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# Governance, Corruption and Conflict Simulation on Nepal

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**Private Roles** 

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# Summit Chair & Moderator, Advisory Council Plenary Session

# **Rania Pasic** Former Director of Departed UN Peace Mission United Nations

You are Rania Pasic, a career public servant with the United Nations (UN). You consider yourself among the best equipped to chair a summit of Nepali and international bodies, as you possess vast knowledge of the country, its political landscape and the domestic and international stakeholders affecting it. As these stakeholders work to determine a charter for Nepal's Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission (GMIC), you will use this knowledge accordingly.

Your commitment to peace and good governance stems from experiencing conflict first-hand. You were a 30-year-old civil servant and mother of two when war broke out in your native Bosnia in 1992. Though your immediate family lived through the 3-year conflict, you are well aware of the atrocities of war and the fear they instill. These experiences led you to work on reconstruction and reconciliation efforts in Bosnia, and lent themselves to you becoming a talented mediator.

Having worked with the UN for 16 years, it was your tenure as the director of the UN's Peace Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) that gave you particular knowledge of the actors shaping Nepal's future. The peace mission departed this year, leaving some important peace-related tasks still pending, and a political system mired in political infighting and corruption. Though your UN post is now in Cameroon, you devoted several years to Nepal and remain invested in its success.

At the summit, you must be careful to remain as neutral as possible throughout the discussions, keeping the dialogue on track to be constructive and inclusive of all parties at the table. Many times during your career, you have seen groups become marginalized and isolated during talks. These groups often disappear in the short term, and then resurface down the road in efforts to derail forward progress altogether. You are primarily concerned with facilitating discussion and reaching consensus on key issues central to the Commission's charter, and how they will be monitored and enforced. You understand that they must be soundly implemented in order to benefit civil society, support a fledgling democracy, and ensure committed international support. You want to ensure that all strategies and actions are guided by the principles of good governance, and that steps are taken in good faith of all parties involved.

# During the Summit your objective is to keep time, keep all the parties focused, and guide conversation on the following issues:

# *Issues for Discussion in the Advisory Council (Day 1)*

- How should you guide the GMIC in formulating its mission, mandate, objectives, and administration?
- What sectors should you encourage Nepal to reform first?
- Based on your knowledge, expertise and practice, are there recommendations or advice you may give the Commission in regard to establishing a system of good governance, and

implementing anti-corruption reforms? If so, how will you manage to keep projecting a neutral image, and convince the public that you respect the principle of not interfering in another state's domestic affairs?

- What conditions are required for your group to come to agreement?
- How can the fight against corruption and the need for external investment be reconciled?
- Will you threaten to deprive Nepal of financial assistance unless the government signs and abides by certain key or minimum reforms?
- Should you request that Nepal ratify specific international treaties and conventions before it can continue to receive international aid? If so, which of these treaties/conventions should Nepal ratify?
- Should you adopt a harsher stance on Nepal's corruption problem? Should you consider punitive measures such as trade sanctions if Nepal does not implement better anti-corruption standards?
- Should you offer any form of incentive package if the GMIC includes some or all of your recommendations in its Charter?

*Issues for Discussion in the General Session (Days 2 and 3)* 

- What are the overall mandate, mission, and functional objectives of the Commission?
- What sectors will be reformed first?
- What steps will you take to fight corruption at the different levels of society?
- How will you ensure that the process of reforms is inclusive and democratic?
- Should you set specific deadlines or timeframes for the implementation of reforms?
- What conditions are required for both groups to reach consensus and reach an agreement? For example, will the Advisory Council endorse the GMIC Charter at the end of the summit, on the conditions that the Nepalese Government agrees to certain key reforms?
- How will you balance anti-corruption efforts with the need for external investment?
- What treaties and/or international agreements will Nepal have to ratify to remain eligible for international aid?
- What tangible commitments and actions must Nepal's new government take to eradicate corruption and develop a system of good governance?
- What consequences or pressure will Nepal face from international actors if it does not implement better governance and substantial anti-corruption measures?

# Moderator, Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission Plenary Session

# Raya Hadibappa

**Secretary General** South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

You are Raya Hadibappa, the first woman ever to hold the position of Secretary General for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and you are very proud of it. You've served as the Attorney General of your country, the Maldives, and you're only 35 years old. Holding such an influential position early in your career is quite impressive. But being the first female to hold such an esteemed position goes beyond personal pride and honor; it signifies a regional shift in South Asia, to where it is now possible for women to access leadership positions. Possible, but not easy.

In your island nation, The Maldives, women have not historically played any role in politics and leadership roles have been mostly reserved for men. When SAARC nominated you Secretary General, the leaders of SAARC member countries said that you had the great honor and responsibility of showing the region and the world that women are up to the great leadership tasks of the day. You know that the world is watching you. You must prove yourself to be exceedingly competent, and show that you can balance the needs of a region as diverse as South Asia, and that above all else that you must be viewed as skilled, unbiased and fair. Co-chairing Nepal's Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's summit is your first major event as the Secretary General.

Seeing that you value democracy, transparency, and fairness, the Nepalese government felt that you would be the perfect person to guide the GMIC in implementing principles of good governance and anti-corruption. Therefore Nepalese Prime Minister Khanal invited you to moderate the discussions among the members of the GMIC. He has also asked if you would be willing to lead the GMIC when it meets with the Advisory Council to finalize the Charter. Just a few months after your nomination as SAARC's Secretary General, you welcome the invitation, as it will reinforce your role as a female leader and showcase your feminist values to the rest of the SAARC nations. Hence, it is of the utmost importance that you leave the summit having successfully achieved consensus behind an outcome that will propel Nepal on a positive trajectory.

# During the Summit your objective is to keep time, keep all the parties focused, and guide conversation on the following issues:

# Issues for Discussion in the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission Plenary (Day 1)

- What is your overall mission statement?
- What is the Commission's mandate? How long will the commission exist? Are the members permanent, or will new members need to be selected after a certain period of time elapses? If so, how and when will new members selected?
- What sectors will you reform first?
- What steps will you take to fight corruption at the different levels of society?

- How will you ensure that the reform process is inclusive and democratic?
- Should you set specific deadlines or timeframes for the implementation of reforms?
- What conditions are required for your group to come to agreement?
- How will you manage to continue attracting foreign investment while showing your commitment to fighting corruption?
- What treaties, agreements, or conventions do you think Nepal may consider ratifying?

## Issues for Discussion in the General Session (Days 2 and 3)

- What are the overall mandate, mission, and functional objectives of the Commission?
- What sectors will be reformed first?
- What steps will you take to fight corruption at the different levels of society?
- How will you ensure that the process of reforms is inclusive and democratic?
- Should you set specific deadlines or timeframes for the implementation of reforms?
- What conditions are required for both groups to reach consensus and reach an agreement? For example, will the Advisory Council endorse the GMIC Charter at the end of the summit, on the conditions that the Nepalese Government agrees to certain key reforms?
- How will you balance anti-corruption efforts with the need for external investment?
- What treaties and/or international agreements will Nepal have to ratify to remain eligible for international aid?
- What tangible commitments and actions must Nepal's new government take to eradicate corruption and develop a system of good governance?
- What consequences or pressure will Nepal face from international actors if it does not implement better governance and substantial anti-corruption measures?

# Sudesh Pande

Cabinet Advisor

*Office of Prime Minister Jalanath Khanal Communist Party of Nepal - United Marxist Leninist* 

You are Sudesh Pande, Cabinet Advisor to Prime Minister Jalanath Khanal, member of the Communist Party of Nepal – United Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML). Since your main duty is to advise the Prime Minister in leading the government and making policy decisions, you have the opportunity to influence the political dialogue between parties. The Prime Minister plays an important role in implementing reforms, and everyone is right to assume that you will be assertive and try to lead the discussion among members of the GMIC in order to push the CPN-UML's agenda. This will be difficult to accomplish without achieving consensus with the coalition government. In order to meet CPN-UML goals, you will have to get buy-in from members of the coalition government so that it can be a mutual effort. This may require incorporating some of their goals as well, but it will be ultimately much stronger to vote as a team.

By virtue of the 2002 Corruption Control Act, when Jalanath Khanal became Prime Minister, he also became the supervisor of the Committee for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA). The CIAA's overall mission is to effectively control corruption-related activities and raise people's awareness against corruption. However, the CIAA lacks the power to enforce any kind of punitive measures against those found guilty of practicing corruption, and because it is overseen by the PM's office, conveniently focuses on corruption in the private sector instead of pointing fingers at you and your associates. Until your new appointment, you worked in the Oversight and Monitoring Division of the CIAA for five years and you believe your close link with the CIAA greatly contributed to your nomination as Cabinet Advisor. In addition, your nephew Prakash Pande is the Commissioner for the CIAA, which is helpful in keeping certain cases from reaching court and the public's eye.

Recently, the public has started accusing Khanal of using corrupt practices in order to enact policies and fulfill his personal political agenda, and the Nepalese have increasingly expressed their doubt about Khanal's ability to create any positive change for society. Khanal's image and reputation has had a direct impact on yours, and recent polls revealed that your popularity among Nepalese has seriously declined. You think that promoting the role of the CIAA will successfully deflect the conversation away from governance reforms. Therefore, one of your main objectives during the summit is to ensure that the CIAA leads the discussion when it comes to the implementation of anti-corruption measures. You would like to see the CIAA become the sole body responsible for monitoring, investigating, and enforcing anti-corruption mechanisms. Thus, you want to dilute the power and scope of the GMIC as much as possible. You believe that your most effective argument will be that the GMIC will be imposition of outsiders—a price to be paid for trade and investment. You want to argue that the GMIC, as proposed, will be an infringement on Nepal's sovereignty, particularly the demand to ratify treaties.

A couple years ago, the CIAA conducted technical audits of an infrastructure project regarding a building that collapsed during a minor earthquake and killed 12 employees. The CIAA investigated the case and concluded that the construction materials used did not meet the minimum legal safety requirements. The CIAA further found that the promoters bribed the construction company, so that the building would be completed faster and at a lower cost. The CIAA then referred the case to the courts; however no legal action was taken against anyone. Several other cases over the last eight years have resulted in the same outcome. This is why it is so important that the CIAA be vested the power to enforce punitive measurers. In order to

convince the parties that the CIAA should be the leading anti-corruption body, you will need to promote CIAA's past achievements but emphasize that the CIAA's lack of enforcement power has let many people get away with their corrupt practices.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Balance the goals of your party, the CPN-UML, with any consensus reached by other members of the coalition government (NC and UCPN-Maoist).
- Address anti-corruption efforts as the primary reform, rather than governmental reforms.
- Push for the CIAA to be the one and only anti-corruption body in Nepal, and give it greater powers of enforcement.
- Weaken the scope and power of the GMIC.
- Come to agreement in the plenary in any way possible.

## At the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Advocate for anti-corruption reform to be the top priority of the commission.
- Argue that the Nepalese people, not outsiders, must determine reforms.
- Argue for reforming corruption monitoring first.
- Maintain the CIAA's exclusive monitoring role for corruption.
- Promote the CIAA's past achievements.
- Salvage your reputation and regain your popularity.

- Why is it important for the CPN-UML to achieve consensus?
- Why would the CPN-UML be opposed to governmental reforms?
- How can the CPN-UML push for anti-corruption measures without implementing governmental reforms?
- Why should the CIAA to be in charge of anti-corruption efforts?

# **Pradip Mohara** Former General and Current Advisor to Party Chairman Unified Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist Party

You are Pradip Mohara, a former general of the People's Liberation Army and a die-hard member of the Maoist Party. You were appointed chief Advisor to Maoist Chairman and legend Pushpa Kamal Dahal (*Prachanda*) who is also one of your closest friends. Since the movement became a political party there has been a lot of infighting and some incidents of betrayal among the top brass. The transition from guerillas to politicians was not an easy one for many of your colleagues and some members have advocated for a return to arms as of late. You sense there may be some secret alliances and negotiations among certain members of your party, but you are convinced that as a movement, the Communist Party will continue to grow and strengthen. The Prachanda Path will lead you to glory with the Chairman at the helm - and you right behind him.

