CHAPTER-I

Introduction

The present era of globalization has brought about significant political changes in the international environment. New nations have emerged on the ashes of the old big states, such as in the erstwhile Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and some nations have combined to form a single nation as in the case of Germany. Significant changes in political regimes have also taken place during the era as in many of the East European nations. An important aspect of these political developments has been the assertion of national groups for autonomy, independence and changes in political regimes. The developing world too has undergone changes that can be understood and explained in this background. The conflicts among people and races in these countries have been partly a result and cause of these political developments. The political development in Nepal too can be understood in the background of the political changes taking place internationally during the era. Insurgency too has become part of interstate conflict, a form of indirect aggression made attractive by the inability of state to use conventional military power and weapons of mass destruction.

The use of violence in insurgency sets it apart from movements of political protests like Gandhiji’s in India, Khomeini’s in Iran, solidarity in Poland and the civil rights movements in United States. Insurgent movements use political resources and instruments of violence against the ruling establishments to accomplish their goals. Political activities include such things as propaganda, arranging protest demonstrations, recruiting cadres, training and infiltrating agents into the official establishment, seeking external support, raising and managing finances, creating support
group workers, farmers, writers, youth associations and the like advising and implementing strategies and plans.¹

If the 20ᵗʰ century witnessed the demise of many Communist (Marxist-Leninist) regimes, the first decade of the 21ˢᵗ century is witness to the world’s first elected Maoist Government.² The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M) deserves full credit to bringing about this cataclysmic shift that has upset settled theories and practices of democracy and altered people’s perceptions. Amidst the abounding speculations over what happened, how and why in the aftermath of the Maoists stunning electoral triumph, there is an acute awareness of the immediate challenges facing Nepal.³ The victorious surge of the Maoists in Nepal’s Constituent Assembly⁴ election is a dramatic assertion of democratic aspirations in one of the world’s poorest country. Maoists triumph is more than an electoral event. It is a development of enormous significance for not only the people of Nepal but also the rest of the world, particularly India and South Asia. The Maoists put democracy on the trial and they, in turn, were tested by the democratic process. Both the Maoists and the democracy have won resoundingly.⁵ The stunning election victory of Nepal’s Maoists have caught India and much of the world unawares. Neither New Delhi nor the International community has reckoned with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) turning out to be so adept at winning the battle of the ballot.⁶

The outcome of Constituent Assembly elections have proclaimed loud and clear that multi party democracy, as the World has known it now, faces new and unlikely competition. For the first time in history, a Maoist organization entered a democratic election and was swept to power. The Maoist with their current positions are playing an important role in the democratic political process along with major political parties. The shift from the underground to the over ground, the decision to give up arms and
participate in the democratic mainstream and competitive politics are significant steps taken by the CPN (M). Momentous developments are taking place in Nepal today. The Nepalese people have overwhelmed and overpowered the nearly two and a half century old monarchy. In order to make an indepth study and analysis of the significant changes that have occurred in the Nepalese politics in the last two decades, it is necessary to undertake the study of the evolution, the history, ideology, strategy and tactics of the CPN (M), since it has been the most important player in Nepalese politics during this period.

The insurgency and counter-insurgency that had been going on in Nepal has been one of the deadliest conflict in Asia. The cost of insurgency has been very heavy in terms of life, liberty and security. The insurgency has affected all aspects of life and society in Nepal. A decade long insurgency led to the death of over 13,000 Nepalis. In 2004, alone nearly 2,380 persons died. More than 1,500 of these were Maoists. According to the Information Sector Services Centre (INSEC), the state was responsible for 68 percent of the deaths, whereas the Moaists were responsible for 32 percent of deaths till 2003 (INSEC 2003-2004). Many innocent people have become the victims in the crossfire between the Maoists and the Security Forces.

Apart from the number of causalities, many more people have been physically harmed, some permanently disabled. Thousands of people have also been internally displaced. The Maoists often forcefully recruit the youth as well as children. Others get displaced because they run away to escape from being recruited by the Maoists. Then there are those who are threatened by the Maoists to leave the villages, if they hold differing political ideologies and or belong to locally well off families.
The economy has been most severely damaged by the 'peoples war'. The economic indicators have been weak. The rate of growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined from 8 percent in 1995 (when the Maoist problem started) and to less than 1 percent in 2002. The per capita income had also gone down from $ 240 to 224. There has been shortfall in almost every area of economic activity, in export, tourist arrivals and government revenue. The Maoists have destroyed more than 1,000 Village Development Committee (VDC) office buildings, police posts, dozens of airports and electricity power stations and substations and hundreds of telecommunication towers and development projects. Many banks have been looted and industries destroyed. The insurance claim of six banks, industry and infrastructure providers alone was 380 million rupees in 2002.

There is no doubt that Maoist insurgency in Nepal pose a spillover threat to India. Apart from its strategy of the revolutionary reconstruction of the Nepalese society and state, an important aspect of their politics has been to foster and strengthen anti-India sentiments among the Nepalese people. The CPN (M) considers the Indian state to be a threat to the peace in the Himalayan region because of its imperialistic designs. The Maoists insurgency, therefore, has been perceived by the Indian state as potential security threat to both India and Nepal. The linkages between the Indian Maoists and the Nepalese Maoist have further strengthened the view of the threat to Indian security on the 1,751 km long border between the two countries. Whatever be the aims of Maoists towards establishing alternative socio-political culture in Nepal, it can be undoubtedly said that the intentions of Maoists has been an anti-India feelings, considering Indian government a betrayal to the peace in the Himalayan region. Infact Maoist
insurgency is a shared security threat for India and Nepal. The insurgency could easily spillover to 1,751 km long border between the two countries.\textsuperscript{16}

Another matter of concern that possesses security threat for India have been the activities of the Islamic terrorist groups that are operating from Nepal. Though, this does not have any direct relationship with the Maoist movement in Nepal but some analysts point to a possible link between the Maoists and the terrorist outfits.

The Indian Naxalites (Maoists) and their Nepalese counterparts have had a variety of linkages between them: fraternal ties and exchange of delegates, exchange of men and material, participation in fraternal multilateral force, etc. However, the Indian Maoists have a disagreement on the course adopted by Nepalese Maoists. But this had no impact on their mutualities, and both continue to be the members of Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia (COMPOSA).\textsuperscript{17}

By voting in the Maoists, the Nepali people have chosen the party most likely to push for an egalitarian society and inclusive republic system in the constituent assembly. India must not only respect but also help the new government to implement its democratic mandate.\textsuperscript{18} The elections in Nepal have been historic. It has been for the first time ever that a Maoist organization has participated in free and democratic elections and they have been swept to power on the basis of a popular mandate. The Indian State Must takes a pragmatic view of the mandate, particularly to its position on CPN(M) and formulate its strategy accordingly. The developments in Nepal not only have a bearing on India but the entire South Asia.
The year 1996 was a watershed in Nepal’s political history as it witnessed the arrival of Maoist insurgents on the scene, who from then onwards occupied the centre stage of power contention in the country. Originally a breakaway group of the CPN (UML), the Maoist Communists formed a separate party and vowed to launch an armed struggle to seize political power in 1996.\textsuperscript{19} The Maoists announced the ‘People’s War’ on February 13, 1996 with the slogan “Let us march ahead on the path of struggle towards establishing the people’s rule by wrecking the reactionary ruling system of state.”\textsuperscript{20} The People’s War was launched as a small armed movement in four remote districts of Western Nepal i.e. Rolpa, Rukum, Gorkha and Sindhuli.\textsuperscript{21}

The Maoists believe in a new democratic order in the country, which they call ‘people’s government’. The people’s government is supposed to work for the elimination of social and economic hierarchies and discrimination.\textsuperscript{22} They believe in the philosophy of Mao Tsetung and receive inspiration from the ‘Revolutionary International Movement’ and the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), Peru’s Left Wing extremist guerrilla movement. The Nepali Maoists have been provided with ideological sustenance by the radical communist parties from different parts of the world.\textsuperscript{23} The focal point of their concern has been the feudal structure of Nepali society and the exploitative and absolutist nature of the political system. They are also against Nepal’s relations with external powers which want to dominate Nepal and which according to them have imperialist design.

The emancipation of the Nepali people from the prevailing conditions is possible only through a war, which CPN-M term as a ‘People’s War’. The Maoists believe that their movement is not an armed struggle aimed at toppling the state power. They have also strongly
opposed the view that it is a struggle of a terrorist or extremist nature. Instead their contention is that it is a class struggle waged by communist revolutionaries and is based on the class character of Nepalese society. With an objective of arousing nationalist sentiments, the Maoists have raised the question of ‘unequal’ treaties with India. They regard the United States of America (US) as an expansionist power. Thus, they have also shown concern for Nepal’s sovereignty and independence. The Maoists believe in the ideology of mobilizing the rural people – the peasant – and preparing them for war. They also support gender and class equality.

The CPN-M is profoundly modeled on Peru’s ‘Sendero Luminoso’, better known as the Shining Path. There are some similar characteristics between these two insurgencies. The ‘Sendero Luminoso’ revolt originated in the isolated mountain regions of Southern Peru, which has a largely Quechua-Speaking ethnic population having resided in the area for thousands of years. This area had a history of neglect, broken promises, failed projects and other grievances which helped to create an environment favourable for the insurgency. Like this, the Maoist insurgency of Nepal also began from remote mid-Western mountainous, western and eastern districts. Nepal’s continuing socio-economic problems like poverty, rampant corruption and unemployment, feudalism, low level of education, caste discrimination, poorly maintained infrastructure, etc. mainly attract thousands of Nepalese to join the Maoist movement.

The ‘people’s war’ launched by the Maoists have varied objectives pertaining to the political, social and economic dimensions of Nepalese society. In February 1996, the political forum of the Maoists CPN-M, urged the people of Nepal to join the people’s war in order to bring an end to the reactionary state and to establish a new democratic one based on the
principles of equality and freedom. The Maoists have three broad objectives:\(^27\)

(i) To overthrow the authoritarian and capitalist class and state system.

(ii) To uproot feudalism.

(iii) To drive out imperialist forces.

The situation in Nepal is very complex and critical. Four internal actors – the king, political parties, the Maoists, the common people and the international community are involved in these crises. For more than a decade since 1996, the Maoists in Nepal have waged full scale war against the Nepal Army and the Nepali state, with the help of their ‘People’s Liberation Army’ (PLA). However, neither the Maoists nor the Nepal Army have been able to win war militarily. The Maoist realized that in the changed political context, they have to change their warfare strategy to achieve their objectives.\(^28\)

By shifting their warfare strategy the Nepalese Maoists tactically signed a 12-point Agreement\(^29\) with the Seven Party Alliance (SPA)\(^30\) in November 2005. This agreement was a significant step heralding peace in Nepal after almost a decade. After the Monarchy was abolished in April 2006 consequent to the historic ‘Janandolan’ – a twenty-day popular revolution, the parliament was restored and power was transformed to Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala and the SPA. Subsequently, the SPA entered into talks with Maoists rebels to put an end to the decade long civil war and marked the beginning of a new phase in Nepali politics.\(^31\)

After the first round of government – Maoists talks in May, 2006, a 25-point Code of Conduct\(^32\) was announced to ensure a peace environment during the period of ceasefire. On June 16, 2006 SPA and Maoists signed an 8-point agreement\(^33\) which also marked the first public appearance of
Maoists Chairman ‘Prachanda’ in Kathmandu. In August government and CPN (M) leaders sent identical five-point letter\textsuperscript{34} to the United Nations seeking assistance in the management of arms and armies of both sides and monitor ceasefire code of conduct among other issues. Later in November, 2005, the leader of SPA and Prachanda signed a landmark deal on arms management and political issues like constituent assembly, interim parliament and interim government. This Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)\textsuperscript{35} declared the end of war since 1996 between the government and the Maoists. Tri-partite agreement on arms management\textsuperscript{36} of both the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) and the Maoists (PLA) was concluded between the government, Maoists and UN on 28\textsuperscript{th} November, 2006. ‘CPA’ promised political social and economic transformation, as well as protection of human rights, relocation of internally displaced persons, elections of constituent assembly and management of arms and armies.\textsuperscript{37}

Maoists are the major actors in this new political experiment. On some occasions they contributed to stability, at other times to instability, and then at times to uncertainty. Over a period of time, the Maoists have enhanced their military capacity by building up modern arsenal and technology and have exhibited their striking skills at will. But, time and again, the Maoists have changed their strategies and tactics of late, they have committed to multi-party democracy and have won the battle of the ballot with huge margin.

