






Appendix a

The full articles are included in the appendix, in the same order as in the analysis. The content is partly misaligned, due to formatting and technical limitations,

Article 1

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At India-Nepal border, a pile-up of angst, anxiety and 'betrayal' - Times of India

Indrani Bagchi | TNN | Dec 12, 2015, 06.10 AM IST

  A- A+

Paragraph 1: BIRGUNJ, Nepal: It's called the Maitri Bridge. But "maitri (friendship)" is the last thing on everyone's mind here.

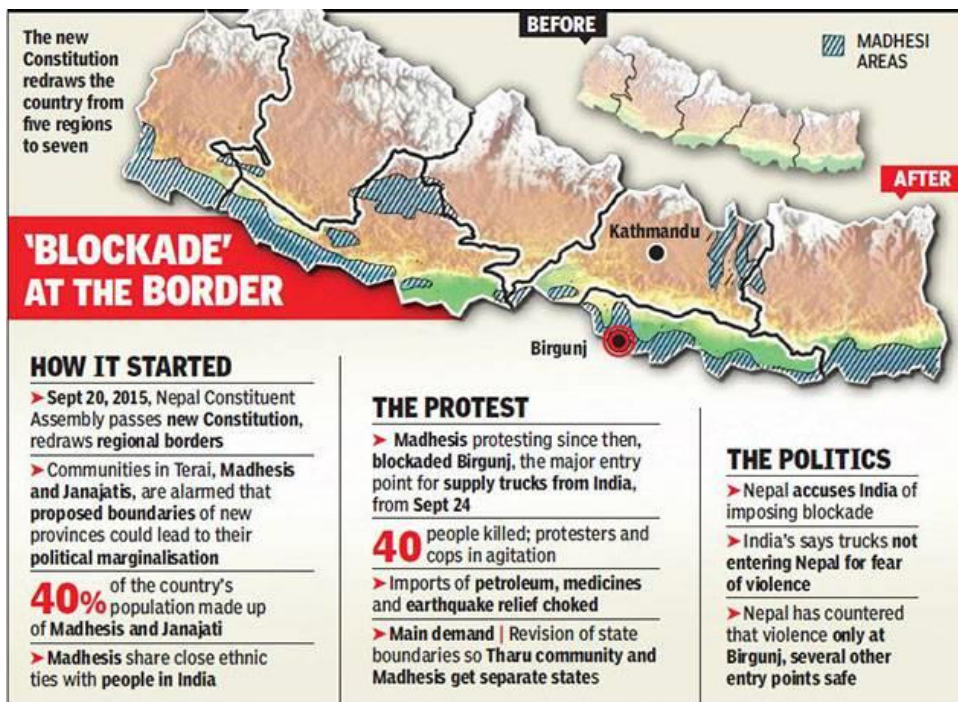
Paragraph 2: Linking Nepal's Birgunj with India's Raxaul is a dusty connector overrun with motorcycles, tongas, rickshaws and cycles. Since September, a bamboo-and-plastic shelter has partially covered it, protestors camping inside imposing a blockade on themselves, refusing food, fuel and essentials supplies from India to get in.

Paragraph 3: There are no police lines here or agitators visible, just people hurrying to Raxaul to pick up supplies. Any police force should have broken the protest. But for three months, the stir has continued. How? "Thousands converge here within minutes to take on the police," Aslam, an agitator, says. Policemen have beaten up protestors. But only one day they managed to clear the bridge for stranded Indian trucks to return.

Birgunj is the nerve centre of the Madhesi protests against Kathmandu and its elite. Although the border has about 20 transit points, over 60% of trade is through Birgunj. That's been closed for three months.

Factories in and around Birgunj are shut. Last week, schools opened for a few hours every day. No cars ply here, motorbikes are the only way to get around quickly. Petrol and diesel sell in plastic bottles, dirt cheap.

"We have strong roti-beti ties with Indians. My wife is Indian, now I don't know if my daughter will be a Nepalese citizen by birth or naturalization," says Om Prakash Sikariya a businessman. The new Nepal constitution says children born to a Nepalese women marrying foreigners would be naturalized citizens, not by descent. They'll be denied employment in certain government positions.