Maoists hold the largest number of seats in parliament, which is nothing if not a display of how much the Nepalese people support your cause. It's only logical that if society wants the Communist Party to rule the government, then you should do everything you can to ensure your platform guides the GMIC Charter. All the tug-of-war with the incumbent Nepali Congress and the fiasco of Royal Army insolence are mere distractions from the imminent outcome: full Maoist leadership. You will exemplify this future role by leading the GMIC charter conversation among government actors, and you will ally with other parties (CPN-UML or RPP might be interested) if it means more backup for your leadership.

The public expects that the Communists will push for land and labor reform and ethnic and gender equality, and you should make sure your support for these initiatives is loud and clear. However, these goals are less politically important for you (and Communist Party leadership) and more important to secure your constituent support. You plan to make a lot of noise around these issues at a generic level but let the other domestic interests do the hard work. Keeping your focus soundly on reforms that will affect disenfranchised groups also serves the purpose of directing the discussion away from corruption.

The UCPN has been accused of using bribes to get a consensus in the government, and you don't want to have this accusation come up at the GMIC summit. You will do anything within your power to avoid talking about corruption, specifically corruption among government officials. If this issue comes up, you will find a way to jump in and point the conversation elsewhere immediately. Even corruption in the business sector is acceptable; just keep the spotlight off of your party's errant ways.

You and your wife Binda are well off, employed, from the warrior caste, and have never experienced oppression. The Maoist party called to you because it was a chance to make something of yourself and earn income. You were the first child in your family; your brother was killed in the civil war and your sister works for the International Commission for Minority Rights. She is always hounding you to do more for the oppressed in Nepalese society. At least she thinks that you hold some sway; you're aware that most people believe you to be a puppet who bears very little influence on Maoists politics. This might be a good opportunity to show everyone just how influential and authoritative you really are.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Lead the discussions between the government and the civil society groups; be authoritative and direct.
- Push for reforms that will affect disenfranchised groups, and do so loudly.
- Support initiatives for land and labor reform and ethnic rights.
- Refuse to talk about corruption in the governance sector; under no circumstances acknowledge or respond to allegations of bribery or corruption in the Maoist party.
- Insist that the Nepal government serve as the real authority on corruption, not an independent body that cannot be controlled; if there is to be an independent commission, its power should be diluted by making it as big and inclusive of minorities and workers as possible.
- Come to agreement in the plenary if you are given due respect as a political leader.

# During the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Push for civil rights as the primary mission of the commission.
- Advocate for minority rights, land and labor to be the first sectors reformed.
- Keep past government crimes and corruption off of the table.
- Make a name for yourself as a bold and influential member of the Maoist leadership.

- How will adequate representation of ethnic minorities be guaranteed in the government?
- What reforms must be installed to protect the rights of minorities?
- What land reforms are necessary to empower agricultural workers and indigenous landowners?

# **Deepak Shrestha** Advisor to Party Chairman Rastriya Prajatanta Party – Royalist Party

You are Deepak Shrestha, and upper-level advisor to the Royalist Party. You strongly support the King and want Nepal to return to the monarchy. Your personal socio-economic status was much higher under the King. As a politician, you have always kept a low profile and have a clean record, which is why you were selected as the chairman of the party. The RPP counts on you to display a positive image of the party to the public; therefore, while making sure no consensus is reached, you will have to use tact when speaking to the rest of the Commission.

Belonging to the highest caste of Nepal, your family has always maintained a close link to the former King. Although some Nepalese support the monarchy, very few voice it in public because they are afraid of the social repercussions they could face. The only reason you are on the GMIC is that your party is represented in the parliament. However, the RPP holds only 8 out of the 601 seats, so you know you are not welcome and it will be hard for you to be heard by the other parties. By the same token, you don't really care about the issues being discussed. However, this is a great opportunity for you to promote the monarchy and point out that the current political system is not efficient. Therefore your will do everything you can to undermine any kind of consensus, so that you can clearly make the point that Nepal's political system can't accomplish anything and that the country was better-run under the King. For example, media coverage on human rights abuses has been much too liberal and widespread since the royal family was removed from power; this weakens Nepal's international reputation. The Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) is hiding its serious internal fissures, and the Nepal Congress Party is too corrupt to govern. Point out the obvious flaws in each organization, person, and their ideas. If you leverage this knowledge in certain places it will take you far.

The RPP counts on you to display a positive image of the party to the public; therefore, while making sure no consensus is reached, you will have to use tact when speaking to the rest of the Commission. You have never been connected publicly with any scandals or accusations of graft. The truth, however, is that you have committed several crimes, including theft and bribery. Indeed, Prince Sha is among your close friends, and you have conspired together to skim a little off the top. However, your close connection to the Royal family, who bribes the police and legal prosecutors all the time, has always allowed you to get away without ever facing any consequences. Therefore, it is essential that you oppose any enforcement measures that target corruption in the legal and security sectors. Furthermore, you know some media have become suspicious of your activities and have kept a close eye on you. You suspect the journalist from Radio Janakpur has compromising information about a payoff you made to get the police to lose a certain crime file on your brother, so you may have to find a way to keep her quiet. You have plenty of political and economic perks up your sleeve to offer, such as protections, access to liberties or licenses; it depends on how she approaches you.

A few weeks before the summit, a resident who lost her job shortly after the CA came into power approached you and told you that she was fed up with the government and its inability to address unemployment. She said that if a return to the monarchy meant she could get her job back, then she would much rather live under the King again. She added that she secretly supported the RPP but explained that she was afraid to say so in public. She admitted that when asked by her neighbors and friends, she tells them that she is a CPN-UML supporter. She further said that many of her friends felt that way. Therefore you know that you have support in the community,

and after the current government is proven inept, that the people will welcome the King back to his rightful place of power.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Block any type of consensus.
- Keep any real issues from becoming the first for reform; introduce instead irrelevant issues like literacy or taxes illiteracy is an abysmal 42% and taxes need to be higher on international imports to reduce competition for domestic goods.
- Bar the reform process from being inclusive or democratic.
- Do not come to agreement with the plenary groups no matter what is on the table.

## During the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Stall the group from determining a mission statement for the Commission.
- Oppose corruption enforcement measures that target the security and legal sectors; the judicial system processes 12,000 cases per year and needs no reform, and the Nepali army will be disabled from defending the nation if further security restrictions are enforced.
- Oppose reforms in general.

## Your objective is to encourage discussion on the following issues:

• If the current government cannot manage itself, why shouldn't the monarchy be restored?

# Ram Chetri Committee Leader Nepali Congress Party

You are Ram Chetri, Committee Leader of the Nepali Congress party. You are proud to be part of the most distinguished, recognized and legitimate political party in Nepal. The Unified Communist Party of Nepal is a laughable excuse for a bunch of politicians. They are unrefined, cowardly, inarticulate, immature, overly defensive and quick to be offended, and they don't know the first thing about policy. You are fed up with their games and wish they would grow up or get out of parliament for good. The UCPN (Maoists) is a serious thorn in your side and you know their representative at the Summit, Pradip Mohara, a former general with no common sense, will try to take credit for anything that is accomplished - but not as far as you can help it. Your distaste for UCPN leadership is so great as to keep you from supporting its political goals even when these align with the NC.

You spent your childhood in boarding schools in Kathmandu before being sent to the United States to study foreign policy. Your parents planned your whole education for you, but did not count on your love affair with American capitalism and economic policy. In addition to foreign policy you studied finance, economics and business, and nearly headed to business school for an MBA. Instead you came back to Nepal in hopes of building up domestic business by attracting foreign investment. Unemployment was always a scourge of Nepali society and you are sure that foreign investment would provide a big push for the economy and open up a lot of jobs. Also, job creation at multiple levels (more than merely positions in unskilled labor) will help promote higher education - meaning more Nepalese getting certified at higher institutions.

People who haven't studied economics wrongly suggest that labor reform is the right way to address the unemployment problem. This is an ignorant solution that will not provide an answer, and new labor laws could make investors reluctant to invest in Nepal. The right way to create jobs is to bring in new investors, and China and India are bursting with them. Foreign investors are crucial, to a point. The problem with the current system is that international companies are crowding out domestic companies, which can't compete with low costs and go out of business. International companies have unrestricted buying power in Nepal because they secure big contracts through illegal kickbacks to corrupt government officials. Though certain members of your party, the Nepali Congress, are not innocent of it, corruption is bad for everyone involved. Another of your main objectives is to target corruption at the local level. All the pieces have to come together if the economy is going to survive. Taking a hard line on corruption and insisting on anti-corruption measures will also regain some much-needed popular support for your party. Foreign investors are welcome as long as they play the field with the same set of advantages as domestic companies.

The media has covered a lot of your creative solutions and your commitment to reducing unemployment in Nepal. Your constituents adore you and articles about your theories have been published in many newspapers, including some in India and China. You know that the public opinion about your position is not as favorable among the Chinese and Indian governments and their supporters, who see your ideas on policy as a threat to foreign companies operating in Nepal. Both China and India benefit greatly from hiring Nepalese in their factories at very low wages. Chinese and Indian investors often pay Nepalese employees below the legal minimum wage. Even when employees file complaints, most companies have not faced any redress. You do not want this pattern to continue and intend to put a stop to it - without antagonizing or alienating foreign investors - by revitalizing the domestic economy and employment rate at this GMIC summit. Your position on free markets must be very clear: you support foreign companies in Nepal, but regulations have to both encourage investment and hold corporations to a fair and accountable operating standard.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for measures to address unemployment and weak economy.
- Reform governance monitoring sector first so that corruption can be brought to the forefront. Use this opportunity to highlight the weaknesses in the UCPN.
- Oppose labor reforms as a means of encouraging employment.
- Stress the importance of the Bank being an independent body—its freedom for political influence is the only safeguard against controlling the communists and Maoists.
- Come to agreement in the plenary if others agree to support economic goals such as more employment and regulated foreign investment.

# In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Advocate for strengthening the economy to be the top priority of the commission.
- Push for anti-corruption measures at the local level as the first sector for reform.
- Make attracting foreign investment a priority of the commission, specifically from India and China. If they employ Nepalese within Nepal, they will have to meet wage standards.
- Take the leadership role on combating unemployment, a subject you know better than anyone else at the summit.
- Demonstrate the professionalism and political acumen of the Nepali Congress with your logic and leadership.
- Insist the commission be composed primarily of legal and economic experts alone with labor leaders, but not those whose major interest are land re-distribution and a desire to change completely the economy of Nepal.

- Why is it so important to address the unemployment issue?
- How can the labor problem be addressed by means other than reform?
- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- What indicators should be used to monitor politicians and/or business deals?
- What opportunities and challenges does foreign investment present for Nepal?
- How can regulations be set that both encourage foreign investment and control foreign companies' employee management policies?

# **Raj Kumar Pariyar Retired Honorable Justice** *Subreme Court of Nepal*

You are Raj Kumar Pariyar, newly retired former Nepal Supreme Court judge. You attended law school in the US, focusing on international human rights law. You passed the bar in NYC, and afterwards worked for different law firms throughout the US. You practiced law in the US for twenty years and then decided to go back to Nepal, where you served as a lawyer for another twenty years, before you were nominated to the Supreme Court. Your tenure on the Court lasted ten years, making you one of the most respected jurists in Nepal and you take high pride in your public image. You consider yourself a Nepali institution, and the members of the GMIC would be foolish and impertinent to ignore your guidance on judiciary reform. Since leaving your post, you find that you miss the limelight, and the gravitas that came with wearing the robe.

