Chapter - I  
Introduction

Nature & Scope of study:-

"The survival of democracy depends on the renunciation of violence and the development of non-violent means to combat and advance the good."

-AJ Muste

The tide of democracy which arose in the post World War II era, swept the entire Third World along with it. But, democracy assumed diverse interesting forms and exhilarated complex patterns in different countries, peculiar to their internal and external conditions. This has provided a plethora of opportunities of scholarly investigation in this area. In this context, the case of Nepal (a monarchial Hindu State, till may 18, 2006), offers a unique problematic wherein the struggle against Monarchy, despite many brief phases of democratic struggles, gained its desired result only in April 2006 revolution.¹ This revolution has overthrown the king from the helm of political affairs and made way for a complete democratic republic state. Such drastic changes do not occur overnight and are consequent of prolonged interplay of various socio-political, historical and economic factors. The exploration and examination of such factors is the primary objective of the present study. Thus, an analysis of a political system in transition in its most critical and formative period is endeavored. The long and strict isolation of Nepal from the outside world till 1947, makes it feasible to study deeply the Nepali political process. The origin, role and position of the elites, whether traditional or modernist, are probably more clearly claimed in Nepal than else where in Asia because of this shorter and less intensive exposure to external influences can be easily identified and examined, and the process of social and political transitions can be indolently scanned on the basis of well defined categories in Nepal, rather than any other Asian country where the exposure to external influences have a longer history. For instance, the impact of the Hindu social system on political institutions and behaviour is more explicit and thus can be comfortably studied in
Nepal than in India, which has always been more vulnerable to external influences.

As stated earlier, the advent of Democracy in Nepal is the result of a revolution, or a people's movement that lasted for a decade i.e., from 1996 to 2006. Earlier too, Nepali history has recorded such movements and revolutions which have either partially or completely transformed the then existing political structures. As per example, the reduction of 1950, which caused the downfall of the mighty Rana regime. Similarly the student's movement of 1972, which compelled King Birendra to reform the constitution of 1962. Akin to the revolution of 1996, there was a people's movement in 1990, which led to the upsetting of the infamous "Partyless Panchayat Constitution" of 1962 and promulgation of a new constitution in 1990. This research covers a parallel study of these revolutions their governing factors, magnitude, intensity and the transitions affected by them in the hitherto political system.

Nepal's strategic; if uneasy position between the largest communist and democratic powers in Asia adds further interest to this study. It is well known that India and Nepal have strong political, historical, socio cultural and economic affiliations owing to its position as a buffer between the Asian giants, Nepal had been traditionally following a policy of "equi-distance" from both the neighbors, as propounded by king Prithvr Narayan Shah, founder of modern Nepal:

"The kingdom is like a yam between two stones. Maintain friendly relations with the emperor of China. Great friendship should also be maintained with the emperor of Europe beyond the southern seas. He has kept India suppressed, and is entrenching himself on plains. One day the army will come... Fighting should be conducted of defensive basis".

But the pivotal role played by the Leftist political parties in engineering the 1996 people's movement, and the lion's share possessed by them (particularly the CPN - Maoist) in the present government which also serves as the Constituent Assembly for drafting a new constitution, makes it imperative for India to observe and analyse the unfolding of events in Nepal.
The present research thesis is can attempt to analyse the above stated points. In addition to these the present study also examines the challenges and obstacles being faced by the infant democratic system tries to suggest possible solution for them. These include:

1. **Establishment of peace and stability** - The responsibility lies not only with the political parties but also with the intellectuals, media, student and other organisation and the civil society.

2. **Restructuring of State and Transformation of the Nepali Society** - Absolution of monarchy and declaration of a republic state is not the end. It has also to be borne in mind that the democratic forces have to look at the changes in Nepali political dynamics in a broader perspective⁵, which is not restricted to the abolition of monarchy alone. Clear trends have to be set with strong structural arrangements to start process of social transformation.⁶

3. **Role of political parties** - The political parties are characterized by fragmentation and factionalism. They have to show solidarity and "rise above the polities of opportunism, which has been the style and attitude of most of the parties in near past."
The political parties have a major role to play in inculcating a democratic political culture, so they are required to tread on a right path with a right approach.

4. **Transformation of Maoists** - It is necessary for the Maoists to transform themselves as "actual democratic forces". They need to shun the pressure politics and inculcate durance and mutual understanding.

These are some of the important issues in the context of peace building in Nepal. Much of the task of democratic order and stability would rest on how these issues are dealt with.⁸
Nepal is a country, which has been administered under various kinds of governmental systems. But broadly speaking, this country has witnessed two types of system - Monarchy (from the unification of the country in 1768 till 2006) and Republican democracy (from 2007 to till present day). A comparative and descriptive study of the internal political set-up of Nepal, as prevalent under the aforesaid systems of governance (i.e. Monarchy and Republican Democracy) is endeavored in the present research thesis. Since the shift of governance in Nepal is a recent development there are a variety of interpretations being made. This study has tried to interpret this problem on the basis of points of views presented in the following books and articles:-

**Gupta Anirudh, Politics in Nepal 1950-60, Kalinga Publications, Delhi, India, 1964** makes an attempt to study Nepal's political development since 1951 - when the Ranas were overthrown, in its historical sequence with a view to exploring the salient features of Nepali political life on the basis of study of original sources and interviews with political leaders & personalities who have shaped the course of their nation’s destiny in those times. The book has been divided into eight chapters. The first two chapters try to give, in brief, a historical background to the actual. The next three chapters discuss political, constitutional and other changes in Nepal between 1950 and 1960 and analyse the forces and factors which became active during this period. This scheme helps in discussing, in some details, the origins, composition and character of some of the major political parties. Chapter VII tries to give on answer to the question, why, in spite of the initial enthusiasm experiments in democracy and political system failed in Nepal. It also attempts to show how other traditionally non-political institutions such as the crown, the army and administrative services, and the tradition of caste and religious prejudices came to play an increasing active role in politics. In the last chapter, written in the form of a post script, the study has been brought up to date so that it can be of more use to the general reader.
Kumar, D.P.; *Nepal: Year of Decision*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, India 1980, focused on the rapid changes that took place in Nepal in a short span of time, during the year 1979 and the beginning of the year 1980. The author conducted interviews with prominent Nepalese personalities who, frequently embroiled into controversy, revealed to the author, their experiences in a politically charged atmosphere in the then Himalayan Kingdom, there concern with and faith in democracy. The book gives an overview of the entire political spectrum of Nepal and some of the directions in which the policy making took place of the thought process of both of the conservative forces and the new political forces and their struggle to which the author gives his intellectual and emotional support. Nepal's positive characteristics and special circumstances and the role of the tradition and its continuity are also stressed by the author in a plea for a balanced approach towards the future. A chapter is devoted to Nepal's changing relation with India and China, a subject the author has studied competently.