Statement of the Problem

The Maoist Movement led by the CPN-M in Nepal was started in 1996 after the CPN-M broke away from the mainstream communist movement in Nepal led by (CPN-UML). In its short history of the armed struggle from 1996 to 2006 the movement showed tremendous growth and influence among the people of Nepal particularly the peasants in the remote
rural districts. They charged the mainstream communist movement as reformist, lacking a clear revolutionary strategy for the overthrow of the imperialist and reactionary feudal forces in Nepal. They declared their aim to be an armed struggle against all forms of domestic reaction made up of a combination of feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes backed by Indian expansionism.

The armed struggle under the PLA and YCL was meant to confiscate the land of the feudal and landlords and distributing them among the landlords and poor peasants on the basis of the ‘land to the tiller theory’ and to attack them for the purpose. The aim of the ‘People’s War’ was also to cut at the roots of the imperialist exploitation by attacking the industries, banks, etc. which were in the hands of the comprador and bureaucratic capitalist. They also targeted the government and non-government organizations.

The New Democratic Revolution which they proposed to make was to be led by the proletariat which though small numerically was to provide leadership to the revolutionary movement along with other allied classes which included the farm workers, bonded labourers, potters, poor peasants and middle peasants in rural areas and cart pullers, taxi drivers, rickshaw drivers, etc. in the urban areas.

The general tactics of the Maoists was to start Guerilla Warfare in different parts of country. In this direction they directed the armed struggle against the oppression of the majority of the nationalities through the creation of a mass base for Guerrilla Warfare. The peasants’ revolution was to be the backbone of the movement. The specific nature of the struggle was to increase the base of armed struggle by establishing people’s alternative revolutionary power to inspire bold tactics to achieve it. The strategy and tactics adopted by the CPN (M) developed a systematic armed
struggle which was necessarily a Protracted People’s War strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside by paying special attention to the conditions prevailing in the Nepalese society.

‘The People’s War’ was to be a war of the masses. Following this strategy and tactics the CPN-M showed tremendous success and emerged as a most important political force in Nepalese politics.

In 2005, there occurred a major shift in the CPN-M’s tactics in the background of the Royal Coup of February 2005. It provided an opportunity for the Maoist to engage with the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) consisting of parliamentary communist parties CPM (UML) and also the other liberal political parties including the Nepali Congress, in the anti-monarchy front that emerged in Nepal during this period. The armed struggle was suspended during this period as part of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) arrived at between the members of anti-monarchy front. The halting of the revolutionary process as a result of the strategic tactical shift by the CPN-M has since had several implications and created problems for the revolutionary movement in Nepal led by the CPN (M).

The tactical shift of the CPN-M to create a republican state in Nepal with the help of UN, and became the part of the large anti ‘Monarchical Front’ had several implications for its strategy and Protracted People’s War. The CPA for the integration of PLA into Nepal Army weakened the revolutionary strategy based on People’s Armed struggle. The integration of the PLA with the Nepali Army would open the possibility for a split in the party. It would make impossible for the movement to function as a revolutionary force in the society. Integration of the two armies would deal a serious, possibly fatal blow to the revolutionary process underway in Nepal.
The success and the popularity of the CPN-M among the masses in Nepal, which was reflected in the Constituent Assembly (CA) elections was later weakened when the CA could not complete the formation of the Republican Constitution within the specified period. The long process of the constitution making has further weakened the Maoists. With the objective to expand its urban base the Maoists entered into mainstream politics, suspended the armed struggle and disarmed the PLA, but all this has adversely affected the revolutionary process in Nepal.

It seems imminent that the present democratic political process, whether or not it ushers in a liberal democratic republic in Nepal, could not only weaken the Maoist ‘New Democratic Revolution’ but possibly kill the revolutionary possibilities that had been inaugurated by the People’s War. Despite major progress made by the revolutionary forces and weakening of both the royalist and parliamentary forces, however, the present political process in Nepal seems to be slowly but surely moving towards the neutralisation of the Maoist movement through the instruments of inclusive democracy, democratic restructuring of the state, etc. which has been the aim of the international and national forces opposed to Maoist strategy and tactics.

Although the Monarchy has been weakened for the moment but the possibilities of its revival in some form in Nepalese politics with the help of Nepal Army, some external powers, some Madhesi groups and the pro-monarchy parties like Rashtriya Prajatantra Party also continue to be a constant threat to the anti-monarchy forces. During the peace process the anti-monarchy movement in Nepal had been weakened. More recently, the pro-monarchical forces have regained some lost ground and popularity among a section of the Nepalese people. Although Nepal had been declared a republic, but the prolonged constitution making process has provided
space and opportunities for the pro-monarchical forces and remnants of monarchy to regroup and revive its lost ground.

Baburam Bhattarai, the present Prime Minister has indicated that King Gyanendra is still keen to reclaim direct rule of Nepal and may stage a coup with active support of army and sabotage the ongoing process of democratization of the country. The long history of Nepal Army shows that it has always been highly feudalistic in character and has always been loyal to the Royal Palace.

United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) after 23 January, 2007, and transition to a republican state under the supervision of UN has further worked against the revolutionary movement. UN and other liberal Western organizations want to use Nepal as a base for their human right activism and wish to prolong their tenure in Nepal. The humanitarian activism and intervention by various international organization would also ensure the Maoist strategy of armed struggle is weakened by providing support to classes that are targets of the Maoist armed struggle.

Nepal today is in a situation of flux, where the primary movers of the revolution, have suspended their ‘People’s War’ and have joined the peace process. The situation that emerged after 2005 is very complex. The Maoists are caught up in a dilemma whether to revert back to strategy of ‘Protracted Armed Struggle’ which would not be easy for them at this stage. The dilemma could also lead to the possibility of another split within the CPN-M by elements who still stand for the old strategy of Protracted Armed struggle.
Research Objectives

In this context, the study is aimed to access the issues and concerns related with the Maoist uprising in Nepal. Accordingly, the study has focused on the following objectives:

1. Against what background the Maoist movement was launched in Nepal?
2. What are the support structures, strength and demands of the Maoists?
3. Examine the ideology, strategy and tactics adopted by the Maoists.
4. Transition from the armed struggle to constitutional struggle by the Maoist.
5. Analyse the implications of Maoist movement in Nepal to India.

Methodology

To explore answers to the above mentioned research objectives data has been collected from both, primary as well as secondary sources. The census data, government reports, governmental documents, CPN-Ms documents, speeches of the various leaders of concerned parties of conflict in Nepal i.e. (the Monarch, leaders of mainstream political parties and leaders of CPN(M) are considered as primary sources. The secondary sources include the published material in the form of books, articles, research papers, research journals, autobiographies, magazines and relevant clippings of newspapers which are concerned with the governmental policies and Maoist perception regarding their problem. The present research problem has been analysed in historical and descriptive perspective. Data gathered through primary and secondary sources has been analysed and interpreted in a descriptive and critical way.
Limitations of the Study

An attempt by the researcher, howsoever, serious and objective it may be is bound to face or confront certain limitations. There are various dimensions of the Nepal’s Maoist Movement. Discrimination in the Nepal’s society on the basis of religion, caste, ethnicity, gender and language has directly and indirectly helped in strengthening the Maoist Movement in Nepal. The present study is conducted within a specific universe. The study is conducted mainly in the background of the discriminatory land tenure pattern and agrarian relation in Nepal. It mainly examine the ideology, strategy and tactics adopted by the CPN-M during the period of insurgency.

Chapterisation

Keeping the above objectives in mind, the study have been divided into seven chapters, which are as follows:

The first chapter is an introduction to the topic of the study. It mainly deals with the importance of strategic shift by Maoists into mainstream politics. It also deals with the review of literature which is related to the topic.

The second chapter examines the genesis of the Maoist Movement in the background of production relations in Nepal’s society since 1846.

The third chapter traces out the background of Communist Party of Nepal and the communist movement in Nepal. It also briefly examined the demands, strength and support structure of the CPN-M.

The fourth chapter deals with the ideology, strategy and tactics adopted by the Maoists during the ‘People’s War’.
The fifth chapter analysis the transition of the CPN-M from armed struggle to constitutional struggle.

The sixth chapter deals with the perspective of India about the Maoist uprising in Nepal.

The final chapter of the study contains the findings and concluding remarks from the researcher.

**Understanding the Maoist Struggle in Nepal**

Some of the key terms used in the study of an armed struggle against the state are People’s War, Insurgency, Movement and Problem. This has also been the case in the context of the Maoist struggle in Nepal. Hence, the attempt has been made to clarify the terms below:

**People’s War**

“People’s War” is military-political strategy invented by Mao-Ts-Tung. The underlying meaning of the term is to ensure and maintain the support of the people and draw the enemy deep into the interior where the people will bleed them to dry through a mix of ‘Mobile Warfare and Guerrilla Warfare’. However, the Maoist in Nepal used the term for their strategy of long term armed revolutionary struggle. For Krishna Bahadur Mahar, the spokesperson of Nepali Maoist, “People’s War” is a war of the people’s community.\(^{38}\)

**Insurgency**

‘Insurgency’ means an organized rebellion that engages in deliberate actions to cause the downfall of a governmental authority, through destruction of public properties and armed action. According to the Oxford Dictionary, insurgency is ‘an attempt to take control of a country by force,’ or ‘an attempt by some of the people in a country to change their
government, using violence’. Thus, insurgency is revolutionary in character because of its set goals and boundaries, while the objective of terrorism remains obscure.\textsuperscript{39}

**Movement**

Generally, the term ‘movement’ refers to a group of people who share the same ideas, aims or activities over a period of time. Movement may be social movement in an organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change) some major aspect or aspects of society.\textsuperscript{40} Movements are goal directed and purposeful activities in which people join and participate with the overt understanding that they are working with each other to accomplish one or more explicit aims.

**Problem**

According to Oxford Dictionary, problem is a thing that is difficult to deal with or to understand.\textsuperscript{41} Problem refers to a situation, condition or issue that is unresolved or undesired. Usually, the nature of a problem is such that an answer or solution is needed. In such cases, problem solving is used to understand important aspects of the problem so that an answer or solution can be found.

**Review of the Literature**

Theoretical perspective provides a significant guideline for objective conduct of research. It provides the researcher with the definite viewpoint i.e. a direction which in a long way helps us to enquire into the relationship between certain variables selected from infinite array of variables. Facts do not speak themselves, it is the way we interpret them. It is the theory that gives meaning to the facts. Moreover theory summarizes known facts and even predicts facts which have not yet been observed or explored. Thus macro-studies on the one hand are not feasible, and micro-studies on the
other hand are meaningless without the wider theoretical perspective. The Maoist movement in Nepal has been treated by the scholars in various books, journals, magazines and newspapers. An humble attempt has been made in this direction by providing a perusal of existing literature on this theme and other related aspects.

Mohendra Lawoti in his book "Towards a Democratic Nepal" has attributed the emergence of Maoist insurgency in Nepal to the social and economic inequalities, injustice and exclusion of the Maoists in the newly initiated democratic process after 1990. As a result of the increasing awareness of Inequalities due to the democratic process, the Maoists were able to mobilise the excluded groups into its insurgent politics. He also points to the lack of land reforms as an important cause of insurgency by the marginalised sections of Nepal society led by the Maoists.

