

**FROM LITERATURE TO LINGUISTICS TO CULTURE:
AN INTERVIEW WITH K.P. MALLA**

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K.P. Malla was Rector of Tribhuvan University from 1977 to 1979 and has been Professor of English Literature since 1975. He is the author of *T.S. Eliot: An Essay in the Structure of Meaning* (Kathmandu, 1961), *The Road to Nowhere* (Kathmandu, 1979), and *The Newari Language: Working Outline* (Tokyo, 1985). He has written many essays on old Newari and on Nepali history, and edited and translated, with Dhanavajra Vajracharya, the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī*. The following interview took place in his home in Maiti Devi, Kathmandu, on 11th January 1996. It began with a discussion of the position of Thaku Juju (literally 'Thakuri King') for the northern half of Kathmandu which is traditionally held by a member of his family.

DNG: Did this position of Thaku Juju give your family a certain role in relationship to the general populace?

KPM: Yes, I think we had certain roles to play, particularly for example, there is a ceremony called *phu bare chuyegu* when a Jyapu is initiated as a Buddhist monk and the ritually presiding 'King' is still a Thaku Juju. Also in the Indrayani festival during Bala Caturdasi when the serpent sacrifice takes place, the chief of the main guthi is the Thaku Juju. Just as in the southern part of town the most important deity is Pacali Bhairav, similarly in the northern part of town it is Luti Ajima/Indrayani. And in all the rituals associated with Indrayani it is the Thaku Juju who is the ritual king.

DNG: Is one of your relatives still filling this role?

KPM: Yes, he is still the chief. And also we have 'feeding the virgins', the young virgins of the locality, mostly Jyapus. It is the Thaku Juju's family who have to organise that.

DNG: As a young child growing up in that sort of family, what was the atmosphere like?

KPM: Well, educationally, the socialisation was largely a matter of schooling. But as a child, I remember the cycle of rituals, the cycle of feasts, in which the family was associated. But there was also another, let us say, secular education, in schools, which is a completely different process altogether. It has nothing to do with social life as a member of a particular caste or community. These two kinds of education were going on side by side, one which you might call Western education, another which is purely exposure to the cycle of family rituals, festivals, feasts, and so on.

DNG: What did your parents expect of you at that time? What did they hope for you?

KPM: Well, actually, my grandfather was an accountant in the Rana government's Accounts Division called Kumari Chok, which was very important, something like the Ministry of Finance. And my father was a judge in the Rana Prime Minister's Private Council, which was called Bhardari, the Appeal Court of the Rana Prime Minister. Neither my father nor my grandfather had a very high formal education. It was a purely traditional training.

DNG: Would they have been taught Sanskrit?

KPM: They didn't know Sanskrit very much. Some Sanskrit, yes, but they knew Nepali. They had to have administrative training, which used to be called in those days *cār.pās. Cār.pās.* is 'four exams': accounting, drafting, law, and administration. Once you got through that exam you were qualified to serve in the Rana administration. But my father was relieved in the annual civil service scrutiny, the annual *pajāni* or civil service purgation, in 1928. Since then he was out of service up to 1951-52. For the whole of his youthful career he was completely out of any job. But he did take part in the First World War and he also he got a medal.

DNG: You mean he was in the Nepalese Army?

KPM: Yes, he was at the Afghan Front actually. In the army also you have civilians: a pandit, an accountant, a cook, a clerk, and positions like

that. My father was also associated in some such capacity, I don't know exactly what, but he was in the army in 1918.

DNG: But then he lost his job in one of these annual reviews.

KPM: He lost his job in 1928. My grandfather was also sacked by Chandra Shamsheer because he refused to drop the name 'Malla'. Unlike some Mallas, who in order to hide their identity and links with earlier dynasties, preferred to write '*Pradhānānga*' or '*Rājvamsī*'.

DNG: But in fact the tradition of being Thaku Jujus means that they were descended from the *pre*-Malla kings, does it not?

KPM: Yes, that is true. But you must remember that the Mallas were descended from Jaya Sthiti Malla. Before that Kathmandu was ruled by different Thakuri dynasties. They may have been descended from Amsuvarman who was also a Thakuri. If you look at the history of Nepal, you have the Licchavis, who married the Thakuris. Manadeva's wife was a Thakuri, for example. This Licchavi-Thakuri relationship and the Malla-Thakuri relationship, such parallel relationships went on for quite some time. In fact the section of Newars called Thaku Jujus were not Mallas, they were the *pre*-Malla ruling dynasty, and their roots may have gone back much further.