You know the judicial system of Nepal is in need of drastic reforms. While serving as a Supreme Court judge, you witnessed first-hand how corruption has been plaguing Nepal's judicial system, rendering it unfair and inaccessible to many marginalized groups. In many instances, you found out that the investigation of cases was delayed because the police officials who made the arrest had been bribed and subsequently changed their reports. These cases were often reported by people from minority groups against perpetrators who belonged to a high caste. This had always angered you because you believe access to justice is a fundamental human right that shouldn't be denied to anyone. Therefore, drawing upon your knowledge and experience in dealing with human rights, you tried to launch an initiative a few years ago, aimed at eliminating corruption within the legal and security sector and promoting a more transparent judicial system. However, this initiative required financial backing from the government, which never got approved, and you were thus unable to improve the system from within. Therefore, you see the summit as an ideal venue for pushing judicial reform through. You hope to convince the GMIC that reform affecting the legal and security sectors should be prioritized over reforms in other sectors, and that funds must be allocated to support the implementation of strict anti-corruption mechanisms within the judiciary. You will also have to explain that adequately funding a program to reform the judiciary will help speed up the investigation of many unaddressed cases.

You recently found out that a justice, with whom you are a good friend and who supposedly shared your opinion on the need to address the judicial system's corruption, has been receiving massive bribes from government officials involved in electoral fraud. He subsequently dismissed the case against them. This made you realize that corruption was even more pervasive than you thought, and that there needed to be a more effective system of checks and balances between the executive and the judiciary. Therefore, you want to push constitutional reforms that will guarantee a more independent judiciary.

Altogether, this summit represents not only the chance to push for reforms you have long awaited, but also to regain your popularity among the citizens of Nepal. If you leave this summit achieving your objectives, you will be remembered at "the Justice who fixed Nepal's judiciary system."

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for anti-corruption measures at all levels of the judiciary.
- Ensure that the judicial and security sectors are the first to be reformed.

- Pressure to strengthen the independence of the judiciary as well as a strong independent role for the GMIC
- Come to agreement in the plenary if others agree to support anti-corruption efforts in the full summit.

## During the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Advocate for anti-corruption to be the top priority of the commission.
- Argue for the judiciary to be the first sector for reform, as it will have the most positive influence on other sectors.
- Suggest that courts be given more authority to monitor corruption.
- Push for government reforms that will guarantee more checks and balances between the executive and the judiciary.
- Leave the summit remembered and respected, putting you back in the spotlight.

- Why is it important to address the problem of corruption in the judiciary sector?
- What can be done to create a more transparent and independent judiciary?
- How can we address all cases that have been filed but not investigated yet?
- What should be done in regard to the people who are found guilty of accepting bribes in the past?
- How does a corrupt judiciary system prevent equality among citizens?
- How will reforms of the judiciary help disadvantaged and marginalized groups have access to justice?
- How can the GMIC be made truly independent?

# Devendra Charma

Advisory Committee

Nepal Chamber of Commerce

You are Devendra Charma, a member of the Advisory Committee to the Nepal Chamber of Commerce (NCC). You often make public speeches to inform the Nepalese about the NCC's progress and ongoing initiatives and you are known as a fierce advocate for anti-corruption efforts. You just recently publicly announced that the NCC was working on implementing strict anti-corruption guidelines for its members. Furthermore, you launched a big anti-corruption campaign in April 2011 in order to increase the NCC's publicity. The next board elections are coming up in September and you are determined to do what it takes to be re-elected.

Although you publicly denounce corruption, you have actually been accepting bribes from domestic and international bodies in order to favor companies and businesses and friends, as well as supporters of the government. Indeed, you took money from one company and helped it build the former Prime Minister's house. Unfortunately, the use of substandard construction materials caused the house to collapse, killing three people. You have also received many payments from both domestic and international companies. Recently, you heard that Radio Janakpur was planning on publicly announcing your involvement in several corruption cases. You are not sure whether or not Radio Janakpur actually has any proof to validate its claim, but any suspicion raised would alone tarnish your reputation and you fear that you may then be expelled from the board. Your position on the board has enabled you to make great financial profits. Therefore, you need to do all it takes to secure your position on the board.

In order to avoid any confrontation from Radio Janakpur, whose journalist, Maya Singh will be present at the summit, your main objective is to stir the dialogue away from corruption and focus it on governmental reforms. However, if the discussions focus on corruption, you will need to downplay the role of commercial corruption, which is what you benefit from, and emphasize instead the need to combat corruption in other sectors. Furthermore, it is in your interest to limit the freedom of press to a maximum, so that journalists do not denounce your activities. Therefore, you will seek to identify someone else on the GMIC who is also interested in limiting press freedom, and will attempt to ally with that member. Perhaps there is a politician who wishes to keep Ms. Singh from publishing a story about his activities. If you find others who support limiting press freedom, they may have other motives for doing so, and you will also need to identify that person's main interests and see how they align with yours. Together you should be able to flex enough muscle to keep Maya Singh from reporting anything about you. You may need to compromise on some of your objectives to gain the collaboration of your allies in opposing press freedom.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Steer the dialogue towards governmental reforms.
- Downplay the role of commercial corruption. If corruption takes center stage, promote the judiciary and politics as the first sectors for reform.
- Keep Maya Singh from sharing any information she has on you, in collaboration with others if necessary.
- Find an ally on the Commission who opposes press freedom.
- Secure your position on the board.
- Come to agreement in the plenary session to keep commercial corruption off the table.

## During the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Push for governmental reforms as the top priority of the commission.
- Encourage judicial and political anti-corruption enforcement to be the first sectors for reform.
- Block any real suggestions for monitoring of corruption, particularly in the commercial sector.

- Why is it in everyone's interest to limit press freedom?
- Why is it important to address corruption in sectors other than commercial?
- Why is it important to focus on governmental reforms?

# Bina Bishwakarma

Student and Activist

Dalit Confederation of Nepal

You are Bina Bishwakarma, an outspoken student activist who is also recognized as a member of the Dalit caste. You are one of the 'untouchables' of Hindu caste society, and this tag stays with you always. In bold defiance of the traditional position of Dalit as menial laborers, you are studying law, jurisdiction and political theory at the University of Kathmandu. You hope to study law and ultimately work for Human Rights Watch Nepal providing legal services in support of Nepal's landless, handicapped and refugee populations. Your heart aches for the PLA fighters stuck without rights in cantonment camps, while you fear the Maoists' motivation for maintaining their guerilla forces. The Maoists' party, UCPN, claims to support minority rights but you haven't seen any follow through yet. If the UCPN continues to champion your cause without real action, you are going to tell your Dalit constituencies to withdraw their support.

Your parents, who work as a gravedigger and a laundress, respectively, are thrilled you are headed for a professional career but have long discouraged your political activism. As president of the eight-member Students for Dalit Equality campus organization, you have been active in the national Dalit Confederation of Nepal (DCN) as the head of the national student advisory council since interning at its headquarters last year. Working with the DCN has opened your eyes to the structural barriers to achieving equality for Dalit in Nepal. You had formerly thought discrimination and prejudice were products of social ignorance and could cause harm only in social environments. Now you know better: the problem is rooted in social stereotype but manifests with the help of a variety of weaknesses and omissions in the political structure: laws are not enforced, rights are not respected, and such little Dalit representation in government does not bode well. For equality to be effective at the social level, legal changes must first be made. This is something that those who are not affected by caste discrimination do not know and must be told. The retired Supreme Court justice might agree with you on this, so it is worth finding out his opinion on legal reform and whether he believes it will have an influence on civil society.

In your study of the gaps in the legal system, you learned that attempts to eliminate caste-based social practices in Nepal have failed. You know firsthand that civil codes prohibiting discrimination have never been enforced at the legal level nor become common civil practice. Your family and other Dalit in your community are barred from the temple on certain holidays; you were denied entrance into public schools several times as a child; and you have never been allowed to vote in elections. The impunity of Nepali society knows no bounds.

Dalit are largely destitute in many areas and without social capital, making you particularly vulnerable to exploitation by people taking advantage of the corrupt system. To attend university in Kathmandu required payoffs to the dorm head and the university bursar, and Students for Dalit Equality has struggled for assistance from the Student Activities Board. At home in Sagarmatha, your family has been informally evicted on several occasions despite having been forced to pay remittances to the village council and provincial housing authority. You are sick of the never-ending debt your family has paid to Nepalese society and the unjust treatment of your people.

As is the case with discrimination against Dalit, other marginalized groups have no platform to register complaint. Corruption in Nepal has removed any possibility of economic empowerment to the downtrodden minorities. You believe that Dalit as a single caste group may not have the

manpower, willpower or resources to change the situation, but joined together with other marginalized castes, there is hope. For this reason you might seek consensus with the women's rights or landless rights groups, but do not want to risk diluting your energy by joining up with environmental causes. Your fight is for the people of Nepal, not the climate; wasting time and money advocating for trees is not a good use of your time and thus you will see to it the government stays away from focusing on environmental policy change. In your view, environmental policies put burdens on business and lead to higher unemployment.

Your goal at the GMIC charter summit is two-fold: to seek collaborative partners among other groups that suffer systemic discrimination and oppression; and appeal to the larger authorities for the economic and political empowerment of Dalit. Specifically, you want political parties to support your cause and to back up their promises with realistic monitoring and evaluation measures. You don't trust the Maoists to uphold their big talk about minority rights and should see if there is another powerhouse political party that will work with you. You don't believe that morality will suddenly kick in to effect change, nor international pressure; these have largely failed in the past. Your proposed route to getting the ear of the government is to convince them that political representation and the integration of Dalit into the working class through enforcement of forgotten anti-discrimination laws and federal reorganization on minority lines will fuel Nepal's economy and reduce civil unrest.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for measures to protect Dalit and guarantee them the same rights and privileges as all Nepalese.
- Make your first priority for reform civil rights for minorities.
- Block climate change from becoming a key issue for the plenary group.
- Speak as an equal and an intellectual. Breaking others' prejudices about the Dalit as uneducated and unworthy takes patience and precision.
- Insist on more power for the courts and the media, to ensure minority rights are respected.
- Scout out the domestic actors to see who may be interested in uniting for a common voice on equal rights in Nepalese society.
- Come to agreement in the plenary session if you can get one or more political parties other than the Maoists to support your cause.

#### In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Encourage the commission's top priority to be human rights.
- Make implementation of minority rights the first sector to be reformed.
- Support federalism because it will result in minority representation in politics.
- Block climate change from becoming a key issue for the GMIC.
- Appeal to international bodies to support your argument that truly incorporating equal rights for Dalit is in the interest of the government and the nation.
- Challenge those who suggest that equal rights have already been attained.

- What reforms must be installed to protect the rights of minorities?
- In what ways is the oppression of the Dalit harmful to all society and economy?
- How will adequate representation of the Dalit minority be guaranteed in the government?

# **Prabat Pokrel** Bankrupt Entrepreneur

You are Prabat Pokrel, a businessman who until recently owned a well-frequented local teashop in Pokhara. You've been invited to the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission charter summit to represent the grievances of business owners who have suffered under the burden of a corrupt system. Corruption is a particularly big problem in the business sector, so conducting business in Nepal has always been a challenge, especially for small-scale enterprises like yours. Thanks to your passionate work ethic and robust customer salesmanship, you had managed to make a humble living that kept your family fed and housed. Yet two months ago you were forced to close your teashop after high food costs, taxes and forced bribery pushed you out. In the months leading to your business closure, the mounting pressure of unpaid accounts and rising prices made operating difficult, but the regular attempts at extortion and threats on behalf of the provincial business officer's men ultimately prompted your decision to close.

The teashop was your life and livelihood and had been established by your grandfather over sixty years ago. Being forced out of business was therefore not only an act of desperation, but also one that triggered shame and resentment towards the government that you feel is ultimately responsible. Furious with the situation that led to your bankruptcy and the closure of your family's business, you painted over your shop banner with an anti-government slogan. This spectacle led to a resonating interview with Radio Janakpur, which everyone in Gandaki province heard. Since the interview aired you've been invited to three informal gatherings of the neighborhood business community, at which potential coordinated protests and boycotts were the topic of heated discussion. Many people cite the example of Tunisia where the revolution began with a fruit seller's despair over continued harassment by police and expectations of bribes. You hope to use the leverage of strong non-violent protests to push for meaningful reforms.

