee and the Yogi Narahari Nath Trust Spiritual Council, the Birendra-Aishwarya Trust jointly organized the condolence meet.

Dr. Swami Prapannacharya, former ministers, culture scholars and professors, among others, offered garlands at the late king's statue in tribute.

A traditional religious ceremony called 'Shradha' was also performed on the occasion.

The Birendra Aishwarya Trust has demanded that Nepal should be declared a peace zone that a public holiday should be given on Jestha 19, the day when the former king was assassinated, that the family of the late king should be declared as martyrs and that the late king Birendra should be declared a national hero.

The massacre at the Narayanhiti Royal Palace was the worst royal massacre since the Russian Communists killed Tsar Nicholas II and his family in November 1917.

Thousands of people, some with shaven head to mourn King Birendra's death, had come into the streets in the following days demanding proper investigation into the palace massacre.

However, nine years after the tragic massacre, the people of the country have still not been convinced enough about what transpired that fateful night when the nation lost its most beloved King.

## Planned assaults against Nepali identity

### WM Correspondent

A large number of Nepali speaking people have been displaced from north-eastern state of India Meghalaya after local ethnic community known as Khasi forced them to do so.

It was the ethnic incoherence that fragmented Asam, giving birth to Meghalaya.

Earlier, the problem that existed between the two contrasting communities lately resulted in a huge eviction of Nepalis from the state.

Meghalaya divided from Asam as per the demand of Khasi majority.

The Khasi community blamed the Nepali community of murdering their some comrades and launched assaults

against the Nepali-speaking people.

About 17 Nepalis reportedly succumbed to the barbaric violence unleashed by the Khas.

A large chunk of Nepalis are also returning back to Nepal out of the sense of insecurity.

The onset of this bloody incident also poignantly clearly points out the strong possibility of violence if the ethnic issue is raised just for the sake of parochial political interests.

The antagonism between the Nepali speaking people and Khasis is so intense that even the two communities use separate football grounds and schools although they stay on two sides of border between Asam

and Meghalaya.

The completely dissimilar culture has also brought a cavernous gulf of enmity between the two sides.

Nepal government has taken up the issue and raised the issue to New Delhi.

But the posture adopted by it vis-a-vis the matter of this magnitude does not appear to be as affirmative as it should be. India however is not comfortable with even a small complain in this.

Indian embassy officials reportedly told a media that Nepal should stay away from commenting on what happened in Meghalaya because it is their internal affairs.

Has India remained silent on Nepal's internal affairs of Nepal? Isn't it India that played crucial part in splitting the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum?

When the Indian students were attacked in Australia sometime back, the Indian government had taken up the issue with aggression.

Various groups in the country have also demanded the Indian embassy based in Kathmandu to ensure protection to Nepali speaking people and Nepalis working in Meghalaya.

If the government as well as the Indian establishment tends to show flippancy towards this highly sensitive issue, it is bound to backfire.

## A silent brutality!

### WM Correspondent

That India has continued to enjoy excessive leeway in Nepal's politics goes without saying.

Likewise, the blatant encroachment of Nepali territories as well as the foxy diplomacy on the part of New Delhi to capture Nepal's water resources is also not a blurred fact.

In a ceaseless bid to serve its own vested interests at any cost, the southern neighbour is also breaching the international norms and agreements by constructing embankments along the river situated between the bordering areas of the two countries.

The very illicit move has been causing the inundation of a vast swathe of Nepali lands.

After Laxmanpur barrage in Banke, Rasiwal-Khurdaton barrage in Rupandehi and Mahalisagar in Kapilvastu, India has installed a new channel unilaterally for the flow of the Koshi river that is almost sure to inundate the humungous part of the Saptari district of Nepal.

Despite Nepal's strong objections, India waywardly completed pilot channel from Koshi barrage's door no. 28 that is most likely to drown a dozen villages of Saptari.

Nepali officials said India has flatly refused to provide required information about its works on the river, which started three months ago.

A week ago, the government formally asked the Indian embassy to

cease from proceeding with the works, which took place without taking

approval from the Nepal government and the same could also inundate the



Nepali lands.

But, the Indian embassy unhesitatingly gave a thumbs down to the legitimate concerns of the Nepali side.

A high level technical committee headed by Deputy Director General of Department of Irrigation Shiva Kumar Sharma has found out that India completed building new channel in the Nepali land to shield its own lands from getting inundated.

India had proposed making the same pilot channel when the Koshi dam was damaged two years ago.

However, Nepal had shied away from subscribing to this play.

But, lately India went ahead unilaterally with its illicit scheme.

India had adopted similar approach as far as construction of other embankments goes.

One of the reasons behind the unfettered Indian highhandedness vis-a-vis the Koshi river is the Koshi Treaty.

The treaty has allocated the entire responsibility of management of the dam to India.

It is also a clear-cut manifestation of the proven Indian tendency to capitalize upon the fluid political situation of Nepal.

The current coalition is largely designed and executed by the mandarins of New Delhi.

And, this only prompted the southern neighbour to venture into the illegal water related works more unilaterally and sadiistically.

R.No. BA. 39/027/028

Published by : Weekly Mirror Publication (P) Ltd.

Editor : Prem Kumari Pant

Sub-Editor : Nirjal Dhungana

Prithvi Man Shrestha

New Plaza, Ram Shah Path, Kathmandu

Tel No. 4412074, Fax: 977-1-4412410

Printed at : Dhimle Printing Press, Dillibazar

Email: weeklymirror@ntc.net.np

weeklymirror@gmail.com

## Editorial

### A dangerous vacuum

It has been pretty clear that the eleventh hour agreement amongst the major political parties to extend the Constituent Assembly (CA) tenure was no more than the continuation of their manipulative attempts.

The big three- UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress (NC) and CPN (UML) - continues to indulge in wrestling for more trifle issues at the cost of the entire peace process.

As politicians are enjoying their way of politics in the name of the CA extension one way or the other, the commoners are feeling that they continue to be duped.

If all 25 political parties represented in the 601- member Constituent Assembly had been conscious of their duty towards voters and true to the dictum of People's Movement II, the urgent issue of promulgating the constitution would not have been so entrapped in the vortex of uncertainty.

The dereliction on the part of political parties towards their obligation has compelled Nepalis to see their legitimate aspirations of a peaceful and stable Nepal being shattered ruthlessly.

The common people are feeling rather betrayed as they are bound to tolerate the uncertainty hovering over their mandate for great document that could have ensured democracy and institutionalized gains of the People's Movement II.

The crisis of confidence and misunderstanding among the leading political parties of CA - Maoists, Nepali Congress and CPN UML - triggered especially after the formation of the Legislative Parliament has pushed the country to the whirlpool of disorder.

Leaders utterly lacked political wisdom because they got themselves engrossed in self-political interest and lust for power.

Sensitive political issues related specifically to federalism, restructuring the state, president-centred power structure or prime minister-centred one for the Republic of Nepal, integration of Maoist People's Liberation Army presently housed in cantonments were completely neglected by political parties.

The intra-party problems also kept the political leadership to evade the cardinal task of fulfilling the objectives of the People's Movement II.

The PM II spirit was also about compromise, peace and mutuality, which politicians have forgotten deliberately.

The absence of a foresighted leadership has created a dangerous vacuum, which does not bode well to the future of the nation.

# Can Nepal end gender inequality?

By P.K. Pant

Gender equality - promoting equal opportunities for women and men in decision-making; supporting women so that they can fully enjoy their rights; and reducing the gap between women and men's access to resources and benefit from development - is still out of reach for most women throughout the world. To stop violence against women has become a challenging task for human rights organisations, civil society groups, women associations, NGOs and even for governments. It has been observed that the number of cases of violence against women is increasing with each passing day.

A Planning Commission report says that although more than half of Nepal's population consists of females, their participation in the development process is far from equal. Socio-cultural traditions reinforced by lack of access to opportunities and resources relegate the majority of women to traditional roles. In some direct market-oriented economic activities like agriculture, their contribution is substantial, but it remains largely undervalued and unappreciated. Low female participation in formal economic activities in developing countries can be traced to gender disparities in education that has continued since past generations.

The health status of women in Nepal is poor as compared with other countries in Asia. Many girls die prematurely because of common infections and malnutrition, which could have been easily prevented and treated.

This failure of funding undermines not only our endeavours for gender equality and women's empowerment, it also holds back our efforts to reach all the Millennium Development Goals.

In some countries legal disparities are blatant, in others they are much more subtle. What is clear is that many states are failing to live up to their promises to review their laws and root out institutional discrimination, and millions of women continue to suffer grave injustices. Like every year, calls

to end forced marriage, domestic abuse and job discrimination.

Violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of objectives of equality, development and peace. It violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedom. The long-standing failure to protect and promote those rights and freedom in the case of violence against women is a matter of concern to all states.

The term 'violence against women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. Other acts of violence against women include violation of human rights of women in case of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy.

Acts or threats of violence, whether occurring within home or in the community, or perpetrated or condoned by the state, instill fear and insecurity in women's lives and are obstacles to the achievement of equality and for development and peace. The fear of violence, including harassment, is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women and limits their access to resources and basic activities. High social, health and economic costs to the individual and society are associated with violence against women.

Violence against women throughout the life-cycle derives essentially from cultural patterns, in particular the harmful effects of certain traditional or customary practices and all acts of extremism linked to race, sex, language or religion that perpetuate the lower status accorded to women in the family, the workplace and society.

Violence against women is exacerbated by social pressures, notably the shame of denouncing

certain acts that have been perpetrated against women: women's lack of access to legal information, aid or protection; lack of laws that effectively prohibit violence against women; failure to reform existing laws; inadequate efforts on the part of public authorities to promote awareness and enforce existing laws; and the absence of educational and other means to address causes and consequences of violence.

Developing a holistic and multi-disciplinary approach to the challenging task of promoting families, communities and states that are free of violence against women is necessary and achievable. Equality, partnership between women and men and respect for human dignity must permeate all stages of the socialisation process. The educational system should promote self-respect, mutual respect, and cooperation between women and men.

Lack of or inadequate documentation and research on domestic violence, sexual harassment and violence against women in private and in public, including the workplace, impede efforts to design specific intervention strategies. In addressing violence against women, governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that before decisions are taken an analysis may be made of their effects on women and men, respectively.

The UN recommended some actions to governments to eliminate the discrimination against women in its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Nepal must follow the UN declaration as well. Unless and until there is a proper campaign by both political and civil society to alter the anti-women sentiment in our society, the atrocities against women would continue, to the detriment of society as a whole.

The economic costs of intimate personal violence are also enormous.

Unfortunately domestic violence is the crime that no one wants to talk about. Because it takes place within the context of intimate relationships, it is often dismissed as a personal matter, rather than the human rights violation that it is. The extent to which domestic violence is ignored is clear when one looks at the media coverage.

Wedding vows are taken with hopes and dreams of a joyful future together. Opening the door on the issue is like standing on the edge of a deep ravine vibrating with collective anguish. Where there should be outrage, there is denial and largely passive acceptance. A recent survey by the International Institute of Population Studies showed that wife beating was justified in certain circumstances like neglecting the house or the children, or going out of the house without permission. The society is obviously in a state of denial. Education, emancipation, empowerment are the mantras that will shake the societal forces out of their slumber.

Women are victims of physical, mental, sexual and emotional abuse regardless of their education and economic status. What about the many voiceless, illiterate, economically handicapped women? Can they ever hope for justice? Two out of every five women in abusive relationships suffer silently because of shame and family honour. The lack of viable options keeps such women trapped in violent situations. Nearly one-third of the women experiencing abuse have thought of running away but the fear of leaving their children behind and having no place to go restrained them. Social and economic constraints further compound their sense of isolation. Lack of awareness and how to seek help renders these women more vulnerable to continuing and escalating abuse. No one can fully understand why the women tolerate the intolerable for so long? Do they hope things will get better? Or do they feel that they are alone responsible for domestic illness; that their husbands are not equally responsible?