DNG: Clearly it was an important point of principle for your grandfather.

KPM: My grandfather was asked to drop 'Malla' from his surname, but he refused to do that. He in fact continued to write 'Malla Varman'. 'Varman' is a Sanskrit word for Thakuri, just as 'Sharma' is a Sanskrit word for 'Brahman'. All the time he continued to write 'Purna Malla Varman'.

DNG: Was it Chandra Shamsheer himself or was it somebody in the court who was against this?

KPM: I don't know exactly. I have done a little research in the *Kitāb Khānā* documents in the National Archives, and I know the exact date when he was sacked. This was on the Phulpati day. Phulpati is the day when all the civil servants had to assemble before the Prime Minister. They had to come wearing their civil and military head-dresses with

gold and silver crests. The moment their name was dropped, they had to take it off and put it before the Prime Minister's feet. That meant they were dismissed then and there. So they had to return without their head-dress. This happened to my grandfather a long time before I was born.

DNG: Did this mean that your family experienced hardship?

KPM: My grandfather had been out of a job from 1905, and then in 1928 my father was also relieved. As you know, what was called *pajanī* was completely arbitrary. Somebody may have just complained to the Prime Minister that Yogendra Prakash Malla was a very tough man, he didn't compromise on principles. My father worked in the judicial council, settling legal cases. It was a very important position with direct access to the Prime Minister.

DNG: So there was a lot of pressure on him?

KPM: He may not have given in to the pressures of some high people. After being relieved in 1928, from that day onwards he decided never again to take any service under the Ranas.

DNG: Was he involved in the anti-Rana movement?

KPM: No, he was not involved in any political activity, but he never served any Rana from that day on. He was offered many jobs, by Babar Shamsher, for example, but he refused to do that. Only in 1951, after the fall of the Ranas, did he join government service as the Deputy Secretary to the Minister of Health. He served only two years and then retired.

DNG: In your schooling you obviously developed a love of English. Were there any people who were particular influences on you at that stage?

KPM: During our school days English was extremely important. Accomplishment in English was regarded as *the* accomplishment, *the* acme of educational accomplishment. In our locality, Bangemudha or Thayamadu (in Newari), there was a school called the Mahabir Institute. This was the place where Shukra Raj Shastri also taught. Just opposite Mahadev Raj Joshi's house, which was the centre of the anti-Rana movement was the Mahabir Institute, the first private school in Nepal.

In those days I was certainly influenced by Bhuvan Lal Joshi, the author of *Democratic Innovations in Nepal*. In 1950, when I was in Grade VII, I was given a copy of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Glimpses of World History*. In those days it was published in two big volumes, not in one volume. Once I met him [Bhuvan Lal] and he gave me a copy, and he told me, "If you read it, every page, from cover to cover, you will be a very good writer. You will have a good command over English." That was one book I enjoyed and read thoroughly, with a red pencil in hand. Bhuvan Lal Joshi was a man of scholarly temperament, a very brilliant scholar. He was influenced by Shivapuri Baba whom you may have heard of. He used to talk a great deal about Vedanta philosophy, religion, history, and so on. We used to frequent him very much. He was one of the persons who deeply influenced me. He was also very attractive personally, a very handsome man. In my school days he was one of the very few persons whom I really admired a great deal.

DNG: Later you went to India to study, is that right?

KPM: I studied in Trichandra College up to my Bachelor's. Actually in Trichandra my favourite subject was economics. I was the top student in Economics.

DNG: Which year was that?

KPM: 1957. From 1953 to 1957 I always dreamt of specialising in Economics, believe it or not. Somehow, by fluke, I got a government scholarship both to study Economics and to study English. But in those days, because the University had just started, the government said, we need more teachers of English. Also I had a very tough competition with Mr. Bhekh Bahadur Thapa, who was later the Finance Minister and is now the Royal Ambassador to the USA. I was an alternative candidate. He was selected. I was on the waiting list. I kept waiting. There was only one scholarship for economics to Delhi University. Bhekh Bahadur didn't want to go to Delhi. He didn't want to go and he wouldn't give it up. He was behaving like a dog in the manger! In the end I gave up, and decided to go. Also I was under great pressure from the then Education Secretary that I should go and study English, so I went to study English in India.