The main stress of the book has been on the genesis of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. However, he has actually discussed the political events and the social and economic inequalities which were observable in the Nepalese society and Politics. What is required in the analyses of such a problem is to look at the character of the state & society and also to look at the contradictions in the nature of economic structure are the main source for the existence of such social and economic inequalities as well as political exclusion of large sections of the society. Though he has referred to lack of land reforms as on important cause of the insurgency but he has not explained how land relations and land tenure system in Nepal were responsible for generating contradictions giving rise to insurgency. It would have right, if he had identified the contradictions within the existing land relation and defined the character of the Nepali state by which it would have been possible to correctly identify the causes of the insurgency as well as suggest ways to solve the problem.
Pradyumna P. Karan and Hiroshi Ishii[^1] in their book, “Nepal: A Himalyan Kingdom in Transition” has dealt with the problems of development faced by a poor mountainous and land locked country. The discussion covers such issues as environmental and natural resources management, land use pattern and agriculture development, human resource development, urbanisation, industrialisation, transport and communication and tourism. Author believes that Nepal is likely to face three types of developmental challenges during the 1990’s. These are: (a) Sustainability and conservation of resources as to utilise them to meet needs of the people and improve the quality of their life; (b) alleviation of poverty by reformulation of developmental strategies and programmes; (c) population planning with a view to establish a balance between population and resources.

Author has not discussed that the democratic era that commenced in 1991 was marked by undemocratic culture. Feudalism remained in place. Poverty, unemployment, injustice, political instability and corruption got deeply entrenched. Nature of the society, various classes, groups likes ethnic, linguistic etc. are certain issues which are completely ignored by the author duo. Authors have not discussed the exclusion of various groups in social, economic, and political level. The book covers a detailed analysis of economic aspects but it lacks the social and political development of Nepal in the mid-nineties which led to the Maoist insurgency in Nepal.

Deepak Thapa and Bandita Sijapati[^2] in their book “A Kingdom under Siege: Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency, 1996 to 2003,” have mainly dwelt upon the social and economic background of the Maoist insurgents in Nepal. They have mainly narrated events and conflicts that embroiled Nepalese state (the government, political parties, king, police and army) and the highly motivated Guerrilla fighters who mainly belong to the marginalised
and poorer section of state. For them the events after Feb 1996 were decisive and crucial for the understanding as well as analyzing the Maoist problem in Nepal. They have mainly stressed the political management of the conflict between the state and the Maoists as significant for the management of the political situation in Nepal which rises due to the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. The authors by seeing the problem in Nepal as a political problem of conflict management among different political group, parties in Nepal have ignored the deeper causes of the conflict which need to be located and understood in the nature of the Nepalese state as well as the contradiction within the economic structure of Nepalese society. The question of land reform in a feudal society like Nepal could not be ignored as an important cause for the insurgency. They have correctly identified the poor and the marginal section as the bedrock of the Maoist movement in Nepal.

S.D. Muni, in his book, “Maoist-Insurgency in Nepal –The Challenges and the Response” does not conceal his sympathy for the Maoists and makes a strong case, howsoever debatable for talking to them not only to end the unremitting spiral of violence that has besieged the Himalayan Kingdom for over a years but also to draw them into the legitimate politics. Muni is guided by the vision of what he perceives would best serve Indian strategic and security interests and ensures stability and peace in the Kingdom. Muni estimates that the roots of Maoists lies in the abysmal poverty that afflicts many regions of the country, the absence of land reforms, increasing unemployment, corruption, and problems of governance. However, he makes little efforts of explain how these are interrelated and why the people continue to be afflicted with a persistent feeling of injustice. Moreover, the constant support to Maoists provided by
students, intellectuals of diverse ilk and various civil rights groups is completely ignored.

Muni has not discussed the forces which are providing support base for Maoists. Domination of the higher castes, i.e., Brahmin, Kshatriya and Newari in bureaucratic structure continued and position in the government were continued to be determined by extra-bureaucratic factors such as, connections with the king, kinship factors etc. lack of access to education unemployment, gender inequality and caste discrimination has provided the soil fertile enough for Maoist to strengthen its support base.

**Arjun Karki and Binod Bhattarai,**\(^{46}\) in their book, “Who’s War?,” which is based on the field work studies conducted by three researchers Dhakal, Sangraula and Bartaman between 2 May to June 24, 2003, tries to explain the Maoist conflict on economic, social and cultural basis. Based on theoretical approaches, the authors explain how political instability supported to intensify the insurgency in the country. From the first chapter to last chapter, author attempts to provide the state of life in different Maoist affected districts including the change in life styles and trauma faced by the people there. The first two chapters of the report attempts to provide an update on the Maoist peoples’ war in Nepal using information from both field work and secondary sources, while the rest of the study reports largely the findings from the field work, which is also the basis of the conclusion.

Authors estimates that the roots of Maoist insurgency lies in the abysmal poverty that afflicts many regions of the country, the absence of land reforms, increasing unemployment, corruption and problems of governance. However author takes little efforts to explain how these are interrelated and why the people continue to be afflicted with a persistent feeling of injustice. Maoist movement in Nepal is multi-dimensional
problem and could not be understood in isolation. Political, social, cultural and economic developments which are taking place within the Nepal and in the international environment has impact on developments in Nepal and has its implication on Nepal.

"Nepal In the Nineties: Versions of Past: Visions of the Future,"[^47] is an edited book by Michael Hut which consists eight essay contributed by scholars from different disciplines. In essence the book has undertaken certain interesting aspects of the developmental problems of the Nepalese society which need further probe. As an edited volume it has certain limitations as well. By looking at the title it seems that the book gives a wholsitic perspective i.e. covering society, economy, polity and foreign policy. But going through the details, one finds the book is limited to a few aspects of constitution, democracy and development. An article on Nepal’s relations with its neighbours particularly with India in detail would have added to the quality of the volume. At the sometime, it may be asserted that the chapter on role of Nepali Literature in Democratic Movement and British Gurkha connection in the 1990s are very beneficial as one finds them new and untouched by the other books and authors.

**Lindsay Friedman[^48]** "Conflict in Nepal: A Simplified Account." This book represents a general account on the Maoist conflict. It is divided into three sections. The author begins with a description of the background of the conflict in order to introduce the basic premises leading to the violent conflict. The description of the conflict and its effects is followed by some proposals for integration between the needs of the population and the concerns of the actors involved in the conflict.

Following Galtung’s multi-dimensional approach to conflict and its different representations, Lindsay Friedman explains that the current state of ‘direct violence’ is the result both of ‘structural violence’ (i.e. the failure
to provide “equal rights and opportunities” to its population) and ‘socio-cultural violence' (i.e. regional, caste, ethnic and gender based discrimination) carried out by the state (p. 2). The rebels have cashed in on these distortions and have incorporated these widespread grievances into their political manifesto. Age-old grievances have been exacerbated by the unsuccessful conduct of the democratic political leaders after 1990. In particular, ethnic, caste, regional and gender discrimination have not been addressed while the politicization of the bureaucracy has created a restricted elite of beneficiaries mostly concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley. On the other hand the contribution of foreign donors to the elimination or at least alleviation of poverty and the promotion of lasting development has fallen short of expectation. Throughout three decades different “aid mantras” have failed to address the basic needs of the population and basically donor-driven development assistance has only benefited the local elites. The issue of the exclusion of the younger generation has been given great emphasis in the study. A generational gap can be observed at any level. Political parties, for instance, offer no access to the youth and, according to the author, the current leadership of the two major political forces – the NC and the UML – lack innovative resources and the capacity to listen to the concerns of the new generations. The civil society has provided a modest access to the marginalized groups but only to a certain extent. The politicization of the NGOs is regarded as a major hindrance towards a better coordination of the civil society and has sometimes created bizarre anomalies with the NGOs acting as governmental agencies.

These contradictions rebounded on the grievances of the “disenfranchised” group’s and led to the rise of a powerful Maoist
movement that has managed to capture the support of different social segments throughout the country.

The author’s major recommendations focus on different measures in relation to different actors. The international community is urged to put pressure on the political brokers in order to foster dialogue, generate a political convergence to end the conflict and establish a good governance-oriented regime. The prevention of further human rights abuses is part of that process of convergence. At the same time, the national government will have to pass the appropriate legislature to address the root causes of the conflict. The civil society will have the role of promoting empowerment and rehabilitation of the marginalized and traumatized at the local level. The employment of fresh social capital (women, youth) is considered a crucial element of the process. These are some recommendations which will be effective provided that it is a common understanding that in the process of resolution of the current crisis “there is no quick fix” (p. 79).

Ram Sharan Mahat,49 “In Defense of Democracy: Dynamics and Fault Lines of Nepal’s Political Economy.” This monograph seeks to identify the main dynamics of the post-1990 democratic experience. The author, former finance and foreign minister in the 1990’s, describes the historical background of the current situation in Nepal from the very establishment of the Nepali state through the Rana and Panchayat experiences, till the decade long experiment of democratic governance. Dr. Mahat argues that, despite several shortcomings – which are partially due to institutional, political and socio-economic legacies from previous autocratic regimes – the multi-party democratic period has managed to deliver and promote the betterment of the Nepalese in many areas. One chapter of the book is dedicated to the Maoist insurgency (pp. 311-342). It states that the Maoist
movement developed and gained momentum in the so-called “Red Zone”, i.e. those Western districts prevalently populated by Magar ethnic communities and known for their geographical remoteness and economic backwardness. The author also acknowledges the relevance of the grievance theory as explanatory framework for the Maoists’ people’s war. The economic cost of the conflict and its external relapses are also duly considered and located in the general context of the conflict dynamics of the South Asian region. Dr. Mahat concludes his analysis of the Maoist insurgency providing some suggestions on the possibility of mediation by the United Nations. He outlines six main points which should underlie any mediation efforts: a) restoration of the democratic process and the functioning of its institutions; b) a comprehensive and neutral human rights monitoring regime; c) pressure from the international community on the Maoists to negotiate; d) humanitarian assistance for the victims of the conflict; e) a more cautious diplomatic approach rather than high-profile and public negotiations; f) an open-ended peace process.

Nischal Nath Pandey, “Nepal’s Maoist Movement and Implications for India and China.” This monograph looks into the regional impact of the Maoist movement from a geopolitical perspective. After a description of the internal and external dynamics of Nepal’s communist movement from its inception until the post-1990 democratic period, the author explores the factors behind the rise and the growth of the Maoist insurgency. Political instability, unemployment, corruption and bad governance developed a widespread disaffection with the democratic political class at the central level. Then, according to the author, the socio-economic marginalization of the Mid-Western population coupled with the “fighting spirit” of local ethnic communities – especially the “Magar clan” (p. 50) – triggered the armed uprising. Indeed, the ethnic factor is considered an important
element of the Maoist movement. The 1990 change gave to the janajatis (literally the “nationalities” or ethnic groups) a “new-found sense of identity and legal ground (...) to appeal for their demands” (p. 53). The pro-poor approach of the Maoists has also be a magnet for the deprived groups. Nevertheless, the counter-insurgency measures adopted by the different governments have all exacerbated the conflict: two brutal police operations Operation Romeo (1995) and Kilo Sierra II (1998) demonstrated that the military approach was the inappropriate response to the problem in view of the fact that eventually those operations backfired against the same government who had launched them by alienating the support of the local population. The progress of the Maoist military techniques are reflected by the upgrading of the weapons employed by the rebels. They started with rudimental knives(kukhri) and then started to use different type of rifles that they managed to seize during their attacks against the police posts. The Royal Nepal Army (RNA) was only mobilized after the rebels attacked the army barracks in November 2001. The security dimension of the conflict is followed by a brief comparative overview of other communist insurgencies outside Nepal (Malaya and South-Vietnam, El Salvador and Peru) and the analysis of the previous negotiating efforts. The international dimension of the Maoist insurgency is described from three different perspectives: a) implications of the September 11 events; b) implications for India; c) implications for China.