## Let economy get due priority

By Nirjal Dhungana

Neither the financial authorities nor the political leadership appears serious towards tiding over the looming economic meltdown.

The country's economy is trapped in a tailspin. With the factors that keep the economy buoyant in complete disarray, the financial health of the country is deteriorating fast.

Export trade, among others, is a viable tool to keep the economy in a good stead. However, the alarming decline in export volumes has cast light on domestic manufacturing sector. In a similar fashion, the way the country's export business is faltering has also widened the already huge trade deficit.

The upward surge in import trend is showing no sign of recession with the national coffers getting drained.

The gradual depletion in the competitive edge of exportable Nepali items is also something that is wrecking havoc with the import business of the country.

Specifically speaking, nothing can match import when it comes to accrue foreign reserves. But, contradictorily, the palpable shrink in domestic production is causing the national resources to dry out.

The recent data published by Nepal Rastra Bank show that, 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.

What should be noted is that the import trade is on the downward trajectory for many years. Apart from various internal deficiencies, the unilateral trade provisions imposed by India have also contributed to stifle the import trade.

Exportable domestic goods are bound to face the improperly imposed strictures on the part of Indian authorities. But, quite ironically, Indian goods are getting too much leeway as far as their entry into Nepali market goes.

Despite the resounding slogan of export diversification, nothing concrete has taken place till now.

Without framing visionary and prudent plans and policies, it is sternly a daydreaming to talk about export diversification. This is an austere simple fact which the

highly privileged policy makers seem to have overlooked.

Many of the manufacturing houses which produce the exportable goods are struggling hard just to sustain whereas the less resilient ones have already closed down their shutters. Amidst this gloomy scenario, it would be nothing more than imbecility to expect the entrance of more players into the realm of commerce.

If the startling incongruence between export and import continues to persist, it can be safely said that a great economic debacle is not a distant reality.

The blatant onset of these problems has, in effect, created a great deal of despondency and difficulty among the people. More frustrating is the fact that the government is displaying flippancy towards the grievances of a common citizen.

If the major political parties continue to fully focus themselves on political meetings over power sharing ignoring without any feeling of economic urgency, the consequences could be utterly dire. The edifice of new Nepal will be sustainable only if it is founded on robust economic fundamentals. As such, it is high time the political leaders made synergistic efforts to rejuvenate the moribund economy of the country.

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

# Thailand: Two elites and a proletariat

The two month long street protests in Bangkok by thousands of 'red shirt' opponents of the Abhisit Vejjajiva



government demanding fresh elections and the violence that followed has been described as the worst conflict Thailand has ever faced in its modern history. It left in its wake at least 88 dead, hundreds injured and close to US\$2 billion worth of property destroyed, the toll being much worse in all aspects than previous political violence of October 1976 and May 1992.

Much of the loss of life and damage came in mid-May when the army brutally cracked down on the protesters using trained snipers and war weapons to take on street protesters armed mostly with slingshots, burning tyres and Molotov cocktails. Angry, retreating protesters in turn set fire to over two dozen buildings in Bangkok including Central World, the second largest shopping mall in South East Asia.

How all this came about, in what seemed to be one of Asia's most stable countries, is a long and complex tale. There are already many versions, each one coloured by the prejudices of those who tell it.

As an outsider, who has spent over a decade reporting out of Thailand, my version is fairly straightforward - a well entrenched but ageing King is vying for power with an ambitious and charismatic capitalist and the paradoxical result is a rebirth of the country's long dormant left movement. The real question to ask now is whether the new baby will be healthy or stillborn?

## The Three Camps

The Thai story essentially involves three political and social camps - the traditional elite, the emerging new elite and the rural/urban poor.

The first camp is represented by the long reigning but aged King Bhumibol Adulyadej and consists of the military, the bureaucracy, the banking oligarchs and Bangkok-centric political parties like the Democrat Party of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva. Close allies of the United States during the Cold War, they have been in power for much of the last century and don't want anyone to challenge the cosy political, economic and cultural arrangements they have worked out over the years.

Facing them off, for the past decade or so, is a coalition of business, regional and rural interest groups led by the corrupt but also clever and charismatic telecom tycoon Thaksin Shinawatra. Swept into power in the 2001 general elections his dream - before he was ousted in September 2006 by a military coup - was to build a modern capitalist Thailand with a strong welfare state like Singapore or Malaysia. He, of course, was to perpetually play the role of Lee Kuan Yew or Mahatir Mohammad.

As far as faith in democratic institutions or processes goes, both the traditional and the new elite would ideally prefering to rule without any accountability or challenge from rivals. Neither of them - one representing feudal and the other corporate interests - really has any love for democracy or what it entails.

The royalists, who have dominated Thailand for many decades now, have regularly backed or utilised military coups to get their way - there being nothing less than 20 coups in the last

By Satya Sagar

77 years. While occasionally there has been divergence between the monarchy and the military mostly the two have cosily waltzed together, keeping all rivals off the dance floor with a mix of native guile and naked force.

Even in the ongoing crisis for example the Thai traditional elite have shown their contempt for democratic norms. In 2005 when Thaksin got re-elected in a landslide victory they first got their 'yellow shirt' supporters to organise raucous street protests against his government and then openly backed a military coup against him the following year. The royalist supporters in the Thai media and civil society even perversely justified the coup against a popularly elected Prime Minister as being a 'democratic' one, glossing over the fact that the Thai military itself was certainly not a paragon of clean governance or democratic values.

Not content with all this, when Thaksin's parties won the 2007 general election once again the King's men pressurised the judiciary and other institutions to keep his nominees out of power, under one pretext or the other. 'Yellow shirt' pro-royalist mobs who vandalized key institutions in Bangkok and in late 2008 even closed down the Bangkok international airport did not face any prosecution.

In their Thaksin-phobia the monarchists ended up demolishing Thailand's fledgling democracy, like someone setting fire to their own house to get rid of an intruding thief. Even after all the recent violence in Bangkok the traditional elite does not seem to have learnt any lessons and continues on with its violation of all democratic principles - an approach that surely spells disaster for Thailand.

Thaksin, on his part, despite being elected 'democratically' with overwhelming majorities in three successive national polls since 2001, used power in a disturbingly authoritarian manner during his reign. He tried to muzzle media critical of him, carried out a bogus 'war on drugs' that took the lives of over 2500 people in extra-judicial killings and bent rules to suit his business and family interests. In other words, though he has certainly been wronged by his more established rivals Thaksin is no real democrat either.

Another characteristic both the traditional and new Thai elite share in common is the fact that, despite all their protestations of 'concern for the poor', both have a lot of undeserved wealth to protect. For example the King of Thailand was ranked by Forbes magazine in 2008 as being the richest monarch in the world and worth over US\$37 billion. Thaksin Shinawatra, on the other hand, became the richest businessman in Thailand in less than a decade during the late eighties by cornering television, mobile and satellite broadcasting monopolies and for him getting back to power is the key to maintaining these ill-gotten riches.

The third camp involved in the Thai political dynamic - the rural and urban poor - mostly hail from the much-neglected North and Northeast Thailand and are the only ones who have a stake in establishing democratic institutions and processes. The consistent demand among the red shirts protesting in Bangkok recently for example was for holding fresh elections, respecting democratic norms and restoration of the country's 1997 Constitution, which gave wide ranging powers to citizens to hold their rulers accountable.

## Three processes

The three camps described above are participants in three parallel processes, each adding to the tensions

in its own way.

The first process involves intense rivalry between different business lobbies, with most Thai political parties being fronts for one lobby or the other. For a decade since the mid-1980s, Thailand was one of the fastest growing economies in the world and at that time the competition was for lucrative government concessions and contracts - like the monopolies Thaksin managed to get hold of using political connections.

In 1997 however, when the Asian economic crisis saw the fortunes of many completely wiped out, the race was to organise state-sponsored bailouts for failed businesses. Even in the current Thai crisis, behind the scenes, there are powerful business lobbies at work, adding to suspicions about the true motivations of politicians espousing either 'democracy' or 'national security'.

The second process at work in Thailand - the growing aspirations as also a class consciousness of ordinary Thais - is also due to economic growth within the last three decades. Since the mid-eighties the country has witnessed a tripling of the average real per capita income. In this period there have also been dramatic changes in the kind of work that most Thais are doing. Compared to a generation ago when agriculture was the livelihood for two-thirds of households now less than two-fifths are engaged in the profession. The surplus labour over the years has been typically absorbed in the growing service and industrial sectors resulting in better cash incomes but also higher expectations among ordinary Thais of a better share of national wealth.

The biggest losers of the 1997 Asian economic crisis were people from the north-east of Thailand, an agriculturally poor area with low social indicators and traditionally the source of Thailand's cheap labour for its tourism and industrial sectors. A very large number of the rural migrant labour working in Bangkok - an estimated 3 million of them - lost livelihoods, savings and real incomes.

In turn, it was also these same folks who benefited most from Thaksin's populist social welfare initiatives like the universal health care scheme, cheap credit to farmers and investment in rural enterprises, all of which he initiated during his first term in power. A study by the Thailand Development Research Institute credits Thaksin's '30 baht' health insurance scheme with lifting at least a million people above the poverty line. And according to the UNDP's Human Development Report on Thailand for 2009, national poverty fell from 21 to 8.5 percent between 2000 and 2007 - the same period when Thaksin was Prime Minister.

However in the current Thai turmoil, the anger of these red shirts wearing rural folk is not just because they are worried about discontinuation of the economic benefits that Thaksin showered on them. It is equally and even more so because they feel the traditional Thai elite has treated their political choices with contempt and them personally like idiots.

There has always been historic resentment among Thailand's north-easterners over the Thai elite in Bangkok looking down upon them culturally and now they have taken Thaksin's ouster from power in 2006 through a military coup as a direct attack on themselves.

## What next for Thailand?

While for the time being things have quietened down in Bangkok and other parts of Thailand and the leadership of the red shirts surrendered to the authorities, by no means has the conflict really ended. There is a strong sense everywhere that in the days and months to come the red versus yellow battle will continue and could even lead

to a full-fledged civil war.

There are simply too many unresolved issues in the country for peace and normalcy to return so easily.



To begin with is the issue of holding fresh elections and also under what conditions.

The Democrat Party of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva is not capable of winning a national election all by its own and so will try to cling on to power for as long as possible. Given the continued popularity of Thaksin and numerical superiority of his followers the Puea Thai Party he backs is sure to win despite many of their leaders being banned from politics or being under arrest.

Secondly there is the contentious issue of whether or not to restore the 1997 Constitution, arguably the most democratic in much of Asia and one that was forged through widespread public consultation in the country. The Democrat Party and its backers among the Thai elite want the new Constitution imposed by the military coup of 2006 to continue as they feel this is advantageous to them.

Then there is the question of the monarchy and its role in Thailand. The current King Bhumibol Adulyadej has been around for over six decades but is now extremely sick. His death is likely to set off a bitter war for succession and even the royalists fear now that after the current king there may be no one to replace him in a viable manner. In the meanwhile there is also a not-so-subtle undercurrent of republicanism emerging within the red shirt movement. Though they have not said anything against the monarch directly, the red shirts have openly attacked some of the King's closest aides like Privy Councillor general Prem Tinsulanonda of being behind the 2006 coup against Thaksin.

The lack of political representation of marginalized sections of Thai society like farmers, workers, urban poor also continues to be a big problem. Anyone surveying the spectrum of political parties in Thailand currently can easily see that every one of them is a front for one business lobby or the other and generally right of centre.

Thaksin Shinawatra has - for reasons of his own - given voice to the pent up demands of Thailand's rural and urban poor and stoked a class consciousness which now has taken them beyond his personal business and political ambitions.