Shaha Rishikesh's work, *Modern Nepal: A political history 1769 - 1955 (Vol. I and II)*, Manohar publications, New Delhi, India, 1990 is an extensive account on the political history of Nepal from its unification in 1769 to the establishment of democracy in the country for the first time in 1955. The author deals elaborately with the administrative set up of country and internal politics of Nepal during this period. Shaha has also written an interesting account of the internal maneuverings that took place within the ruling clan of Nepal during those days. The author has elaborately discussed the foreign relations of Nepal with not only its neighbors, but also other countries as the England and the United States of America.

Dharamdasani, M.D. (ed.), *Democratic Nepal*, Shalimar Publishing House, Lanka and Varanasi, 1992 has assimilated the works of various scholars of Nepal, who present an analysis of the country's politics after the 1990 Revolution and G.P. Kerala's assumption of power, as the new prime minister. The introductory paper is written by Dharamdasani himself and he attempts to trace the origin, growth and implications of democratic movement of 1990. In the next two papers Michael Hutt, Professor Gaize and John Scholz dealt with the
process of constitution making and the voting behaviour and trends in the general elections which led to the introduction of democratic system in the erstwhile Kingdom. In the following paper, Dr. K.N. Sharma dealt with the chief features and voting behaviour of the Nepalese electorate in the local bodies elections in Nepal. Professors Ramakant and B.C. Upreti tried to analyse the world view towards Nepal as well as mutual views of Nepal and India towards each other. While Professor Lok Raj Baral discussed the security, dimension and foreign policy behaviors of Nepal vis-a-vis its two powerful neighbours - India and China. C. M. Mahapatra dealt with China's policy and strategy towards Nepal. Dr. S.R. Yadav in his paper on problems of development in Nepal has called for a change in the polices and programmes at the framework level and suggests a complete overhauling and re-orientation of the government machinery. In addition to the above, Professor Ramakant, Director South Asia Studies Centre, Professor Leo E. Rose, Editor of Strategic Analysis IDSA, New Delhi has also made invaluable contributions to the book.

Sanwal, B.D., Social and Political History of Nepal, Manohar Publishers and District, New Delhi, India, 1993, is a pioneering effort to examine the social conditions in a traditional society which is beginning to open up for change and modernization. The "Sanatan" or eternally valid norms of living now do not appear sufficient for preservation of national identity. The account gives in detail the contemporary perspective of social and political conditions in the country. The directions of change are visible but the process itself is slow. The emphasis is on recording a land mark survey for the second half of the present century where a closed and traditional society is passing through a period of transition and transformation. Levi called his history of Nepal an account of a Hindu Kingdom. Nepal was erstwhile, the only Hindu state in the world. Social, economic and political change in Nepal is a significant part of such transformation in the larger Hindu environment in India as also in other less developed parts of Asia. The basic theme of the book is that despite the various means to keep Nepal a close society, there is simply an inevitability of change over time.

Rana, Pashupati Shimshere J. B. and Dhungel Dwarika Nath (editors), Contemporary Nepal, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi,
India, 1998 present composite picture of the character of Nepal that underwent a rapid transformation in the post 1990 period of multi party democracy. Nepal is an unusual country. The people of Nepal lived for centuries in the medieval penumbra of an isolated closed state. Ever since the overthrow of the Ranas, Nepal has struggled with her tremendous backlog in infrastructure and human development to become a modern nation. After a brief spell of democracy, the monarchy asserted itself and remained in power for next 30 years. The dramatic events of 1990 transformed Nepal into a multi party democracy again. This book attempts to use the knowledge of several well known writers to present various facets of Nepal that may be of interest. Nepal's history, geography, culture and economy are discussed in separate chapters. The growth of Nepalese nationalism, the nature of Nepal's foreign policy and administration, the role of its NGOs are also examined in details. Two chapters are also concerned with the position of Nepalese women. The objective is to present a composite picture of this fascinating country.

Hoftun, Martin; Raeper, Wilson and Whelpton, John in their book, *People, Politics and Ideology- Democracy and Social Change in Nepal*, Mandal Book Point, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1999, present a detailed description of political events and political system of Nepal from 1955 to 1997. They have discussed at length the three constitutions - The Constitution of Nepal, 1959, The Constitution of Nepal, 1962 (the Panchayat Constitution) and the Constitution of Nepal, 1990, that were witnessed by this era. The mass movement, which resulted in the enforcement of the 1990 constitution, is also deeply dealt by them in their book. They have elaborated these events and explained the socio economic and political factors responsible for them. Besides, they have written an extensive record of the working of the governments, the political system and the party system under the aforesaid three constitutions.