DNG: So that was three years you spent in India?

KPM: Two years.

DNG: And when you came back?

KPM: I started teaching in Padma Kanya College, a girls' college. For three years. It was very difficult. The first day, I was too young and unimpressive maybe, they thought I had come to look for an elder sister of mine! "*Kaslāi bhctna āunu bhayo?*" ("Who have you come to meet?") That was the question, when I started lecturing! That was December 1959.

DNG: You obviously succeeded in teaching them something.

KPM: I tried. Then I moved to the University and started teaching in the graduate department there in 1962.

DNG: Once you had a secure job was that the point when your family decided you should get married?

KPM: Of course there is always the pressure to get married, the moment I completed my master's degree, from the family and relatives. I got married very late, unusually late. I completed my PhD in 1974 and got married in 1975.

DNG: Did you know at that stage that you wanted to do a PhD?

KPM: Actually I could have done a PhD much earlier. I was offered scholarships in 1963 already, by the U.S Educational Foundation. They wanted me to do a PhD in American literature or American studies. I didn't feel that a PhD was all that important, so I didn't go in the 1960s. Instead I preferred to go to Britain to do further studies in English literature. I went to the School of English in the University of Leeds. At that time Leeds had a very good department. Very well-known professors of English were there, such as Prof. Wilson Knight, a Shakespearean authority, Prof. Arnold Kettle, Norman Jeffers and Douglas Jefferson. Many leading names in English studies were there in the early 1960s and so I decided to go there and do a B.A. Honours degree.

DNG: What led you to work on T.S. Eliot?

KPM: Actually T.S. Eliot was very influential in our university days in the 1950s. In India he was a very big name. That was the reason why we devoted a lot of time to the study of his poetry, drama, criticism, his prose works and so on; and for quite a few years I taught modern poetry in the university department: Yeats and Eliot. Actually I taught everything except Chaucer, Langland and Middle English. After my PhD, or rather after 1969, I got interested in linguistics. In 1969 I met Dr Alan Davies, who was an applied linguist from the University of Edinburgh who came to chair the Department of English [here] for two years under a British Council scheme. He persuaded me to do linguistics. I also came into contact at that time with the SIL, the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I thought literature was so much language, so I got interested in linguistics. In 1970 I went to Edinburgh. When I went I knew very little linguistics, but after three years I got a PhD in the Dept of Linguistics. So my academic career lurched a great deal from economics to literature to linguistics. And now, more and more, I am drawn to cultural studies, history, and so on.

DNG: Was that PhD ever published?

KPM: No, it was not published. It was essentially a theoretical work analysing contemporary models of stylistic analysis. That was the topic of my thesis. It was examined by John Sinclair who is the author of a Cobuild Dictionary, and Professor of linguistics in Birmingham University.

DNG: When you came back from the PhD what did you teach?

KPM: I was the only one in the department who could do both. So I taught linguistics as well as literature, whatever the department wanted me to do. I was Head of Department from November 1975 to December 1977. I was Rector of the university from 1977 to 1979, and I resigned the job in 1979.

DNG: Was it a particularly difficult period, politically?

KPM: There was the student movement in 1979 leading to the national referendum. It all started with the university actually.

DNG: Did that mean you were in the firing line, as it were?

KPM: Of course, I was in the firing line. The first person to resign was the Minister of Education, then the whole cabinet resigned, then we also resigned. The whole cabinet resigned in May, then we, the University Establishment, the vice-chancellor, Rector, Registrar, resigned in August 1979. Since then I have been back to teaching. Except for one year, in 1980, when I was in the University of California, Berkeley, with Prof. James Matisoff, working on Tibeto-Burman linguistics as well as on a Newari Grammar, which was published in Japan. From 1980 onward I became more and more interested in culture, history, Newari studies, and so on. Whatever I have written since 1980 is on history and culture, and very little either on English literature and English language, or on my PhD area. For the last 15 years I have basically done what may be called Nepalese studies, Nepalese history, cultural studies.

DNG: I remember in the 1980s you had a fierce controversy with Mahesh Raj Pant about the Nepala Samvat. Do you still consider that issue important or has it become less important since 1990?

KPM: My controversy with the Samsodhan Mandal still continues.

DNG: What do think are the real issues at stake?