There is still much work to be done and if the red shirt movement does not crystallize under one banner soon, with a clear set of long-term political and economic demands the consequences would be disastrous. The disgruntled red shirt followers could dissipate their energies into various acts of vandalism and even terrorism thus reducing both Thailand and their own hopes into a bloody, chaotic mess.

On the other hand if this 'red' trend consolidates it could easily become the basis of an independent left movement that is both anti-monarchist and anti-capitalist at the same time. In a country with a long history of suppression of anything left-wing - including garden variety social democrats and normal trade unions - a new left party or coalition under competent leadership could in one stroke transform Thai society forever.

## Water crisis intensifies

Access to safe drinking water is deteriorating across parts of Nepal, activists say, despite the prevailing monsoon season from May until September.

According to the Federation of Drinking Water and Sanitation Users Nepal, a national network advocating water and sanitation rights, half the country now faces drinking water shortages.

Although a study has yet to be conducted on the current scenario, water experts claim more than 20 districts in both the hills and Terai areas of the country have been badly affected.

"This situation could affect a large number of families who have already been reeling under the immense water shortage situation over the last many years," Ajaya Dixit, director of the Nepal Water Conservation Foundation told.

According to government statistics, more than 4.4 million people in the Himalayan nation do not have regular access to safe drinking water in rural and urban areas, be it via piped water, wells, rainwater or bottled water.



"With water sources drying up, erratic rainfall and poor management of water resources, the problems are worsening every year," said Prakash Amatya from the NGO Forum for Urban Water and Sanitation.

Public health concerns are increasing as a result. Already, more than 10,500 children die before their fifth birthday from diarrhoea, mainly due to inadequate access to safe drinking water, sanitation and hygiene, according to WaterAid. More than 80 percent of diseases are the result of unsafe drinking water and poor sanitation, according to its 2009 report, End Water Poverty campaign journey in Nepal.

## Worsening water crisis

Villagers in remote districts such as Dadelhdura, Doti, Surkhet and dozens of others in western Nepal, all more than 500km from the capital, are already suffering, social workers say.

"A lot of people are taking desperate measures by spending more than five hours every day to fetch water from far-off rivers," said Anju Karki, a healthcare volunteer in Doti.

The government has more than 50,000 healthcare volunteers who work closely with the rural communities and are also a major source of information for NGOs, media and government where there is limited access.

## No resignation of PM before consensus: UML

The ruling CPN (UML) has concluded that Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal does not have to quit unless the parties arrive at a consensus on implementation of the past agreements on peace process and constitution-writing.



A meeting of the UML standing committee held at the party headquarters in Balkhu on Wednesday arrived at this decision.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, UML chairman Jhala Nath Khanal said the first point of the three-point agreement, which is about implementing the past agreements, and the third point (on 'immediate resignation' of the PM) should be implemented simultaneously.

Khanal also expressed hope that the upcoming three-party meeting would arrive at consensus.

The second point of the agreement regarding the extension of the Constituent Assembly term has already been executed.

Maoist leaders have been saying there was an informal understanding at the last minute negotiations Friday night that the Prime Minister would offer his resignation in five days.

Some UML and Nepali Congress leaders have said there was no agreement as such and that there should be an agreement on integration of Maoist combatants, return of the properties seized during the insurgency and dismantling of the paramilitary structure of the Young Communist League (YCL) before the Prime Minister resigns.

In the meantime, the smaller parties have put pressure on the big three to resolve the deadlock.

Meanwhile, the three big parties are scheduled to meet later today to discuss the issue and three Madhes-based parties in the ruling coalition are also likely to hold separate meeting to devise common strategies.

# Decentralization: A way for inclusive development

By Bishnu Bahadur Thapa

Decentralization is a topic of growing interest in many countries around the world. The World Bank (1999) reported that almost 95 percent of the democratic countries have officially recognized their sub-national governments. Other countries are increasingly decentralizing their fiscal, political, and administrative powers to lower levels of government. While countries such as US and Canada are considering new ways to assign more fiscal and other responsibilities to lower levels of government, other countries such as China have been focusing their efforts in reforming their fiscal regimes. India's extraordinary economic performance in the last two decades is often partly attributed to its decentralization-based reforms of the early 1990s - around the same time it carried out the deregulation and privatization initiatives. This short essay is my attempt to examine the relevance of decentralization in the Nepalese context.

Decentralization refers to the transfer of decision-making power from the central government to the sub-national governments, i.e. district and local (VDC and municipality) governments. It is often categorized into three types: political, fiscal and administrative. While political decentralization pertains to participation, representation and empowerment; fiscal decentralization refers to the distribution of resources, and the ability of the local governments to mobilize their resources to meet their expenditures. Administrative decentralization, on the other hand, includes the planning and management aspect of governance. For a country to have an effective decentralization, all three types of decentralization are essential, but Nepal's decentralization experience has been mainly confined to administrative kind.

Decentralization is not new to Nepal. The division of the country into 75 districts, 14 zones and 5 development regions by King Mahendra in 1962 was the first solid attempt towards decentralization. King Birendra's "Back to the Village" national campaign in 1975 was a similar attempt to empower local governments. In fact, the Panchayat system was also a step towards decentralization. The system was an effort to reach out to people living outside Kathmandu valley. Despite the fact that the ultimate power rested in the King's hands, the system gave more people a stake in country's governance simply due to the sheer number of people required to run the system. Despite some good intentions, the system failed miserably. Lack of political freedom and the rampant corruption amongst the panchas gave

way to the democratic forces of 1990.

More recently, the concept of decentralization has been formalized through the enactment of the Local Self-Governance Act (LSGA) 1999. In its preamble, the act stipulates that "it is expedient to make provisions conducive to the enjoyment of the fruits of democracy through the utmost participation of the sovereign people in the process of governance by way of decentralization." Reading further through the LSGA 1999, one can quickly notice that Nepal has planned one of the most progressive systems of local governance in the world. Sadly, this is yet to be translated into reality. As mentioned earlier, administrative decentralization is all that Nepal has seen in the name of decentralization, and the country still has a long road ahead in the way of achieving political and fiscal decentralization.

The current local governments have very insignificant fiscal capacity, and are highly restricted in their abilities to mobilize their resources. Their taxation and revenue raising authorities are mostly limited to property tax (land and house). Even though LSGA 1999 enumerates that the VDCs have the authority to raise other taxes such as haat market shop tax, vehicle tax, entertainment tax, rent and tenancy tax, advertisement tax, business tax, natural resources utilization tax, and commercial video tax, these taxes are rarely raised and therefore contribute minimally towards VDC finances. In the absence of enough funds to finance their local activities, VDCs' activities are largely dictated by the annual grants that they receive from the central government. Not only does this make the local governments dependent on the center but this also gives them less motivation to gather resources on their own thereby creating the moral hazard problem. Moreover, when the local governments receive grants from the center, they are often forced to act as agents of the central government. As a result, their activities do not necessarily reflect the real needs of the local communities.

According to LSGA report, all the local governments combined receive less than 5 percent of the total national budget and less than 10 percent of the development budget. It is indeed a shame that only 10 percent of the development budget is channeled towards strengthening the local governments. A comprehensive development is impossible without first developing villages and strengthening the local governments. Currently, each VDC receives ten lakhs rupees in grant every year. Ten lakhs sounds like a huge

sum of money but given the myriad of problems that the local governments face, it is a grossly insufficient amount. For VDCs that lack good schools, electricity, roads, proper drinking water or any combination of these, ten lakhs is simply not sufficient. There is therefore an acute need to increase the amount that the VDCs receive.

The method of distributing these annual grants also needs a revision. In contrast to the existing system (whereby all the VDCs across the country are allocated a uniform grant of ten lakhs of rupees), the grants should be distributed in a non-uniform manner based on communities' needs. The distribution of the grants can be based on a formula, in the same way that India does at a federal level. In India, such formula can be devised based on an index of poverty, literacy, income, infrastructure, proportion of so-called backward castes and marginalized groups, and other factors that are deemed to matter development.

Lack of sound leadership at the local level is one of many reasons why decentralization has not been effective in Nepal. Local leadership continues to be a legacy that is limited to a select few individuals or families. More often than not, leadership also changes with the change in the government. This can be seen not just in the leadership of the VDC but also in the management committees of government schools. Moreover, local leadership is heavily politicized and plagued by unethical practices, which result from the lack of appropriate checks and balances. The absence of checks and balances is in turn an outcome of the lack of educated people and political awareness. Efforts should be targeted towards carrying out leadership development and capacity building measures. Leadership development initiatives can be carried out in collaboration with the teachers and students of secondary schools. If trained properly, youths can potentially provide a good check for the local leadership. In a tradition in which leadership is defined by age and political affiliation, it is certainly not easy for the youths to break through the barriers. However, by questioning the decisions of the VDC, the youths can at least initiate a path in the direction of creating accountable local leadership. Leadership development initiatives and capacity building measures can do a lot in the way of diversifying the scope of local leadership as well as provide a strong foundation for strengthening electoral competition and increasing political decentralization.

Information asymmetry is another reason why decentralization has been

ineffective in Nepal. An information asymmetry occurs when at least one of the parties involved in a decision making process has informational advantage over other parties. The question of information asymmetry is particularly pertinent in the context of decentralization in Nepal. Decentralization entails coordination and cooperation amongst all tiers of the government, and the inability to do so leads to a misrepresentation of the realities on the ground. In Nepal's case, government policies are often based on projections and estimates, and insufficiently reflect the needs and aspirations of people in villages. There is a significant amount of information gap between the local governments and the central government. In order to overcome the problem of information asymmetry, the government should establish information systems at various parts of the country and must periodically update them by utilizing the local manpower. The use of local manpower (rather than someone appointed from the center) is especially critical to bridge the information gap because of access to accurate information that these locals readily enjoy about their communities.

As the talks for a federal republic are gaining momentum, it is especially important to evaluate the concept of decentralization now than ever before. Federalism is one of many ways of achieving decentralization. However, it is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition. The exact model of federalism is still being debated but several groups have already proposed some possible models. Some of these are based on ethnicity while others are based purely on geography and distribution of resources, and some others are a combination of the two. All these models have advantages and disadvantages but the right model should be able to address the country's pressing grievances. In doing so, it is particularly important to pay attention to the issues of inclusiveness, development, resource distribution, ethnicity, and all the other factors that have come to the fore of the Nepalese political arena.

There is no doubt that Nepal's development so far has been non-uniform and disproportionate but federalism is no single panacea to fix this. Regardless of the model of federalism we choose, a holistic development is not possible in the absence of strong local governments and bottom-up development. This is also the only way to have all three types of decentralization working together for inclusive development. Let us call for better governance. Let us call for local governance.

~ National news ~

## Constitution within six months

A meeting of the 22 parties representing in the Constituent Assembly (CA) has urged big three parties to issue the new constitution within the next six months by ending the ongoing political deadlock and peace process and making a working schedule.

In the meeting held at the CA building at New Baneshwar, fringe parties included the three big parties about the three-point agreement reached among the major parties on May 28.

Talking to media persons after the meeting, Minister for Law and Justice Prem Bahadur Singh said the Unified CPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) interpreted the accord from their own point of views. The fringe parties urged the major parties to seriously carry out their responsibilities otherwise hand over it to them.

In the meeting, NC and UML leaders stressed that the peace process and constitution making should not be linked with the Prime Minister's resignation, while the UCPN-Maoist put forth the views that these issues are inter-related. However, the meeting did not reach to any conclusion.

## AISC meeting postponed

A meeting of the Army Integration Special Committee (AISC) for Supervision, Integration and Rehabilitation of Maoist combatants called for Wednesday afternoon was postponed after the main opposition Unified CPN (Maoist) representatives boycotted the meeting.