This is believed to be against the Terai people who marry Indians.

"We won't budge," says Ram Sahay, a protest leader. "Yeh aar-paar ki ladaai hai," Munni Srivastava, who heads the Mahila Morcha cuts in. "The Terai people are with us," Sahay adds.

The protestor's rallying cry has so far been: "ek Madhes, ek pradesh." None wants it to morph into: "ek Madhes, ek Desh." That's what Indian officials, both in Delhi and Nepal, fear. "We don't want Birgunj to be the next Jaffna," an Indian official says.

India's official presence in Birgunj is led by a feisty foreign service official, Anju Ranjan. Anju has ensured that Indian trucks and interests aren't harmed, stressing that the blockade isn't India's doing.

"The dry port (where goods from third countries come in) is working.

If we wanted a blockade, why would we allow it to function? Indian trucks don't want to come because of the agitation," Ranjan reasons.

ANTI-INDIA

But everyone in Nepal is convinced India is imposing a version of economic sanctions. Last week, India was for the first time criticized in the Nepal parliament. Protests are common outside the Indian embassy in Kathmandu. But Ambassador Ranjit Rae insists: "India's on the right side of history." That may be the case, but, for now, every Nepalese news channel has a single bugbear: India. This has enabled the Nepali leadership maintain the fiction in Kathmandu that the problem is being created by India, not a section of their own people.

The anger in Kathmandu centres on Indian "interference" in Nepal's internal matters. Kathmandu residents feel the blockade pinch most. There are queues outside filling stations, sometimes the wait is for two days. Everything is expensive. In the Terai, the anti-India resentment remains equally strong. The blockade has impacted the livelihoods of the business community. Community members, generally Marwaris, are somewhat unsure of the Madhesis.

They have a relationship with the hill people, but Madhesis are unknown. Madhesis often look at India as a close relative. But some concede: they want India to be proactive.

CHINA CARD

India has been wary of being upstaged by China in Nepal. This time too, Kathmandu turned to Beijing for fuel supplies. After an agreement with China, on October 28 for 1,000 metric tons of fuel came through its border post at Rasuwagadi. Until the protests, India supplied 1.3 million tonnes of petroleum products worth Rs 9,000 crore annually.

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But now more trucks aren't taking the quake-hit highway from China.

Negotiations with Beijing on a longterm fuel deal have slowed after differences over whether China should waive taxes on the supplies.

QUIET BORDER

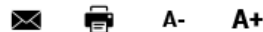
Many trucks have returned from Birgunj. But this town has learnt to live with the "blockade" - it's now a thriving centre of a parallel black economy. Fuel slips in, so do other supplies. At evening shops are lit up, shelves stocked. In fact, all over Nepal a parallel economy has sprung up and many are benefiting from the so-called blockade.

After refusing to mediate between Madhesis and Kathmandu, India capitulated, hosting Kamal Thapa, Nepal's foreign minister. He came with a written assurance that key Madhes demands would be met.

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Nepal unrest: No solution in sight, Terai death toll 59

IANS | Jan 22, 2016, 10.53 PM IST



Paragraph 1: KATHMANDU: With Nepal Prime Minister K P Sharma Oli and his party CPN-UML hardening their stance against the more than five-month-old Madhesi agitation in the Himalyan nation's southern terai region for a more representative constitution, a resolution receded even farther as three protestors died in police firing on Thursday in the south-eastern Morang district.

Paragraph 2: Since early morning on Friday, incensed Madhesi protestors forced markets to shut down and indulged in arson besides clashing with the police in several parts of the Terai as the protests assumed a more violent form than earlier.

Paragraph 3: The Madhesi protestors are demanding, among other things, a redrawing of the boundaries of the provinces in Nepal as proposed in the new Constitution - promulgated on September 20 last year; and representation in Parliament on the basis of population. Significantly, the Nepal Terai has almost 51 per cent of the country's population and yet gets only one-third of seats in Parliament.

The Madhesis also seek proportional representation in government jobs and restoration of rights granted to them in the interim constitution of 2007 which the new charter has snatched away.

With Thursday's three deaths in police firing, the toll in the agitation has risen to 59, including 11 police personnel, and the chances of an immediate political solution receded farther.

