CHAPTER-III

Moist Movement in Nepal: Background

The Moist movement in Nepal cannot be understood unless we look into the background of the communist movement in Nepal. An extreme left ideology in the leftist movement in Nepal has existed for a long time. The International Communist Movement arrived in Nepal via India (instead of directly via China). The Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) was formally established in 1949 in Calcutta, India. The Nepalis Communists were influenced and assisted by the Indian Communist Parties in the early years.¹

Communism as an organized movement in Nepal was strongly influenced by the independence movement in India and the success of the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949.² From the time of its inception to date, NCP has suffered serious setbacks due to both external and internal factors. In the fifties, the main objective of the NCP has stated in its policy statement issued in 1951 was to transform Nepal into a republican state through violent revolution.³ However, in the 1950’s the party adopted the Leninist strategy of provoking discontent by focusing on issues that were urban centered and elite oriented. For example, the central issue for the NCP was to oppose the Nepali Congress government and India’s growing influence in Nepal and to advocate a resumption of relations with the People’s Republic of China.⁴ To the dismay of everyone, in the first pamphlet published by the party, it declared, “the Chinese people became victorious under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the revolution has come right at our doorstep in Nepal. We must also follow the same course.”⁵ The Magnetic appeal of CPN was widely sensed when despite its banned status, it figured well in the first local level elections in
1953. Mr. Janak Man BA, a candidate of the party became the first Mayor of Kathmandu. During the second National Congress of the party held in June 1957, the resolution of starting the struggle for a Constituent Assembly and a republic was approved.

The Royal takeover and the introduction of the Panchayat System in 1960 halted the communist movement in Nepal. After the Royal Coup of December 1960, in which King Mahindra abrogated the Parliamentary System and took all powers in his hands, the CPN split into two. One group decided to support the King, while the other group headed by Tulsi Lal Amatya, decided to continue its struggle against feudal and authoritarian forces. General Secretary of the CPN Dr. Keshar Jung Rayamajhi, who was at that time in Moscow issued a statement supporting the King’s move by calling it a “progressive step forward.” Due to widespread disapproval at this amongst party members, at the third party congress in 1962, Rayamajhi was thrown out of the party and Tulsi Lal Amatya became the general secretary. That difference of opinion was later formalized with a split that reflected the Sino-Soviet rift, with the pro-king faction allied to Moscow and the other to Peking.

The royal takeover of the democratically elected government in December 1960, Nepal’s relation with India and China, the Sino-Soviet ideological rift of the early 1960s, the Sino-Indian War of 1962, and their divisive effects on the Communist Party of India contributed for further polarization of communists in Nepal.

By 1962 Nepal’s Communist movement was formally divided into two main camps, the pro-Chinese factions, and the pro-Soviet Union faction, (refers to the former Soviet Union). The pro-Soviet Union Communist group of Nepal operated openly, although without formally announcing itself as a political party, after it held the 3rd Convention in
1966 and became separated formally from the parent party. However, it failed to emerge as an unified alternative to the pro-China group. Instead by the early 1980’s the group was split into three groups, each headed by a leader. The group led by K.J. Rayamajhi, the main leader of the pro-soviet group, who first broke away from the parent party and become the General Secretary in 1966, was reduced to a minority group by the early 1980s.

After the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990 and the fall of party less regime in Nepal in 1990, the three Communist groups also faced an ideological crises. One group which was led by Mr. B.B. Manadhar, called itself the Nepal Communist Party (Democratic); the other group was led by Krishan Raj Burma and was called the Nepal Communist Party (Burma). The third one was led by Mr. K.J. Rayamajhi, who not only dropped the name “Communism” but also called his party a socialist-democratic party.

There was strong difference of opinion on a number of issues even within the pro-Chinese faction of communist in 1960s. The General Secretary of the NCP, Tulsi Lal Amatya who was elected by the 3rd Convention held in 1962, resigned from the politburo due to lack of support for an armed struggle for his proposed “Supreme Sovereign Parliament.” By 1965 the party had gone into decline. In the late 1960’s Pushap Lal, his brother-in-law Manmohan Adhikari and Mohan Bikram Singh, all made separate attempts to revitalize the movement. Despite the ban, like other political parties, the communist grouping opposed to the monarchy continued functioning, but given the prohibition in palace, various local units had begun to operate independently. In this situation, two of the Communist leaders who had made a name as radicals within the party, Mohan Bikram Singh and Nirmal Lama, set about creating a new party apparatus.
Pushap Lai, a member of Politburo, held a Conference in 1968 and created a separate Communist Party called NCP (PL). By the 1972, the NCP (PL) was fragmented into three groups. These groups could be classified as moderate left, radical left and extreme radical left. The moderate group was led by the leader of the NCP (PL); the radical left was led by Rohit, and the extreme radical left was represented by two groups, the liberation front created in 1974 and the Peoples' Revolutionary Organisation of Nepal crated in 1976 by some members who broke away from NCP (PL) in that year. Pushp Lai, a strong leader of NCP (PL) said that it would be impossible to establish democracy in Nepal unless a protracted war was launched. But he also believed that there was a need to unite with other forces like (the Nepali Congress) to fight against the authoritarian regime.