According to the author the terrorist attacks against the US in 2001 have radically overturned the fate of rebel groups worldwide. Once recognized as “freedom fighters” most of the insurgent groups have now been labeled as “terrorists” and have lost the backing of their foreign supporters. India is the external power the most involved in the conflict. This is a consequence of the territorial proximity with the Nepalese
Kingdom as well as the result of historical factors. Security concerns are dominant among Indian priorities with regards to Nepal. This is because of the close relationship between Indian Maoist groups active in the North-East of India but it is also due to the so-called “Gorkha connection” (p. 135), i.e. the presence of Nepalese soldiers in the Indian Army being regularly recruited from the Mid-West of Nepal where the Gorkha fighters usually come from. However there is a discontinuity in the attitude of Delhi towards the insurgency in Nepal. Whereas India has labelled the CPN (M) as a terrorist organization, most of its leaders are hiding on Indian territory. China’s approach has been more pragmatic and has given full support to Nepalese authorities against the Maoist rebels.

Beijing is in fact believed to rely on “a slow, steady approach to changes around the region, often looking 10 or 20 years down the road” (p. 159). Communication system as well as in terms of decline in tourism-related activities, foreign investment, increase of migration and government spending for security, which has inevitably drained economic resources from other sectors. The social cost accounts for visible changes in the lives of ordinary people: widespread human rights violations either by security forces or rebels, fear, displacement and increasing vulnerability of children and women. Similarly, the authors underline some positive factors generated by the conflict such as promoting the cause of the deprived and most vulnerable sections of society (lower castes, ethnic minorities and women), increasing accountability of development agents and the government staff. The rebel’s agenda and their claims also initiated the debate as to how to decentralize Nepal’s administrative system so as to make it more efficient and representative. Critical barriers to the Negotiation of Armed Conflict in Nepal
Bishnu Sapkota (ed.),51 “The Cost of War in Nepal: A Research Study,” the book makes an assessment of the cost of the Maoist conflict in Nepal. The first section of the document is devoted to the analysis of the political aspect involved in the insurgency. The “regressive move” of the King, i.e. the royal takeover on 4 October 2002, has seriously undermined any prospect to solve the armed struggle through political means and integrate the Maoists into mainstream politics. Earlier, the declaration of the state of emergency had suddenly escalated the conflict on the ground increasing the death toll along a pattern unseen. This situation has created anew power equation. After October 2002 “the King emerged as a key stakeholder into the territory of power politics of Nepal” (p. 7). Likewise, the political parties seem unwilling to cooperate and get united against the King’s doubtful constitutional intervention. The Maoists are taking advantage of such a divided front, even though it is clear that they cannot hope complete success, at least for the time being. Since the holding of elections has been postponed indefinitely, the state is dysfunctional and cannot perform its fundamental duties at the socio-economic level as well. The flaws in the 1991 Constitution are considered a source of the failure of the current institutional framework to satisfy the real needs of common Nepalese.

With regard to the costs and consequences of the conflict, the report first considers the human rights dimension: until October 2003 the insurgency has killed more than 8,000 people and cases of torture, rape, abductions, disappearances, and unjustified violence against civilians by the warring parties are reported on a daily basis. It is estimated that, by current trends, within five years there could be between 15,000 to 25,000 more deaths. The figure of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is in the order of hundred thousands, though it is difficult to evaluate how many of them are related to the conflict. The development sector has been adversely
affected by the war. The achievements of the 1990’s, in terms of easier access to education and increased adult literacy, are likely to be undermined by the conflict. Education and Health sectors have been deprived of important resources which have been diverted for defence purposes while social disparities and marginalization have not been addressed. Similarly, the economy of Nepal has suffered a general decline, especially in its strong sectors (tourism and commerce). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been affected and, for the first time in 2002, the country has recorded a negative growth.

Despite its overwhelmingly negative consequences, the conflict has brought some positive impact such as a rethinking of the people’s war from anthropological and psychological perspectives, an enhanced consciousness of human rights and social issues, and a stronger political awareness among many Nepalese. While there is “no possibility for an undoing of the war and its effects” (p. 48), the importance of dialogue and the necessity of political compromise need to be reiterated and accepted by the major actors involved in the conflict.

Bishwambher Pyakuryal, "Nepal’s Conflict Economy: Cost, Consequences and Alternatives." This book represents an attempt to assess the economic cost of the Maoist conflict in Nepal. It is the result of a seminar organized by Nepal Economic Association. The work focuses on the economic rationale of the conflict, the related activities and their impact. Pyakuryal emphasizes Nepal’s low Human Development Index (HDI) as a structural factor leading to conflict. He argues that no accurate assessment of the cost of conflict has been carried out so far. Therefore he suggests some guidelines so as to quantify the overall economic impact of the Maoist insurgency. He considers three categories of costs: 1) Direct cost from war (human cost in terms of deaths and wounded people as well
as direct physical damages); 2) Indirect cost (loss of production, loss of sales and administrative costs of insurance); 3) Cost reflecting the government’s readiness to deal with conflict (security expenditure and preventive actions to reduce conflict-related costs). The donors’ approach is criticized by the author. Donor agencies are exhorted to assess their ongoing programmes and mainstream them in accordance with local capacity to sustain and participate in the projects. The government’s fiscal and monetary policies should be so designed as to give priority to economic growth.

Similarly, the government should enhance the capacity of the most productive economic sectors and establish partnerships with the private sector in those areas where private enterprise has a comparative advantage. One interesting point in Pyakurryal’s writing is his proposal for a comprehensive effort towards the reduction of incentives for military recruitment. Indeed, socio-economic deprivation often drives young people to join either the army or the rebel’s militias. In his concluding remarks the author highlights the core problem of Nepal’s economy: because of the ongoing conflict, “there is a diversion of scarce resources from their productive use” (p. 35). The challenge ahead is to reverse this trend and maintain a minimum level of growth even during the conflict. The paper presented in the panel discussion underlines the fact that, given the weak structure of the economic system of the country, the conflict is not sustainable for a long period. Emphasis is put on the fact that the current situation of Nepal’s economy is both the result of the conflict and the inevitable consequence of decades of wrong policies made by the central government resulting in structural deficiencies.

Chuda Bahadur Shrestha,53 “Nepal Coping with Maoist Insurgency: Conflict Analysis and Resolution.” This monograph represents a
comprehensive account of the Maoist insurgency. Written by the Senior Superintendent of Nepali Police, the book thoroughly describes the multifaceted nature of the people’s war, its genesis, major developments and the governmental response. Only after conducting an analytical and empirical assessment of the subject Chauda B. Shrestha explores the options for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The growth of the Maoist movement is examined in every detail relying on both primary and secondary sources. The Maoist people’s war is explained as the emergence of unaddressed grievances (ethnic, caste, gender discrimination, regional disparities, political repression and economic distress) which have sought a solution in the Maoist ideology. The insurgency is compared to other rebellions and armed conflicts that have occurred in other places, particularly in the Asian region. The impact of the Maoist rebellion is quantified in economic, political, social and human terms without overlooking any aspect of the conflict. The management of the insurgency is observed from both the state perspective (military operations, efforts in governance and victims’ relief) and the community approach (local networks, ethnic and caste-based approaches and civilian-military cooperation). The monograph provides a large amount of data and statistics while the amount of primary and secondary sources used offers a comprehensive description of the conflict.

Bishnu Raj Upreti,54 “The Price of Neglect: From Resource Conflict to Maoist Insurgency in the Himalayan Kingdom.” The book contains three sections. The first section mainly deals with the theoretical aspects of conflict: definitions of conflict, different perspectives and schools of thought on conflict, basic characteristics, potential positive and negative contributions of conflict and basic conflict management procedures. The second section focuses on the analysis of relationships between resource
governance, resource scarcity and conflict. It shed slight on political economy of resource governance and its impacts on conflict. Then it proceeds with documenting the dynamics of water, forest, land and natural resources conflicts in Nepal. The third section details the evolution and growth of Maoist insurgency, fundamental causes of conflict, impacts of development on conflict and vice versa. Then it elaborates donors' role in Nepalese conflict. It also examines the efforts towards negotiation and peace process and causes of ceasefire break. It argues that the Nepalese negotiation and peace process have numerous procedural weaknesses and structural limitations. The book proposes a negotiation strategy to restore peace in Nepal.

Prakash A. Raj,55 “Maoists in the Land of Buddha – An Analytical Study of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal.” This book represents a general account of the Maoist insurgency. According to the author, from a peaceful place known as the birthplace of Lord Buddha Nepal became a war-torn country on the brink of self-destruction. The insurgency has caused a grave setback to the democratic process initiated in 1990. The author attempts to identify the roots of the “turbulence” affecting the country since 1996. The legacy of neglect and backwardness in which the country was immersed for centuries is regarded as one of the main causes of the Maoist conflict. At the same time, the ideological backdrop provided by Maoism and the peculiar and, in some way, “wrong interpretation” (p. 35) given by the Maoist leaders provided the ground for launching the people's war in February 1996. Prakash Raj also examines the socio-political implication of the Maoist movement, including the role of neighboring countries and their attitude regarding the conflict. In particular, the author believes that India did not take the Maoist uprising “as seriously as it should have” (p.122). On the contrary, the US devoted increasing interest to Nepal only
after the 9/11 events and located the ongoing Himalayan conflict within the framework of their worldwide “War on Terror”, labeling the Maoist rebels as “terrorists”. One section of the book is devoted to possible solutions to the conflict. The author regards institutional transformation, decentralization, right to self-determination, empowerment of women and other deprived people as the most pressing needs to be dressed in order to produce a positive change in Nepal. The book concludes with a provocative question: “Will the Maoists ever give up their arms or will Nepal turn into another Cambodia, Peru or Afghanistan?”

Ananda P. Srestha and Hari Uprety (eds.), “Conflict Resolution & Governance in Nepal.” This book represents a recent piece of scholarship on the conflict in Nepal. It is the result of two separate seminars held in September 2002 and April 2003 in Nepal. As a consequence, the book has been divided into two main parts: Conflict Resolution in Nepal and Governance in Nepal. In the first part of the work, Dev Raj Dahal deals with the theoretical dimension of conflict resolution. He analyzes different sources and types of conflict as well as the approaches to conflict resolution and the responses to such crisis. In addition, he examines the steps towards the normalization of war-torn societies (conflict settlement, transformation, resolution). Meena Acharya is more concerned with conflict transformation and the recent peace dialogue. Among the sources of the current crisis, the prominent conflict seems to be political since it relates to the future political system of the country (monarchy vs. republican state). Yet, the author recognizes other causes of the conflict (ethnic, caste, religious and geographical discrimination, gender, inconsistent and ineffective socio-economic policies). The same paper includes a very interesting overview of the major political parties’ approaches to conflict transformation. The analysis shows how positions
differ on each issue relating to the conflict. At the same time, it emphasizes the common features which most of the political parties agree on. Krishna B. Bhattachan provides a sociological perspective. The author presents compromise and referendum as tools for conflict resolution. The originality of the paper comes out in the identification of several internal conflicts within the territory of Nepal. This analysis of the fields of conflict can be compared to the assessment of the causes of the conflict made by many other scholars. The areas of conflict are identified as ethnic, religious, caste, language, regional, gender and class based political discrimination. Yubaraj Sangroula's essay offers a political standpoint on the people's war. Among the causes of the conflict the authors identify some causative factors (the split of the "United Front", the failure to recognize the Maoists as a political force by the government, the failure to develop integrative political-civil participation in governance, the influence of India, China and the United States, the lack of governance and the failure to manage the insurgency. Among these causative factors, Sangroula distinguishes between mediate and immediate dynamics. Mediate dynamics are those factors which "provide a solid background for the emergence and the growth of the crisis" (p. 105) - e.g. imbalance of power sharing, permanence of a societal feudal structure, inadequate education, inequitable taxation, etc. The immediate dynamics are factors acting as catalysts accelerating and intensifying the problems – political interference, corruption in the bureaucracy as well as in the political domain, economic hardship, unemployment, deteriorating security situation. Consolidation of the democratic process, people's involvement in governance, political compromise and the involvement of an impartial third party - e.g. the UN - in the peace dialogue are some of the solutions suggested. The second part focuses on governance issues. The analysis of public policy-making in Nepal undertaken by Hiramani Ghimire reveals that there exists an
extensive gap between the theoretical expression of the fundamental policy objectives included in the constitution and the actual implementation of those directives by the government. Scarce communication and cooperation between administrative and political institutions as well as between different agencies is one of the main obstacles to effective policy-making. Moreover, many constitutional arrangements are neglected while the civil society has proved ineffective in its public approach. “Policy evaporation” (p. 141) is the consequence of a decade of contradictory policies and planning. Chakramehar Vajracharya examines the potential role of effective governance in managing regional disparity in development. Decentralization is one of the major challenges the country faces. Empowerment of local governance units and the implementation of integrated development programmes are fundamental steps in that direction. At the same time strengthening and supporting institutions like the Commission on Investigation of Abuse of Authority and the Office of the Auditor General can promote accountable governance. Bihari Krishna Shrestha analyzes another dimension of effective governance, i.e. its conflict resolution capacity. Spatial, economic and social tensions intensified creating the conditions for the outbreak of the Maoist insurgency. The author explains how two development programmes proved successful notwithstanding the alleged adverse environment in which they took place. The Community Forest Programme and the Small Farmer Cooperative Limited have shown that only all-embracing and inclusive projects can succeed in fragmented societies.