UCPN (Maoist) representatives decided to boycott the meeting saying it would be worthless to attend any meetings until a consensus at a broader level among the political parties.

The relation among the three major political parties has dampened in the recent days due to differences in understanding of last Friday midnight's pact.

UCPN (Maoist) has been taking a stance that the PM should resign before any further talks or commitments from their side, while the NC-UML have been asking the Maoists to present themselves clearly on other issues of the peace process particularly the integration and rehabilitation of the Maoist combatants.

## Bhattarai rules out Maoist role in Shrestha's disappearance

Vice Chairman of UCPN Maoist, Dr Baburam Bhattarai claimed that there is no Maoist involvement in the disappearance of Executive Director of BP Koirala Memorial Cancer Hospital Dr Bhakta Man Shrestha.

He said there is no logic in linking the Maoists in Shrestha's disappearance without any base and evidence.

Dr Bhattarai, who came Chitwan Tuesday to meet the family members of Dr Shrestha, told journalists at the Bharatpur Airport, "The main issue now is safe release of Dr Shrestha. Rather than saying who did it, what would be an achievement if Dr Shrestha could be freed safely. Let's focus our attention to that end."

He expressed commitment to take strong action if involvement of any Maoist cadres is found in Shrestha's disappearance.

In another context, Dr Bhattarai accused the ruling parties of trying to break the deal reached during CA term extension. He warned of serious consequences if the prime minister does not quit by Wednesday.

Meanwhile, Central level Maoist leaders today met with the family members of Dr Bhakta Man Shrestha, who has been missing for the last few days, after the Maoist party was linked to the disappearance of the doctor.

Maoist vice chairman Dr Baburam Bhattarai, standing committee member Girirajman Pokharel and Barshaman Pun met Dr Shrestha's wife Shilu and other members of the family. During the meeting, Dr Bhattarai assured the family that there is no Maoist involvement in Dr Shrestha's disappearance and the party is also making effort to find out his whereabouts.

## Maoists call Rupandehi bandh

The Unified CPN (Maoist) has called a bandh in Rupandehi district Thursday to protest against the murder of their local leader Sapatu Yadav.

Yadav, the Maoist in charge for Rupandehi constituency 5, was shot dead by an unidentified group while returning home Monday evening.

Maoists called the bandh in Rupandehi today demanding the murderer be identified and booked.

Normal life in Rupandehi has been adversely affected due to the bandh with vehicles remaining off the road and major market places, factories and academic institutions closed.

Two major cities of the western region, Butwal and Bhairahawa and one of the main check-points along Nepal-India border, Sunauli are in Rupandehi.

## Diarrhea and Typhoid outbreak in Taplejung

Patients of diarrhea and typhoid have increased in the district hospital with the rise on the temperature.

More than two dozens patients of diarrhea and dysentery are visiting hospital for treatment every day, according to the information provided by District Public Health Office.

The rising number of patients in the hospital has caused trouble to treatment. There will be a lack of area to keep patients and treat if the number increases on this trend, said doctors concerned.

With the outbreak of diarrhea in New Mechi Horizon English Boarding School at Dokhu VDC of the district for the last few days, all students of the school have fallen sick.

Likewise, patients suffering from dysentery and diarrhea are also rising in number at northern Lingkhim VDC of the district, according to Area Police Post, Siwa.

Meanwhile, District Public Health Office, Salyan issued directives to all health workers in the district to not leave office in other conditions except special work, keeping in mind the possible outbreak of epidemics, including diarrhea with changes in climate.

Directives were given to alert health workers in the context of full-fledged preparations to prevent the possible outbreak of diarrhea at a time when it is spreading in adjoining districts, informed District Health In-charge Dr. Umashanker Chaudhary.

# Velvet hangover

By Krishna Sharma

Because they have finished such an eleventh-hour marathon, there will be a 'justified' velvet hangover for about a month. The leaders of the major political parties will then visit districts trying to explain to their loyal voters the reason behind the extension of the tenure of the Constituent Assembly in their own ways. Then the current prime minister would resign, hesitantly. As in the past, the tradition of blaming others regarding the inability of writing a constitution in four years will keep swirling. The new government would be formed after rounds and rounds of bilateral and multilateral meetings. The principal issue of army integration will surface again. House sessions will be disrupted. There will be demonstrations every now and then. Public life will come to a complete halt. Harvesting season will lessen political activities but for a while only. One or the other party in the government will threaten to pull the plug of support if its activist is not appointed the ambassador for the USA or any other important country where thousands of dollars await in the name of celebrating various Days, including

"Democracy Day" or "Republic Day", among others. Newspapers will have great fortune. TV channels will still keep transmitting fire-side interviews of people with stale opinions.

Chairman of the committee to write constitution will be changed. He/she will take a couple of weeks to complete the charter writing team. Issues ranging from the viability of the federalist system of states to codification of relationship between the branches of government to the expansion of the list of official languages to the distribution of natural and other resources between and among states to the freedom of the press will surface again. There won't be a single day without breaking news of a sort. Prime Minister will speak to people as if he/she were in the opposition. He will not even hesitate to say that his hands were tied by unseen foreign forces. He/she will not speak a word even if his/her party backed youth wing abducts leaders of other political parties.

Then the chief of army staff will be sacked over the issue of army

integration again. He will be reinstated by the president. Prime Minister will then resign and demand the ouster of the president on the (false) basis that he used non-mandated or self-explained right to do so. Law professors' opinions will fill the pages of newspapers and magazines. The issue will go to the Supreme Court. And then another chapter will be opened to divert the national attention. The streets will be blocked with burning tires and the overall functioning of the government will simply collapse. There will be extended hours of load shedding throughout the nation. Political party with arms and might will organize a showdown in the capital city by hiring innocent people from remote areas.

Banks will continue to paint rosy picture of 'robust' economic growth on the basis of ballooned foreign remittance. Private schools and colleges will continue skyrocketing their tuition fees while public schools and colleges will continue to become fertile grounds for political demonstrations.

Corruption will go unchecked.

While we will be busy tracking all these interesting events in print, online or on tubes, six months will pass as if it were the second hand of a pendulum clock. Then the marathon of a different sort will start again. The Wall Street Journal will publish a story with a headline "Nepal Faces Constitutional Crisis (Again)". And then the New York Times' turn will come to report the next day about the last minute political adjustment with the title "Nepal Avoids Political Crisis with Broad Deal to ...".

We will continue to watch this interesting political drama free of cost staged in the largest valley of the Himalayan nation. If Shakespeare were alive today he would have vowed to the writer of this greatest Nepali tragedy in which neither the protagonist dies a hero's death nor the villain faces punishment. They are left untouched to repeat the drama again. There is no place for 'poetic justice' in this greatest Nepali tragedy. There is not even a thin line between the good and the bad. They mix up in such a way on the political stage that villain looks very much the hero and the hero the villain.

Region:

# US-China gains are modest, yet vital

By Jing-dong Yuan

Amid major changes in global and regional security and economic environments, the second United States-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (SED)

issues of mutual interest. Both sides made great efforts in putting together substantive programs

Modest progress aside, it is clear that important issues remain unresolved. These include China's currency - the US believes the yuan is undervalued - and US restrictions on high-tech exports to China. Chinese President Hu Jintao emphasized that any currency decision would be made under the principles of "independent decision-making, controllability and gradual progress", while praising the "mutually beneficial and win-win cooperation" between the two countries.

In terms of its currency, Beijing is understandably reluctant to take any measures, given that the Greek debt crisis has had a negative impact on its exports to the European Union, China's largest trading partner. Indeed, the financial crisis that started in 2008 has already led to a significant decline in Chinese exports and a re-orientation toward domestic consumption and infrastructure investment.

However, a lack of agreement on North Korea and Iran during the SED is what leads most critics to question the usefulness of the high-powered dialogue. Beijing has acknowledged South Korea's report on the investigation of the Cheonan incident in which North Korea has been accused of sinking a South Korean naval vessel causing 46 deaths. But it has not made any public statements critical of Pyongyang's behavior. Instead, Chinese officials continue to call for restraint to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula.

On the issue of Iran sanctions, Beijing has yet to agree on a list of specific targets, even though in principle it has agreed to a draft United Nations Security Council resolution now being circulated. Here China's interests are obvious: it seeks to protect its commercial interests in Iran by

limiting the scope of any sanctions. But the larger point is that Beijing has never believed that sanctions are an effective tool in getting Tehran to halt its uranium-enrichment program, which some countries fear will lead to a nuclear weapon - something Tehran strongly denies. China worries that further punitive action could be counterproductive without having any impact on the progress of Iran's nuclear activities.

Clearly, there are major differences between Beijing and Washington in terms of interests, policy goals and specific approaches to various regional and global problems. It is also clear that without effective cooperation between these major powers, solutions will be difficult, if not altogether impossible, to craft.

The fact that such differences exist makes SED, especially its security track, all the more important - the rationale behind its creation is precisely to resolve problems.

This leads to the question of how a rising China will exercise its power and whether and to what extent US and Chinese interests be accommodated - and which side should make the bigger adjustments in the process. China has clearly become more assertive in recent years, not so much in deliberately challenging US interests as in protecting its own interests in ways that balance with its image as a responsible power.

Beijing has every right to protect what it perceives as its national interests, from exchange rates to its cautious handling of the North Korean and Iranian issues. But it also has growing responsibilities as a rising power.

In that respect, while expectations for SED must remain realistic, the wish-list for what China should and can do in the coming years should never be dismissed out of hand.



achieved some modest results - even as few were expected.

The meeting took place in Beijing this week after a brief period of estrangement this year when the Chinese government reacted vehemently to the Barack Obama administration's decision to sell arms to Taiwan and the US president's meeting with the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader.

The Copenhagen summit on climate change, the Google showdown and the issue of currency revaluation have raised questions about the prospects of bilateral cooperation on critical regional and global issues. The fact that over 200 US officials, including 15 secretaries and administrators, participated in the two days of meetings with their Chinese counterparts is an indication of the scope and expansion of bilateral consultation on multiple

and displaying progress in restoring their relationship. Twenty-six specific outcomes of note were announced. These included cooperation on nuclear safety; joint research and development in shale gas resources; energy and environment cooperation; combating illicit trafficking in nuclear and radioactive materials; and consultation on arms control and non-proliferation prior to the next round of SED. In addition, the sides agreed that continuing efforts were needed with regard to economic adjustments and rebalancing to achieve sustained growth.

These are far from major accomplishments, but in accumulation specific and concrete steps and measures add up and provide regular channels of communication between the various government agencies of the countries.

# Mossad-RAW nexus

By S.M. Hali

A recently declassified document of RAW has made startling revelations regarding a nexus between the intelligence agencies of Israel and India, namely Mossad and RAW. The nexus, according to the document has been to target Pakistan through a covert stratagem titled "CIT 'X' Operations", to be executed through the "Dragon Policy". These Operations were conceived "in retaliation to the alleged unending terrorist pursuits of Pakistan" a year earlier as the "Summer Offensive". The salient features of CIT "X" operations comprise: Recruiting known international drug and mafias dons and training agents for covert operations in Pakistan. All possible international criminal and mercenaries, including Afghans were engaged for covert purpose during LK Advani's tenure in the Home Ministry. Funding of CIT "X" covert operations has been through drug trafficking. Illegal poppy is being cultivated in bulk in Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Uttar Pradesh.

Indian drug barons reportedly have close links with their Afghan counterparts, are completely controlled, and continuously monitored by various intelligence agencies. India today stands as the fifth largest country in the world in the production of illicit opium. Laos is 4th with 20 metric tons and has been known to be directly tied up with RAW and Indian drug barons. Some people of Indian origin living in Surinam and Holland have been engaged to facilitate Indian agencies in drug trafficking. Under the benign patronage of CIT "X" the business of drug trafficking is flourishing and the money earned is being directed towards covert activities in Pakistan. The "summer offensive" tactics comprise: The establishment of 57 training camps in

Occupied Kashmir, East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Assam to train and launch terrorists inside Pakistan. Trainees are generally drawn from the Indian hatched dissident groups of Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), Jiye Sindh Mohaz, (JSM) Jiye Sindh Students Federation (JSF) and Balochi nationalists and other nationalists groups from various parts of Sindh, Balochistan and Tribal Areas.