Lawrence, Stephen, *Class State and Struggle in Nepal: Writings*, Mikesell, New Delhi, India, 1999 is a comprehensive collection of writings on class, struggle and the state in Nepal. It flows out of author’s commitment to a reflexive, socially engaged anthropology and raises issues widely pertinent to developmental, political and cultural processes in the subcontinent. The different
chapters were written in the years 1989-1995, a key transitional period of Nepal’s history that saw popular uprising, basic constitutional change, parliamentary wrangling and instigation of an armed guerrilla insurgency in the countryside. Refusing to take these events at facevalue the author seeks to bring wider theoretical, historical and regional perspectives to disclose the social content and significance of these events. The book starts by explicating the author’s theoretical and methodological framework, with an emphasis on human agency and processes as opposed to the normative and structural approaches that characterize much of South Asian ethnography. Next come critical appraisals of the history of struggles, constitutional changes and parliamentary processes of 1989-1995 period followed by the case studies of intellectuals and the constitutional, legal and institutional processes used to domesticate and co-opt struggle. Struggle is strategized in terms of class development and comparison with contemporary struggles elsewhere in the world. Identifying commercialization as the preponderant process of the ‘modern’ period, the penultimate section scrutinizes the merchant bazaar as the institutional and cultural mechanism of commercial subjugation of Nepal. The last two chapters first correlate caste with citizenship, not class as commonly done, and second, in a review of Levi’s Bhaktapur, criticize the reduction of urban social analysis to ritual while providing a historical materialist alternative.

Grover, Virendra (ed.), Nepal: Government and Politics, Deep and Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, India, 2000, is a systematic piecing together of articles contributed by scholars and specialists to various journals of national and international repute. The book sheds light on the governmental and political history of Nepal from its pre-unification time (i.e., before 1769) till the year 1990. The book states that Nepal took a big leap forward with establishment of parliamentary monarchy in 1991. On 18th February 1951, the King proclaimed a Constitutional Monarchy and on 16th December 1962 a new constitution which instituted the Panchayat System of nominated and local councils. In 1990 this was abolished and thirty year ban on political parties lifted. The period, 1990-93 marks a watershed in the modern political history of Nepal. The yearning of the people for the restoration of democracy, civil liberties and human rights finally came to fruition in April 1990 as the result of the success of the nation – wide movement
for multiparty democracy. The Royal Proclamation on April 8, 1990 put an end to the party less rule and heralded the birth of multi-party parliamentary system of government under constitutional monarchy. General Elections on the basis of new constitution were held on 12\textsuperscript{th} May 1991 heralding a new era. This volume is divided into six parts. Part I deals with Nepali history, growth of Nationalism in pre-Revolution Nepal, and Nepal and Indian Revolt of 1857. Part II discusses the role of political institutions in Nepal, democratic experiments, the first \textit{Panchayat} general elections in Nepal, Nepali Congress’ struggle for democracy and party politics in Nepal. Part III throws light on district administration, economic participation among Nepalese women. Part IV deals with Nepal's relations with India, Part V discusses Nepal's relations with other important countries of the world; and Part VI deals with SAARC and Nepal.

Shaha Rishikesh’s book, \textit{An Introduction to Nepal}, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2001 is a quick guide to Nepal. The author has set down his impressions of various aspects of Nepali life, history, art and culture. The author borrows heavily from the works of eminent authors. What interests the author is the whole of Nepali life, and as many sources and tributaries go to make a river, so the author draws on all his reading and experiences to make the book as full as an account as possible of Nepal and Nepalese people. Also, just as a river has a certain direction, so has the destiny of a nation. The author's approach to the various matters dealt with in the book is conditioned by his belief in a certain necessary future for the Nepali nation. This has been treated briefly in the last chapter.

Baral, Lok Raj; Hachchethu, Krishna and Sharma, Hari (editors) \textit{Leadership in Nepal: A Pilot Study}, Adroit Publishers, Delhi 2001, hold that leadership as the most important element of overall development of the country has been accepted universally. For developing countries like Nepal, leaders play both transformatory and transactional roles for bringing about radical changes in the country. Democratic leaders have greater responsibility as they, at the same time, need to be radical, procedural, imaginative and accountable. Leaders and institutions are mutually exclusive to each other because of the circulation of leaders within the institutional framework. Judged from this perspective, Nepali
leaders in general have failed to inject enthusiasm and hope in the people. Devoid of vision, courage and determination, the leaders have lost their credibility within a decade. The study, a pilot project has tried to investigate into their constraints and weaknesses with tools applied generally in social science research. Caste, ethnic, class and other historical perspectives have been analyzed in determining the attitude, behaviour and ideological commitment of leaders. The study shows the fuzzy picture of leadership role because the failure of politicians to free themselves from the pervasive ascriptive influence of the past. It is indeed a pioneer study as no leadership studies have appeared as yet in democratic Nepal.

Baral, Lok Raj (editor), Nepal: Political Parties and Parliament, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi, 2004, opine that political parties and parliament are inseparable in a parliamentary democracy. Without parties, parliament cannot be formed and without parliament, parties’ relevance to power and political process would not exist. Such a symbiotic relationship between parties and parliament is universally accepted. The present volume also aims at rediscovering the newer role of parties and parliament as the old (British) model of parliamentary democracy alone would not address the overarching problems of a country like Nepal. The book is a product of a ten-day workshop on "Political Parties and Parliament" supported by the Ford Foundation. The components of this volume are basically related to parliament. Political parties and parliament, governance and parliament, public policy and parliament, civil society and parliament have been dealt with at length. Although the book is focused on the twelve year long developments of democratic politics of the country, the unclear roadmap that has emerged during these years suggest that Nepali multi-party democracy needs to be future streamlined both conceptually and functionally. The dramatic end of the third parliament in 2002 and political uncertainty that had arisen from King Gyanendra's taking on power unto himself created a new hiatus between the parties and the monarchy with the former criticizing the monarch for derailing the constitutional process. The book depicts the then recent trends in multi-party democracy in Nepal.