Several parts of the Terai saw protests and demonstrations by the protestors with reports coming in of clashes with the police at places. There were no immediate reports of casualty, if any.

The Samyukta Loktantrik Madhesi Morcha (SLMM) - or the Madhesi Morcha, as it is more commonly known - has been spearheading the Agitation in the country's terai region. It comprises four Madhes-based parties - Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party led by Mahanta Thakur; Sadbhawana Party, headed by Rajendra Mahto; Sanghiya Samajwadi Forum-Nepal, led by Upendra Yadav; and the Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party-Nepal headed by Mahendra Yadav.

The Madhesi Morcha, condemning the three deaths in Thursday's police firing, has called for an

immediate stop to "the state-sponsored terrorism" let loose in the Terai.

A concerned southern neighbour India has expressed concern over the repeated violent incidents in the Nepal Terai and urged the political parties in the Himalayan nation to seek a political solution to the ongoing unrest and the political standoff.

Vikas Swarup, spokesperson of India's External Affairs Ministry said India was deeply concerned at the loss of three lives in police firing in Morang district in the Nepal Terai. "Political problems require political solutions," he tweeted on Thursday.

The escalation in the agitation intensity follows an attempt by Prime Minister Oli's CPN-UML to try to take head-on the Madhesi protestors.

Tension flared up in the southern Nepali town of Biratnagar, bordering India, after Morcha cadres attempted to disturb a programme organised by the Youth Association of Nepal (YAN), the militant youth wing of Oli's CPN-UML [Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)].

Oli, who is also CPN-UML chairman, was scheduled to address the programme but cancelled it later, sensing the mood of the protestors.

The government and the Madhesi Morcha leaders have so far held more than a score of meetings in Kathmandu aimed at finding a solution to the prolonged agitation -- but without success

A government-sponsored amendment to the less-than-four-month-old statute is slated to come up for discussion and voting on Saturday - but observers see little chance of it finding approval among the aggrieved Madhesis.

Morcha leaders have affirmed that they were not ready to accept the amending bill unless their rightful concerns were addressed.

"This government cannot address the demands of indigenous Janajati and Madhesi people," said Upendra Yadav, chairman of Sanghiya Samajbadi Forum-Nepal. "The major parties need to show flexibility and seriousness."

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Prolonged agitation in Nepal will affect the economy of the country adversely. Both sides should thrash out their differences.





mahendra kumar Nayak

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"The major three parties are just doing drama in the name of negotiations... the government is ignoring the demands raised by Madhesis despite our having presented the demands to the government in written and oral forms time and again," said Mahanta Thakur, who leads the Terai Madhes Loktantrik Party.

"I don't know how many times we will have to say that the bottom-line demand of the Madhesi Morcha is demarcation of states... we need two federal states in the Terai region from Jhapa till Kanchapur, but this government acts like it knows nothing about it," Thakur said.

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Protests echo in Terai region as Nepal adopts constitution

TNN | Sep 21, 2015, 09.58 AM IST



Paragraph 1: NEW DELHI: After decades of political unrest, Nepal put the world's newest constitution into effect on Sunday. Although the constitution was passed by 85% of the constituent assembly, there are areas of disagreement signified by Madhesi protests and dissenting notes from politicians from the Terai who have not joined the promulgation process.

Paragraph 2: Even as security was stepped up in southern districts of Nepal, a man was killed and several injured in police firing on protesters in Birgunj near the border with India.

Paragraph 3: "The three major political parties, Nepali Congress headed by Sushil Koirala, NCP/ML by K P Oli and UCPN by Puspa Kumar Dahal, instrumental in drafting the new constitution must listen to the voice of dissent and take them along to carry forward the democratic process," Ramesh Nath Pandey, former Nepal foreign minister, told TOI on Sunday.

"Nepal has taken a historic step. This is an opportunity to bring long-sought political stability in the country. Maoist armed conflict and nine years of political instability and resurrect the economy ravaged by the earthquake in April 25 this year," the former foreign minister added.

Appendix b

Article 1

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Protests turn violent in Tarai districts

Truck carrying drugs torched in Birgunj, dozens of vehicles vandalised

-Abdesh Kumar Jha, BHUSAN YADAV, BIRGUNJ, MORANG



Paragraph 1: Nov 21, 2015- Protests in various Tarai districts turned violent on Friday, hours after the agitating Samyukta Loktantrik Madhesi Morcha decided to intensify its agitation in the region.