You are outraged that the business climate in Nepal prevents local shopkeepers like you not only from earning enough income to grow, but even remaining open to bring in a negligible profit. All local business owners are subject to extra "fees" levied by the Provincial Licensing Bureau just to keep their doors open, and any official business such as procuring a restaurant license or permit can only be accomplished by exploiting strategic political relationships or offering bribes. Taxes are high enough to discourage new entrepreneurs from starting up. Labor rates are so low and jobs so scarce that a large percentage of the Nepali workforce must seek employment outside of the country, often in the Middle East or India. The economy has always suffered at the hands of corrupt officials but in recent years the exploitation, combined with the government's seeming indifference to rising taxes and the price of commodities has made running a business nearly impossible. You have seen many peers and business owners in your neighborhood go bankrupt. While everyone, including the government and the ineffective CIAA, is well aware of the extent of corruption, no one is taking it seriously. The GMIC is going to change that because of your participation at this summit. Corruption and labor reform, especially protection of small business owners, are your top priorities. You want to see micro-enterprise encouraged, not squashed; tax breaks, accessible licensing and regulation to keep prices in check will help. You should openly challenge the politicians to disclose their stance on labor reform, and get those promises (or cowards) out in the open.

You are have resorted to paying bribes where necessary, as all businessmen have. Your largest sum was paid to Suresh Kumar Tuladhar, an executive council member in the office of Devendra Charma at the Advisory Council to the Chamber of Commerce. At the time you approached Charma to complain that the forced rate was unforgivably high, but he refused to hear your complaint. You think Charma is a snake, a liar, and the epitome of Nepal's corruption problem: people in power who abuse those they are meant to protect. A central focus of your motivation to participate in this forum is to expose powerful people like Devendra Charma for their hypocrisy as he is a high-level participant at the summit, you might mention this story to the Radio Janakpur journalist also in attendance to see if she can assist in publicizing it. In your opinion, people in positions of authority abuse it, as a rule, and you are very wary of anyone at this meeting who comes from a background of political power or business-grown wealth. The Maoists are the only political group that you trust; the constituent assembly has been paralyzed by the self-interest of the other parties and continues to be so today.

This gathering to write the charter for the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission is your opportunity to make yourself heard. You have the confidence of your business peers and your countrymen; they have chosen you to represent their struggle and voice their concern. Like them, you want the GMIC to implement specific anti-corruption regulations to police the political and business elite, and protections in place to safeguard small businesses. Your first step will be to put pressure on each party to explain its stance on labor reform. This is your chance to highlight the problems of the exploited business class, and you are going to take advantage of it.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for industry regulation to protect business and entrepreneurial sectors.
- Garner support for anti-corruption legislation by gauging which other domestic parties share the same grievance.
- Privately, tell Maya Singh about Devendra Sharma's reputation.
- Determine which other government officials or domestic actors may have been on the receiving end of corrupt transactions. Define your enemy so you know whom you are up against.
- Challenge the political representatives to explain their positions on labor reform.
- Come to consensus in the plenary only if corruption in the business sector is adequately addressed.

# At the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Push for commercial and labor reform to be the top priority of the commission.
- Advocate for the business sector to be the first for reform.
- Ensure that the GMIC is far more effective than the CIAA.
- Be heard. You have spent your entire professional career being ignored, dismissed and overruled this is your time to finally have the floor.
- Demand that proper monitoring measures be enforced in the business sector.

- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- What indicators should be used to monitor politicians and/or business deals?
- How can the GMIC pledge its commitment to fighting corruption what form could this assurance take?
- How can the government bolster the commercial and industrial sectors?
- What will happen to those currently in power who have committed grave acts of corruption in the past? What should be the consequences for those who commit corruption in the future?

# **Bhola Sada** Landless Tenant and Village Elder Landless Terai Rights Forum

You are Bhola Sada, a landless tenant and village elder from Birendranagar in Surket Valley in the Terai region. You have been active in the Landless Terai Rights Forum for most of your life, since you were raised in a shantytown in Tulsipur that siphoned electricity from the main lines and had no access to clean water. However, you are not the most outspoken member of the organization and believe you were elected to represent the Forum because you are a respected elder and leader in the village, and as such have arbitrated years of land disputes in your community. You grew up in a family of seven children and worked as a field laborer from age six. Neither your family nor community owned the land on which you toiled to bring a fertile crop of rice each spring and paddy each fall. Like many other landless families, you lacked a permanent home and suffered from the direct lack of utilities and security, and the subsequent inadequate education, inferior social standing, income, health and general welfare that accompanies life without title to the land.

Politicians have promised land reforms for years, but Nepal has yet to fulfill any of these promises. Indigenous Tharu landlords and high-caste migrants from the hills own a disproportionate amount of the land in the Terai region and thus a disproportionate amount of the agricultural profit coming from the fertile ground. Until reform occurs, landless families like your own will continue to work others' land based on radically unequal agreements that can be broken or abused by those in power. Your father had an informal contract with a landowner for Rs 2,400 in return for a full harvest of rice at the end of the growing season, and was paid only Rs 1,850 in the end. Your youngest brother died of typhoid that year since there was no money to take him to a clinic. Because the landless are not citizens and have no rights under Nepali law, nothing can be done about their mistreatment. National measures aimed at assisting the poor in buying land from the rich has been an expensive and difficult process and has left the door open to corruption at multiple levels. You know this corruption goes unchecked in part because no one thinks it's wrong to cheat a landless immigrant.

Both as an individual and as part of the Landless Terai Rights Forum, you have endured significant neglect and oppression in your efforts to advocate for land reform. The government is callous and indifferent at the national and provincial level. Officials in other organizations have little interest in supporting your cause. Worst of all, other minorities fighting for equal rights in Nepal are quick to condemn the landless movement. Whether they see you as competition or merely a stepping-stone to move themselves up the social ladder, they have discriminated against you to a shocking degree. It is not what you might expect from people who ought to be tired of hatred and fear. A nasty experience with a crowd of Dalit youths has left you shaken and skeptical of other minorities' interests. Since then you have not been comfortable around the Dalit members of the Landless Terai Rights Forum. You will keep to yourself in this fight because experience has taught you not to trust others.

While you dislike the Maoists in principle because of their incompetence, you fully support the concept of dividing the sublevels of the government structure along minority groups. You will back up that initiative without showing too much approbation for the Maoists' cause. You have hope that the Maoists will support you, but are suspicious of their ability to instigate real change in the federal structure. The current government is no better than the Nepali Congress Party's excuse for a ruling body. Both have condoned widespread corruption and neither has taken land reform seriously. Specifically, you want the rights of the landless to be protected, with legal

measures to owning land after tilling or squatting for a minimum number of years. You'd like to see agriculture treated with more respect by way of better infrastructure: improved roads, markets and processing plants. Half of Nepal's workforce is in agriculture and the government hasn't shown any sense of responsibility towards those in this widespread livelihood. Your main initiatives are to get legal protection and citizenship rights for the landless, and better infrastructure for the agriculture sector. Your only hope to create change is the NGO community, some of whom have taken up your mission.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for commitments to transparently address the grievances of landless tillers. Make citizens' rights the first area to be addressed and reformed.
- Win infrastructure improvements for the agricultural sector.
- Endorse labor rights for agricultural workers.
- Remain an individual cause with a specific goal; don't ally with any other groups.
- Support any method of gaining representation; if necessary, support federalism along the lines of minority representation in politics.
- Come to agreement in the plenary session only if there is a reliable promise to promote landless rights.

# During the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Push for the top priority of the commission to be protecting and improving life for all Nepalese, inclusive of the landless.
- Advocate for minority rights to be the first sector for the commission to address.
- Suggest a powerful monitoring body such as the courts or the media to be empowered to evaluate implementation.
- Solicit backup from powerful domestic and international human rights groups.
- Steer clear of the Dalit and other minority interest groups.

- Which infrastructure improvements will encourage economic growth and how can they be implemented?
- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- In what ways is the oppression of the landless harmful to all society and economy?
- What land reforms are necessary to empower agricultural workers and indigenous landowners?
- How can the government bolster the commercial and industrial sectors?
- How will adequate representation of the landless be guaranteed in the government?

# **Munmun Badi** Activist and Trafficking Victim Women Seeking Refuge

You are Munmun Badi, an activist for Women Seeking Refuge and a survivor of trafficking. At nine years of age you and your sister were sold to a trafficker by your uncle and smuggled to a brothel in Kamatipura, India. The network of corrupt police and immigration officials facilitated the road to India; payoffs made for a quiet and easy trip across the border with 14 young girls in captivity. Once in India, the brothel owners beat and raped the girls to 'train' them into sexual servitude. Your sister Uma died of HIV/AIDS, a disease which you contracted as well. You remained at the brothel for eight years until you escaped with your two children.

Back in Kathmandu, you dedicated your life to advocating for women's rights and fighting human trafficking. Women Seeking Refuge provides battered and abused women with resources and lifesaving care and empathy. Life as an activist is difficult and vulnerable. You are constantly threatened by men who disagree with your stance; two of your activist colleagues have been assaulted and one murdered. The police refuse to investigate or even file a report for these cases, as is the trend with most instances of violence or sexual assault against women. Gender based violence is on the rise in Nepal. Though the government has officially pledged to halt violence against women, last year saw the highest number of rapes, dowry murders and deaths as a result of domestic violence. In most cases families or communities push an informal justice solution such as a 'forgiveness payment' for rape in place of pressuring the police or legal system for a standard of justice. When a woman goes to the police for help, she is usually ignored and exposes herself to further threat if people learn of her attempt to report the crime.

Trafficking is also a pervasive issue in Nepal. Between 5-10,000 Nepali women are trafficked into sexual slavery every year. 'Brokers' frequent poor villages with low prospects and education levels to buy women and young girls and move them across the border. The police know about the system, and are aware of what goes on in the brothels. It is just another illegal activity from which they can take a cut of the profit in return for looking the other way.

The Constituent Assembly promised to promote women's rights and has made no motions to implement changes. Traffickers continue to purchase women like cattle and sell them into lives of bondage, abuse, misery and disease. Without the leadership of the governing body and ruling class, society will not adapt to respecting women or acknowledging their rights as human beings. The Nepalese continue to exploit, neglect and repress their women with no hope in sight for social reform. The success of Women Seeking Refuge has been minimal at best; it is near impossible to implement social change without the assistance of legal regulation or mass protest. You have been harassed and taunted on your way to work and at every public event held by your organization. The media has been very helpful in exposing some of the police corruption surrounding attacks on women's rights activists, and the free operation of media groups is essential to understanding and facing the problem. To lend your voice to the free media campaign will help your cause in the end.

Most women are afraid to stand up for themselves especially when they see that those who do are targeted for further abuse. Women Seeking Refuge has planned more than one event at which many women have failed to show up, but the numbers are slowly gaining every year.

You are passionate about women's rights and demand to see the government making good on their empty promises. The UCPN (Maoists) has won victory after victory because of their so-

called support for women's rights but you don't believe it for a second. The Maoists are using you - and the women of Nepal - for political gain and it's time for that to stop. It's time to see real changes put into practice, and you will make yourself heard. The international NGO community supports you and the government officials will want to please them - even if by a roundabout route, you will make sure that women's rights are given special priority, with monitoring and indicators to measure progress at the social level. Reform is desperately needed so that officials along the Nepal/India border will stop traffickers from moving women, and law enforcement will arrest brothel owners and protect trafficked women and children. There needs to be greater protection of children, better prosecution of those who violate women's rights, and much more effort to identify and stop trafficking operations across the border. There is no other issue as important or time-sensitive as the advancement and safety of women, and you must not let other lobbyists get the attention or resources that ought to go to support women in Nepali society.

Women's rights come first and the rest of civil society matters can come after. In particular you feel that further industrial investment and concern over climate change are not only impractical, but to put them ahead of the equality of half of Nepal's citizens is unjust. The better you are at keeping irrelevant interest groups out of the consideration of the government and international representatives, the more time and energy will be focused on women's rights.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Promote consideration and special protection of women and girls. This is your top priority.
- Support adoptions and legal instruments against human trafficking.
- Keep climate change and industry groups from becoming the top priority the Nepali government officials.
- Come to agreement in the plenary session only if the group will make women's rights one of the top priorities.