Upreti, Bishnu Raj, The Price of Neglect: From resource conflict to Maoist insurgency in the Himalayan Kingdom, Bhrikuti Academic
Publications, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2004, examines the causes of social and resource conflict and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. Scarcity of resources, corruption, bad governance and changing economic conditions are causes of conflict. The book is divided into three parts: The first part deals with the basic understanding of conflict, different approaches of conflict analysis, theories and principles, basic characteristic, potential positive and negative impacts and basic conflict management procedures. The second part is mainly devoted to the analysis of relationships between resource governance, resource scarcity and conflict. This section further sheds light on political economy of resource governance and its impacts on conflicts. Water, forest and land are major natural resources where conflict is ubiquitous in Nepal. The second part has demonstrated that existing legally engineered conflict resolution systems are expensive, pre-elite and inaccessible to general mass of population are heavily influenced by power and position. It also argues that conflict is not only always pathological, dysfunctional but also a means for positive social change and transformation. The third part sheds some light on the evolution and growth of Maoist insurgency and its fundamental causes. It also examines the efforts on negotiation and peace process have numerous procedural weaknesses and structural limitations. Without overcoming these limitations peace process cannot move forward. A roadmap for peace process and conflict transformation was also proposed in the 9th chapter. The final chapter draws conclusion of the book.

Whelpton, John, A History of Nepal, Cambridge University Press, Noida, India, 2005 propounds that despite its geo-strategically important position in the Himalayas between India and China and its popularity as an exotic tourist destination, Nepal has not normally loomed large in the consciousness of the average educated person in the English speaking world. This changed briefly when the spotlight of media attention fell on the country, as during the 'people's movement', for democracy in 1990 or with the massacre of the Royal Family in 2001. Sudden and violent political change has indeed been a recurrent part of the country's history but should not distract attention from less dramatic, long term process affecting conditions of life for the majority of its people. In order to understand a country's present, what matters is often not just the past as such, but
rather the way in which the past is now understood and interpreted. Nepalese naturally differ among themselves in their interpretations, these differences often reflecting current political controversies. How complete and satisfactory the process of nation – building has been is another contentious issue in present – day Nepal. Even the most radical opponents of the present Nepalese state share with the establishment a sense of 'Nepalesness' based on separateness from India. There was much less agreement on the value of the positive factors listed above, and some, including Maoist rebels agreed that they should be abandoned in favor of a secular republic that would afford equal recognition to the country's many languages and cultures. Such controversies shape the way in which history is viewed, as ethnic activities and others seek to highlight the coercive elements in the foundation and building of the state and to challenge the 'establishment' view emphasizing the role of consensus and of peaceful assimilation to the dominant culture.

Shrestha, Ananda P. and Upreti, Hari (editors), Cost of Armed Conflict in Nepal, Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies (NEFAS), Kathmandu, Nepal, 2005, hold that the conflict situation has threatened the taking place of a meaningful dialogue between the conflicting sides. The book is a result of a two-day national seminar of the same name organised by NEFAS and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung / Nepal (FES), about the then on-going conflict in Nepal, which virtually bled the country since 1996. The seminar was held at a time, when the people from all walks of life discussed, debated and deliberated on the issue, a Nepali belonging to either side of the divide was being brutally killed by fellow Nepali some where in the country. The common people who found themselves at dancing end of the stick for no fault of their own were disillusioned, disparately yearned for peace. The publication is a modest academic exercise aimed at focusing and gauging the vast complexity of destruction and loss of human and material resources brought about by the warring sides. The whole idea is to make them see, sense and arrive, at a negotiated settlement without outside help.

Thapa, Manjushree, Forget Kathmandu: an Elegy for Democracy, Penguion Books, New Delhi, India, 2005, is part memoir drawn from living through the recent turmoil, part history of the royal family, part reportage on a
trip. The author examines what has gone wrong with her country over the years, and why. Starting with an account of the June 2001 massacre at the Narayanhiti royal palace and its aftermath, the author goes back in time to trace the history of Nepal's monarchy since unification in the 18th century, and of the struggle in the 20th century for genuine democracy. In late 2005, an alliance of seven democratic political parties reached an understanding, in exile in India, to launch a no-violent movement for the restoration of democracy with the cooperation of the Maoists. The author also makes a record of her trek into Maoist held territories in West Nepal, where in an environment of poverty and human rights abuse, twelve and thirteen year olds took to the gun. In April 2006, millions of people turned out on the streets in an unprecedented show of force, staging the country's most widespread mass movement yet. On April 24, 2006 the king was forced to concede defeat, and democracy was restored, once again. The Maoists entered into the peace process brokered by the United Nations. The peace process, though shaky, offered hope that democracy can be established in this Himalayan nation. The book, therefore, is an elegy for democracy, but one that was written in anticipation of its restoration.

Bhattarai, Baburam, *Monarchy VS Democracy: The Epic Fight in Nepal*, Samkaleen Teesari Dumiya, New Delhi, India, 2005 deals with the period after the infamous palace massacre of June 2001. This book is a compilation of articles written by Baburam Bhattarai since the people's war began in Nepal. Some of his interviews given to different newspapers during this period have also been included in the book. The book aims to make readers aware of the various aspects of this historical movement, so that they could identify the positive and negative attributes of the Maoist movement and could also develop a comprehensive understanding of the movement. An interview of Bhattarai published in a magazine in December 1995 (just before the armed struggle started) has also been included so that the readers could also become familiar with the background of the armed struggle. The book also discusses the fundamental questions associated with the communist movement, particularly on why communists are blamed for establishing one party totalitarian regime whereas in reality they keep on launching struggle for the establishment of a democratic rule.
The book also delves into the fundamental formulations regarding the form of multi-party system and its benefits for the healthy development of a society. The book also gives enough insight on the questions regarding what course should be adopted in order to establish socialism in the 21st Century, what is the real intention of the imperialist nations in defining the terrorism in their own ways and how a revolutionary organisation turns into a counter-revolutionary outfit.