Mohan Bikram Singh and Nirmal Lama, while agreeing with the need for protracted war, argued that there was no need for collaboration. Yet another difference was that Pushap Lai was in favour of the restoration of parliamentary democracy but the other leaders were in favour of a constituent assembly.

Inspite of difference with their contemporaries, including with the founder of the NCP (PL) Pushaplal Shrestha, two radical leaders Mohan Bikram and Nirmal Lama succeeded in holding what they called the Communist Party's “Fourth Convention” (Chautha Mahadhiveshan) in 1974 and named their new party the Communist Party of Nepal (Fourth Convention). The main strategy of the party was to launch a 'protracted war' which could offer opportunities to convert the movement an armed revolt.

Meanwhile, quite unconnected with these happenings, an actual communist uprising took place in a corner of Nepal. This was in Jhapha,
southeastern most districts of the country and right across the border from the Naxalbari region in India. The Naxalite movement was well underway in West Bengal when in 1972, a group of young Nepali activists began a campaign to eliminate “class enemies” in Jhapa.\(^{22}\) This turned out to be a romantic adventure and was suppressed by the Kings government in no time. Although, the movement was brutally suppressed by the army under the order of the then Panchayat government but not before the insurgents had succeeded in chopping of the heads of seven local land owners.\(^{23}\)

After the failure of the Jhapa movement, the group, whilst maintaining its adherence to Maoist principles, gave up terrorist activity and in 1978 formed the basis of the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninst). During the party’s Fourth Convention in 1989 it dropped its adherence to Maoism and agreed to work with the Congress in opposing the Panchayat regime.\(^{24}\)

Though the Japha uprising of 1972 was the first communist uprising against the Panchayat system, interestingly, this revolt was opposed by the Party’s Fourth Convention as a form of semi-anarchy. At its founding Fourth Convention came out vehemently against the Jhapa movement, declaring: “While we support the spirit and sacrifice shown in the struggle against class enemies, the terrorist tactics adopted... cannot be called Marxism-Leninism. This is a form of semi-anarchy.”\(^{25}\)

The fourth convention denounced the Jhapa uprising, yet it did represent the extreme left in Nepal, and until the mid 1980’s it remained the major player among the communist factions. However, it suffered a setback in 1983 when one of its founding members, Mohan Bikram, formed another party called the Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal).\(^{26}\) Two years later this grouping was further weakened after party split into two factions, CPN (Mashal) and CPN (Masal).\(^{27}\) Babu Ram Bhattarai
became the General Secretary of the Mohan Bikram’s CPN (Mashal) and Pushap Kamal Dahl became General Secretary of the Mohan Baidyer’s CPN (Masal) in 1989. NCP (Masal) claims to be true follower of Maoism. In 1984, Masal became one of the founding members of the Revolutionary International Movement ‘RIM’, a grouping of Maoist parties worldwide. The Jhapli group re-emerged in 1978 after considerable review of its goals and strategies, as CPN (Marxist-Leninist) and became the largest Communist faction by 1990. CPN (M-L) was of the opinion that it was not sufficient to borrow an ideology or strategy, objective conditions or the ground realities were also important. It was emphasized that Nepal’s road to socialism would be based on socio-economic realities within the country. This group with its strong ideological and organizational base came to be known as Ma-le. Although, the NCP (M-L) accepted Mao as the sole leader of the revolutionary movement, and class conflict as the basis of struggle, it agreed to continue with the guerilla warfare, but neither an anti-landlord nor an anti-royal regime armed insurrection was launched.

Pushap Lal’s group, which had been formed in 1968 as the Nepali Communist Party (PL), was taken over by his wife Sahana Pradhan after he died in 1978. The NCP (PL) merged with Manmohan Adhikari’s group in 1987 to become the NCP (Marxist).

NCP (M-L) was united with the NCP (M) in 1991 and became the NCP (United Marxist-Leninst). In 1990 all the factions of the communists came together to form United Left Front (ULF), neither Mashal nor Masal joined the group, even when the fourth convention became a part of the United Left Front. The ULF while viewing Nepal as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial underdeveloped country, believed in the emancipation of the Nepalese society through socialism and communism. However, the ULF
agreed with the Nepali congress to establish a multi-party system and the overthrow of the Panchayat System.

In 1990, various groups that were opposed to the main communist part of Nepal (UML) formed a new party commonly known as the Unity Centre. Pushap Kamal Dal became the Chairman of the party. Major constituents were the Fourth Convention (Lama), CPN (Mashal) (Bhattarai) and CPN (Masal) (Pushap Kamal Dahl).