Paragraph 2: Protesters torched a truck carrying medicines in Birgunj while an ambulance ferrying a patient was vandalised in Kathari-8, Morang. On Thursday, the SLMM had decided that it “will allow drugs cargo to pass through” even if it intensified its protests in the Tarai.

Protesters hurled petrol bombs at the truck (Na 2 Kha 8292) loaded with medical supplies at Shripur in Birgunj-14. Medicines worth around Rs2 million were destroyed, said police. Pharmaceutical entrepreneurs had loaded the truck with medicines stored at the godown after the SLMM announced to allow trucks carrying medicines, oxygen cylinders and health-related equipment to pass through.

“The truck was carrying essential medicines. We were preparing to supply them to Chitwan, Janakpur and Kathmandu following the SLMM’s decision,” said Dr Anuj Yadav of Shivarati Pharmaceuticals. He said some medicines imported from India before the blockade came into force were stored in the godown and that they were being transported following SLMM’s decision on Thursday.

According to the truck driver, the protesters threw three Molotov cocktails at the vehicle just after midnight. The vehicle also had a banner that read “essential medicines”. A police team reached the incident site soon after they were informed about the incident and doused the fire.

When asked, Sadbhawana Party Chairman Rajendra Mahato said he had no knowledge of the incident. “Why would protesters torch a truck carrying medicines as the SLMM has decided to allow vehicles carrying medicines to pass through? There could be infiltration,” he said, adding: “The SLMM does not have any policy to torch and vandalise ambulances and trucks carrying drugs.” He, however, said medicines “should not be transported during the night without coordinating with the SLMM activists”.

Dozens of vehicles were also torched and vandalised for defying the Morcha-imposed banda in Tarai districts.

In Morang, SLMM cadres vandalised a Biratnagar-bound ambulance (Ko 1 Cha 7379) along the Biratnagar-Rangeli road section.

The ambulance was carrying 18-month-old Manasi Bhattarai, a chronic pneumonia patient, and his mother Hira to a clinic in Biratnagar.

According to driver Dilip Mandal, a group of 10 protesters attacked the vehicle with bricks without letting the patient and her mother get off the vehicle. “They snatched the key from me and vandalised the vehicle when the child and his mother were still inside the vehicle,” said Mandal.

Hira, a police constable at Rangeli Police Office, sustained minor injuries in the incident. She was taking her daughter to Biratnagar from Rangeli as other vehicles had stayed off the roads due to the banda.

In Biratnagar, SLMM supporters took out a rally in Biratnagar and enforced banda. Marketplaces remained shut and vehicles stayed off the roads since morning due to the banda.

Meanwhile, protesters vandalised eight trucks and two motorcycles that were parked at National Cement Factory in Katahari-8 on Friday morning. They also threw stones at the factory. Similarly, demonstrators vandalised two rickshaws and eight motorcycles at Mahabir Chowk. A clash between security personnel and protesters had briefly flared up in the area.

Meanwhile, an unidentified gang torched a truck (Na 4 Kha 5983) at Barhathawa in Sarlahi district on Thursday night. A group of some masked men torched the Kathmandu-bound vehicle near the Choraniya bridge.

Likewise, SLMM activists took out a protest rally in various places in Saptari district. They staged demonstrations at Bhardaha, Portaha, Rupani and Rajbiraj among other areas in the district. The protesters have decided to block the highway from Saturday.

Meanwhile, SLMM activists also attempted to vandalise the house of former prime minister Madhav Kumar Nepal in Gaur, Rautahat. However, security personnel intervened in time and dispersed the mob.