The offensive under Diplomatic Cover (The Mossad Hands) modus operandi has been disclosed as: RAW Centers at London, Dubai, Iran, and South Africa operate against Pakistan jointly with Israeli MOSSAD. However, for its summer offensive RAW in a joint effort with MOSSAD has laid out a whole network around Pakistan to ensure success through destabilization. During Wana operations the miscreants were fed cash, weapons and ammunition indirectly by RAW operatives under cover of Al-Qaeda. Mossad and AMMAN have also contributed heavily towards the funding and material requirements for those operations.

Ministry of Information and Security (The Iranian involvement) has been: Iran, having contiguous borders with Pakistan, is a hot bed of intrigues and constant source of support and inspiration to RAW functionaries. The Indian Embassy at Tehran and Consulates in Zahidan, Mashhad and Bandar Abbas are actively engaged in establishing links with disgruntled elements of Balochistan and Sindh for destabilizing these provinces.

RAW is maintaining contacts/their sources/links in Pakistan through their consulates at Zahidan and Dubai. Most

of the staff at Indian Consulate in Zahidan is from intelligence/security organizations including RAW, Intelligence Bureau and Military Intelligence. Iranian intelligence has been providing reliable information and support to RAW operations by using disgruntled Shia elements in Pakistan.

The Intelligence Model reveals the following methodology: It is an improvement on the practices of MOSSAD, which has infiltrated several Jewish agents into the occupied territory of Palestine as Muslims. These agents practice Islam like any ordinary Muslim. Mingle into local Muslim population just to wait for the appropriate time to strike. While Taliban and Al-Qaeda are getting the blame and Pakistan gets the rap for "not doing enough" by US and "Friendly" Afghan authorities. The nexus has been using UAE as a launching pad for terrorist activities in Pakistan. Agents are getting hold of young, disgruntled elements and after carrying out their proper brainwashing, they are dispatched to Dubai. Indian Consulate in Dubai is issuing temporary passport to these activists for getting training/briefing. After completion of their formal training, they are launched into Pakistan to carry out their terrorist/sabotage activities. CIT "X" operations have been pumping fake currency to cripple the economy of Pakistan via RAW through various illegal means. The employment of Subversion has been made to a certain degree. To fan flames of Sindh Desh Movement, subversive literature, published from Bombay and Jammu e.g. Sindh Sujag, Sindh Rises, Sindh Parcham, Sangat and lot of other subversive material is being pumped into Sindh clandestinely. Whereas, RAW is morally and materially

supporting the Saraiki Movement in southern Punjab. Reportedly regional political parties like Saraiki Suba Mahaz, Pakistan Saraiki Party and Saraiki Sahaliya Sangam are believed to be getting effectively sponsored. Subversive literature in huge quantity is being published on the subject. Another ploy by the nexus is the launch of the Balawaristan Movement. It is being organized under Abdul Hamid, self styled Chairman of his own faction of Balwaristan National Front based in Delhi. The Front is working for the independence of Northern Areas. It has been inculcating into Pakistan a highly subversive material from abroad.

India is also acquiring defence equipment from Israel for its military. Indian expansionist designs are quite evident. Indian neighbours especially Pakistan is threatened due to Indian massive military build up. Indian hegemonic desires and trend to build her military capability is giving rise to arms race in South Asian region.

Indian role in Afghanistan is rather dubious. India has been claiming that her companies are working in Afghanistan to develop infrastructure and participating in rebuilding process of that country. Actually Indian companies are involved in unlawful activities e.g. provide safe passage to pro-India Taliban and drug peddlers. The NATO forces operating in Afghanistan should take notice of the underground activities of Indian firms operating in Afghanistan.

The hostile intelligence operatives of the Mossad-RAW nexus are making concerted/unified attempts to achieve their aim of destabilizing Pakistan. It is imperative that the foul designs of the nexus are exposed before greater harm is done to Pakistan as well as International efforts to eradicate terrorism.

# Indian defence budget & poverty

By Surriya Fatima

According to the budget presented by Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee, India's defence expenditure has been raised to Rs. 1,47,344 crore for 2010-11, a 4 per cent increase from the last year's Rs. 1,41,703 crore. The rationale being given by the finance Minister for the increase in the budget was deteriorated security environment of India. It seems quite astonishing that India is now using the internal mishaps as basis for the increase in the defence budget. Whereas, in reality India needs a huge defence budget to finance its defence deals with different countries such as Israel, Russia and America.

Israel is poised to grab a major chunk of the whopping \$ 30 billion that New Delhi will spend on defence purchases over the next five years. In the past three years, India had spent as much as \$ 10.5 billion on military imports, making it amongst the largest arms importers in the developing world. India's military imports are expected to reach \$ 30 billion by 2012. India is a country, which bullies neighbouring countries and has no direct threat of aggression from any other country, so it cannot justify such a massive defence budget. The Indian government is increasing its defence budget and is not bothering about what is happening to the common man. Two-thirds of India's 1.1 billion citizens continue to live on less than 1\$ a day. The people living below the poverty line have nothing to do with the defence budget. The socio-economic indicators of Indian society to not allow India to have a huge defence budget. The poor condition of its agriculture, education, employment etc. has exposed its fake economic progress. According to International Herald Tribune, "there are too many signs of an over confidence (in India) that look more and more like hubris". Paradoxically, only a false sense of economic growth is spreading throughout India notwithstanding the reality. According to a survey conducted by the BBC almost half of all Indians feel that their century's old economic "miracle" has done nothing to benefit them or their families. The surveys revealed the growing sense of discern franchised rural poor.

The per centage of inflation is much higher than what is projected at the national level by the Government. For common man, inflation means rise in the prices of wheat and flour. The poverty-stricken people are committing suicides in the country at an alarming rate. The Indian government failed to provide employment to its vast population. The proportion of the unemployed to the total labour force has been increasing from 2.62 per cent (1993-94) to 2.78 per cent (1999-2000) and 3.06 per cent (2004-05). According to the Minister for Labour and employment the enrolment of the unemployed in the Employment Exchange in 2006-07 was 79 Lakhs against the average of 58 Lakhs in the past ten years. The quality of education is also not satisfactory, which is indicative of Indian Government's ignorance towards this sector. According to a study, 38 per cent of the children who have completed four years of schooling cannot read a small paragraph with short sentences meant to be read by a student of class II.

The number of people living in slums in India has doubled in the past two decades. According to Indian government, the population of people living in slums has exceeded the entire population of Britain. According to Kumar Selji, Minister for housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, India's slum-dwelling population had risen from 27.9 million in 1981 to 61.8 million in 2001. The ballooning slum population is also an evidence of the Government's failure to build enough housing and other basic infrastructure for its urban poor, many of whom live without electricity, gas or running water. India's largest slum population is in Mumbai where 6.5 million people live in tiny makeshift shacks surrounded by open sewers. Mumbai is also home to Dharavi, Asia's biggest single slum, which is estimated to be home to more than a million people. Delhi has the country's second largest slum population, totalling about 1.8 million people followed by Calcutta with about 1.5 million. According to Maju Varghese of YUVA, an NGO that has been working with urban poor for more than 20 years, the rise in slums is due to the lack of affordable housing provided by the Government.

There is a direct correlation between extremism and poverty in practice and the social, political, economic, and cultural discrimination faced by (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, who are among the Indian poorest people) has resulted in disoriented people resorting to violence for their rights. In view of these bitter realities a humble suggestion to Indian authorities would be to adhere to the dictum of Martin Luther King, Jr that....A nation-spending more money on military defence than social uplift is approaching spiritual doom.

विकासको नाममा सहयोग गर्नेहरूले  
हाम्रा आचरण र नैतिकतामा असर  
पुऱ्याउँछन् कि भनि सजग र सचेत होऔं

नेपाल सरकार  
सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय  
सूचना विभाग



# Austerity measures throughout Europe

By Peter Schwarz

**Now the banks are exploiting the crisis they created to escalate their plundering of the working class. The governments and the EU act as their accomplices. This became clear last Friday, when in expedited proceedings the German parliament issued a blank cheque worth •148 billion. While parliamentary committees usually haggle for months over smaller amounts, the Bundestag approved the fast-track loan guarantees amounting to half the federal budget, without even being clear to whom and under what conditions the money would flow.**

Two weeks ago, European heads of state and the International Monetary Fund reached agreement on a •750 billion rescue package for the euro. Since then, not a day has gone by without the announcement of a new round of draconian austerity measures. Working people are now being ordered to pay the price for plugging the massive holes in public finances that are the result of various rescue measures for the banks and the euro.

In order to meet a 2013 deadline for compliance with EU stability criteria, which permit a maximum deficit of 3 percent of gross domestic product, the eurozone countries and Britain will have to slash their budget deficits by a total of •400 billion. This huge sum will be recouped primarily at the expense of public service employees, pensioners, the unemployed and those who depend upon social provisions.

Following the example of Greece, which has adopted a plan to reduce its budget deficit by •30 billion over the next three years through wage and pension cuts, slashing social programmes and an increase in VAT (sales tax), the government of Spain decided last week on cuts amounting to •80 billion. To this end, 13,000 jobs in the public service will be cut, the salaries of state employees will be reduced by 5 percent and pensions frozen. The allowance of •2,500, which previously was paid on the birth of a new baby, will disappear without any compensation.

In order to reduce its budget deficit by •2 billion, Portugal has imposed a hiring freeze, public salaries have been frozen and an increase in VAT adopted.

Earlier this week, the British government announced immediate cuts amounting to •7.2 billion, including a hiring freeze in the civil service. But this is only the beginning. In total, Britain's budget deficit will be cut over the next four years by more than •100 billion. This will include slashing 300,000 posts in the public service and a freeze on public sector pay.

On Wednesday, the Italian government launched measures that will result in cuts of •24 billion by 2012. They include a reduction in civil service jobs, salary cuts, raising the retirement age and cuts in the health care system.

France plans to reduce its budget deficit from 8 percent to 3 percent of GDP by 2013. This will be achieved by raising the retirement age; cuts in housing benefits, employment compensation and museums funding; as well as a 10 percent cut in administrative costs.

The German government will decide upon concrete austerity measures on June 6 and 7. The so-called "debt brake", anchored in the constitution, imposes a reduction in new debt of •60 billion by 2016. Among the many measures under discussion are cuts in social provisions, such as family, child, welfare and disability benefits, annuities and pensions.

The EU Commission has now suggested that the retirement age in Europe should continue to rise steadily. This is to ensure that in future, no more than a third of one's adult life could be spent in retirement. In the long term, this would mean raising the pension age to 70 years.

For millions of workers and youth, the newly adopted measures mean unemployment and grinding poverty. In particular, old-age poverty will again become a mass phenomenon in Europe. Nothing will remain of the post-war welfare state. A study by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace think tank in the US concludes that "the welfare states set up across Europe from the 1940s onwards with the aim of suppressing popular unrest and paying off tensions that could lead to another continental war" are "unaffordable".

But there is no shortage of money. The budget shortfalls that are being used to justify the dismantling of the welfare state are the result of the systematic redistribution of income and wealth from those at the bottom of society to those at the top. At least since the 1980s, both right-wing and supposedly "left" governments have reduced income and property taxes for the rich, depressed wages and created new forms of low-wage work. This is one of the main causes of the increase in public debt.

The trillions that governments pumped into the banks in 2008 and 2009 to prevent their collapse meant the public debt rose sharply. Recently published figures from the German Bundesbank prove this. In 2008 and

democrats leave no doubt that they support the cuts, telling working people that there is "no alternative".