Baral, Lok Raj (editor), Nepal: Quest for participatory Democracy, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi, India, 2006, seeks the actual meaning of participatory democracy with a view to making democracy more inclusive and just. Since no ethnic community is dominant population, Nepal is in essence a plural country with all ethnic or caste groups being in minority. The Brahman–Chhetri, for example, who have been ruling the country since the conquest of valley by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, constitute about 30 percent of the population, while all the other communities of both the hills and Tarai add up to 70 percent, who feel deprived of power and privileges enjoyed by the two dominant casts. Gender wise also, more than 50 percent is women population but whose share in power is almost nil. Since the restoration of multiparty system along with the activities carried out by Non-Governmental Organizations and other members of civil society, the agenda of disparity has been brought to the fore for making democracy more people centric. And the author's emphasis that elections alone would not make democracy without concomitant qualitative changes to be brought about by democratic regimes did draw the attention of people. However, the decade – long democratic exercises could make a dent in rigid caste and class structures in politics and society. The book is the by product of a national seminar organised by the Nepal Centre for Contemporary Studies (NCCS) in January 2004, and makes an attempt to contextualise democracy. Unless people feel that they also are in power or in opposition, democracy tends to lose its essence.

Baral, Lok Raj, Oppositional Politics in Nepal, Himal Books, Lalitpur, Nepal, 2006, is an important study of politics and political culture during Nepal's Panchayat era (1960-90). The author challenges the notion that overt opposition disappears in states that do not have a party system of government. The author demonstrates convincingly that conflict is natural and inevitable part of any
political system and that the ostensibly party less *Panchayat* System in Nepal could not prevent opposition from taking root. It was not the basic contradictions of the system alone that gave rise to the steady growth of dissent. Political expediency and immaturity among key individuals and groups let them to choose strategies that deviated from the supposedly all embracing differences that ultimately provided sustenance to oppositionists not reconciled to the 'partyless' character of the system. The present study, therefore, tried to reveal the interplay of diverse political elements in the period under review.

Dhungel, Dwarika, N., *Inside Out: Political Parties of Nepal*, Institute for Integrated Development Studies (IIDS) with the support of International IDEA, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2007, is written in the context of the time when multi-party democracy in Nepal was under siege from two forces: a Maoist insurgency on the one hand and an executive- oriented monarchy on the other. The objective of the study is to help develop and strengthen political parties so that they can serve as agents of democratization and good governance. The book focuses on two areas in particular; the external regulation of how political parties act and the parties' internal functioning. The aim of the survey of external regulations regimes is to provide legislators, policy makers, parties and other reformers with a basis for assessing the pros and cons of their own systems with a view to identifying opportunities for reform. The aim of the study on internal functioning is to spur research into the culture of democracy within political parties – their internal management, requirement of candidates for election, selection of leaders and process of policy development. The book also contributes to Nepal's democratic process by providing a framework that will not only be used to provide information but will also prompt reflection and analysis on the part of the key political actors (i.e., the political parties) of the democratic process that they hope to serve.

Lawoti, Mahendra (ed.), *Contentious Politics and Democratization in Nepal*, SAGE Publications, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, 2007, examines comprehensively the nature and characteristics of struggles in Nepali politics. The book is divided into five parts: context and frameworks; the Maoist insurgency; identity politics; collective public protests; and contentious
politics and democratization. Part I consists of two chapters. In Chapter 1, the author lays down the framework of the book and provides background information on the activities this book investigates. In Chapter 2, the author discusses the exclusionary constitutional-engineering process in 1990. The author shows how the under-representation of marginalized groups and women in the engineering process led to the neglect and exclusion of issues relevant to them from the Constitution. The exclusion has subsequently fuelled the gender and identity movements. Part II brings together chapters on Maoist insurgency. The chapters in this section bring out new and important dimensions that have not been analysed. In Chapter 3, Khanal points out that the commitment of the insurgents and the lines of division across the mainstream political actors contributed to the initiation and growth of Maoist insurgency. In Chapter 4, Crawford, Kaufman and Gurung show the different ways in which the conflict has increased the vulnerability in society and usually the last to come into consideration while analyzing violent conflicts. In Chapter 5, a Maoist journalist who conducted extensive field coverage during the early phase of the insurgency presents the international Maoist perspective. In Chapter 6, Somlai shows the role of multiple stakeholders in the insurgency, going beyond the usual discussions of the Maoist, the palace and the mainstream political parties. Part III brings together chapters on identity politics. In Chapter 7, Hangen demonstrates how a small ethnic party contributed to the democratization process in Nepal. Chapters 8 and 9 bring together two articles on Newars: one on nationalism and the other on the religious aspect of the Newar movement. Shrestha traces the development of Newar nationalism in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9, Maharjan discusses the spread of Theravadin Buddhism among Newars in Kathmandu. Part IV contains two chapters that deal with collective public protests. In Chapter 10, Larkier argues that some contentious activities could empower people while others could protect the interests of the privileged group. Snellinger, in Chapter 11, argues that although student activism contributed to the restoration of democracy during the autocratic period such activities were often perceived by commoners as foot soldiers of the political parties. Part V concludes by discussing the different effects of contentious politics on democratization. In Chapter 12, Rademacher discusses the attitude of those unhappy with the environmental degradation in the
Kathmandu valley and how they attribute it to the failure of democracy. In the final chapter, Chapter 13, based on materials presented in this book and other sources, the author argues that some types of contentious politics contributed to democratization by expanding the rights of people, whereas others undermined liberal democracy by constraining the political rights and civil liberty of citizens.

Uperti, B.C., Nepal: Democracy at Cross Roads (Post-1990 Dynamics, Issues and Challenges), Kanishka Publishers and distributors, New Delhi, India, 2007, deals comprehensively with the functioning of democracy in Nepal in the post-1990 era. The author illustrates the functioning of various governments under the 1990 constitution, the events which led to the upsetting of democracy in 2005, and the efforts, which resulted in the reinstallation of democracy. What is interesting in the case of Nepal is that while the authoritative tendencies represented by monarchy have prevailed the democratic forces have also been alive in the country. Why has democracy failed in Nepal? Why has democracy succeeded in Nepal? What is the future of democracy in the country? Whether the people of Nepal have won the final struggle for democracy? These are important issues in the context of Nepal, which are being dealt with in the book. The author's effort has been to understand the pitfalls and the progress of democracy in a given situation. The author has tried to take up a comprehensive view of democracy, with the understanding that the success or failure of democracy depends in the context of given situation, where its operationalization takes place what are the supportive structures? What are the destructive structures and who overpowers whom? This is important in understanding course of democracy in a country. The book tries to deal with the aforesaid issues.