(With inputs from local correspondents)



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Transitional justice: NHRC urges govt to implement SC verdicts



Published: 21-11-2015 08:44

Article 2

Biratnagar: 26°C  Weather: . Humidity: 89% [Print Edition](#) | [Archive](#)

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on saturday

Hundreds of Flowers, One Nepali Garland

Amid violent aftershocks of the new constitution, Nepal now faces an identity crisis in which it must live up to its own claims of cultural pluralism and acceptance

- David Caprara,



There is no streamlined leadership or singular voice for Madhesi concerns; and internal squabbling, differing demands, and flares of violence certainly do not make cooperation from Kathmandu easy

Paragraph 1: Nov 28, 2015- When members of the Nepal government decided to finally put forth a new constitution this year, it is highly unlikely that they had anticipated the ocean of Madhesi protests that have come to engulf Terai.

Paragraph 2: One can imagine that the passing of the new constitution was supposed to be something exclusively symbolic—a ribbon of hope pinned to a year of devastation brought forth by the April and May earthquakes. What the government has prompted, however, is a movement of citizens demanding real change. In a wave of police killings and a blockade that practically shut down the entire country, Madhesi have made it clear that inaction is no longer an option.

Madhesi have occupied the center stage of this movement, but the calls for equal rights and representation in Nepal extend to all of the country's marginalized groups. Demands for change have increased in intensity amongst women, Dalits, and other marginalized groups in the country, and a positive revolution is in the air if Nepal's upper-caste politicians are willing to act like democratic leaders and listen to the people of their nation.

Of all countries in the world, the national anthem of Nepal has always struck me as one of the most beautiful. "Hundreds of flowers, we are one Nepali garland," it begins. The anthem highlights the diversity of Nepal and acclaims its ability to live in harmony. The lyrics continue: "The diverse races, languages, faiths, and cultures are so extensive, our progressive nation, long live Nepal."

Echoing this theme, the preamble of the new constitution promulgated in September states that the new Nepal government "end[s] discriminations relating to class, caste, region, language, religion and gender discrimination... in order to protect and promote unity in diversity, social and cultural solidarity, tolerance and harmonious attitudes," and that it aims to "create an egalitarian society on the basis of the principles of proportional inclusion and participation, to ensure equitable economy, prosperity and social justice."

Now, like the blacks fighting for civil rights in the USA who challenged the racist US government on its constitution claiming all citizens to be equal, Madhesis and other marginalized groups are demanding that Nepal live up to its own standards.



Broken Garland: Not all of Nepal's ethnic groups are given a place within the national identity of Nepal.

Madhesis feel that they are not valued as citizens in the country beyond the material and historical resources found within the Terai. Though this region accounts for over 51% of Nepal's population and produces over 45% of Nepal's GDP, ethnic groups like Madhesis and Tharus often face lifelong discrimination for their dark-complexions and suffer from racist allegations that they are just Indians trying to influence Nepali politics and take over the country. Marginalized groups in the Terai often refer to their situation as an "internal colonization."

"We Madhesis are called rough words like "dhoti" and "bhaiya" in school and in the workplace here in Kathmandu," says Ram Pukar Mahara, a Madhesi student of Conflict Peace and Development studies at Kathmandu's Tribhuvan University, who came to the capitol city for more opportunity. "The word "bhaiya" isn't even a curse word; it means 'brother,' but people say it with so much hate that it comes to mean something like the racial slurs used against minorities in other countries."

A wide variety of non-Nepali languages are spoken in the Terai, and people belonging to a caste or area in this region that speak Nepali rarely find themselves woven into any sort of "floral garland" of a tolerant Nepal.

"We are badly harassed, so when we have to stay together in a friendly environment and help each other," says Lalu Ray Yadav, a migrant Madhesi construction worker that was making repairs on the UNESCO-listed Swayambhunath at the time of our interview. "Even the children here call us names and spit on us. The Pahari adults here have no problem with this." When asked why he only makes 365Rs/day when the normal wage is 700Rs, Yadav responded matter-of-factly: "the minimum wage does not apply to us."

One of the biggest points that are often used to bolster a sense nationalistic pride in Nepal is the assertion that the Gautama Buddha was Nepali. Historical artifacts do indeed indicate that the Buddha was born in the balmy Terai town of Lumbini, but with the current discrimination that Terai inhabitants are facing and the ubiquitous attitude in Kathmandu that Terai inhabitants are actually Indians and not “real Nepalis”, it makes one question whether or not the Buddha would be respected if he was born in his hometown today, and also just what sort of Buddha people are imagining when they assert that the Buddha was Nepali. Perhaps what they have in mind is a Buddha dressed in Daura-Suruwal, the traditional outfit of hill Nepalis.