The trade unions too maintain there is "no alternative" to the cuts and cooperate with their respective governments in their implementation. If occasionally they organize demonstrations and strikes, these are used to keep any popular opposition under control and grind it down. They isolate the protests, keep them limited to just a few hours or days, and prevent the development of any international solidarity.

In this they are supported by numerous middle-class groups. Despite differences between Germany's Left Party, France's New Anti-Capitalist Party or Greece's SYRIZA, for example, all these groups have two things in common: their unconditional support for the trade unions, which they never criticize, and their willingness to help the social democratic governments achieve a majority. In this way, they try to stop the formation of an independent political movement of the working class.

The deepening capitalist crisis and the haggling over the cuts have also exacerbated tensions within Europe. The future of the euro and the European Union are in the balance. In some countries like Hungary, Slovakia or Italy governments are stoking up national antagonisms in order to divert attention from the social tensions.

The fragmentation of Europe into warring nation-states would have devastating social and economic consequences. But the capitalist class is organically incapable of uniting the continent. That is the task of the working class and it is inextricably linked to the defence of their social and democratic rights.

The intensification of the crisis will drive wide layers of the population into social and political struggle. But this requires a political perspective and the development of a new party, the International Committee of the Fourth International. The capitalist system cannot be reformed, it can only be overthrown. The big banks and corporations must be taken into social ownership and placed under the democratic control of the working class. This would create conditions for utilizing the available resources to meet social needs, instead of fuelling the greed for profits of the individual capitalists.

The European working class can only achieve this goal by uniting in a struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe.

~ News ~

## Maoists hold talks with 15 parties

The UCPN-Maoist warned that the nation would take a critical political mode if the government did not step down by Wednesday. The Maoist leaders said so during a meeting with small parties in Singha Durbar Tuesday.

Maoist Vice Chairman Narayan Kaji Shrestha said party chairman Pushpa Kamal Dahal apprised the small parties of the three-point deal reached among the three major parties last Friday and urged them to help create an environment for the PM's resignation.

He said the Friday deal was reached after Maoist Chairman Dahal and senior UML leader KP Oli agreed for the prime minister resignation within five days to pave way for a national consensus government.

The meeting was called by the Maoists to discuss the spirit of the May 28 agreement. Shrestha accused the NC and UML leaders of misinterpreting the agreement.

Meanwhile, Rastriya Janashakti Party (RJP)'s Co-Chairman Dr Prakash Chandra Lohani said the agreement among the big three parties is unclear and that the small parties will hold a meeting with the three parties to make the agreement clear.

Today's meeting was attended by 15 small parties including MPRF, NSP-A, RPP and RJP, among others.

## Paswan returns allowances to CA

Chairman of Dalit Janajati Party and CA member Bishwendra Paswan has returned all allowances he had received for attending the CA meetings to the CA secretariat.

Paswan returned Rs 120,000 to the secretariat through Nepal Rastra Bank. Paswan had received the amount for attending CA meetings in the last two years.

Paswan said he returned the money as per his previous announcement that he would return all allowances to the CA if the CA failed to draft new constitution on time.

He claimed that the new constitution will not be possible even during the extended tenure of the CA because of the stubbornness of the big parties. He stressed on the need of consensus and unity among the political parties if the constitution were to be written within the one year extended tenure of the CA.

## Minors used in drug smuggling

Children are also being used to smuggle drugs along Nepal-India border side.

It has been substantiated when the Drugs Smuggling Control and Research Unit in Biratnagar on Monday held two children aged 10 with surname BK and Karki along with a huge quantity of drugs.

Police confiscated drugs, including 51 TD Jesik, 20 pieces of Nitrogen and 10 tablets of Proxibhen tablet.

They had smuggled the drugs from Indian bazaar Jogbani adjacent to Biratnagar border by hiding in their bodies.

They explained before police that a man with Rajbanshi surname of Dharan assigned them to pass through a load of drugs to Nepal on condition of giving them money for this.

Both have been captivated in Area Police Office, Rani.

The minors will be handed over to their guardians, said Inspector Madhav Prasad Bogati.

There are no visible substantial efforts made on the part of the sides concerned to curb such illegal activities though it was found that minors have been openly used in drugs smuggling.

## 15000 people die of Tobacco each year

At least 6,000 women out of 15,000 people each year lose their lives due to smoking in the country, informed the National Health Education, Information and Communications Center Monday.

At an interaction organized here on the occasion of World No Tobacco Day, it was informed that adults of 10-19 years old group were prone to tobacco. The World No Tobacco Day was marked with the slogan "Gender and tobacco with an emphasis on marketing to women".

Participants of the programme stressed on launching awareness raising campaigns and prepare stringent laws to control the use of tobacco items. On the occasion, Center's former director Laxmi Raman Ban was felicitated with World Health Organization Award for his contribution to minimize the use of tobacco products.

Minister for Health and Population Uma Kant Chaudhary said the health bill being tabled in the Parliament has mentioned on control, monitoring and implementation regarding tobacco products and urged to all for successful implementation of the Act.

### WM Correspondent

Unity Life International (ULI) chairman Kashi Ram Gurung and Managing Director Bishnu Chhetri are still at large but the Unity has been issuing press releases in an advertisement form in national dailies. It conned billions of rupees of general public by running illegally immense network business.

Deputy governor Bir Bikram Rayamajhi himself prevented the proceedings of the ULI related files when the NRB officials along with other regulators decided to freeze ULI accounts on April - The ULI top brass would have been able to hide their illicitly collected money if timely action had been taken.

A huge number of constituent assembly (CA) members are found to have been its members.

It has been more than two weeks the government took control of ULI headquarters arresting a few ULI officials and employees.

But, strangely, the government

## Unity fiasco

agencies responsible for probing this incident are saying that it could not open the computer containing the database of the ULI yet although there are ways to open such computers even without knowing the passwords.

According to reports, police were told to dilidally the actions against the culprits.

A well recognized Chartered Account (CA) who is in influential post of a government agency audited the financial report of ULI. Even the Chartered Account can give important information about the fraudulent operations of the ULI but not a single attempt has been made in this regard, which is simply suspicious.

The CA is close to Finance Minister Surendra Pandey.

These easily noticeable facts elucidate that the guilty ULI officials are still enjoying illegal leeway because of the strong political backing and

connections.

A committee formed by the government to launch probe into the ULI case has already submitted its report to the government a week ago but the government has budged an inch for further investigation.

According to the committee, there is a need for multidimensional investigation and ULI officials could be sued with 12 different cases in the court.

The police have arrested a dozen ULI affiliated people but they are small fish.

The police are displaying an utter lethargy to nab the honchos of this financial crime.

It has been found that the clout of the ULI is not only vicious in a single party but in almost all big parties.

The facilitation and greetings extended to ULI chairman and managing director by as prominent political figures as president Dr Ram Baran Yadav,



# San Miguel BEER

## International :

# Kyrgyzstan's "Rose Revolution": Washington, Moscow, Beijing and the geopolitics of central Asia

By F. William Engdahl

China's growing economic ties to the cash-strapped regime of former Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev was a major reason Washington decided to dump its erstwhile ally Akayev after almost a decade of support. In June 2001 China, along with Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, signed the Declaration creating the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Three days later Beijing announced a large grant to Kyrgyzstan for military equipment.

After 11 September 2001, the Pentagon began what has been called the greatest shake-up in America's overseas military deployments since the end of the Second World War. The goal was to position US forces along an 'arc of instability' going through the Mediterranean, Africa, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia and southern Asia.

Akayev at the time offered to lease to the Pentagon its largest military base in the region at Manas. China, which shares a border with Kyrgyzstan was alarmed and, together with Russia, steered the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to oppose it, and to call for ending US military bases in Central Asia.

The American perspective on this dangerous development went as follows: "Given the 1,100-kilometer border between Kyrgyzstan and China - and Washington's already considerable foothold in nearby Uzbekistan and Tajikistan - the fall of the China-friendly government of disgraced president Askar Akayev would be no small victory for the 'containment policy'."

At that point Washington launched massive financing via the National Endowment for Democracy and used the resources of the Albert Einstein Institute and Freedom House as well as the State Department and IMF to topple the now-unreliable Akayev regime in the 2005 Tulip Revolution.

Understandably, one of the major interested parties in the political future of Kyrgyzstan today is China. Kyrgyzstan shares a 530 mile border with China, straddling the politically sensitive Xinjiang Province.

Xinjiang Province is where riots in July 2009 by ethnic Uighurs were supported by the US-financed World Uighur Congress of millionaire "ex-laundress" Rebiya Kadeer, and by Washington's regime-changing NGO, the National Endowment for Democracy.

Xinjiang, also bordering the sensitive Chinese Tibet Autonomous Region, is a vital crossroads for energy pipelines into China from Kazakhstan and ultimately Russia, and is home to major domestic Chinese oil production.

The borders between Kyrgyzstan and China's Xinjiang are porous, and the flow of people between Xinjiang in China and Kyrgyzstan is considerable. There are an estimated 30,000 Chinese nationals, including Uighurs, living in Kyrgyzstan. Almost 100,000 ethnic Kyrgyz live in Xinjiang.

In short, US military outposts in Kyrgyzstan have far more significance to Chinese national security than the mere resupply of the Afghan war theatre. It is an ideal breeding ground for US intelligence agencies and for the Pentagon to run covert destabilizing operations into China's strategically vital and politically fragile Xinjiang. The flow of people back and forth between the two countries provides excellent cover for US-run espionage and possible sabotage.

According to retired Indian Ambassador, K. Gajendra Singh, now heading the Foundation for Indo-Turkic Studies in New Delhi, the Bakiev regime permitted the US military to use its facilities at Manas Airbase, including highly sophisticated electronic devices, among other purposes, to also monitor key Chinese missile and military sites in Xinjiang.

Further adding to concerns in Beijing over US actions inside Kyrgyzstan is the Pentagon's new Northern Distribution Network (NDN), created ostensibly to supply the Afghanistan war.

The NDN runs through Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Many in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization region suspect that the NDN will be used

by the Pentagon to encourage spread attacks by groups like the 'Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan' or the 'Islamic Jihad Union' and the murky Hizb ul-Tahrir movement - all of which are clustered within the Ferghana Valley between Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Beijing is no passive observer in the Kyrgyzstan events. It will clearly play its strongest card, the economic one, to secure closer and far more friendly relations with any new Kyrgyz government.

At the June 2009 meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in Ekaterinburg Russia, China's President Hu Jintao pledged a fund of \$10 billion in future aid to the Central Asian member nations of Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Nothing Washington has promised to Kyrgyzstan comes even close to those sums.

In one of its first statements, the provisional Kyrgyz Deputy Head, Omurbek Tekebayev, told Russian media that they regarded China among the country's strategic partners: "The foreign policy will change... Russia, Kazakhstan and other neighbors including China will remain our strategic partners."

One project that that Chinese strategic partner is likely to accelerate in order to weld a closer strategic partnership with its Kyrgyz neighbor is Beijing's announced plan to build a vast high-speed Eurasian rail grid.

China's Ministry of Railways has unveiled one of the world's most ambitious infrastructure projects. The rail link will connect Xinjiang via Kyrgyzstan, ultimately to Germany and even on to London by 2025.

China's plans include linking the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan railway into the Eurasian high-speed rail corridor.

China is also building twelve new highways to economically tie Kyrgyzstan and its neighbors by modern roadways with Xinjiang. At some point US militarization of Kyrgyzstan becomes a Chinese national security threat. An

economic counter move by China to increase its presence in the country is now clearly on the table.

As further indication of Beijing's concern to have stability in its neighborhood, China has recently stepped up its economic activities in Afghanistan.