Pruthi, Dr. R.K., Nepal: From Monarchy to Democracy, Sumit Enterprises, New Delhi, India 2007 aims to investigate the remarkable transition of the polity of Nepal in moving very quickly. Many outsiders considered the Nepalese Monarchy to be ancient and unchanging. Now there is a new constitution and a new national anthem. The Nepalese are making themselves into cities of democratic nation rather than the subjects of a king. Whether Nepal needs a king at all, is being debated. Citizenship rights have been conferred on millions of formerly disenfranchised Nepalese. The fundamentals of Nepali life are being
revived. Nepali population of 29 million is fast moving from feudalistic monarchial set up to modern democratic system. Aim of this book is to make available to the reader material on this remarkable transition of the people of Nepal, from monarchy of democracy. In doing so efforts have been made to select relevant and best material on the subject so as to enable the readers to make their own considered opinion on the subject.

Singh, S.B., Nepal: Struggle for Democracy, Adhyayan Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, India, 2007 endeavors to present a comprehensive and critical assessment of the democratic struggles in Nepal. He has looked into the imperatives of democracy in general and then Nepal's experiences in particular, starting from 1951 to the then G.P. Koirala government. The author, has also examined the role of political parties, especially, the Nepali congress and the Nepal Communist Party, the torch - bearer of the democratic struggle, focusing on their policies vis-a-vis the successive phases of democratic experiments. In surveying these recent events, the author's purpose is to demonstrate that Nepal represent a distinct third wave of democracy and realistically assessing the relationship between state and society and role of conflict and violence, providing an entirely fresh perspective on Nepal's tumultuous and fledging path to democracy. This well written work is timely, and thought provoking contribution which is of great benefit to all those who have an interest in contemporary Nepal.

Baral, Lok Raj (editor), Nepal: New Frontiers of Restructuring of State, Adroit Publishers, New Delhi, India, 2008, hold that the agenda of the restructuring of the state came to sharp focus during the people's war, 1996-2006. The agenda set by the Jana-Andolan II (2006) has taken Nepali politics much ahead both in quality and form. The old institutions are likely to be replaced by new ones and the meaning of democracy is redefined relating it to the empowerment of people. The restructuring of Nepal state is basically related to ending all encompassing disparities existing in Nepali state and society. Among the most important aspects of restructuring of states are shift from unitary to federal structures; promotion of inclusive democracy deprived sections of the society and regions, restructuring of bureaucracy, army and police, in order to ensure inclusiveness and, overall development of the country. The restructuring of
state now means the reconstruction of a republican Nepal where people would be treated as "citizens", not "subjects". Moreover, the new republic would base on secularism, pluralistic democracy and human freedoms.

Pyakuryal, Kailash Nath, Uprati, Bishnu Raj, Sharma, Sagar Raj (editors), Nepal: Transition to Transformation, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2008, opine that Nepal has come to yet another turning point in here history. The book is a collection of articles authored by a team of experts, who presented their respective papers in the National Seminar titled Transformation, Inclusion and National Integration, jointly organised by the Human and Natural Resources Studies Centre (HNRSC) and the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North South that was held in Kathmandu in June 2007. The book is organised into nine chapters. The introduction (Chapter I) express the concepts of inclusion / exclusion & of national integration, as it summarizes the eight chapter, B.R. Upreti in Chapter 2 carries the view that resistance movements are often successful in bringing change in power relations and in effecting other social changes in countries with an autocratic past. Sagar Raj Sharma mentions in chapter 3 that economists have so far made numerous attempts at finding the key to economic growth in least developed countries (LDCs), but there is little evidence to suggest that they actually found it. In Chapter 4, Renu Rajbhandari mentions that women in Nepal have always taken a lead role in the people's movement and in all other political processes. However, they are kept consciously marginalised. In Chapter 5 Anita Bhattarai- Ghimire and Bishnu Raj Upreti focus on the different aspects of internal displacement caused by the conflict between the State and the CPN (Maoist). In chapter 6, Jagat Basnet describes describes land reforms in Nepal and narrates their loopholes and ineffective. Purna B. Nepali describes the Dalit issues in terms of their access to land resources and their livelihood insecurity. Kailash N. Pyakural in Chapter 8 deals with the concept of pluralism, diversity and national integration.

Shrestha Anand P. and Uprety, Hari (editors), Democracy Post-Conflict Governance And National Security, Nepal foundation for advanced studies (NEFAS), Kathmandu, Nepal, 2009, say that the coalition government of CPN (Maoist), CPN (Unified Marxist - Leninist) and Madhesi Jana Adhikar
Forum has proved to be a serious disappointment. It is crucial to discuss matters especially those pertaining to security, governance and the peace building process. The security situation is fast deteriorating in all parts of the country and particularly in Terai region. The country also seems headed towards political uncertainty. Besides, there is an immediate threat to the borders of the country and increasing interference on the part of external powers in the domestic affairs of the country. At this crucial juncture, it is rather unfortunate that the ruling alliance should bicker among themselves. At this rate the promises of the much touted "New Nepal" will at best remain a moth's cry for the moon. It is hoped that the government and the opposition will see since even at this rate hour and steer the process back on track, failing which could prove disastrous for both the country and the people. This book is a product of seminar held by the Nepal Foundation for Advanced Studies (NEFAS) with the cooperation of Friedrich Ebert Stifthing (FES), that delved deep into the issues mentioned above.