# In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Make human rights and human welfare the top priority of the commission.
- Push for women's protection/trafficking to be the first sector for reform.
- Get the international groups on board with your cause from the beginning; their support is crucial to your success.
- Shame the government officials for what they condone; publicize their hypocrisy and dishonesty.
- Endorse free media as a pillar of civil reform and human rights; suggest that the media be given a monitoring role in implementing the charter.
- Keep climate change and industry groups from becoming the top priority of the international actors.
- Leverage international donor interest against indicators to show improvement in implementing gender equity and protection of women.

- How can women's rights regulations best be implemented and enforced?
- How can India and Nepal collaborate on clamping down on trans-border human trafficking?
- What protections must be established so that perpetrators of abuse and assault of women are appropriately and swiftly brought to justice?
- How will the international and domestic NGO community support the rights of women in Nepal?
- Why consider other civil interests ahead of women's rights/human rights for all of Nepal?

# **Devi Pariyar Community Spokesman** *Environmental Refugees of Dhe, Nepal*

You are Devi Pariyar, a spokesman for Nepal's first recognized environmental refugees. A native of Dhe, in the country's northern Mustang region, you and the 23 households that made up your village were recently forced to move from the land your people have inhabited for centuries. Water resources that fed the once-rich greenery of your valley have slowly diminished in the past 7 years, leaving behind arid brown plains choking your way of life. Your people can no longer grow the potatoes that have been a staple of your diet, nor allow your livestock to graze freely near your village.

You have a deep connection to the land your ancestors lived on. It makes you livid that the government is now spending money to move your community and develop new livelihood opportunities, while at the same time turning a blind eye to illegal logging in the Terai. At the current rate of destruction, many estimate that in as few as 12 years and certainly within the news two or three decades, Nepal's rainforests will be gone – forever changing the lives that depend on them, and causing more communities to react to changing environments.

What's more, current efforts by the government to attract investment, will likely give little attention to industrial emissions levels. You are worried that in an effort to make domestic jobs for the thousands of youths migrating abroad daily, the government will not uphold emissions standards – resulting in further threats to the climate. In addition to the loss of livelihoods and food and water sources, environmental degradation further threatens communities because of increased vulnerability to natural disasters. You know what happened in Pakistan after the earthquake, and the drought in Australia is terrifying.

As the president of Dhe's youth club, you have taken it upon yourself to travel to Kathmandu, and seek outside funding for your people. Having worked to create awareness of the challenges facing your community, your diligent efforts have resulted in reports being written about the situation of your village. You've come to the opinion that the changing environment of Dhe is the direct result of dubious practices taking place within the country. The destruction of trees, mainly rain forests, is a hugely significant contributor to climate change.

This gathering to write the charter for the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission is your opportunity to make yourself heard. You have the confidence of your community and countrymen; they have chosen you to represent their struggle and voice their concern. Like them, you want nothing more than for the GMIC to implement specific anticorruption regulations to police threats to the environment. The industrial sector needs to be brought down to a fair standard of emissions, deforestation, and to compensate for the damage already done. You are representing climate change refugees worldwide, as the problem spreads outside of national borders. This is your chance to bring the environment and the people that depend on it to the political forefront, and you are going to take advantage of it.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Push for industrial regulation and law enforcement that limits harmful emissions and deforestation.
- Discredit government officials who are ignoring threats to the environment.

• Come to agreement in the plenary session if environmental issues are taken up by the group as a serious threat.

## In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Push for the top priority of the commission to specify mitigation of environmental threat.
- Advocate for environmental reforms to come first.
- Be heard. You represent the first climate change refugees recognized by the Nepali government. This is your time to finally get the attention of domestic and international stakeholders alike.
- Garner support for environmental legislation by leveraging the support of other stakeholders sympathetic to the cause.
- Suggest to international donors that aid money be contingent on strict adherence to environmental standards.

- How can measures to monitor and enforce environmental protections be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- Given the international scope of climate change, what universally accepted measures should Nepal be held to, and how can they be monitored?
- How can the GMIC pledge its commitment to fighting climate change what form could this assurance take?

# **Maya Singh Threatened Journalist** *Radio Janakpur*

You are Maya Singh, a 30-year-old journalist with Radio Janakpur in Southern Nepal. Your work as an investigative reporter is among the best in the country and has gained you national notoriety. This has also brought you attention from corrupt officials and criminal elements that control many circles in the country.

Last year these threats became very personal when a pipe bomb was placed outside the home you share with your mother, father and two nieces. You are not exactly sure who placed the explosive on your property, but you suspect cadres from the Youth Communist League. It was they who disagreed vehemently with your portrayal of a local Maoist official, and demanded that you "correct" your report, and give a more positive depiction of his efforts to influence a community vote. But you also know that it could have been placed by a number of aggrieved people throughout Janakpur and its neighboring district. Your investigative reports have been a thorn in the side of politicians, the police, industry leaders and domestic NGOs alike. At this summit, there is at least one politician on whom you have hard evidence of criminal activity; Deepak Shrestha from the Royalists recently bribed the police to dismiss a criminal charge on his brother. You should let him know that you have this information and are not afraid to publish it; but you might reconsider if the Royalists put some political clout behind media freedom.

Despite the danger of your chosen professional field, you refuse to let it dictate your life. You've been extremely diligent in your reporting, and worked hard to defy the expectations of a woman in a male dominated field. Your father has called you the stubborn buffalo for your refusal to lead a traditional woman's life, but you refuse to be deterred by those who are slowly killing your country.

Now that you will finally gain the attention of your country's political leaders, you intend to hold them to account for failing to protect journalists and promote media freedom. Journalists are being threatened on a daily basis, and you've lost good colleagues to unspeakable acts. You believe beyond a shadow of a doubt that the health of the world's newest republic can be judged by the amount of freedom its press enjoys. Journalists need better protection from the law, and this must be enforced with consistency by police and the judicial system.

You need to convince others of your views at the summit so that you and your colleagues can continue to perform what you view as an important public service. You can be creative in how you get people on board. You could even suggest that the media can work with other stakeholders to serve as a de facto monitoring system for the country. While Nepal suffers from lack of transparency and weak governance, why not empower the country's journalists to work closely with the new Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission? You could advocate for the media's continued role in the GMIC in exchange for positive coverage on Radio Janakpur of the GMIC's progress; one of the politicians may take you up on this.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Demand free and fair media, independence, and ability to report accurately.
- Gain the attention and support of all stakeholders. You represent the domestic media struggling to hold power to account. This is your time to stress what that means for a new Nepal.

- Privately, let Deepak Shresthra know what you know about him and see if he has anything to say about it.
- Use the floor to question government officials involved in or suspected of corruption activities.
- Come to agreement in the plenary if media freedom is made a main priority of the group.

## In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Push for independent media protections and rights to the commission's top priority.
- Suggest that the media play a monitoring role in implementing the charter.
- Garner support for legislation that protects the media specifically, and severely penalizes attempts to pressure journalists.
- Show the real links to international support and aid that will accompany improvements in media rights and access.

- How can the international community encourage Nepal to adhere to standards of free media and reporting?
- How can the GMIC pledge its commitment to supporting free media what form could this assurance take?

# Prakash Pande

Commissioner

Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority

You are Prakash Pande, Commissioner of Nepal's premier anti-corruption agency, the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority. Although your appointment is renewable, your current mandate will end in 2014, so you have already completed half of your term. This means you have three years left to prove that the CIAA is an effective body for investigating corruption cases, and that it should have the power and authority to enforce punitive actions upon violators as well. Given that the CIAA is a constitutional body, the Nepalese society views it as "the" anti-corruption body responsible for the investigation and monitoring of corruption. However, much to your frustration, the agency is helpless when it comes to the enforcement of anti-corruption measures.

You take the issue of corruption seriously and are committed to eradicating it. Your family was personally affected by corruption. When you were a kid, your father's dream was to open a small coffee shop in Kathmandu. You remember your parents going to great lengths so that they could save enough money and realize this dream. Then, when you turned eighteen, your father finally opened his coffee shop, the Namaste Café which became very popular quickly, and business thrived. Nepalese are strongly opposed to foreign chains opening stores in Nepal because domestically owned stores buy more local products, and people effectively blocked the opening of a Starbucks in the capital. However, a Hindu coffee chain, Himalayan Coffee Express, paid a considerable bribe to Kathmandu's local authorities in order to be allowed to open their store in the same neighborhood as Namaste. Unable to compete with the low-cost drinks offered by Himalayan Coffee Express, your father had to closed his store, only two years after it had opened. The dream your father had built over 40 years of his life was demolished, and he was never quite the same. That day you decided you would do everything possible to fight corruption in Nepal and punish everyone who used corrupt practices. You see this summit as an opportunity to get revenge on the people who destroyed your father's dream.

As a high-ranked commissioner for the CIAA, you have recently been personally empowered to investigate and probe cases of corruption. The Prime Minister's office vested this authority in you, mostly because your uncle Sudesh Pande is an adviser there. They have never asked for anything in return except to occasionally overlook a case or two, which you oblige in order to keep your status. The UCPN (Maoists) claim to want to eradicate corruption, but even if you bought that, you'd be unable to publicly support them because your allegiance is to your uncle's party, CPN-UML.

You have had a difficult relationship with the media because it can interfere with your investigations. In one particular case, you had asked the Kathmandu Post to wait before publishing an article on a corruption scandal involving a number of politicians. You were convinced that if you had a few more weeks to investigate the case, you would secure sufficient proof against several suspects, allowing for the prosecution of several officials. However, the Kathmandu Post leaked the case to the public on the front page of the newspaper, and all but the two officials directly involved had sufficient warning to get rid of any proof against them. Therefore, many politicians got away without any repercussions, and they are still in office today. After this you became convinced that although the press is crucial to a just society, the PM-authorized CIAA should have some authority and decision-making power over when the media may report on sensitive issues linked to government investigations.

You believe that sensationalist news stories are hurting Nepal's image in the eyes of foreign investors and other governments. You hold journalists partly responsible for the reluctance of international companies to invest in Nepal, and for the international community's threat to stop funding development projects. Therefore, you are strongly opposed to any reform that would give the press more freedom.

# During the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the GMIC that the CIAA should lead any anti-corruption efforts.
- Ensure that the GMIC doesn't weaken the CIAA or shift CIAA power and authority elsewhere.
- Block any reforms that will increase press freedom.
- Since you are affiliated with Sudesh Pande in the PM office, support the CPN-UML's objectives.
- Come to agreement with the plenary group if CIAA is given due respect as the lead institution for fighting corruption.

# In the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Make anti-corruption the top priority of the commission.
- Garner support from the international aid community to show that international assistance is contingent on accountability.
- Block any reforms that will increase press freedom.
- Suggest that CIAA be empowered and enhanced to fulfill a monitoring role for the commission.
- Leave this summit with CIAA retaining its position as pre-eminent anti-corruption institution, so that you can assure the renewal of your mandate.

- Why should the CIAA lead the anti-corruption efforts?
- Why is it important that news stories get approved by an authority before they are published?

# **Ben Wallace** Asia Development Chairman UK Department for International Development

You are Ben Wallace, the chairman of the UK's department for promoting development and reducing poverty (DFID). You've been an advocate of human rights and poverty reduction in Nepal your entire life. From your volunteer position as a youth helping Britain to address water scarcity in Nepal in the 60s to your current position as the chairman of the organization's Asia projects, you feel personally vested in the success of the country and its people.

During the many projects you've led in Nepal, you've been particularly struck by the role that caste discrimination plays in many communities. Though outlawed by word in the late sixties, it continues by deed throughout the country – especially in the Terai. Some twenty percent of the country's citizens are Dalit, or so called untouchables, and make up the majority of the country's illiterate, and poverty afflicted. Though many of the educated youth growing up in Kathmandu no longer wish to subscribe to caste demarcations, the informal system continues to govern interactions in large parts of the Terai. To you, lack of equality is at the heart of corruption. The law is too often only applied to those with no power or resources. Elites can ignore the law because corruption is entrenched in the political and economic systems.