As friction increases between Afghan President Karzai and the Obama Administration, relations are clearly warming with Karzai and Beijing. On March 24, Hamid Karzai and Chinese President Hu Jintao signed new economic agreements in Beijing on trade and investment, while agreeing to strengthen triangular cooperation with Pakistan, which traditionally has had close ties to China.

The March 24 agreements reportedly cover China's investments in Afghanistan's hydroelectric, mining, railway, construction, and energy projects.

China is already the largest investor in the Afghan economy. Its Metallurgical Group Corporation won a bid in 2007 to invest \$3.5 billion in Afghanistan's Aynak copper mine - one of the largest in the world.

And another prize plum is the possibility for Chinese companies to develop Afghanistan's estimated 1.6 billion barrels of oil and 440 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas, as well as large deposits of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, iron ore and gold.

For China, both Afghanistan and Pakistan are part of its key transportation and trade links to Iran. Beijing has completed a port at Gwadar in Pakistan, allowing it to import 60 percent of its oil coming from the Middle East. China now plans to connect the Gwadar Port with Xinjiang through Afghanistan to secure a more efficient delivery of energy resources to fuel its booming economy. Stability in Kyrgyzstan is essential to China in this broader context.

In our next part we examine the essential geopolitical importance of Kyrgyzstan for Russia, the second geopolitical player in the new three-dimensional chess game for control of Eurasia's land space and its economic and political future.

## ~ News ~

## Japanese PM announces resignation over Futenma, fund issues

Japan's Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama announced Wednesday his decision to resign in a general assembly of the ruling Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) lawmakers.

Following Hatoyama's resignation and his request for DPJ Secretary General Ichiro Ozawa to resign, Ozawa voiced his intention to step down from the ruling party's No. 2 post.

At a meeting of the DPJ's top three held shortly after Hatoyama's resignation, it was decided that Masayuki Naoshima, DPJ's policy research committee chairman, along with DPJ President Hatoyama and Ozawa, will resign en masse from the party's top posts.

The candidate for the new DPJ president is expected to be put up later in the day, and the new party chief is likely to be elected at an assembly of DPJ lawmakers on Friday.

Hatoyama's support rate plunged below 20 percent after being blamed for dividing the ruling coalition due to his mishandling of a plan to relocate a U.S. military facility in Okinawa, causing the Social Democratic Party to bolt from the coalition and reposition themselves to oppose the DPJ in the forthcoming election.

Hatoyama said his management body's alleged false reporting of its political fund has also tainted the image of DPJ, another factor to his decision of resignation.

"We should try to rebuild a clean DPJ so that our people will listen to us," Hatoyama said.

"The government's work has not reflected the public's wishes," the premier said.

"Because of the Futenma issue, I lost trust of my people," Hatoyama said in tears, while adding "I have been and will continue to make efforts (to move the U.S. military facility out of Okinawa)."

"I don't believe in the next 50 or 100 years Japan will still rely on the United States for defense... although the Japan-U.S. alliance is important for the time being," he said.

Hatoyama met Tuesday evening with Ozawa, the powerful chief election strategist behind the premier's throne, and his party's upper house caucus leader Azuma Koshiishi to discuss his political future.

Analysts said Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Naoto Kan is likely to succeed Hatoyama as the new premier.

Hatoyama is the fourth Japanese prime minister to step down in four years.

Hatoyama's departure comes only weeks before a House of Councilors election that is widely expected to be held on July 11. The DPJ needs to win the election to secure a majority in the Diet to enact legislation smoothly.

DPJ swept into power last September to break about half a century's nearly unbroken rule of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

## China to be "impartial" on S. Korean warship sinking: Wen

Visiting Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on Tuesday reiterated China's pledge to take an "impartial" stand on the sinking of a South Korean warship.

"The sinking of the warship Cheonan is an unfortunate incident," Wen said during an interview with Japanese public broadcaster NHK. "We have offered condolences to the victims on many occasions."

What China has in mind in approaching the incident, in which 46 South Korean sailors died after their warship sank in March, is maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, he said.

China attaches importance to the joint investigation conducted by South Korea and other countries and the reactions of various parties, and will take its position on the basis of truth and facts, he added.

China appealed for calm on the part of the concerned parties so as to avoid a further escalation of tension and even conflict, he said.

The Chinese premier said China understands the current difficult situation President Lee Myung-bak and the South Korean government are facing.

China will seek information from various sources and seriously study it before making clear its stand in "a fair and objective manner," he said.

"We will adopt an impartial position," he said. China also maintains that any approach on it must serve the fundamental interest of maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, he added.

Wen said Japan is an important country in Northeast Asia and a close neighbor of China and South Korea. China is ready to cooperate with Japan on such issues as safeguarding security in Northeast Asia, he added.

Japan is the second leg of Wen's four-nation Asian tour, which has already taken him to South Korea. He will also visit Mongolia and Myanmar.

## China to raise investment to Russia

Chinese investment to Russian economy will rise from the current 2 billion U.S. dollars to 12 billion by 2020, Russia's RBC news agency reported on Tuesday, citing the figures released by Russian Ministry for Economic Development.

According to the ministry, Russia would offer the Chinese investors to participate in 16 regional projects in central Russia and Siberia. For that purpose, the ministry would organize trips for the Chinese businessmen to these regions.

The prospective investors should present their business plans to the ministry first, and after the proposals are studied, the ministry will invite three major Chinese banks to finance the projects, RBC said.

The ministry said Chinese entrepreneurs are mostly interested in the raw material extraction and processing in Russia.

In turn, Chinese investors expressed their concerns over the process of receiving Russian work permits and license, the agency reported.

(Xinhua)

## Afghanistan: Reading between the lines

By Eric Walberg

The new coalition in Westminster is parsing all the words about Afghanistan and coming up with a very different interpretation, says Eric Walberg.

The movement to "get the troops out now" has found unlikely converts in the form of the Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition in Britain. The election campaign suggested nothing new could be expected from any of the parties on Afghanistan, despite the fact that over 70 per cent of Britons want the troops home.

So eyebrows were raised with the news that Afghan President Hamid Karzai was Prime Minister David Cameron's first visitor at Chequers. They went higher still when Foreign Minister William Hague made his first foreign destination Kabul, where he called for the withdrawal of troops as soon as possible.

Accompanying Hague, Tory Defence Secretary Liam Fox seconded the new approach, saying, "We have to reset expectations and timeliness. National security is the focus now. We are not a global policeman. We are not in Afghanistan for the sake of the education policy in a broken 13th century country. We are there so the people of Britain and our global interests are not threatened."

Britain's new coalition government also announced it would reduce the defence budget by at least 25 per cent as part of massive cuts across the board to try to save the bankrupt British economy.

Cleverly taking advantage of the electorate's revulsion with the war, Hague's bold call for withdrawal was no doubt sparked by Karzai's address at the US Institute of Peace last week, where he once again predicted an extended US commitment to Afghanistan that would last "beyond the military activity right now ... into the future, long after we have retired, and perhaps into our grandsons' and great-grandsons' - and great-

granddaughters' - generations. This is something the Afghan people have been seeking for a long, long time." Clearly, unlike the unborn great-granddaughters of Afghans, the Brits want no part of any such plans.

The only way withdrawal will be possible, of course, is if accommodation is reached with the Taliban. So it is no surprise that talk of peace talks continues to make headlines. What was referred to by Al-Jazeera as the second meeting between Taliban and Afghan government officials hosted by the Maldives (a Muslim statelet that actually issues visas to Afghans on arrival) took place last week. It was organised by Feroz and Jarir Hekmatyar, the son and son-in-law of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, an Afghan warlord and leader of the insignificant Hezb-e-Islami party.

Karzai was rumoured to be unhappy that the talks are taking place, but nonetheless sent observers. Hekmatyar sent a delegation to Kabul for talks in March, clearly trying to use the opportunity to engage the main Taliban opposition.

Qari Zia-ur-Rehman, a Taliban commander in Kunar province, told Pakistan's The News, "The reports of negotiations between the Islamic Emirate and Karzai regime are bogus and no leader of the Islamic Emirate is engaged in talks with the puppet administration in Kabul," reiterating that the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan was a precondition for any peace talks. He explained that Karzai is using such talks as a ruse to convince the US that he can divide the Taliban and negotiate them into submission. Former Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence director Hamid Gul asks, "How can Taliban hold talks with a government which has never been

recognised by them?"

Western officials were not present at the non-talks though the US State Department said it was aware of them. "We continue to support efforts by the Afghan government to open the door to those Taliban who abandon violence and respect human rights of their fellow citizens," US State Department spokesman PJ Crowley droned.

The meeting comes ahead of a grand jirga of Afghan tribal and community leaders, to be hosted by Karzai, which will demand the insurgents lay down their arms and accept asylum in another Islamic country from where they can negotiate with the Afghan government. The jirga, already postponed twice, is scheduled for 2 June and will last only three days. No representatives of the Taliban are due to attend.

There is little incentive for the Taliban to cave in to pressures to disband, visit sunny Maldives or retire to even sunnier Saudi Arabia. Kabul MP and former presidential candidate Ramazan Bashardost last week called for NATO troops to evacuate Kabul to avoid further civilian casualties. The call came two days after a suicide bomber rammed a convoy of NATO forces in Kabul, killing 12 civilians and six foreign soldiers, including visiting Canadian Colonel Geoff Parker. But if NATO troops can't function in Kabul - the only part of the country the Karzai government "controls" - when can they function?

After the NATO campaign in Marja, it is once again in Taliban hands in all but name. As the Taliban launch their spring offensive, talk is of the Taliban "surge" as opposed to the would-be NATO one. NATO casualties have been increasing at an alarming rate, with the year's NATO toll 215. The number of British troops

killed and wounded in Afghanistan has more than doubled compared to last year. The 200,000 rupee bounty Taliban fighters are awarded for each NATO soldier killed is paying off.

Another Canadian officer, Daniel Menard, is to direct this summer's NATO campaign in Kandahar and Panjwai, where troops from the Royal Canadian Regiment will take the lead. "This conflict is our D-Day," boasted this colonial representative of Queen Elizabeth II, great-great-granddaughter of Queen Victoria, who presided over the British invasions of Afghanistan in the 19th century. In his obscene comparison between the liberation of occupied France in WWII and the US occupation of Afghanistan, Menard added, "The first guys on the beach here are the Canadians."

But the Canadians are very much high-and-dry after their base in Kandahar came under heavy attack three times in the past week and as they solemnly hoist the flag-draped coffin of their unfortunate guest Colonel Parker aboard a jet for Canada. To expect that they and the Karzai government will prevail is a fantasy which surely no one any longer believes.

None of the 130,000 foreign troops has any understanding of Afghanistan's culture and traditions, or even speaks one of the local languages. Their only communication with locals is through the barrel of a gun. Only six per cent of locals polled support the current Kandahar offensive. Afghans can only take pride in repelling these unwanted invaders.

As if a sign from Allah, Hague and British media idol David Beckham had their flight to Kandahar diverted mid-air to Helmand province, when the Kandahar airport came under attack. Rather than Karzai, it is Bashardost, the angry British troops and their mounting body count that Cameron and Hague are now heading, and it is about time.

# Kyichu Lhakhang of Bhutan : A Legacy of Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti

By Min Bahadur Thapa

## Historical Background

Kyichu Lhakhang or Kyerchu Temple is a Buddhist temple in Paro District in Bhutan. It is close to the Paro Airport. This is one of the oldest monasteries in Paro district.

It is one of the oldest monasteries in the country built in the 7th century by the Tibetan King Songsten Gampo under the initiative of Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti Devi.

The story goes that a giant demones lay across the whole area of Tibet and the Himalayas and was preventing the spread of Buddhism. To overcome her, King Srong btsan Gampo decided to build 108 temples, which would be placed on all the points of her body. Temples were built across the Himalayas to pin her body down. Kyichu Lhakhang pins down her left foot and Jampay Lhakhang in Bumthang her left knee.