KPM: They think that the most important Samvat for the history of Nepal is the Vikrama Samvat and they convert everything into the Vikrama Samvat. They interpret the whole history in terms of the Vikrama Samvat, whereas I think the Vikrama Samvat is simply marginal. It was given official status only by Chandra Shamsher in 1901. Before that it was not officially used, though sparingly you do find it being used in a few inscriptions, but it certainly wasn't official. There is nothing in any official document or chronology: it just doesn't exist. Whereas Nepala Samvat was the official calendar for nine centuries. And what is Nepala Samvat? It is simply a local adaptation of the Saka Samvat. Saka Samvat is there in all astrological works, classical astrological works in the Indian tradition. All calculations were done in terms of the Saka Samvat. So what I am saying is that the Saka Samvat is more important, and Nepala Samvat and Manadeva Samvat are local adaptations of it. Manadeva Samvat started 498 years after Saka Samvat,

and Nepala Samvat started 802 years after Saka Samvat. Every important life-cycle ritual, every important ritual in Nepal is based on the lunar calendar, not on the solar calendar. The whole culture of Nepal is based on the lunar calendar.

DNG: Are you saying then that the present government ought to adopt the Nepala Samvat?

KPM: When the Marxist-Leninists were in power we met the Prime Minister, a delegation of 18 persons representing 18 different Newar organisations, and put before him a list of 26 demands, among which was the demand for recognition of the Nepala Samvat. He assured us that they would attend to our demands. But nothing happened. Then, just before the government resigned, they suddenly announced one fine morning that they would call our language Nepala Bhasa, not Newari, but nothing happened. And within one week they resigned. So, although in their official manifesto they talk of cultural equality, the equality of all languages, equality among all ethnic groups, and so on, in fact it is the same old policy. They didn't do anything, although in the Kathmandu Valley overwhelmingly Marxist-Leninist candidates were elected, because the Leftists championed the cause of the Janajatis. The Leftists had the slogan of Equality of all Castes, Communities, Languages, Religions, and so on.

DNG: Clearly there has been a great growth of these ethnic movements, whatever you want to call them. How important do you think they really are? It is obviously very important to the activists that the Communist government didn't fulfil its promises on this point, but do you think this has led to a decline in Communist support in the country as a whole?

KPM: It has certainly eroded the credibility of the Marxist-Leninists among the ethnic groups. Recently there was a seminar on ethnicity and nation-building organised jointly by the University of Heidelberg and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Tribhuvan University. And it clearly came out in the seminar that there is not much to choose between the Rightists and the Leftists as far as the ethnicity question is concerned. They are each as complacent as the other.

DNG: Do you think that ethnicity is the most important question facing Nepal today, or are there are other more pressing issues?

KPM: There are other more pressing issues, certainly, but ethnicity cannot be ignored, because Nepal is a multi-ethnic country. In Nepal ethnic minorities have been suppressed, not for two hundred years, but for two thousand years. There have been Untouchables, disadvantaged social groups, ethnic minorities: they have been suppressed for ages. The attitude of the prominent political parties is nothing less than complacent. They think the problem doesn't exist. Like an ostrich they bury their head in the sand. This came up: you remember the Cow Controversy over Padma Ratna Tuladhar's speech. That episode showed how strong is the likelihood of ethnic conflict.

DNG: During that conflict, did Hindu Newars, of whom you are one obviously, side with Padma Ratna? They didn't feel that he had offended their Hindu sentiments in any way?

KPM: I actually signed a joint statement which was issued in defence of Padma Ratna. There were many others, particularly Leftists, who signed in defence of Padma Ratna, such as Narayan Man Bijukche and Rishikesh Shaha. Many persons who belong to the Hindu fold in the Newar community thought that Padma Ratna was more sinned against than sinning. Actually, Padma Ratna just mentioned the holy cow as an example; the main subject was human rights. Our constitution clearly says that Nepal is a Hindu kingdom and that the cow is the national animal, whereas there are many populations in Nepal who need to eat beef in their ritual feasts. So where are their human rights? He raised this issue. I think it is a valid issue. Many sensible Hindu Newars sided with Padma Ratna, though there were others also who were offended and said that it would have been better if he hadn't raised this issue, it wasn't an important issue but a marginal issue, and so on. But at that time when the whole media was attacking Padma Ratna, we saw how strong Brahmanism is in Nepal, and how well organised they were in the media, in the political sector, in the administration.