Pahari Buddha: The sort of “Nepali Buddha” that it seems most Nepalis have in mind when they picture a “Nepali Buddha.”

Madhesi concerns may be legitimate, but the chosen means of making their voices heard through self-destructive bandas and blockade are not. It has been over 100 days that the region has been shut down due to bandas. The truth is that the banda is not so heavily-enforced in the Terai: shops are open, vehicles crowd the road, and people carry about their daily business. The ones who have suffered the most through this banda have been the children who have not been to school in over three months. The damage that is done to the future generation in these self-destructive protests is far more damaging to the side of the protesters than to their political targets in Kathmandu. If Madhesi are to move forward with their demands for civil rights, they should do so in a way that will empower their future generations—not force them into child labor and illiteracy.

Nepalis who make the claim that Madhesi demand slack a certain degree of solidity or an ending point are not without ground. There is no streamlined leadership or singular voice for Madhesi concerns; and internal squabbling, differing demands, and flairs in violence certainly do not make cooperation from Kathmandu easy.

But is it really a list of territorial and political demands that are what Madhesi are really after? Though there are obvious problems that need to be remedied, such as discriminatory citizenship policies, zoning issues, and unequal representation in government bureaucracy (which the new

constitution of Nepal claims to address in its preamble), in one sense these are all red herrings. What Madhesis want more than anything else is to be accepted as a part of the country on a level deeper than paper documents, and this is a change that is going to have to come not from politicians, but from the hearts and minds of Nepali citizens. The desire to be accepted is one of the most fundamental desires of human beings, but currently Madhesis and other inhabitants of the Terai feel like they are outcast and unwanted in their own homeland.

If Nepal is to rise and fulfill its highest potential as a nation, the greatest task of the 21st century will have to be a remaking of national identity that stems from a realization that Nepal's greatest strength is its diversity. Minority groups are not threats to national unity, but are its greatest seeds for success and flourishing. Nepal has been in a state of developmental paralysis for years, and this is largely because a small minority of privileged groups have taken power and stifled the bulk of the country in order to maintain the country's age-old Brahminical power structure. In fostering a framework for developing the Terai and the other educationally and economically parched communities of the country, Nepal will break its spell of developmental drought and witness a renaissance as a mosaic-nation of great strength and empowered diversity.



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LM (the illustrator) at lmbellartwork@gmail.com

Published: 28-11-2015 10:25



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Tarai protests, embargo sour local-level ties

nepal-india relations
- AMRITA ANAMOL, BUTWAL



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In Bhairahawa, several wedding ceremonies between nationals of the two countries were cancelled due to disputes

subsequent stand-off between Kathmandu and New Delhi have soured local-level relations between people on both sides of the Nepal-India border.

Paragraph 2: People in various Tarai districts are worried that the age-old ties might deteriorate further. They said it is not only difficult to establish marital relationships between people of the two countries but has also put already established relations at risk.

Paragraph 3: As violence in the border area increased, around two dozen wedding ceremonies have been cancelled in Rupandehi district alone.

Locals said the ongoing situation has led to several difficulties between people from both countries. Though many Nepalis and Indians are relatives, they are trying to show themselves as a superior one due to the ongoing political crisis.

Last month, a Nepali family was planning to organise a marriage reception for their Indian relatives in Bhairahawa. The Nepali family said they are planning a low key programme due to the shortage of fuel and other essential materials. However, the discussion led to a heated dispute and some elderly people had to intervene.

This is just an example. There are several other cases in which people from the two sides of the border were involved in disputes. In Bhairahawa, several wedding ceremonies scheduled to be held between youths from the two countries have been cancelled due to such disputes.

Traditionally, people from the Gupta, Dhawal, Kanyouje, Harijan and Muslim families in Nepal have marital relationships with Indian nationals. However, the recent deterioration in the ties between the two countries due to border blockade by the Indian side has affected the age-old people-to-people relations.

Some Indian nationals who have relatives in Nepal run business firms in the border areas. They, too, are worried as their businesses are facing a huge loss due to the ongoing protests and blockade.

Published: 21-12



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