Born from parents of mixed racial backgrounds, you yourself suffered discrimination growing up in Manchester. But you also recognize that the problem is particularly pervasive in Nepal, where poor infrastructure leaves most people cut off from outside influence. Many Dalit communities remain cut off from social programs, and suffer attacks at the hands of people with higher degrees of social capital. These communities were particularly exploited during Nepal's civil war, and continue to be vulnerable inside a country rife with corruption and political problems.

In its efforts to reduce poverty and promote development, DFID has understood the problem of caste discrimination and aimed a significant amount of support toward programs that serve Nepal's marginalized caste and ethnic groups. You are quite keen on maintaining these projects and seizing on the momentum of each. Now that Nepal is making additional efforts to address rights within its constitution, you will aim to make the case to prioritize the country's weakest, poorest and most vulnerable communities. Specifically, you want to see special protection and recognition extended to the Dalit and other marginalized groups in Nepali society.

#### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to enact legislation protecting minorities.
- Be heard. You represent the UK government, and a number of successful projects in Nepal. This is an opportunity to influence others to prioritize measures that protect marginalized caste and ethnic groups.
- Raise the question of what will happen to DFID and others' aid money if funds are not properly accounted for.
- Garner support for legislation that strengthens Nepal's judicial and security apparatus.
- Advocate for an incentive package should the commission include the top priorities of the donors in its Charter.
- Make the case that empowering Nepal's poorest will increase production and living standards throughout the country.
- Come to consensus on an incentive package if minority rights are accepted as a part of the recommendations.

## At the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Recommend that human rights be the commission's top priority.
- Endorse minority rights and protection as the first sector for reform.
- Suggest that Nepal ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.
- Encourage a strong monitoring body such as the media or the courts to act as a watchdog for the charter's implementation.
- Leverage the GMIC's success against incoming international aid packages.

- What methodology can be used to measure domestic stakeholders' real support of marginalized caste and ethnic groups?
- How can the GMIC show sustained commitment to fighting caste discrimination, and what will be the ramifications if they prove unsatisfactory?

# **Yves Bjorn Development Commissioner Chairman** Danish International Development Agency

You are Yves Bjorn, representative of the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). Your organization has invested in the reduction of poverty in Nepal for decades, and has shown its commitment to development through projects ranging from education to good governance. Danish citizens have been coming to Nepal for decades to traverse its great Himalayas, and identify closely with the country and it's people. Because of that, the country remains an important piece of Denmark's development portfolio.

In your 20-year career with DANIDA, you've had the pleasure to work on and oversee many of these projects. You have utilized your background in development economics and engineering to institutionalize changes that increased the country's agricultural output, and brought water to villages that had been struggling for access.

In your work with agriculture in Nepal, you've been particularly struck by the legacy of a feudal structure of land allocation. Land remains the most important resource in Nepal, and provides livelihoods and social status for the majority of people. But up to a quarter of workers that till the land daily are without land of their own. This is particularly problematic when considering that Nepal recently ended a ten-year civil war fought to address structural inequalities in the country. You believe that these remaining inequalities must be addressed in order to ensure that a) landless tenants are not exploited at the hands of landowners, b) social services are not dispersed in accordance with whether one owns land, and c) the country does not revert back to conflict.

You also believe that investing in Nepal's land resources will help elevate the production of food grains. Poor growing seasons still threaten food supplies in Nepal. You believe that if the country were to invest in its agriculture industry, food could be grown much more efficiently, and workers could be compensated with greater equanimity.

As you gain access to Nepal's domestic and international stakeholders, you hope to convince them that one of the greatest challenges to peace in Nepal is tied directly to land issues. But you also know that reforms will entail the agricultural sector. Because of the state of Nepal's economy, it needs international investment without being tied to standards of emissions controls. You believe that once Nepal gets on its feet, it can instill controls on its emissions level, but that any restrictions put on it at this point would only choke its fragile economy.

#### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to put land issues high on the agendas of international stakeholders.
- Garner support for legislation that offers land to landless communities.
- Guide the discussion away from any legislation requiring an increase in environmental standards.
- Gain commitments for investment in Nepal's agricultural sector.
- Come to agreement on an incentive package in the plenary session if land and labor reform are made priorities for the group.

# In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

• Encourage land rights and labor reform to be the commission's top priority.

- Suggest that land and labor be the first sectors for reform.
- Advise that international aid will follow where human rights, particularly for the destitute, are properly respected.
- Guide the discussion away from further environmental regulation.
- Highlight the positive potential for international investment.

- How can domestic stakeholders prioritize land issues as a peace, security and human rights issue?
- How can the GMIC pledge its commitment to addressing the problems at the route of Nepal's civil war, to ensure that it doesn't revert to violence?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# *Charles Stratford* Asia Director United States Agency for International Development

You are Charles Stratford, a development expert and Director of the regional programs in Asia for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Your wife is Indian; you met at the Asian Development Bank annual conference in 2008. Asia is your area of expertise - and it has also broken your heart too many times too count. You're working on your first book on corruption in politics as linked to Asian culture, and constantly on the lookout for new evidence to support your theory that collectivistic cultures naturally produce corrupt authorities.

Nepal suffers from public corruption that is undermining the rule of law, inflating the cost of doing business and distorting competition. This is especially distasteful to you as it is your responsibility to see that USAID development funds - the American taxpayers' money - is used as efficiently and expediently as possible. Payments to corrupt officials to get development contracts in place, or to grease the signatories on agreements, are not part of your protocol. Nepal has a particularly bad history with this sort of corruption. You are keen on stamping out corruption plaguing the public sector so that the private sector can flourish. The best way this can be done is by privatizing and fostering competition with public services. Corruption in the business sector in Nepal is especially bad and must be specifically targeted for government reform.

USAID had to pull out of Nepal in 2005 when the then-King Gyanendra dismissed the government and declared a state of emergency. You took the Peace Corps out with you for good measure. Both USAID and Peace Corps will come back into the country if you can determine that corruption will not impede the US Government's resources from reaching your desired goals: peace and security, just government, health and economic growth. The last one is of particular importance to you as you think steady economic progress and the free market will enable all the other sectors to improve dramatically. Re-establishing a USAID office and the Peace Corps Post in Nepal is the carrot you have to offer the domestic parties at this charter summit; further denial of aid, volunteers and the indirect disapproval of the US are your stick. You are the only official representative of the U.S. government at this charter summit, and you will make sure others recognize your authority.

As of 2007 USAID included "gender mainstreaming" as a crosscutting theme for all its international development initiatives. This was by orders from HQ and would not have been part of your agenda for the Asia USAID programs. Your envoy believes it to be an inefficient use of resources to fund gender-specific measures. Your thinking is much like the critics of UN WOMAN, the UN's new agency that funds a new woman-specific body, who believe that the bureaucratic agency will only be weighted down with more bureaucracy. You believe prioritizing other areas will lift security for everyone, women included. It's the same with environmental degradation; if each of the other areas of poor governance are addressed, then illegal practices like logging will be addressed. Focusing on each individual grievance will only waste time. The economy needs nurturing, not red tape; stringent limits on emissions would only succeed in choking the fledgling economy.

You've been around the development game long enough to know that the U.S. government holds a lot of sway and can put its weight behind whatever political initiatives it pleases, financially. You don't want to see environmental issues or women's issues get ahead of the real priority for the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission charter. First and foremost is addressing the corruption linking Nepal's government to the private business industry. You also want to see regulations in place to prevent or prosecute misallocation of foreign aid funds. Once the private sector corruption is eliminated, competition will invite more entrepreneurs to join in the economy, and Nepal will finally be on its way.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to enact reforms to quell corruption from the commercial and industrial sectors.
- Push for business sector reform to come first.
- Support initiatives for justice and enforcement, empowering Nepal to attend to illegal or corrupt acts.
- Deter gender issues or climate issues from taking priority or dominating the discussion.
- Come to agreement on an incentive program only if corruption in the business sector is made a key priority.

### In the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Encourage eradication of corruption to be the top priority of the commission.
- Suggest business and commercial sectors to be the first for reform.
- Deter gender issues or climate issues from taking priority or dominating the discussion.
- Suggest that Nepal join the United Nations Global Compact to encourage business sector accountability.
- Maintain the diplomatic integrity of the United States and participate with the understanding that all developing nations desire and rely on the assistance of the U.S.

- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- How much and in what forms is Nepal willing to prove it's government is dedicated to eliminating corruption?
- Can the GMIC prove Nepal is worthy of having USAID back in the country, with a mission office in Kathmandu?

# **Ken Brockman Chief Technology Officer; Director of Corporate Social Responsibility** *Google U.S.A.*

You are Ken Brockman, chief technology officer and director of Google's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) projects. You are a 14-year veteran of the company despite your relatively young age of 35. In your time with the company, you've been instrumental in a number of successful projects that have jettisoned you to the top of one of the world's most powerful companies.

Despite near market dominance in the web-based technology sector, your company remains committed to living up to the mantra it stated upon its inception – "don't be evil." It has even taken the mission one step further to include philanthropic ventures around the world. These tax-deductible projects allow Google to steer a portion of its funds toward issues it feels are important, and serve to boost the company's reputation at home and abroad. You are a huge fan of the program. It's given you the chance to visit China, make friends in Cambodia and trek the Himalayas.

Nepal is of particular interest to you. When you trekked through the Annapurna mountain range, you were stunned to meet hundreds of villagers who'd not known about political events or of recent natural disasters in the region. The owner of your B&B told you that the regional government had sold plots of land belonging to his village without anyone's knowledge, and the money did not come back to the villagers; they just found out when the new landowner arrived with the paperwork and erected a fence. He also reported that at several local elections, candidates had been removed or added to the ballot without any prior notice to the constituents.

In transit in regional capitals during your visit, you'd been unable to use your PDA to get weather updates or international news, and at one point your email was shut off. At the behest of a civil society group, Nepal's government fought for years over ratifying a Freedom of Information Act before finally incorporating it in 2007. It has not been effectively implemented yet, and obstacles to information are everywhere. This influences secrecy (and corruption) around government activity, especially with civil servants, and produces a lack of trained and competent human resources, an absence of intellectual discourse, and general ignorance on laws and freedoms.

Google's reputation and track record in helping Nepal has given you the chance to advise on measures to support the constitution. You want to use all of the tools at your disposal to help people understand that freedom of information as it contributes to democratic society needs to be a domestic and international priority. This means that Nepal should step up the protection of independent media, promote transparent economic transactions, and encourage internet use in schools. In response to calls to address corruption in the business sector, Nepal's media has requested access to contracting documents for large domestic projects, which the government promptly denied. You worry raising the issue will only intensify threats to Nepal's corrupt politicians, under the watchful eye of neighboring China.

You will need the backing of other international stakeholders to make this work, and aim to start with Nepal's neighbors. Google and China have had a tenuous relationship over your decision not to censor search results last year, but you are confident you can get other support for your cause that may even cast further international disapprobation on China's draconian regulations. Your relationship with China thawed somewhat after Google provided generous earthquake relief aid last year. Furthermore, if the lack of information in Nepal is adding to the emigrants across the

border, what are Indian lawmakers doing to police the flow of Nepalese coming across their borders? With a host of actors around the table, it might be a good venue to ask.

You are willing to do whatever it takes to move your issue to the top of the agenda, and you are a very agile player in doing so. In order to get the Freedom of Information Act to be adequately implemented, you'd like to see real change in conventional bureaucratic practices, highlighting transparency and accountability and media freedom. This would take the form of open political decision-making, no attacks on journalists, full internet access, and support for the nation's news networks. You don't represent a government and your motives are clear. But you also have the ability to walk at any moment. If your issue isn't being taken seriously, perhaps Google's resources and funding would be better applied elsewhere.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to fight control of information.
- Make freedom of information the first sector to be addressed with reforms.
- Garner support for legislation that strengthens law enforcement throughout the country.
- Discuss how free media can be developed responsibly within Nepal.
- Come to consensus on an aid package in the plenary session if others support freedom of information.

# At the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Encourage freedom of information and free speech to be top priorities of the commission.
- Push for government and business sector reform first, specifically on transparency and accountability.