Upreti, Bishnu Raj; Topervien, Nicole and Heiniger, Markus (editors), Peace Process and Federalism in Nepal, North South, Nepal are actively engaged in the issues contained in the book. The volume is divided into four parts and fourteen chapters. Part I begins with the introduction (Chapter 1) and an overview of the past 50 years of swish Nepal cooperation (Chapter 2). Part II contains the next three chapters which deal with Nepal's peace process and important tasks ahead for achieving peace and stability in the new Nepal. Bishnu Raj Upreti (Chapter 3) reviews the decade of armed insurgency waged by CPN (Maoist). In Chapter 4, Markus Hanger presents the Swiss engagement in Nepal's peace process and discusses the three phases of the transition of the peace process (2005 to 2008, 2008 to 2011 and 2011 onwards). In Chapter 5, B.R. Upreti highlights that creating a new constitution, building eroded trust between people and politicians and between politicians, the execution of power sharing arrangements, the monitoring of peace process dealing with international concerns and providing peace dividends are some of the important task ahead. Part III is devoted to the theoretical, conceptual and procedural aspects of federalism with special reference to Swiss federalism as an example. Chapter 6 introduces concepts of federalism highlighting the political, institutional and social aspects of
federalism that are of particular importance to a multi cultural, multi-ethnic society. Chapter 7 presents various forms of federalism and discusses different ways of forming a federal state. Chapter 8 presents three basic types of federalism: personal territorial and ethnic federalism. Chapter 9 examines three vital aspects of federalism: power sharing, local self-government and the electoral system. Chapter 10 discusses the sharing of wealth and income, which can determine the success or failure of a federal system. Chapter 11 presents the ways of, and procedures for, protecting minorities and marginalized groups within federal units. Chapter 12 discusses the road to federalism, whereas Chapter 13 examines federalism from the conflict perspective. Part IV contains summary and conclusion of the issues discussed in the volume (chapter 14).

Hachchethu, Krishna; State Building in Nepal: Creating a Functional State, Enabling State Programme (ESP), Kathmandu, Nepal 2009 states that since the popular uprising of April 2006, Nepal has been a country in transition. Within this process of state building, there are many challenges to overcome. This book is written with those challenges in mind. The national goals are clear: to restructure the Nepali state as federal and inclusive democratic republic. Within this however, there are many details to be decided, including how the federal units will be constituted and whether to have a parliamentary or presidential system of government. At this juncture, Nepal's leaders need to be statesmen and balance the interest of all citizens. They must reach a consensus, rather than a compromise, if peace is to last. This volume gives an overview of the history of state building in Nepal, including the major structural and functional deficiencies of the state, as well as the positive large of the past regions. It takes an in-depth look at the process and content of the new constitution being framed by the Constituent Assembly and analyses the challenges and opportunities of responsive state building in Nepal. Dr. Hechchethu clarifies the issues that lie between Nepal and a functional state and insightfully discuss some possible middle ground on which the competing and conflicting actors could resolve their differences.

Adhiskari, Bipin (editor), Nepal: Design Options for the New Construction, Nepal Constitution Foundation, Tribhuvan University Faculty of Law and Supreme Court Bar association, Nepal 2010, is a collection of
papers presented in Kathmandu at an international conference on the Dynamics of constitution making in Nepal in Post conflict scenario held from January 15-17, 2010. In a nutshell, this book intends to achieve the following objectives:-

- Improving the quality of the new constitutional draft being prepared by the Constituent Assembly and its technical and conceptual soundness through inputs from national and international experts.

- Enabling Constituent Assembly members and key political and civil society leaders, especially members of the constituent and other technical committees of the House to benefit from comparative experiences.

- Enhancing the jurisprudential/theoretical foundation and democratic contents of the draft constitution to international standards by bridging the identified conceptual gaps through open debates and deliberation.

- Offering the international community an opportunity to understand and appreciate the dynamics of Nepal's post conflict country situation and priority area that need to be addressed by the constitutional framework by adopting an appropriate form of governance and devolution structure.

- Sensitizing constituent assembly members, political actors and the common people about the comments and feedbacks of national and international technical experts on the nature and content of the new constitution and its implementation tools.

Chandra, Amitabh, Seething From Inside, Sumit Enterprises, New Delhi, India, 2010 elucidates the rapid political changes witnessed by Nepal during the last two decades. Untitled 1990, Nepal was a Monarchy running under the executive control of the king. Faced with a communist movement against the absolute Monarchy, King Birendra in 1990, agreed to large scale political reforms by creating a parliamentary monarchy with the King as the Head of the state, and a prime minister as the Head of the Government. Nepal has also been noted for its recent speed of development, such as being one of the few countries in Asia to abolish the death penalty and the first country in Asia to rule in favour of same sex
marriages. In recent past, Nepal has witnessed a great upheaval and great change. There have been many up and downs in here with Maoist insurgency and establishment of new government with the dethronement of monarchy. The book scatters light mainly on the Maoist insurgency in Nepal, 2006 democracy movement in Nepal, struggling for Nepal's future, the China factor in Nepal, etc. All the facts have been discussed in incisive way with an easy explanation.

Sapkota, Dipak, *Ten Years of Upheaval: Reportage of the Decade Long Maoist People’s War in Nepal*, Revolutionary Journalist Association Central Committee, Kathmandu, Nepal, 2010 is a vivid account of the People’s war that’s assist the readers to understand the real state of affairs behind the People’s War waged by CPN (Maoists) to liberate the Nepali people and Nepal from all kinds of exploitation, oppression and foreign intervention. It is the account of uprisings in Nepal, how Maoists came to the conclusion to initiate the People’s War, how they built their organization, built its own army and most significant an alternative state power, how they took forward the War and how they operated and governed most of the country side. Not only the Nepalese people but also the people outside Nepal are seeking authentic and realistic information about the armed struggle of Maoist revolution. This book caters to all those readers as it presents the authentic and lively account of the People’s War being based on realistic information and facts.

Sharma, Sharawan; Rourk, Sean and Poudel, Upendra (editors), *Nepal: State of the State*, Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESOD), Kathmandu, Nepal 2010 is a study commissioned by Action Aid Nepal (AAN) to assess the role of the state in relation to the issues of poverty, social exclusion and environments sustainability within the framework of justice, rights, equity and freedom of the citizen. This study aims at exploring the state from the perspective of the poor deprived and socially excluded or marginalized section of the community. Basically this research study has two major parts: (i) In depth analyses of various facets of the state, based on data attained from
secondary sources; and, (ii) Figures and analyses of the survey carried out to
discover the reality of rights consumers including those involved in
implementation of the projects appointed by international organizations. Both the
parts have disclosed the currents of paradigm shifting and social dynamics have
also been discussed. To build a "New Nepal" it is needed to speed up on economic
growth and create letter circumstances for strengthening democracy expectations
of the common citizens. But the base of "New Nepal" has to be investigated. The
study tries to solve this problem on major aspects.