DNG: You mean there were no Brahman-run newspapers that defended Padma Ratna at all?

KPM: No, certainly not. The whole media, from top to bottom, launched a massive attack on him. Surprisingly, even the Left, even supposedly progressive writers like Mohan Nath Prashrit, who was Education Minister then, a Marxist, said Padma Ratna spoke too much. It was quite surprising to see Rishikesh Shaha in defence of Padma Ratna. Actually, he mobilised all the politicians, intellectuals, and journalists to defend Padma Ratna. Had it not been for him there could have been violent confrontation. There was going to be a strike in Kathmandu, but we organised a statement that this should not be done. It could lead to ethnic violence. The Janajatis were planning to counteract the strike. Anything could have happened on that day, had the strike taken place.

DNG: Which day was this?

KPM: This was Jyestha 2, 2052 (16th May 1995).

DNG: Where was this statement published?

KPM: In *Samakalin*, a weekly, dated May 18th, 1995. We all signed, including several Brahmans, e.g. Kanak Mani Dixit.

DNG: This managed to defuse the situation?

KPM: Yes. We sat together, in the Hotel Orchid. We invited Yogi Naraharinath, the Congress President, Left, Right, all the intellectuals, everybody. We said, "Let's get together and discuss." We all signed a statement saying we should not fight over this cow issue. Once this takes place there will be no possibility of preventing it again. Wisdom prevailed.

DNG: Do you think such ethnic conflict can be avoided in the future?

KPM: I don't know. It is very difficult to predict. The Janajatis are very well organised now. They have very articulate young people who think that they have been wronged in history: Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Rai, Limbu. Gurungs had their National Convention recently. The Newars also had their National Convention. Similarly, the Magars, the Tharus. There are about 22 ethnic groups who are organised into a Federation of Nationalities: the Nepal Janajati Mahasangha. They are raising many issues, very important issues, like employment, education,

reservations, representation, selection of candidates by political parties. For example, if a big party such as the Nepali Congress or Marxists-Leninists select their candidates: what should be their criteria? In the Tarai should they select all Madheshis? In Limbuan should a Limbu or a Brahman contest? These issues, which were never aired in the past, are coming up. The Janajatis are saying that if an area is basically a Janajati area, a Janajati must be selected, whichever party it is.

DNG: So basically they are in favour of quotas in elections?

KPM: Yes, more or less quotas on ethnic basis. Also there are other demands for autonomy or federation instead of the present unitary structure of governance.

DNG: Is this really practical or is this a pipe dream?

KPM: That is a different question altogether. Practicality alone doesn't dictate the aspirations of a community. Whether it is practical to have education in the mother tongue in sixty different languages, that's a different issue. But the Constitution of Nepal says that every child has the right to education in the mother tongue at primary level. Is that practical? But the Constitution says so. Practicality doesn't come into it when a group gets organising and starts making demands. It's not practical for a poor country like Nepal to have primary education in the mother tongue, but the Constitution clearly says that every community is entitled to have education for its children in their mother tongue up to the primary level.

DNG: The fact that it has the right, does that mean that the state is obliged to provide it?

KPM: This is the critical question. Can the state finance primary education in the mother tongue? If not, what is the sense of putting so many words in the Constitution? Then it is just for show, it is just window-dressing. That's all. But in practice the government is spending everything in education just for Nepali.

DNG: You have just completed a long report for the government on education. Is it part of your recommendations in that report that the

government ought to spend resources on mother-tongue primary education?

KPM: My report didn't look into primary or secondary education, only into higher education. It looks into issues relating to financing, restructuring, quality, efficiency, and so on.

DNG: One of the issues that people raise is the question of qualification for government jobs: you get a certain number of points for particular subjects. Did you address that issue?

KPM: Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that we looked at the government advertisements in the newspapers for the last two years. They set the number of points for specific jobs, I.A., B.A., M.A., and so on, without showing the relationship between the future role and subject studied. You might have studied archaeology and might end up being an accountant! So there is no relationship whatsoever between the government stipulations that such and such qualifications are required for such and such jobs, between courses and role required of the incumbent.

DNG: So have you recommended more vocational courses?

KPM: No, we have recommended that the government should not put these kind of obligations. For a gazetted-level job, you don't necessarily have to have a B.A., for a non-gazetted First Class job, you don't necessarily have to have an intermediate (I.A.) in arts or science. What is necessary is the skill or the knowledge of the area in which he or she is going to be employed. Some training or tailored course is more necessary than a university degree. A university degree is a different kind of thing. So why does the government require a candidate to have a B.A.? A B.A. is neither a qualification nor a disqualification for a particular job.