- How can domestic stakeholders show commitment to protecting Nepal's freedom of information?
- How the free access to information can be equated with peace, education and democracy, and how it may lend itself to prosperity in Nepal.
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# **Clay Burton Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer** *GE Capital, Global Banking Solutions*

You are Clay Burton, Senior Vice President and Chief Operations Officer of GE Capital – General Electric's financial services department. GE is one of 12 American firms named by the U.S. State Dept for championing "corporate citizenship, innovation and democratic principles" in Asia, and GE has been invited to the summit to help strengthen transparency within Nepal's financial sector. You know that GE's stamp of approval is a huge incentive for the Government of Nepal, because it will signify to international corporations that after years of conflict, Nepal is "open for business."

Your research has found that when the private sector complies with labor legislation, tax obligations and environmental obligations, markets perform more efficiently and civil society benefits. You certainly want to generate discussion on financial reform and the current lack of transparency pervading Nepal's private and public sectors, but you have a two-fold reason for doing so. You would of course like to promote GE's image abroad by being seen to support the country during its transition to democracy, but your motivations don't stop there. You're also seeking investment opportunities for GE. You would also like to glean sufficient assurance from both domestic and international stakeholders that the GMIC will actually accomplish what it sets out to do, so you can make an informed decision as to whether GE should be investing in the market.

As the newly appointed Senior VP, you are under immense pressure to increase company profits to live up to your hype and keep your job. As the former head of operations for GE in Asia, you grew the company's operations in India and increased Asia profits ten-fold, bringing vast returns on company investments. You are now considering how you can employ your regional network to take advantage of a market shut off by ten years of conflict. If political risk is diminished in Nepal, GE could be instrumental in turning the country's abundant water resources into Energy, and selling this energy to India. Your business network in India could make this an extremely lucrative prospect. This makes any potential Indian representation on the advisory council a natural ally.

Given your specific knowledge of developing economies, you must push for prioritization of financial and commercial reform in Nepal. Given the limited resources and attention span of the country's leaders, it's worthwhile to suggest they delay focusing on reforms specific to gender and ethnicity at this time. They need to prioritize. It is, after all, severe poverty that is making people on the bottom rung suffer. If Nepal can attract foreign investment, it will lift the incomes of its people. If incomes rise, everyone benefits – even those on the bottom rung.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Gauge whether this summit is going to result in any tangible changes that will make Nepal more desirable for investment, and decide whether GE should be among the first to invest.
- Suggest that the prioritization of financial and commercial reforms in Nepal, are the most important.
- In the plenary session, come to consensus if you feel that there is significant potential for profitable return on investment.

### At the full summit, your objectives may include:

- Guide the GMIC to make economic growth and foreign investment part of its top priorities.
- Promote financial and commercial sectors to be the first for reform.
- Suggest the commission avoid wasting resources on ethnicity or minority empowerment at this time.
- Consider the powerful influence of GE's potential investment or withdrawal from Nepal as leverage in ensuring corruption is addressed.

- What long-term commitments will the international community make to Nepal, to help address the myriad problems weakening the country?
- How can the GMIC properly monitor financial reform without overburdening and stifling the private sector with bureaucracy?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# **Carlotta Dahlgren Emergency Peace Support Project** *World Bank*

You are Carlotta Dahlgren, leader of the World Bank's Emergency Peace Support Project in Nepal. The World Bank actively supports governments to help them become more transparent, more accountable to their citizens, and therefore more effective in developing their economy. The Bank also assists countries in becoming self-sufficient by providing them with resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity, and forming partnerships in the public and private sectors. As a representative from the World Bank, you and your organization feel that you have a natural role at the GMIC's table, and you will push for reforms that will ensure the Nepalese government's transparency and accountability going forward. Given your background in political science, you believe that governmental reforms are the only way to achieve good governance, transparency, and accountability. In your opinion, governmental reforms should be implemented first and foremost, before any other issue is dealt with, so this is what you want the GMIC to prioritize on their agenda. You want specific regulations to monitor and punish errant government behavior, and better policies to keep political processes transparent.

The funds that Nepal currently receives from the World Bank are financed by the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Norway. All three countries have a very strict stance on democracy and good governance, and have recently delivered the ultimatum that Nepal improve its track record for corruption and governance as a contingency for continuing to fund projects. This has put great pressure on the World Bank, which is afraid to lose its funding for the remainder of the Nepal Peace Support Project. As the leader for the Bank's Nepal Peace Support Project, your supervisor has asked you to make sure the issues of governance and corruption are addressed, and made it clear that your job was at stake. Your priority for the summit is to obtain a firm commitment from the government that it will improve its governance and address corruption through governmental reforms, so that you can keep your job.

In 2000, you launched a project in Nepal that was meant to bring in nurses from the USA and have them train Nepalese women in rural areas on delivering first aid care. Since many rural areas in Nepal have no access to basic health care, this project had high prospects for improving the basic humanitarian needs for many people in Nepal, while providing an opportunity to empower Nepalese women, who are often marginalized. The project funds were supposed to finance not only the salaries of the American nurses but also the supplies and equipment necessary for the program. However, the funds were mismanaged and you believe a full third of the funds attributed to supplies and equipment ended in the pockets of government officials. The World Bank subsequently terminated the project, and it negatively impacted your career. However, the WB has given you a second chance with the Peace Support Project. Therefore, this new Peace Support Project is in some way an opportunity to redeem yourself.

#### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to prioritize the implementation of governmental reforms.
- Encourage the establishment of anti-corruption standards as a contingency for continuing to fund social projects in Nepal.
- Come to agreement on an incentive package in the plenary if government reforms are made a priority of the Commission.

### In the summit, your key objectives may include:

- Push for government reforms as the top priority of the GMIC.
- Make sure the domestic actors know that further World Bank funding depends on the GMIC's ability to combat corruption.
- Encourage Nepal to set tangible indicators to show progress in the GMIC's mission.
- Leave the summit having accomplished the tasks you were given by your department, so that you can secure your job.

- What will happen if the World Bank stops funding its current project in Nepal?
- Why does the Bank care so much about governance and corruption?
- Why should governmental reforms be prioritized over other issues?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# Jay Brothers Director of Global Programs

Transparency International

You are Jay Brothers, Director of Global Programs for Transparency International (TI) and you have a personal connection to Nepal since you lived there as a high school student. Transparency International (TI) is one of the leading organizations in monitoring corruption, and has had a local chapter in Nepal for over ten years. Therefore, TI is an expert on Nepal's corruption issues and an obvious choice for inclusion in the Advisory Council. TI is well established globally and nationally. Many foreign investors, international lenders, and international NGOs rely on TI's Corruption Perception Index to decide how much and where to invest money or distribute aid. If you walk away from the summit dissatisfied with the anti-corruption measures the GMIC has decided to undertake, you have the power to publish a report denouncing Nepal's lack of commitment towards anti-corruption. Therefore you have a lot of leverage during the summit, and you should make sure to use it.

As TI's representative, you have been tasked to take advantage of this invitation and push for the implementation of strict anti-corruption standards in Nepal. Your goal is to incite international organizations to require the implementation of high anti-corruption standards before they endorse the GIMC's Charter. You know that many international organizations present, many of whom recently realized the money they were donating or lending to Nepal was being diverted from projects and ended in the hands of government officials, will support your position. However, you expect foreign investors, who often benefit from corruption, to stand in opposition. Therefore, you will have to use your leverage to find some kind of compromising agreement.

Personally, this summit is the opportunity for you to do something about corruption in Nepal, which has personally affected you. Your parents are US diplomats and worked in Nepal when you were a teenager, so you lived there between the ages of 12 and 15. You witnessed in person the pervasive problem of ethnic marginalization, social inequality, and how corruption negatively impacted the life of your friends. Indeed, your best friend was killed by police when you were 14. As police tried to arrest a fleeing bank robber, stray bullet sprayed into a crowd of people on the scene. Some only sustained minor injuries, but your friend was not as lucky, and did not survive his wounds. This day later became known as the Himalayan bank debacle.

There was no investigation of the case, the police on duty that day were never interrogated and your friend's family was never compensated. Your friend's family filed a case with the local court but the judge quickly dismissed it, claiming there wasn't evidence to prove that the police acted irresponsibly. However, it later became known that the judge had been bribed by a high-ranked police officer to have the case dropped. Since that day, you have been determined and committed to fight corruption. The event took place under King Dipendra's rule, when corruption was just as bad, but at least there was no pretense of transparency or democracy. Now every time you see a Nepalese politician spouting about the integrity of the political system, you feel sick.

The Nepali Congress is deeply corrupt, and now that the UCPN (Maoists) are in power you're eager to see it live up to its projected standard of clean governance. While they may be your leaders of choice, realistically, you will need to watch Maoist politicians carefully since the system itself—not only the specific parties—relies on bribes, exclusion and kickbacks.

You believe that eradicating corruption starts with raising awareness about it. This is why you joined Transparency International. TI monitors corruption around the world, and publishes

reports on the levels of corruption in each individual country. You know that actions such as publishing yearly the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for each country influences the way international organizations and international financial institutions allocate their funds and investments, thus motivating individual governments to implement anti-corruption mechanisms in order to improve their scores. Furthermore, although TI does not conduct investigations of alleged corruption or expose individual cases, it does sometimes cooperate with organizations that do. Therefore, one of your goals at this summit is to push cooperation between the CIAA and TI's Nepal Chapter. In fact, TI's Nepal Chapter has a list of individuals and cases it would like the CIAA to investigate. By attending this summit, you thus intend to push for a stronger collaboration between the government and NGOs in order to fight corruption in Nepal.

# During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to push measures or reform that will address corruption issues.
- Engage with international donors to set specific anti-corruption guidelines.
- Come to agreement on an incentive package if addressing corruption is made a top priority of the Charter.

### In the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Encourage combating corruption as the main priority of the GMIC.
- Expose corruption in Nepal.
- Make sure that the domestic actors understand the power you have to publicize any discrepancies or disinterest in fighting corruption. Use the leverage you have to achieve your objectives.
- Seek the collaboration of the CIAA in investigating cases.

- Why is corruption problematic for international donors/lenders?
- How could collaboration between the CIAA and TI's Nepal Chapter improve the fight against corruption in Nepal?
- What does TI have the capability to do if Nepal does not make a strong commitment to fight against corruption?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# **Owen Franks Print Journalist and South Asia Representative** *Media Freedom Network*

You are Owen Franks, a veteran journalist of the Guardian news service. You've traveled most of the world in your 20-year career, and covered topics ranging from war in the Balkans, to presidential elections in the U.S. In your most recent post in Nairobi, you covered Eastern Africa and the surrounding area.

Most striking about your time in Eastern Africa was the number of stories regarding media attacks and limits on press freedom. Few journalists have the ability to report freely on events, lest they face attacks by the government or organized crime. You have spent time in jails from Angola to Zimbabwe, but consider yourself lucky that you've come out relatively unscathed. Your British passport protected you from anything terrible ever happening, but others haven't been as lucky. Your friend Cyrus Idris, a talented journalist from Cameroon, died a suspicious death from injuries sustained in a prison last year. He was incarcerated for reporting on political corruption implicating a presidential adviser, and never made it out alive. The death of Idris has had quite an impact on your life, and caused you to join the Media Freedom Network.

As the regional representative for South Asia, you are keen to put your resources and reputation on the line to help enforce media freedom in Nepal. Though you've only been in the country for a month, you are quickly learning how pervasive corruption is, and the detriment it brings to the post-conflict society. As the only representative of the media in the plenary session, you need to get the ear of each international stakeholder and make the case for the press. Despite his or her sector, each will have interest in prioritizing media protection, because it will serve everyone.