Donors’ activities are critically analyzed and blamed for lack of transparency, absence of a people-oriented approach and inconsistent long-term perspective. Finally, Raghab D.Pant’s essay defines the three major political parties (NC, UML and NC-D) as unreliable actors because of
wrong economic policies they have implemented during their tenure of office. The core issue seems to be the role of the National Planning Commission. The author, in fact, questions the efficacy, the usefulness and the future of this controversial institution entrusted with the task of designing the economic strategy of the country.

**Anuj Mishra**, "Threats to Nepali Democracy." The book provides comments from a web forum held in the first part of 2003. It consists of six papers which deal with different aspects of the democratic system in Nepal and discuss its main shortcomings. The paper by Rajan Bhattarai evaluates the mistakes committed by the political elites of Nepal in the last decade. According to Bhattarai, poor governance is the root cause of the current political stalemate. Criminalization of politics and inadequate checks and balances, and insufficient decentralization are the main issues to be addressed. Hari Phyual's paper is devoted to an analysis of the constitutional aspects of the crisis in Nepal. His perspective on the 1991 Constitution is revealed in his suggestion to keep the constitutional framework alive by reaffirming the validity of the constitution, despite the presence of petty interests involved some political positions which deny any positive value to the 1991 document. Then a process of amendment should take place without undermining the achievements of the 1990 movement. Yolmo's contribution encourages the inclusion ethnic groups in the political mainstream as well as in the state's structures and grant them a certain degree of autonomy through federal arrangements. The fourth paper urges the monarchy to become a transparent, constitutionally bound and people oriented institution. King Gyanendra acted as an active monarch when he sacked then Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba on 4 October 2002. Ever since, the role of the monarchy has become controversial. The author suggests that the monarchical institution should adjust itself to the
new democratic framework and foster the process of democratization in the
country. Manil Shrestha draws a parallel between contemporary Nepal and
the Republic of Weimer created in Germany between the two World Wars,
which eventually paved the way to the emergence of the totalitarian Nazi
regime. Basically, the message is that economic distress and malpractices
lead to political chaos and confusion. The last paper is about corruption.
Manorama Adhkari argues that corrupt practices have undermined the
legitimacy of the newly established democracy in Nepal with the result that
rampant dishonesty poses a serious threat to the future of the whole
political system. Interestingly, corruption is explained through the
Darwinian law of the survival of the fittest.

Baburam Bhattarai,58  “The Nature of Underdevelopment and Regional
Structure of Nepal – A Marxist Analysis.” “Nepal, a small and poor
country sandwiched between two super states of India and China, is for
some time in constant focus of the international media. Great powers
ranging from the United States, the European Union and neighbouring
India and China are seen expressing serious concerns at the developments
inside this so far generally neglected country. What is the reason? At a time
when people thought the era of communist revolution was over after the
collapse of the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, a powerful
Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement has broken out since1996 in this tiny
Himalayan country. A small rebellion thought to have been initiated by a
radical faction of the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), christened as CPN
(Maoist), has now engulfed the whole country and serious strategic
observers are predicting that the rebellion might usher in the first
revolutionary state of the twenty-first century. What is the objective and
subjective basis of this epochal upheaval?” This monograph– the doctoral
thesis written in the mid-1980s by one of the leading figures and ideologue
of the Maoist movement in Nepal, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai – “probes from a historical-materialist perspective and substantiates with a load of statistical data why the country of Nepal caught in the quagmire of underdevelopment generated by the interplay of a set of endogenous and exogenous factors, needs a revolutionary rupture from the past if it is to traverse the course of rapid progress and development in the twenty-first century.” The “foreword” to the volume has been written by Comrade Prachanda, Chairman of CPN (Maoist) and Supreme Commander of the movement. Prachanda highlights the significance of the book which according to him represents “a first and complete Marxist interpretation of the Nepalese history and economy, accompanied by a wide-ranging survey of Marxist theory of development /underdevelopment and spatial articulation.”

Deepak Thapa (ed.),59 “Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal.” This monograph collects some of the most interesting articles written on the Maoist conflict up to date. Many of them have already been analyzed in this annotated bibliography. The collection seeks to encompass different views and perspectives on the conflict including the rebels’ viewpoint. Among the contributions not yet included, the article by Mohan Mainali directly blames the programmes implemented by the donors’ community, in particular, the fifteen-year long rural project of USAID launched in the same areas of Western Nepal where later on the insurgency was started. According to the author, there is a close link between development and conflict. Puskar Bushal raises the controversial question of the control of the RNA. The emergence of the army as a key actor in the current situation is nothing but the consequence of the chronic delay in resolving the abovementioned issue, so that the helplessness of the politicians has finally pushed the Army to step in. The “Letter from a Maoist activist” helps
understand the silent dynamics taking place within the Maoist movement. The letter shows the disappointment of the so-called hardliners who did not want any compromise during the peace talks. Human rights violations are taken into account both by Kanak Mani Dixit and the report of Amnesty International. Dixit writes about the increasing involvement of armed forces in the insurgency and the culture of impunity that is eroding the sympathy of the population with the Army. This “culture” started when the Malik Commission’s report was shelved, thus condoning several violations that occurred during the Jana Andolan in 1990.

Arjun Karki and David Seddon (eds.), “The People’s War in Nepal – Left Perspectives.” This monograph is a collection of essays and statements by various Nepali political activists and intellectuals on the “People's War in Nepal. It was published in early 2003 right after the government and the revolutionaries agreed on a cease-fire and sat down for formal talks. The book aims at contributing constructively to the political debate “in the left” in Nepal. It contains a set of statements and commentaries on the People’s War by the Maoist leadership as well as a number of critical analyses of the Maoists by members of other left groups, including the ‘mainstream’ United-Marxist-Leninist (UML) Party, the major parliamentary opposition to the ruling Nepali Congress Party.

Emphasizing the military aspect of the People’s War would be misleading since it should not be forgotten that the insurgency is “a political movement first and foremost” (p. xi). In accordance with Clausewitz’s characterization, the armed struggle is described as the extension of politics by other means. On the other side, stressing only the political dimension of the movement would overlook the socio-economic fault-lines that triggered the insurgency. Therefore, in the author’s view, the crisis that
Nepal is currently passing through is multidimensional and its root causes are both historical and structural.

The contributions of the first part offer an introductory historical and sociological view of the insurgency. The historical overview written by the two editors is an effort to put the People’s War in the perspective of the ideological and political experience of the communist movement of Nepal. They make an effort to place that experience in the overall political landscape of the country. The sociological perspective of Mukunda Kattel’s essay stresses the social context in which the insurgency emerged from February 1995 to October 2001. The contribution takes into consideration the positive side of the insurgency without neglecting the overwhelming negative consequence on the population of Nepal. One of the main consequences of the People’s War has been the radicalization of Nepalese society. This fact is considered positive since it helps the emergence of civil society and the start of an actual debate over the underlying causes of the socio-political and economic crisis. Forging new synergies and mutual understanding and tolerance is one way out of the conflict but it is important for all parties involved to abandon their backward-looking, narrow-minded and egotistic attitude for a concrete commitment to human development in a peaceful context.

Part Two is made up of some statements, interviews and analyses given by the Maoist leaders. They deal with the origins and the evolution of the People’s War, the strategy of armed struggle (Movement’s leader Prachanda’s interview), the political economy of Nepal (Movement’s ideologue Bhattarai’s contribution), the role of women in the conflict (Comrade Parvati’s essay) and the possible future of the movement. Govinda Neupane presents a class perspective of the movement paving the way to the third part of the book. He emphasizes the contradictions of a
Nepalese transitional society and the total transformational agenda” of the CPN (M) (p. 313). The essay also highlights some deficiencies of the Maoist movement (i.e. lack of clarity on the class structure, absence of effective presence among the working class). Mohan Bikram Singh highlights the tricky relationship existing between the Maoists and the Monarchy during Birendra’s reign. Despite being antagonistic, the two forces seem to have some common features. Unfortunately, that relationship drastically changed after the Palace massacre in June 2001 and the enthronement of Gyanendra. Sujita Shakya provides an analysis of the Maoist movement from a women’s point of view, while Pradip Nepal’s contribution is an assessment of the impact of the movement on the population. He underlines the internal and external causes of the insurgency and comments on some mistaken ideological assumptions of the Maoist party. The recommendations outlined in his essay focus on a people-based multiparty political system, the commitment of the conflicting parties to the obligations set out in the constitution, the necessity of greater transparency and accountability, responsible political conduct by ruling parties, the commitment to a combined short/long term vision of “integrated, balanced, coordinated development” (p. 437), the importance of comprehensive land reform in a rural country such as Nepal, and the eradication of corruption. The closing chapter is written by one of the editors, Arjun Karki. His essay is built upon the belief that any progress towards an effective solution of the current crisis can be made only “on the basis of a firm and clear commitment on the part of the government of Nepal (and all other major players) to an agreed framework for radical reform” that meets the actual needs of the population. Political and economic grievances, regional, caste, ethnic and gender disparities are the major issues involved and represent the challenges the abovementioned actors will have to meet. Land reform, empowerment of rural institutions
and population, decentralization, constitutional and administrative reforms and equitable development are the principal recommendations put forward by the author in his contribution.

D.B. Gurung (ed.),61 “Nepal Tomorrow: Voices and Visions – Selected Essays on Nepal.” This impressive monograph represents a collection of essays on several aspects and issues concerning Nepal. Some of the contributions are closely related to the current conflict. In particular, Dev Raj Dahal puts emphasis on the crisis of governance cropped up in the last twelve years in Nepal. The rise of the Maoist movement and the government’s failures and dysfunctions are interrelated. This structural crisis can be observed at different levels. As far as the institutional level is concerned, the constitution of 1991 failed to obtain a broad consensus whereas national politics has been highly affected by political parties with antagonistic and election-oriented manifestos. The stagnation of national economy is another facet of the current crisis.

Nepal faces different conflicts at the same time with different manifestations. The Maoist insurgency is a manifest conflict, whereas the ethnic and social conflict is latent and so far has been repressed. National security and stability, rule of law, participation and delivery of public services and goods are the four main goals Nepal needs to achieve to overcome the current crisis. Similarly, the rehabilitation process of a war-torn country should rely on new structures and fresh resources of conflict resolution.

Constitutional reforms suggested in other two contributions focus on the three pillars of democracy, monarchy and federalism. The measures suggested to strengthen the country’s institutions are the reform of the electoral system and the reformulation of the security strategy of Nepal. Among the contributors there is great consensus on the root causes of the
outbreak and extension of the Maoist insurgency (crisis of governance, socio-economic marginalization and widespread frustration, inter and intra-party quarrels, politicization of the bureaucracy and rampant corruption). Meena Acharya refers to the erosion of basic economic institutions (i.e. household and village) and its primary role in the initiation of the armed struggle in Nepal.