DNG: They have to screen out candidates somehow.

KPM: There are other means of screening out: entrance tests, interviews. If a bank wants to employ certain kinds of candidates, it can conduct an examination of the candidates, and filter out the ones without the training, professional background, or professional aptitude. This can

be done. Unfortunately the university degree is being used as a criterion.

DNG: You once wrote a famous essay about Nepalese intellectuals. Things have changed a lot since then...

KPM: In *Himal* they reproduced that article of mine 25 years later. I wrote that article in March 1969 for a group we had in CEDA. Surprisingly *Himal* reproduced that article and said it was just as relevant now as it was then.

DNG: Would you say that Nepalese intellectuals have moved from an older dependence on a Brahman, Vedic point of view you described there to a dependence on foreign aid?

KPM: A lot of changes have come since then. I would certainly say that there are now a lot of highly specialised, highly professional young people, many more in different branches than in the 1960s. That is one major change since the late 1960s. This is even more true in the social sciences than in the natural sciences. There is certainly a greater degree of specialisation and professionalism in very many fields. You name it and there are very many bright young people working and publishing actively. That's a major source of satisfaction for someone like me. But on the other hand, you also have this dependency syndrome still, either on the state or on seem-state institutions, like enterprises. What is new to me is the rise of the constancy business. Many young people in the social sciences have gone into constancy and have done a roaring business in so many development activities. In that sense, there is greater dependency not upon the state, but upon the donors. Whatever the donors prescribe: it is donor-driven. There are fields where there are a lot of donors, and there is a lot of money, and a lot of people go into them. Take, for example, a field like culture, there is hardly any money: only the Japanese and Germans or a few other institutions are interested. There are a lot of people working on environment, gender, literacy, power, irrigation, transport, and many other such fields. In every project there is a social scientist, a sociologist or an anthropologist. So there is a brain drain from the university or academia to constancy, from constancy to other areas, and some have also migrated to international agencies. I think this is a sad phenomenon, because priorities are mixed up: you don't know your priorities. Your

priorities are defined by outsiders. They plan, they frame the policies, they implement, because they fund. So you are dependent on them. But the helplessness that I described in my essay in 1969 is still there.

If you want to be truly independent, you have to have a source of income. Your monthly salary won't support your family, if you want to give a good education to your children. What can a university teacher do? He can do two or three things. He has to take up tuition, or private coaching. He has to write bazaar notes, 'Golden Guides' to passing exams. The third source of income is marking exam scripts, being a manual substitute for a computer. They can give you a good income, but all these activities will destroy you. Fortunately or unfortunately, I never did any one of these things: I never did coaching, I never wrote bazaar notes, and I never ever marked exam scripts for money. So you have to have other sources of income if you want to buy books or journals, if you want to buy the sources which will support you intellectually. What do you do? International agencies are not interested in supporting projects like the Classical Newari Dictionary. There won't be any Ford money, or World Bank money, or IMF money, no international development agency will fund you.

DNG: But Toyota has...

KPM: Fortunately for us, there is still some good will. The Germans are interested in culture, the Japanese are interested in indigenous culture. To some extent some American agencies like the National Endowment for Humanities are interested in culture, but very little money trickles down into this area. Imagine, for example, if you want to work on Buddhism, who will fund it?

DNG: Some Japanese foundation may fund it...

KPM: Yes, they may. But these problems continue even now, as I foresaw, as it were.

DNG: I have certainly been struck by the number of Newari intellectuals who in their private lives pursue these cultural activities and support themselves by working for NGOs or foreign aid agencies.

KPM: This is a compulsion because people can't support themselves with a regular government income. If you are a special class officer or

university professor you draw about RS. 6,000 a month. That's the highest scale. You can't survive anywhere in Kathmandu on that income. It's hardly US \$90. If you have to educate your children, you can't pay for it. If you have to buy books, particularly books like Gellner's *Contested Hierarchies* for £40, you have to make a lot of sacrifices!

DNG: Well, I hope that won't be so for too long now. Thank you very much for your time and insights.*

*Special thanks are due to Greg Sharkey who transmitted queries and corrections to the first transcript by e-mail.