In subsequent meetings, you should meet with local journalists, and representatives of aggrieved communities. If you're going to report on Nepal, you need to understand the problems people are facing, so you can tell their stories with your own eyes. This is important, as there are many compelling stories that rarely make news in Nepal because they're so commonplace or because they're suppressed. If these stories were to make it outside of Nepal, the international community would better understand the fabric of Nepali society, and pressure actors accordingly.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to increase freedom of the press.
- Gain the attention of each international stakeholder. You're an expert in the threats facing journalists around the world.
- Convince stakeholders to support legislation that strengthens law enforcement throughout the country and region.
- Learn as much as you can about the motivations of each stakeholder. You know all too well that stated objectives and personal objectives are rarely the same thing. If there are stories bubbling under the surface, find them!

#### In the full summit, your main objectives may include:

- Recommend that freedom of information become the top priority of the Commission.
- Suggest that freedom of the media and of information be the first reforms made.
- Push for the strengthening of law enforcement.
- Leverage the potential protection, assistance and public relations value enhanced by full media coverage with the repercussions of further media crackdowns.

- How can domestic stakeholders show commitment to protecting press freedom in Nepal, and how can international stakeholders support them?
- How will the GMIC enforce legislation promoting press freedom?
- How can press freedom be equated with peace and how will it lend itself to prosperity in Nepal?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# *Fritz Papandrou* Filmmaker and Advocate

You are Fritz Papandrou, award-winning filmmaker and activist. Your latest film, 'Down & Destitute; A Year on the Bottom Rung', tells the story of extreme poverty in Nepal, and the struggles facing 40% of Nepal's citizens. The film was incredibly difficult to make. You spent a year of your life living among the country's most destitute citizens. You told the story of Dalits, who were beaten for entering community temples, and whose children faced discrimination when they tried to attend school. You told the story of landless tillers, who face the insecurity of never having enough to eat, never being able to save, and always fearing the day they would be kicked off the land they squat upon. And you told the story of Janjati women, dually cast down because of their ethnicity and gender.

You've received a fair amount of buzz in Hollywood for your film, but the human manner in which you shared these stories gained you international success, and the respect of anthropologists and development economists alike. The outspoken nature in which you blamed the failure of the international community and the political elite of Kathmandu gained you plenty of adversaries. To your surprise, you've been included on the Advisory Council, and are keen to convey your personal experiences to international and domestic stakeholders alike.

In your estimation, the problem lies in the discrepancy between word and deed in Nepali law. Though caste discrimination was made illegal in Nepal in the 60s, enforcement of laws broken on these grounds is rarely carried out. In your eyes, this creates a culture of impunity that pervades myriad sectors of Nepali life. Furthermore, if politicians in Kathmandu are busy chasing selfpreservation, little thought or resources are directed toward the people that need them most.

You aim to convince Nepali and International stakeholders that human rights must top the list of priorities for the GMIC. If respect for human rights is made to be the top concern for politicians, law enforcement and business leaders, then development will rise accordingly. In your view, it is a respect for life issue, and one that needs precedence. You have little regard for those you suspect of coming to Nepal's aid in their own self interest, and believe that Nepal is too weak to be overrun by what you view as self-interested multinational corporations. Furthermore, you are wary of business investment in general.

Your allegiance is therefore not with the international community, but with the people of Nepal. You are aware of how much long-term financial support could benefit the country. But you believe that no support at all is better than support that comes with conditions, or that makes Nepal beholden to foreign entities. Furthermore, you're not afraid to speak your mind. It's a large part of who you are and hasn't let you down yet.

# During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC to advance human rights. Convince stakeholders this will help build Nepal's most important resource its people.
- Be heard. You are the voice of the voiceless. This is your time to finally get the attention of domestic and international stakeholders alike.
- Push for legislation that promotes law enforcement.
- Come to consensus in the plenary session if others know your experience with Nepali impunity and are willing to work together in spite of it.

### During the full summit, your objectives may include:

- Push for human rights to be the top priority of the GMIC.
- Recommend that the media be given freedom to report on human rights abuses.
- Discredit government officials who are ignoring human rights issues.
- Suggest that Nepal ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, in exchange for international assistance.
- Use your knowledge of even more destitute human rights environments to forewarn Nepal of what is in store if it does not instigate change now.

- How can measures to monitor human rights be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- What universally accepted norms should Nepal be held to, and how can they be monitored?
- How can the international GMIC stakeholders show their long term commitment to human rights in Nepal what form could these assurances take?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# Lien Chan Assistant for South Asian Affairs Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China

You are Lien Chan, the Foreign Minister's Assistant for South Asian Affairs for the Republic of China. You've had a long and illustrious career in Chinese diplomacy and have represented your great country at many international gatherings. Originally from Beijing, you come from a wealthy family and have studied at the world's top schools. You've also sent your children to universities in Europe and America. Your position in the Chinese government mainly serves a diplomatic purpose, but as a former economist and history scholar, you are very well informed on the political dynamics of relationships between China and its neighbors. You are happy to work to smooth tensions or to make threats, depending on the circumstances. There is an appropriate time for both.

China is most interested in protecting its trade agreements and military arrangements with Nepal, to sustain what you believe is already a mutually beneficial relationship. China is the second largest exporter to Nepal and relies on Nepal's compliance to maintain authority over Tibet. This summit is a good opportunity for you, as China's representative, to introduce new issues that could improve China's standing with Nepal. When you heard that the Google executive would be present at the summit, you knew that China's attendance would be vitally important. Vice President of the Republic of China, Xi Jinping, instructed you to attend this summit with the goal of keeping Nepal's media under strict control. The Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission must be empowered to dictate when, where and what the media reports. In the past your neighbor has had difficulty keeping its media in line and it will need your guidance to maintain control of journalists and news organizations. If you fail to meet this goal the media's potential independence would reflect poorly on Nepal's government and your own government. It cannot be allowed to happen.

Additionally, there are other issues on the agenda that may benefit China. If the corruption in Nepal's industrial sector were cleaned up, it would ease China's export business to Nepal. You'd also like to see changes made so that Chinese investments would reap greater profits. As it is now, Chinese investors are developing several parts of Kathmandu and outer regions, but Chinese Minister of Finance Xie Xuren reports that these investors are troubled by high levels of corruption. Land reform and labor rights would stabilize Nepal's economy without damaging China's steady export trade, and improved ethnic rights would move Nepal further away from its current Hindu-based caste system (a useless affinity with India). These are some goals you would like to see emerge in the GMIC charter, and as China holds a lot of influence in Nepal, you can make your wishes known.

You feel that Nepalese authorities are often hot-and-cold with the Chinese, and use their equally close relationship with India to encourage animosity and competition. China is the biggest and greatest country and does not need to feel threatened by these games. The stability of the Nepal government is important to you, however, and the recent unrest has been difficult to navigate politically. China supported the Nepal government/Royal Army during the civil war, hoping to maintain a stable partner, yet remains ideologically tied to the Maoists' communist cause. As long as the NCP and UCPN -Maoists are cooperating in the current government, you don't have to pick sides and would prefer to avoid inciting conflict between the two; though if things are not going in China's favor, you know how to play one political party off of the other, and are not opposed to doing so if it would help you meet China's goals for the GMIC charter.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC members to advise the GMIC that media freedom should remain at the same level or become more restricted under the direction of Nepal's government; block attempts to remove media regulations.
- Encourage commercial and business reform involving anti-corruption initiatives.
- Support land and labor reforms.
- Embody China's immense power as a regional influence and make sure that other international bodies respect this.
- Come to agreement on an incentive package with the international plenary session if media freedoms are left out of the priorities.

# In the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Suggest that commercial reform be the GMIC's top priority.
- Keep the media from gaining any more power and strive to limit media freedoms.
- Push for anti-corruption initiatives in the commercial and industrial sectors.
- Support initiatives for land and labor reform and ethnic rights.
- Remain unallied with any specific political party; you are still waiting to see who will emerge as the permanent power sector in Nepal.

- How does the involvement of international media companies infringe on Nepal's sovereignty?
- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- What land reforms are necessary to empower agricultural workers and indigenous landowners?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?

# Sudha Raj Deputy Foreign Secretary India Ministry of External Affairs

You are Sudha Raj, India's Deputy Foreign Secretary to Minister of External Affairs. You were born and raised in Assam in Eastern India, and attended the best co-ed school in the nation. Your father was a member of the Indian Parliament *Lok Sabha* ("House of the People"), the lower house filled by direct election. Your father groomed all of his children to one day hold positions in Indian politics: your brother works for the Cabinet Secretary and your younger sister is in the Indian Police Force. You were the oldest child, your grades were perfect and you have always been an overachiever and perfectionist - and here you are today. As one of the highest-ranking women in the Indian government, you have spent most of your life working in a male-dominated field. You've cultivated confidence and assertiveness that have made you a skillful debater and helped you grow as a politician in such an environment. It's been hard to win popular support as a female diplomat, especially as you do not have children. Yet, you've won the praise of India's senior diplomats and many politicians.

India was invited to Nepal to attend the Governance Monitoring and Implementation Commission charter summit in an advisory role, but for India it is also about keeping China in check, since Nepal is important for projecting your regional power. The Nepalese government has been foundering since the Constituent Assembly was elected in 2008, and it has been difficult to discern where their allegiance lies. The Maoists have stirred up more than a bit of street trouble along anti-India lines and their potential to do so is augmented now that they are formal participants in the political field, and their philosophies have potential to find political sympathy in China. India would like to see peace and stability in Nepal and the continuation of many decades of robust economic and social interaction. The open border between Nepal and India is also a concern as civil unrest is liable to spill across the border. The last thing you want is for Nepal to descend into an aggravated social uprising that carries over into India.

The main issues you are here to promote are justice and enforcement of legislation in the Nepal government. India has thrived using the democratic model of the British parliament, and though you don't wish to direct Nepal in the creation of their political structure, you know it will require serious improvements in the fields of justice and the rule of law. India's policy advocates for judicial reform, government reform and developed industrial capacity in Nepal. Trade between your countries has been excellent, but many Nepalese citizens seek employment in India because of the lack of opportunity in their own country. Some pressure from India for Nepal to clean up the domestic business sector and invest in domestic industry would strengthen existing economy while minimizing unwanted immigrants.

You also have an interest in seeing some regulation in support of ethnic and minority rights. India shares a similar situation of extensive diversity along religious and ethnic lines, and has made some efforts to protect these marginalized communities. You know from experience that in order to have a peaceful state, Nepal will have to address the concerns of these groups and give them adequate political representation and services. This is in Nepal's interests as a nation and in India's interests as a neighbor of a peaceful and stable Nepal. The only issue you feel adds nothing to the stability of the Nepal government and society is climate change. The Indian parliament believes it to be an inefficient use of resources to fund environmental measures, and wants to see Nepal prioritize as such. You think that prioritizing other areas will improve the living environment for everyone, and attention need not be wasted on climate issues when primary concerns are people's lives and livelihoods. You therefore want to oppose this issue if it

comes up in the summit discussion and keep Nepal's focus on the measure that will ensure a just, safe and stable nation.

### During the Advisory Council's plenary session, your key objectives may include:

- Convince the AC to advise the GMIC to promote justice and enforcement of legislation through the improvement of the judicial system.
- Support government reform and industry/commercial regulation to increase employment and encourage Nepalese entrepreneurs.
- Endorse ethnic rights and political representation for diverse ethnicities.
- Keep climate change and environmental protections off the table.
- Come to agreement on an incentive package in the plenary session if judicial reform is made a priority.

### In the full summit, your key objectives may include:

- Promote justice and enforcement of legislation as the top priority of the GMIC.
- Support industrial and commercial sectors as the first to be reformed.
- Endorse ethnic rights and political representation for diverse ethnicities.
- Discourage climate change and environmental protections from the discussion.
- Empower the Nepal government to make their own decisions; merely direct them towards the right reforms. The Nepalese should know that India respects their autonomy and intends to keep up excellent diplomatic relations.
- Above all, guide Nepal towards becoming a stable and peaceful society.

- How can justice and enforcement best and most effectively be implemented in Nepalese society?
- How can the government bolster the commercial and industrial sectors?
- How can anti-corruption regulations be prioritized and thoroughly enforced?
- How will adequate representation of ethnic minorities be guaranteed in the government?
- What reforms must be installed to protect the rights of minorities?
- Are there any treaties or conventions you'd like to see Nepal adhere to?