**Prakash Shrestha (ed.),** "Quest for Peace." The book is a collection of contributions on the Maoist conflict. Six different perspectives are offered. The development perspective focuses on the failure of the government to ensure sustainable development based on equity. Poor governance triggered socio-economic and political exclusion, activating the conflict in some underdeveloped regions of the country. The socio-cultural and economic perspective is still linked to failed development: poverty alleviation programs have tackled only superficially the problem of poverty in Nepal since their replication was too costly and unsustainable. In such a situation, the poor have been forced to pay extra-legal payments since they have no access to many basic facilities because of their socio-political marginalization. The myth of Nepal as a peaceful country is demolished if we consider that the unification process was undertaken by conquest and violence. Until the declaration of the People’s War by the CPN (M), Nepal had been living in a situation of negative peace that was easily transformed into “positive war” in 1996. The human rights perspective pinpoints the violations that occurred during the conflict and multiplied by its further escalation. The civil society is encouraged to act as a defender of those rights and promote the resolution of the conflict. The gender perspective is based on recurrent issues such as the impact of the conflict on women, their high participation in the insurgency and the need to include them in any peace building effort. The political standpoint is based on the analysis of
socio-political factors leading to the eruption of violent conflicts. In the efforts to solve the conflict peace is understood as a process to be achieved gradually by prudently utilizing the socioeconomic resources of the country.

Dhruba Kumar (ed.),63 “Good Governance & Decentralization in Nepal: Domestic Conflict and Crisis of Governability in Nepal.” The monograph is a collection of perspectives on contemporary Nepali politics. In particular, the contributions deal with issues such as the democratic framework, the Maoist insurgency, governance, political parties and ethnic issues of Nepal. Dhruba Kumar provides a critical analysis of the democratic system introduced in Nepal in early 1990’s. Personal aggrandisement of political leaders has brought about the alienation between society and politics since popular expectations differ significantly and their relationship has become more conflictual. A process of privatization of state power has replaced the old Panchayat order by political forces.

The Jana Andolan conveyed a twofold message: while the absolute powers of the king were no more tolerable, monarchy remains an indispensable institution for Nepal. Thus, the structural fragility of the democratic state “could only be overcome through the collaboration between traditional and modernizing forces” (p. 20). There are many issues that question the legitimacy of the democratic transition of the country. First, the quality of the democratic leadership, then the high politicisation of the bureaucracy and the criminalization of the political forces along with the malfunctions of the parliamentary institutions weakened an embryonic democratic system. On the other hand, economic stagnation and foreign assistance dependency further impeded the democratic consolidation in
Nepal. These considerations show that the Maoist insurgency did not come out as a bolt from the blue. The premises were already there.

The insurgency cannot be considered as a rural movement. Despite its grassroots base, the rebellion aims at replacing the central government. Thus, the real threat to Nepali democracy does not come from the Maoist insurgency but from the failure of the governments to control it. “the Maoist insurgency is largely considered as a cause and consequence of governmental dysfunctionalism. It is neither a cause of relative deprivation prevalent in the Nepali society nor the consequence of public disapproval of the democratic system” (p. 51). Lok Raj Baral identifies two main controversial issues challenging the whole institutional system of Nepal: first, the split political culture of a country where traditional elements are confused by Western political concepts and second the steep decline in credibility of the country’s political institutions. As Khrishna Hachhethu suggests, the key-problem still lies with the actors (especially the political parties and their leaderships) and not with the system. The class-struggle nature of the Maoist insurgency is analyzed in the paper of Krishna B. Bhattachan, while Maharjan reaffirms the necessity to examine and address the “root cause” of the conflict. Suman K. Sharma has analyzed the “cycle of external dependency”. The viable way-out suggested is the emergence of alternative views within the political class of the country.

Baburam Bhattarai,64 “Politico-Economic Rationale of People’s War in Nepal.” This book presents the theoretical explanation of the People’s War launched in 1996 by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The documents written by the party’s ideologue and offers an important contribution to the understanding of the insurgency from within the movement itself, even though the small volume provides only the official ideological standpoint of the movement. After observing that Nepal failed
to achieve durable and extensive socio-economic and human development because of the underlying feudal logic and interests, Bhattarai points out that “the solution can be found only by analysing the problem with a historical materialistic method” (p. 1). He argues that imperialist oppression and expansionism of external forces (United States and other western developed countries along with India) aligned themselves with internal forces. In particular, the adverse situation of the country has to be attributed to the semi-feudal relations in the extremely backward rural areas where agriculture is the only source of sustenance. In the last 20 years productivity and the exports have decreased dramatically. Unemployment, under-employment and bonded labour (i.e. the Kamaiya system) are serious realities that affect Nepalese people and this trend is not going to change in the forthcoming years. The author’s opinion is particularly negative about the so-called Small Farmer Development Programme, “brought forward by the imperialists through the World Bank“ (p. 11). The industrial sector has witnessed a steep decline as well while supporting the petty interests of the imperialist forces within and outside the country. Lack of economic progress has increased social inequalities producing further marginalization of minority groups all through the country. As a consequence, regional disparities and ethnic divisions have intensified the socio economic, let alone political, exclusion of large parts of the population. The Kathmandu Valley, where all interests are concentrated, has reinforced even more its tight control on the major activities of Nepal. The economic policy of the “New Democracy“, which the Maoists want to establish on the basis of Marxist-Leninist doctrines, is founded on the destruction of the old regime’s structures and production relations. Then, an independent, planned, balanced and self-reliant development will be executed by the new regime. This can be achieved through land reforms, nationally oriented industrialization, and regional
balance. The political facet of the revolution is related to a process of destruction of the old structures and creation of new ones. Capitalism will be exploited as a transitional instrument coupled with a strategy of "protracted revolution" finally leading to New Democracy.

Parrnanand in his article "Maoist Insurgency in Nepal", has attempted to clarify the concepts of insurgency and terrorism, its applicability in the Nepali context, the circumstances leading to its genesis and growth. The paper deals with the demands of the Maoists on the Nepali states, the approach of his majesty's government towards this problem from the very beginning, its impact on the multi party democracy, re-established in April 1990, and the extent and the way it has affected the political economy of the land locked kingdom.

Writer also highlighted the attitude and approach of the international community towards this problem and its prospects. 40 point demands elaborated in the article are of great importance to present study.

Nischal Nath Pandey, in his article have discussed that an extreme left ideology in the leftist movement in Nepal has existed for a long time. He has discussed that army actions have not been successful so far in Nepal to curb the Insurgency. The article also covers the implication of insurgency to India. In the final analysis writer believes that peace is the main agenda of today's Nepal. Without peace there cannot be democracy, no economic development and no future for the Nepalese. Pandey has not discussed the peace agenda, or peace model. He appears pro-Monarchy. He speaks about strong military action against Maoist but force is not the solution for this type of problem.

Ashok K. Mehta, in his article has analysed that the Maoist revolution is a through bred home-grown insurgency and unlike other movements, not
geographically limited to one region. He has discussed the state response to the Maoists along with the Maoist organization and their force structure. He has concluded that the stumbling block to negotiations is the Maoists demand to hold elections for a constituent assembly and a new constitution, which would challenge the centrality of monarchy in Nepal. Unless the Maoists can shelve their objective of a democratic republic uncertainty and chaos will rule the Himalayan Kingdom. Writer has only explained the present situation but he has not tried to know about the genesis of the problem.

Smriti S. Pattanaik,\(^6\) in her article has analysed some of the grievances of the Maoists and examined why the political parties have not been able to address them. The paper also analyzed whether the counter insurgency method would success, if not, what would be the reasons, behind its failure. She believes that the Maoist insurgency in Nepal is an off shoot of the socio-economic grievances accumulated over a period of time. The Maoists capitalized on these grievances and convincingly articulated the aspirations of the people, their ideology of a class less society appealed to the masses in these backward regions. The negotiation with the governments failed due to the uncompromising stand taken by the Maoists. She have also emphasized that the insurgency would have spillover effect on Indo-Nepal relation. She looks pro-Monarchy and appears very harsh to Maoists. She has talked about grievances but had not discussed them in detail.

Khalid Mahmud\(^6\) in his article has observed that the Maoists are still at the 'hit and run' stage, and nowhere close to raising a ‘people’s army’ capable of occupying territory and holding it in the face of army's counter attack. On the other hand, the army does not appear to be winning the war, as it has failed to establish the governments unit in large parts of the country where the Maoist Guerilla's call the shots. He believes that it is
hard to tell how long will the stalemate persist which have virtually paralyzed Nepal’s state apparatus. Mahamud has discussed the situation which was prevalent in Nepal but he did not try to find out how the situation arises and why it became so dominate. He has not provided the solution for the problem.

**Meha Dixit**? has observed that the porous border between Nepal and India has facilitated cooperation between the Nepalese Maoists and Indian insurgent groups. India needs to be vigilant of cross-border activities of Maoist insurgents. She observed that the Nepal crises can be traced to undemocratic, iniquitous culture of the state inseminating all levels of the system economic, social and political. Hence, human needs model can be applied to Nepal. She has not discussed that all sections of the state needs to be brought within the framework of political, social and economic process and be given the opportunity of equal participation in the governance of the state which is a hallmark of a genuine democracy.

**John Machinlay and Bishnu Upreti**? has analysed the Maoists support base in Nepal and has suggested that to contain the Maoist insurgency, a genuine successful counter insurgency needs to be led by a political initiative which isolates the insurgents from their support. To achieve this requires constitutional and civil reform similar to the Maoists own manifesto. This will confront the power for the royalist administrative and the forces supporting them. Writers have ignored the social and economic support base of Maoists in Nepal.

**Kristy Hughes**? has described that the Maoist movement in Nepal is clear in its goals, total democracy, no more power sharing with the king, no more undemocratic and unaccountable political parties, no more fundamental social discrimination against disadvantaged ethnic groups. He has observed that the Maoists demand cannot be suppressed any more. If
there goals are achieved in a few months or few years, peacefully or bloodily, perhaps through these dark days, there is some glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel for the people of Nepal. Writer has talked about discrimination but not explained the types of discrimination and the names of ethnic groups which are marginalized. Although writer has talked about peace but hardly tries to suggest any measures to be taken for peace process.

Brad Adams,73 “Nepal at the Precipice.” This article provides a succinct account of the “people’s war” in Nepal. The author puts the emphasis on the declining popular support for the monarchy and the risk that Nepal may become another “failed state”. The first intervention by King Gyanendra in the political scene of the country – the October 4, 2002 “royal move” – managed to derail the emergent democratic process established in 1990. The second interference of the Palace – the February 1, 2005 “royal takeover” – has further reduced the political space for the democratic forces of the country. These actions have alienated the population and have benefited the Maoist rebels who control large parts of the territory. Unlike the Khmer Rouge, the author argues, Nepal’s Maoists have shown more willingness to reach a negotiated settlement since them “have a list of demands that can be discussed” (p. 129). King Gyanendra’s February move was planned and executed although the Palace had been warned by the most influential foreign powers – i.e. India, the United States and the United Kingdom – not to commit mistakes which could further strengthen the rebels. The reaction of these countries to the royal takeover was strong: India suspended its military assistance followed by the US and UK. The delivery of some non-lethal hardware has been resumed but the foreign powers’ stance has remained focused on the restoration of the democratic process.
The author also makes a brief assessment of the military situation. In fact, both conflicting parties are aware of the impossibility of an outright military victory. However, Nepal’s human rights record is extremely negative. The Royal Nepal Army (RNA) is particularly blamed for its human rights abuses and needs comprehensive training in International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The reform of the army is thus advocated as a preliminary measure to end abuses against civilian population, which is often caught in between the two sides. Besides offering better protection to the population, this would also allow the king to “win back public confidence” (p. 134), provided that he is willing to restore a civilian government and work with the political parties.