Chandra, Amitabh, Nepal: The Quest for Elusive Peace, Sumit
Enterprises, New Delhi, India 2010 opine that the Maoists predominance in
Nepali politics has been facilitated by the inability of successive governments in
addressing the basic problems such as poverty, underdevelopment and
discriminatory social order. A fractured polity, the absence of an elected
government and continuous power struggle between the King and the major
political parties have provided the Maoists with an opportunity to control
approximately half of the territory. Besides, the near collapse of development
work and civil governance in violence- affected areas, breakdown of the rule of
law, and lack of democratization at the grassroot level sustain the Maoist activity.
The ongoing Nepali peace process has been virtually postponed and the deadline
for writing the constitution has been extended thrice. The Constituent Assembly
(CA) and its governments have totally failed to achieve its principal tasks. They
are neither able to complete the constitution writing process nor to enforce
properly the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA). The Nepalese Maoists’
apparent bucking of this trend naturally gives significance to the country’s
political situation that is highly inappropriate to its size. It is effectively acting as
a testing ground for whether a radicalized Stalinism could make real breakthrough
across the world in coming years. Understanding the historical conditions
favourable to the rise of maoist and critiquing their political strategy, is thus
essential for those communists who do not want to see a repetition of the defeats
suffered under Stalinist leadership in the 20th century.

Upreti. B. C., NEPAL: Transition to Democratic Republican State
(2008 Constituent Assembly Elections), Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, India,
attempts to understand the various dimensions of the process of consolidation of peace in Nepal. Nepal is passing through a critical phase of political transformations. Since the royal coup of 2005; the Maoist ceasefire and April 2008 Constituent Assembly, the country has witnessed a number of complex phases of political developments. The declaration of Nepal as a republican state, abolition of monarchy and the rise of the CPN (Maoist) party to the central stage of politics are significant developments. The issues of framing a new constitution, federalism, inclusive democracy, minority rights, economic reforms, social reconstruction, etc. are significant after the formation of Constituent Assembly. The new government of Nepal has to deal with these issues. Nepal’s search for durable peace would rest on amicable resolution of these problems and issues. This study is development into six chapters: Democracy and Constitutionalism in Nepal, Prelude to the Constituent Assembly Elections, Electoral System and Election Management, Formation of the Constituent Assembly, Monarchy to Republican State: Abrogation of the Hereditary Kingship, Changing Paradigms of Nepal Politics: Issues, Challenges and Prospects. The study is extremely helpful in understanding the main events of the present day’s Nepali politics.

Pant, Prem Kumari, A Half Decade of Peace (2005-2010): Its Challenges and Prospects, Weekly Mirror Publication Pvt. Ltd., Lalitpur, Nepal, 2011, is an assortment of over public documents, press reporting and analysis mostly covered in “The Weekly Mirror” during the course of that period. The cardinal aim of the book is gravitated towards elucidating the country’s contemporary politics as objective fashion as possible. Not to be undermined, the book also consists of brief reports on various economical, social and other issues, which are seamlessly interconnected with effective functioning of the state. Covering a span of five years, the book delves deep into those areas which witnessed many historic, political and diplomatic ups and downs during this period. It combines an analysis of diplomatic strategic, political and economic developments and its impact on the lives of ordinary Nepalese people as well as individuals alike. It gives accounts of hopes and aspirations, setbacks, difficulties and disappointments of the ordinary citizens as well as intellectuals. Being an active journalist the author had a unique opportunity to actively analyze and watch the vicissitudes Nepal’s peace process saw in this period. The book is also a
simple report of the sufferings of the nation and her people due to the political actors’ power-hankering mentality and the self-gratifying modus operandi adopted by them. Moreover, it describes a journalist’s inner feelings and reactions to the events around, as they occurred after the 12-point peace framework agreed between the seven parties and the Maoists in New Delhi. On a superficial level, the book may appear pessimistic regarding the country’s future. However it’s deeper scanning, of course, strikes a sanguine tone as its latent message is: Though the historic, political upheavals might not have been enough to enlighten the parties, the masses have certainly grown more mature politically, and they can take care of their nation if political leaders fail to do so.

Upreti. B. C. (editor), *State and Democracy in Nepal: Emerging Paradigms, Issues and Challenges*, Kalinga Publishers, Delhi, India, 2011, is of the view that there are several issues and challenges that Nepal is faced with today, in its quest for peace, satiability and democracy. The ruling elite of Nepal have a crucial task to perform in this regard. There are several issues that seem to be significant not only in the present context of the future dynamics of Nepalese polity. The ethnic, *dalit* and regional identities are highly mobilized and aspiring for a regional space within the new constitutional political structures. The minority groups are also demanding representation. The question of federalism has become unfavorable. But Nepal has to decide about geographical-ethnic federalism. The agenda of socio-economic transformation is still to be dealt with. On the whole it can be seen that there are prospects of a stable and inclusive democracy but there are challenges of political instability and institutionalization of democracy would much depend on how efficiently and amicably these issues are resolved. The book endeavours to discuss these issues and problems. The papers contributed in this volume were initially presented in a seminar on State and Democracy in Nepal organized by South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.
Research Methodology

Research in common language means a search for knowledge it can also be defined as a scientific and systematic search for pertinent information on a specific topic. In carrying out the present research, the scholar has resorted to the method of Library Research - It involves an analysis of historical research and documents. For this purpose, recording of notes context analysis, statistical compilations and manipulations, reference and content analysis, were undertaken.
REFERENCE


3. ibid, Pg. (ix).


6. Ibid, Pg. 172

7. Ibid, Pg. 172

8. Ibid, Pg. 173