Of these 108 temples, 12 were built in accordance with precise plans. Thus, it happened that in about the year AD 638 the temple of Jokhang in Lhasa was built over the very heart of the demones. There's a belief that the two orange trees here in Kyichu Lhakhang bears fruit throughout the year.

Guru Rinpoche came here to meditate in the eighth century. He hid many treasures of the dharma, precious things and sacred substances.

In the eleventh century Terton Lama Drumpa performed the wrathful subjugating mantras of the Rajor scriptures ( gza' rgod spu gri) at temple.

In the catalogue of monasteries written by Je khenpo Sherab Gyaltsen it is written that, during the twelfth

century, the temple was looked after by the successors of Lama Lhapa and it was handed over to a descendant of Phajo Drugom's son, Nyima in the thirteenth century.

damaged and could not be seen by ordinary people, Ugyen Pema Lingpa (1450-1521), the fourth of the five Tertons Kings, rebuilt it for the sake of sentient beings exactly as it is before.

In the biography of Yongzin Ngawang Drakpa, the first Hephphu (b.1525) it is recorded that, when he went there to discover treasures in accordance with the prophecy of Guru Rinpoche, the temple was under the care of the thedescendant of Lama Lhapa. From this, we can surmise that the temple was left unclaimed for sometime between the 14th and 15th centuries and was taken over by the lineage holders of Lama Lhapa in the 16th century.

In 1644, the temple was taken over by Zhabdrung Rinpoche and placed under the care of the Government of Bhutan. From 1836 to 1836, it was renovated and re-consecrated by the Sehlab gyaltsen, the 25th Je Khenpo.

Pilgrims turn the many prayer wheels along the walls as they circumambulate the temple. The fine statues of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha are national treasures. The wooden floor of the sanctum is inlaid with turquoise and coral gemstones offered by pilgrims.

A second temple built by the Queen Mother in 1968 hosts the annual Druchep prayers held to ensure the well being of the county and the King. The late Dilgo Khenpo Rimpoche presided over these ceremonies.

## Original legend of the Temple:

One of the notable contribution of Princess Bhrikuti Devi was her elaborate method of temple

Chinese Princess Wencheng Kongjo. The king appreciated his proposal and sent him with seven gold coins as present to be given to the Chinese emperor. He also sent an armour of malachite inlaid with beryl as the price for bride.

The minister mGar was given three letters similar to the previous ones given to the Nepalese King 'od zer Gocha but this time the mission was no so easy. The mission suffered a lot and had to perform different trials. In spite of these difficulties, the wise minister mGar, through witty intellect was able to secure the Chinese princess in the year 641 A.D.

After sometime, the Nepalese consort went to the king's apartment in the upper castle unhindered and asked for advice: I would like to build a temple, your majesty being the lord of these lands, I am asking for a piece of land on which to build a temple. Then the king responded: " Build the temple where it suits you"

Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti Devi alias Khri-btsun had an entourage of horse riders and many kinds of male and female demons and evil spirits. She first laid the foundation of 108 temples in Yar-lungs and other good places in the border regions. It also include Kyichu Lhakhang at Paro and Jampay Lhakhang at Bumthang in Bhutan.

She once again met the king in the top of the palace and addressed the king thus:

"O Great king! Although I have put the foundation of 108 temples, what I built in the day has been destroyed at night. Please tell me what I can do?"

The king replied: " You should consult Chinese Princess Kongjo once more because she is an expert in

the community of demons to the Sandalwood image of Avalokiteshvara. Then from the sky a ray of light resembling that of the sun appeared and filled the entire land of snowy Tibet Again., when the ray of light reached the king, a voice suddenly came and spoke thus: " Emah-o ! O King you are a protector of Dharma sent by the compassionate mind of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, by the great benediction of your previous prayers now being accomplished, ripen those beings who difficult to tame".

(fol.136b) Thus the sound was heard. The king, thinking that he should build temples, spoke thus: " The land of Tibet, the country of red faced demons, is a dark, dense, gloomy country. Powerful evil demons and gods possess cultivated lands. There are always snow and hailstorms. They bring forth hailstorms destroying all the harvests. Men are very wrathful and women are very lustful. The demons are envious: people and cattle have a short life. One the surface they behave well, but in their hearts they have bad motives. People do not listen to their masters, the sons do not listen to their fathers, the wives do not listen to their husbands. People think of their worthy teachers as their enemies and receive their faulty teachers with praise and honour face to face, such a place is this Tibet. However, I have hope in the great Compassionate one. You who are my followers, listen to me for while. A Sam !

Then the Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti spoke: " Kye ho ! the great Compassionate One , isn't it you, Venerable Sir ? For the benefit of sentient beings, the great compassionate One, are you dissolute ? Guide the sentient beings of this snowland who difficult to tame. Kindle the lamp of True Law in this dark country of Tibet. Establish the temples as the support of devotion for the Tibetan people. I too, incessantly work for the benefit of all sentient beings".

Lha-gcig Kong Jo also said: Kye ho ! O Great King, you are indeed the Great Compassionate One, do not contradict with your compassionate deeds. Please don't interrupt our work for the happiness of these people, send down your compassionate rays quickly. I too want to see your compassionate activity." (fol.137a) Then the king emanated the rays of light filling all the Tibetan sky. It ripened all the fruit trees grew in the forest, land become fertile, brooks swelled and all sentient beings found happiness. Then the king emanated two thousand bodies, one thousand of which built temples, then the king perceived that the demones was striking out with her arms and legs. In order to pin these down, he built four temples in the central regions of the country known as Ru-gnon chen po bzhi. In other words they are called " The four great horn suppressors. They are as follows:

1. To suppress the left shoulder of the demones, he erected temple of Khra-brug at gYU district.
2. To suppress the right shoulder, he erected he erected the temple of KA-tshal in dBu -ru district.
3. To suppress the right hip, he erected the temple of gTsang-'gram at gYas-ru district.
4. To suppress the left hip, he erected the temple of grom parGyang at Ru-lag.

These are the four great Ru-gnon temples, which were each built in a day. Then the king gave further instructions to build four temples to tame the border, mtha'-dul these were the following

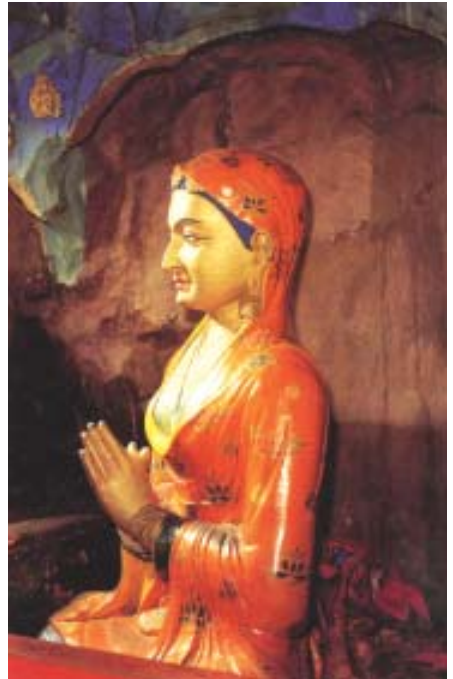
1. To suppress the right elbow, he built the temple of Kongpo at Bu-chu.
2. To suppress the left elbow, he built the temple of Kho-mthing at Lha-brag.
3. To suppress the left knee, he

erected the temple of Bumthang at Mon district.

4. To suppress the right knee, he erected the temple of Pra-dun-rise at Byang.

These were the four mTha' 'dul temple temples for taming the border

establishment. Over the years the temple was visited by and blessed by many famous Buddhist saints including Guru Rinpoche in the eighth century, Lam kha nga and Phajo dugom zhigpo to list a few. Many of them expanded the temple in size and grandeur over



century, the temple was looked after by the successors of Lama Lhapa and it was handed over to a descendant of Phajo Drugom's son, Nyima in the thirteenth century.

In the Ngagyur Chojung Lhawang Yuygal, His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche wrote that the Jowo Temple of Kichu, which can be seen today was once

constructions. Princess Bhrikuti devi also built temples in Bhutan and diffused Buddhist culture through the medium of temple buildings. After completion of Princess Bhrikuti's palace on Red Hill, the Tibetan Minister mGar requested the king Srong btsan Gampo to authorise his mission to the court of China to request the hand of the

Chinese geomancy" At this she said: she has not instructed me correctly" then the king said: You will receive definite instruction now."

The text Mani Ka-'bum -Punakha edition gives following legend concerning the construction of 108 temples.

When the king was praying to expel

the period of time. One such personality was Je Sherab Gyaltsen who lived in 18th century. He extended the Jowo Lhakhang and added many new statues. The latest extension was carried out in 1965 under the initiative of royal queen mother Ashi Keshang choden wangchuk. She added another new structure called Guru Lhakhang. As one of the oldest temples in Bhutan, the temple has many relics.

The inner hall of main Jowo Lhakhang conceals the valley's greatest treasures, an original seventh century statue of Jowo Shakyamuni believed to be cast at the same time as Jowo Shakyamuni of Lhasa.

Attached to Jowo Lhakhang is the shrine of Guru Rinpoche which was constructed by the queen mother Ashi Kelsang Wangchuk in 1968 and its main image is 5m statue of Guru Padmasambhava and red Kurukulla.

Also there is a chorten containing the relics of Master Dilgo Khenpo Rinpoche, a highly revered Master and spiritual teacher of queen mother. He passed away in the year 1992 and cremated nearby.

**Conclusion:**

It seemed that Nepalese Princess Bhrikuti had contributed substantially in building Buddhist temples and its culture in Bhutan as well. When I was in Bhutan recently May 13- 20, 2010, I came across some Buddhist monks who informed me that two temples Paro Kyichu and Jampay Lhakhang at Bumthang are the two popular ones only. There are others as well whose names have not been identified as yet. In personal level most of the Drug pa Kagyu lamas had established numerous Buddhist temples and establishments in Kathmandu valley such as Shechen Monastery and Amitabha Mountain near Sitapaila site. But from the government level the authorities have virtually taken no step to strengthen mutual and age-old relationship between Nepal and Bhutan. It is time for the authorities to be aware of this common spiritual heritage of Nepal and Bhutan.

regions. Finally, four temples were built to tame the area beyond the border i.e Yang-'dul temples

1. To suppress the right hand, he erected the temple of sGronma at mDokhams gLong Thang.

2. To suppress the left hand, he erected the temple of rlung-gnon at Byang tsang pa.

3. To suppress the right leg, he erected the temple of Byams-sprin at Mang Yul.

4. To suppress the left leg, he erected the temple of sKer-chu at spagro ( Paro)

These are the four Yang-'dul temples. These temples are built each in a day.

To the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the king appeared in the form of Avalokiteshvara working for the benefit of the people of Tibet, erecting temples and palaces of Dharma. The people of Tibet living in these central and border areas saw the king Srong btsan gampo come to each of ( fol.137b) these places, where he commanded them to build the temples. But the inner and outer retinues of the king did not consent to build Khri-btsun's temple and they built temples in other areas to suppress the malignant spirits.

This completes the account of building the Rugnong, mtha-'dul and Yang-'dul temples.

## The Description of the site:

Kyichu is one of the main 12 temples of the 108 temples that were built overnight across Tibet and borderland. The temple was adopted by different sects and many important Buddhist teachers spent time year and unearthed concealed treasures.

The main inner hall of Jowo Lhakhang shrine conceals the original seventh century Jowo Maitreya statue. Its central Maitreya is flanked by eight standing bodhisattvas, the statue of Zhabdrung and Guru Rinpoche.

The outer hall of Jowo statue contains four large sized 1000 armed Lokeshvara statues with eleven heads. Kyichu Lhakhang was a small structure at the time of its