Stuart Gordon,74 “Evaluating Nepal’s Integrated ‘Security’ and ‘Development’ Policy: Development, Democracy and Counterinsurgency.” This article explores the relationship between development, democracy and security policies in the context of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. In the first part of the article, the author analyzes the causes leading to conflict and the government’s counterinsurgency measures. It is argued that, although poverty is often identified as the main factor generating support for the Maoists, the conflict is “the product of a complicated convergence of regional, ethnic, and economic inequalities and deprivations”. These factors have been then reinforced by the consequences of “over population, environmental damage, systematic corruption, political instability, social inequality and exclusion, uneven development, extreme poverty, and human rights abuses” (p. 582). Elite politics and greed for power have further escalated the conflict and initiated a power struggle between political parties and the monarchy. King Gyanendra has profited from the political vacuum created by intra-party and inter-party quarrels and has assumed direct powers first in October 2002 and then in February 2005.
According to the author, the existing constitutional framework cannot lead to a genuine process of democratic reform. Only "general acceptance of limitations on the role of the monarchy and of the need to change the Constitution" would make the resumption of peace negotiations and the start of state reform possible. Nevertheless, the erosion of accountability of public officials and security forces and lack of transparency of governmental practices have been a landmark of the post-February 1 period. The media is under the tight control of the army whereas the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has not been put in the conditions to work efficiently and independently.

The government's response to the Maoist insurgency has been discontinuous. The police was tasked to quell the insurgency in its initial stage. The RNA was only mobilized in November 2001. However, its coordination with the paramilitary corps – i.e. the Armed Police Force (APF) – has been inadequate and has produced tensions within the security forces. Therefore in 2003 the government has created the "unified command" of all security forces (RNA, APF and police). Despite this effort, the security strategy is still deficient. The nature of the terrain, weather conditions and the lack of efficient transport infrastructures have prevented the security forces to guarantee a 24-hour presence in many areas of the country. This situation has induced the government to create civilian militias at the village level, a move that has been condemned by many donors and human rights organizations. The "Integrated Security and Development Program" (ISDP) is defined as "the centre piece of the government's security strategy". It involves the integration of the army in the domestic development agenda. The programme was started in Gorkha district in 2001. According to the author, the ISDP is a response of the government to claims of increasing militarization of the country and is
intended to “win the hearts and minds” of local population and re-gain popular support. The programme is also “a mechanism to undercut the grievances that have enabled the Maoists to recruit members” (p. 599). However, the government had to discontinue the ISDP following severe criticism from international donors and NGOs regarding the lack of funds for development activities. After the collapse of peace talks in 2001, the government resumed the programme but only “as a face-saving measure”.

Despite some limited results, the author concludes that the ISDP cannot be considered the appropriate response to the insurgency and its underlying causes. This is because the programme was conceived and implemented with the clear political purpose of appeasing the donor community and “obscuring the domination of the security agenda over any reform agenda”

Dhurba Kumar,75 “Impact of Conflict on Security and the Future: The Case of Nepal.” This article argues that to understand Nepal’s conflict and security requires an understanding of the political structure of the state. Moreover, social exclusion and the centralised control of state power by elites have exacerbated conflicts, particularly in underdeveloped regions of the world. The article illustrates two of the most noticeable trends for the future of security, stability and status of the Nepali state. The first is that the Maoists have discredited the state’s exclusive authority over the use of force and delegitimised its sovereign control of its territory. The second is that the growing sense of insecurity of the state has led to the process of state militarization through the acquisition of a repressive capacity by legislative measures, such as the use of emergency powers, the anti-terrorist act and curfew. Integral to this trend is the state’s withdrawal of social welfare and representation of the people. The paper concludes that effort in Nepal should focus on the need for judicial reform, since the
extent of the conflict and how the military and the monarchy have responded has created wide and systematic human-rights abuses

Prakash Nepali and Phanindra Subba,76 “Civil-Military Relations and the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal.” This article examines the relationship between the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) and the civilian government during the last fifty years. Particular emphasis is given to the role of the army in the current Maoist insurgency. The article argues that the RNA role has often gone unnoticed until recently “when it has come to play an increasingly important part in the Nepalese national life” (p. 1). The process of political affiliation of the RNA to the royal palace during the Panchayat period described by the authors explains the loyalty of the army to the king today. The military has always been “taught to understand the country’s history in a very different way than the civilian leadership” and this ideological divide has determined the disaffection by the RNA towards the democratic political parties which have been labelled as ‘anti-national elements due to their constant relationship with India. (p. 6). The multi-party democratic experience has confined the army to an even more ceremonial role. This situation has been altered by the outbreak of the Maoist insurgency. In the early stages of the insurgency the army was not mobilized. Nevertheless, it observed a non-cooperative attitude towards the democratic governments. The eventual mobilization of the RNA in November 2001 has imposed a different political equation in Nepal. The structure and doctrine of the Maoist military wing is also briefly analyzed. To conclude, the authors argue that the army will be able to provide systematic security only if fundamental political reforms are undertaken by the political leadership so as to “take the heat out of the insurgency” and let the army develop its own structures in times of peace.
Michael Hutt, “Nepal and Bhutan in 2004: Two Kings, Two Futures.” This short article describes the political situation in Nepal and Bhutan in 2004. It is argued that, besides some apparent similarities (both are Himalayan kingdoms with a similar geographical and natural endowment), the two kings are heading toward opposite political directions: while King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan is gradually relinquishing some of his powers to an elected body and is, allegedly, set to become a constitutional monarch, King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev of Nepal has managed to assert himself as “constructive” monarch – de facto active – taking advantage of the Maoist insurgency and a political crisis affecting the political parties of the country. In 2004 Sher Bahadur Deuba, who had been sacked in October 2002, was reappointed as Prime Minister following large street protests organized by the mainstream political forces, which had forced the king’s handpicked Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa to resign. However, Deuba failed to form an all-party government, because the main political party – the Nepali Congress (NC) – refused to join what NC President Girija Prasad Koirala continued to see as a king’s government. On the other hand, with some violent attacks the Maoists have also demonstrated that their military capacity has not decreased. In addition, the rebels have adopted new techniques imposing blockades on some district headquarters and on the Kathmandu Valley thus causing serious problems to the population and raising the concern of the international community.

Rabindra Mishra, “India’s Role in Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency.” This article examines India-Nepal relations in connection with the Maoist insurgency launched by the CPN (Maoist) in 1996. The author argues that the ongoing conflict in Nepal is greatly influenced by “trans boundary links” (p. 628) and should also be considered in the light of the last 50
years of bilateral relations of the two countries. Mishra admits that
domestic factors such as socio-economic deprivation are not enough to
explain the persistence of the Maoist struggle and its apparent success.
India’s role in Nepal’s domestic politics is analyzed from an historical
perspective. Delhi has always adopted a pragmatic stance with regard to
Nepali politics and has considered its own self-interests rather than its
“public commitment to democracy in Nepal” (p. 631). The support to King
Mahendra’s dismissal of the elected Prime Minister B. P. Koirala in 1960
has been an unequivocal example of Indian position. Even after the
restoration of democracy in 1990, the attitude of the policymakers in Delhi
has remained unchanged and, according to the author, “it still continues to
carve the path of Nepali politics” (p.634). The author identifies two
separate periods during which Indian positions with regard to the Maoist
insurgency have followed slightly different patterns. The “Period of
Suspicion” has been characterized by the unconfirmed impression that
Delhi was providing the rebels with both political and material support.
Meetings between Maoist leaders and other senior Indian and Nepali left-
wing politicians were allegedly taking place on Indian territory where the
Maoist leadership was receiving shelter. The “Beginning of Revelation”
confirmed the suspicions in Kathmandu and cleared Delhi’s real intentions
in Nepal. Despite Delhi’s full support to the Nepalese government’s efforts
against the “Maoist terrorists”, Indian military assistance given to the small
neighbour needs to be regarded in the broader context of the “War on
Terror” launched by the US in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on
September 11, 2001. Infact, Indian attitude towards Nepal remains “largely
covert” and inspired by a “Machiavellian pursuit of self-interest, regardless
of its effect on Nepal’s future or impact on India’s own image” (p. 645). At
the same time, the attitude of Nepalese political leadership – especially its
Foreign Ministry – with regards to its big Southern neighbour has largely
been prejudiced and driven by nationalist sentiment which, in the same period, has some limited pay-offs at the national level.

Tapan Kumar Bose,79 “Nepal: Context of Maoist Insurgency.” The author of this article maintains that the armed conflict in Nepal is the indirect result of the restoration of democracy in the country. The return to multi-party politics deprived the royal elites of several economic and political advantages. Simultaneously, the newly empowered urban middle class was given a larger access to the state resources. In his account Bose stresses the achievement of the democratic change, especially in economic terms. In fact, during the first five years of democratic rule, the country witnessed “unprecedented economic growth” (p. 114). However, after the initial years of political consensus, the political parties were unable to guarantee a certain degree of political stability. Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala from the Nepali Congress was compelled to resign in 1994. Intra- and inter-party fights inaugurated a volatile period. The political crisis in the parliament soon extended over the entire system. Democracy detractors have been keen on turning these internal squabbles to their advantage. When the Maoist rebels launched their people’s war in 1996, the government was already involved in harsh political quarrels. The discredited political leadership legitimized the increasing role of the monarchy in Nepal politics which ended with King Gyanendra’s removal of PM Deuba from office in October 2002. The monarchy had already stepped in indirectly when the Royal Nepal Army had been mobilized to tackle the spreading Maoist insurgency in late 2001. The author also explains the increasing role of the NGOs in development assistance and the related problem of loose accountability of these informal civil society networks which sometimes fuel the conflict itself and do not deliver service to the poorest people of Nepal. In fact, Bose underlines the fact that food
has become an “instrument of war”, especially in the remotest areas of the
country where 50 years of development assistance has failed.

**Manish Dabhade and Harsh V. Pant,**

“Coping with Challenges to Sovereignty: Sino-Indian Rivalry and Nepal’s Foreign Policy.” This article
analyzes the different strategies pursued by China and India in the iron
going security competition in Nepal. Nepal’s foreign policy responses to
this competition are also considered. The question whether both China and
India have accepted the status quo in Nepal is examined First, the authors
provide a theoretical framework of great power politics to examine the
Sino-Indian power competition vis-à-vis Nepal. This is followed by an
examination of Chinese and Indian foreign policy strategies in Nepal. It is
argued that both India and China are actually seeking opportunities in the
Himalayan Kingdom as long as their actions do not undermine the other
neighbour’s core interests. This is true, especially for the handling of the
Maoist insurgency but not for the Nepalese government and the reaction of
its neighbouring countries. This further confirms that Nepal’s significance
to its neighbours must be considered within the broader spectrum of the
regional political-economic context. Nepal’s foreign policy response to
preserve its sovereignty and security has showed a wavering attitude
towards China and India.

**Dhruba Kumar,**

“The Consequences of the Militarized Conflict and the Cost of Violence in Nepal.” The article assesses the economic cost of the
ongoing violent conflict in Nepal and its consequences. The process of
militarization initiated since the conflict escalated in 2001proved extremely
detrimental to the country’s already bleak development. Resources have
been drained by the military budget from other more promising sectors
such as education and economic development as a whole. The anti-terrorist
legislation limited some of the liberties enshrined in the 1990 Constitution
and the country is undergoing great distress in every economic and social sector. In addition, the army has become increasingly assertive and influential in decision-making. In measuring the actual cost of violence, the author considers both direct and indirect costs, with the former intended as the actual damage and physical loss produced by the conflict and the latter as the cost in terms of loss of production, investment and income. Among the direct costs we find direct government security expenses, Maoists' military expenses, loss in terms of infrastructures, extortion and bank robberies by the Maoists. The indirect costs cover the business loss due to the Maoists' activities and strikes. There we can also find costs due to reduced earnings due to the decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), reduced flow of tourism and cost owing to displacement of people all through the country. The overall figure (still very tentative and hardly complete) is close to 220 billion Nepalese Rupees of total costs due to the conflict. Of course, the human loss cannot be quantified exactly.

**Prakash Bhattarai**, "Conflict and its Impact upon Youth." It is a brief article assessing the impact of the conflict upon the younger sectors of Nepalese society. The major issue seems to be the vast youth involvement in terms of direct participation in the conflict. The causes of this increasing phenomenon are poverty, lack of development initiatives, difficult access to education and employment, lack of participation in the decision-making process, the political stalemate, the highly hierarchical selective and thus discriminating social structure, lack of responsibility of new generations after decades of bad governance and bad precedents. A major recommendation is greater involvement of youth in the political life of the country and effective measures addressing main youth-related issues.

**Ranjana Thapa**, "Impact of Armed Conflict on Women in Nepal." The article clearly underlines the current condition of Nepalese women who
“are categorized as second-class citizens and deprived from [economic, social and educational] development”. What is more, the conflict has particularly targeted and affected them, violating their right to life and their freedom, besides making miserable their existence. During the conflict, the common practices and its impact on women are the following: use of women in the war (it is reported that approximately one third of the guerrilla is constituted of women), or as human shields, rape and sexual harassment, migration and displacement, increasing responsibility for providing food, deprivation of school education, traumas and other mental disturbances, killing, abduction and disappearances. The main recommendations include: i) conflict analysis from women's perspective; ii) appointment of a woman negotiator or facilitator during the peace talks; iii) involvement of women in both peace and conflict transformation processes; iv) “Forgive but not forget” during the peace process; v) protection of widows; and vi) rehabilitation of traumatized subjects.

Lok Raj Baral,43 “Nepal: Forced Migration, Challenges and Prospects.” This article is focused on the issue of forced migration. Although the topic is treated under a broad Nepalese perspective, some parts of the text are related to the Maoist conflict and its impact, particularly on rural populations. The “meteoric” rise of the insurgency confirms the psychological theory of migration. Fear of persecution and fear of the eventual establishment of a Maoist regime have pushed thousands of Nepalese from the Western and Mid-western Hills to leave their homes and move to the district headquarters and especially to Kathmandu whose population is already beyond the level of sustainability.

Padmaja Murthy,44 “Understanding Nepal Maoists’ Demands: Revisiting Events of 1990.” The article attempts to examine the actual reasons that triggered the Maoist insurgency in 1996. The Maoists' core demands - an
interim government, an elected constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, a republican state - turn around issues which seemed to have been settled in the 1990 Constitution. The present constitution was promulgated following the People's Movement marking a transition from a partyless Panchayat system to a multi-party democracy with constitutional monarchy and sovereignty resting with the people. However, things seem to have followed the wrong path. Some crucial questions are raised: “Why are the Maoists opening these issues now? Why do they have a problem in accepting the 1990 Constitution?” To answer these questions it is necessary to revisit the events of 1990. The findings show that the Maoists' demands have similarities with the grievances articulated in 1990 by various political parties and ethnic groups. For instance, during the People's Movement many political groups agreed on a constituent assembly. They, finally, accepted the new constitution only with reservation. Some radical activists rejected the document arguing that the army was still under royal control and that feudal privileges had not been curtailed, let alone eliminated. The paper concludes that the Maoist insurgency is just one 'face' of instability. Unless corrective measures are taken, Nepal will witness more shortcomings and challenges to its already unstable democratic process. Secondly, the gap between the myth and reality of constitutional monarchy needs to be objectively examined - not just in the context of the Maoists' demands but also in the larger frame of the evolution and stability of the Nepali political system. It is not clear whether the institution of monarchy still effectively enjoys widespread support or it has lost its unifying role.

Dev Raj Dahal, “Governance Challenges for Nepal.” The first part of the article deals with the context of governance in Nepal. Adherence to the principles of the so-called Washington Consensus (the assertive and almost
dogmatic commitment to the idea that markets can solve everything) has further reduced the scope of national jurisdiction and the range of policy-making of Nepalese governments. Despite many appeals for polycentric governance (the decision-making permeating all levels, from the local to the national up to the international one), Nepalis still a country affected by poverty, inequality, dependency, alienation and rebellion.

According to the author, all these inadequacies are the result of poor governance. The causes of this situation are many and interlinked: 1) transnational factors such as economic globalization, environmental issues, information technology and terrorism have reduced governmental autonomy; 2) the imposition of neo-liberal ideology by the whole society and the political parties have minimized the advantages of multi-party democracy (i.e. pluralism of thought) and scuttled alternative visions; 3) global and regional powers have regarded Nepal as a useful area of influence for their “imperial purposes”; 4) excessive reliance on private economic growth and initiative. Finally, “the adoption of market radicalism in the face of a feudalistically segmented political economy has provoked the CPN (M) and anti-systemic parties to take up class radicalism” (p. 4). The reaction of the government has been largely inadequate and has focused on the effects of the insurgency rather than on its causes. Moderate political parties have found themselves reduced to irrelevant actors. In addition, their internal power struggles undermined their credibility urging a process of inner-party democratization in order to promote a culture of leadership accountability among the political forces of the country. Lack of accountability in the use of foreign aid has been another crucial shortfall of the political system in Nepal. Inflowing money has been drained from development programmes and used to sustain “the game of policy acrobatics” (p. 6). The second part suggests five crucial processes of good
governance that Nepal should undertake in order to strengthen the “state capacity for governance”. First, the constitution should be considered as a foundation of good governance supported and respected by the political parties. Second, roles and responsibilities need to be institutionalized granting an acceptable level of effectiveness of the decision-making and accountability of performance. Institutionalization has to be promoted in the political arena, within the civil society and the media as well as in the centre-periphery relationship. Third, the political crisis has created a severe social crisis and widespread disillusionment among the youth. Therefore, building social capital or reviving it is seen as an essential step towards good governance. Fourth, respect for the “iron rule of democracy”, i.e. unrestrained political participation, is another crucial requirement. Fifth, a material basis (economic welfare) should be granted to the population of Nepal as well as the commitment of all strata of society to a common political, social and economic project guided by the principles of good governance. In its conclusions the author also points out that redistribution of the factors of production should be coupled with investment in human capital through the improvement of access to education, health and employment. “Educating young people for political and social responsibility contributes massively to the creation of social opportunities and translating vision into reality” (p. 14)

Smruti S. Pattanaik,87 “Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Examining Socio-Economic Grievances and Political Implications.” The article tries to prove that the Maoist insurgency in Nepal is the result of socioeconomic grievances accumulated over many years. The restoration of democracy in 1990 raised Nepalese expectations regarding good governance but political instability and frequent change in government gave little time to the parties to concentrate on issues such as economic development and
social uplift. While political survival of the government remained shaky, corruption and mismanagement became the common features of the system. Since many leaders of the Panchayat regime have continued to occupy important positions in the democratic regime, common people have seen no real change. The Maoists “capitalized on these grievances and convincingly articulated the aspirations of the people”. Their political “pamphlet” of February 1996 demonstrated their political shrewdness. Moreover, the romantic ideology of Maoism appealed to illiterate rural masses. On the other side, the claim of autonomy for regional and ethnic groups gained the support of several minorities living in Nepal.

Maoists established ‘People’s Governments’ in many parts of Nepal. Their ideology of a classless society appealed to the masses in these backward and remote regions. Backed by a strong and committed cadre, Maoists targeted local governmental units in areas under their control. According to the author, the “negotiations with the government in 2001 failed due to the uncompromising stand taken by the Maoists”. Counter insurgency method failed to stop the rebellion. Actually, police operations like Operation Romeo even intensified violence. In fact, the government has chosen to adopt a military solution rather than tackling the root causes of the conflict.

Lok Raj Baral,“Nepal in 2001: The Strained Monarchy.” The article is an annual survey of the socio-political and economic situation in Nepal during 2001. The paper focuses on the Royal massacre described as “the first major disaster in [the country's] political history” (p. 198). Popular suspicion undermined the institution of monarchy because of the supposed involvement of the new king Gyanendra in the massacre. At the same time, political parties continued to be plague by intra and inter-party conflicts and by problems created by the Maoist rebellion.
Negotiations failed to produce a political settlement and violence escalated at the end of the year when the RNA was deployed for the first time against the insurgents. The wave of worldwide sympathy for the United States after the September 11 terrorist attacks helped the king to find a strong ally against the Maoist threat. The defence budget increased as a consequence of the conflict with more and more resources drained from development initiatives and re-allocated for military expenses.

Laxman Bahroo, "Understanding Nepal’s Civil War." The Maoist insurgency started as an innocuous law and order problem largely ignored by Nepal's politicians. Over the last [9] years, it has transformed [itself] into a significant political and military force. The Maoists, in achieving their objectives, will undermine Nepal's government, fledgling economy, and plunge the nation into a bloody civil war. The article looks at the origins, influences, and supporters of the Maoist movement in Nepal. It traces the movement’s evolution from a small band of agitators to the challengers of the Royal Nepal Army. The article also seeks to provide an insight in to the national and regional dimensions of the Maoist insurgency (From the author).

Deepak Thapa, "Day of the Maoist." This article combines a comprehensive description of the main events of the People’s War until 2001 with an analysis of its structural and proximate causes. The article focuses, in particular, on those immediate factors leading to the outbreak of the insurgency. While the genesis of the rebellion goes back to the late 1960s when the first democratic experience of Nepal came to an end and a temporary communist rebellion (the Naxaliite movement) occurred, the post 1990 events are meticulously analyzed in the perspective of the insurgency. During the Jana Andolan the demand for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution was already one of the key demands of
the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre) considered as the precursor of the Maoist movement. But their demand was dropped and the Constitution was drafted by some representatives of the main political forces (NC and the left) and the king. In the first general elections in 1991 the United People’s Front (UPF), the political wing of the CPN-UC, won 9 seats. However, bitter political rivalries between the NC and the Unity Centre, now CPN (M), arose in the Mid-western districts where the Maoists were particularly strong. The response of the NC-led government in 1995 was the Operation Romeo during which the police persecuted, arrested and even tortured local workers and alleged Maoist activists. “In retrospect, with the elite classes in the capital looking the other way, the police operation succeeded in thoroughly alienating the local population of Rolpa.” (p. 4) Therefore, on the one hand, electoral politics was denied to the Maoists by the refusal by the Election Commission to accept their political faction; on the other hand, violent suppression was carried on by the state in Maoist strongholds. The consequence was that the Maoist leadership resorted to armed struggle and launched a people’s war against the state in February 1996. The Maoists were able to identify the widespread discontent related to the ethnic situation and the caste system, and skilfully exploited it to their advantage adding some specific demands to their ideological programme of class struggle. The government’s response was completely inappropriate. The police operation Kilo Sierra II in 1998 represents an example of a flawed approach. The violent repression carried out in eighteen of the most Maoist-affected districts precipitated the insurgency and intensified hostilities. On the Maoist side, at least until 2001, ideological rigidity had left no room for any negotiated settlement. In the author’s conclusion, it is “up to the Maoists and the present polity to figure out what compromises can be made to bring the matter to enclose”.

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References

5. Ramachandran, op. cit., No. 3.
8. Ibid.
9. INSEC is a leading Human rights organization that monitors human rights violations in the country.
12. Ibid., p. 62.
14. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 39.

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For detail of 12-point Agreement, see Annexure-I.

The Seven Party Alliance (SPA) consists of Nepali Congress, Nepali Congress (Democratic), Communist Party of Nepal (UML), Jan Morcha Nepal, Nepal Worker’s and Peasants Party, Nepal Sadbhavana Party (A) and United Left Front.


For detail of 25-point Code of Conduct, see Annexure-II.

See Annexure-III, for 8-point Agreement.

See Annexure-IV & V, for Identical 5-point letter of Government and Maoists.

See Annexure-VI.

See Annexure-VII.


Ibid., p. 615.

Ibid.