That was the situation until the launch of the 1990 People’s Movement, which was undertaken by the Nepali congress, and a grouping of seven left parties, the United Left Front (ULF), against King Birendra’s Panchayat System. Although the Mother Party, the Fourth Convention, became part of the ULF, neither Masal nor Mashal joined it. With other small leftist groups, they instead formed an alliance called the United National People’s movement, and only joined the People’s Movement once the street protests had gathered momentum. The climactic moments of the 6 April 1990, when police firing on the Kathmandu streets culminated in the capitulation of the old regime, is believed to have been the handiwork of this later group – its having incited the demonstrators to try and storm the Narayanhiti Royal Palace.

Following the restoration of democracy, the hard line left parties pressed for an election to a constituent assembly as a means of delivering a genuine people’s constitution rather than have a document handed down by the “establishment”. The formation of a constituent Assembly was infact promised by King Birendra’s grandfather, Tribhuvan, as part of the so called Delhi Agreement of 1951 which led to the downfall of the 104 year-old Rana oligarchy. The Nepali Congres Party itself had agitated initially for elections for a constituent assembly and only latter accepted the election as offered by King Mahundra in 1959. Instead of a constituent
assembly, however, some selected representatives from the Nepali Congress, the Left, the royal palace and some independents were given the task of drafting a new constitution, which was promulgated in November 1990. That same month, four parties, including the fourth convention, Masal and Mashal merged to form the Communist Party of Nepal (United Centre).

**Heading Towards a Movement**

The Unity Centre (UC) was the first major attempt by hardcore Maoists to unite. This may be considered as the starting point of Maoist Movement in Nepal. The Maoists called for the formation of the constituent assembly. United centre was the revolutionary forum. This party participated in the first Parliamentary election as the United People’s Front (UPF), as the political wing of the Unity Centre.  

United People’s Front of Nepal (UPFN) was also joined by other faction, including the Nepal Worker’s and Peasant’s Party (NWPP) led by Narayan Man Bijukehhe ‘Rohit’, Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) – CPN (Malema) or CPN (MLM) headed by Krishna Das Shrestha and People Oriented (Rup Lal Biashvakarma). Rohit left before the 1991 elections and MLM left after the elections. In the 1991 general elections the UPF came out as the third largest party winning 9 of the 205 seats. It won from Rolpa, Humla, Sirha, Ramachhap, Lalitpur, Kavre and Chitwan. Though the UPF took part in the elections, this was only as an act of protest against the system; in principal it is against multi-party democracy, it is anti-monarchical and believes that ‘new people’s democracy’ (Naula-Jamabad) can only be achieved by working outside the constitution.
On 10\textsuperscript{th} February 1992, UPFN constituted a Joint Action Committee which submitted an 8 point demand charter to the government later on this was converted into a 14-point charter. The party also organized strikes and bandhs.\textsuperscript{45} Prior to the 1994 elections division between Baburam Bhattarai and Niranjan Govind Vaidya led to a split in the ULF. The faction led by Vaidya stood for election but did not win any seats. Baburam Bhattarai’s faction remained out of the mid-term elections because it was derecognized by the Nepal Election Commission. Frustrated by the decision of the election commission, Bhattarai decided to follow an aggressive and confrontationist path. His faction started taking action against those who had participate in elections in the Rolpa district.\textsuperscript{46} At that time little was known to Pushap Kamal Dahl (normally known by his nomdeguerre, Comrade Prachanda), who had became the leader of the Unite Centre in 1993, which then became the CPN (Maoist) in 1995 during the Party’s “third Plenum”.\textsuperscript{47} In September, the same year, the Party’s Central Committee adopted a “Plan for the historical initiation of the People’s war” which stated that the “Protracted People’s War” will be based on strategy of encircling the city from the countryside according to the specificities of our country. The party once again reiterates its eternal commitment to the theory of People’s War developed by Mao as the universal and invisible Marxist theory of war.”\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{Beginning of the Insurgency}

On July 11, 1994, King Birendra dissolved Nepal’s Parliament, called mid-term elections for November, and appointed Koiral a interim Prime Minister, a move that led to protest by opposition supporters throughout the country. The transition to democracy produced an array of leftist political parties. The 1994 election defeat of the Nepali Congress Party of the UML made Nepal the World’s first communist monarchy, with
Manmohan Adhikary as Prime Minister. The 1994 elections resulted in a Nepali Congress defeat and a hung Parliament, with a minority government led by the United Marxist and Leninist Party (UML).

After the fall of the government led by the CPN-UML in 1995, which succeeded the Koirala government, the political situation became more unstable. The far left of Nepali politics under the leadership of the CPN-M had walked out of electoral politics in 1994 saying that the existing constitution was incapable of addressing the problems of Nepal’s poor. It wanted complete abandonment of pro-market policies, nationalization of the property of the ‘comprador and bureaucratic capitalists’ and total land reforms.

UPF President, Bahuram Bhattarai led a three-member delegation to the Simha Darbar secretariat on February 4, 1996 and handed over a memorandum to Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba. The memorandum contained 40 demands one of which was the immediate cancellation of the Tanakpur Treaty. It was an exhaustive memorandum divided into three parts having: (1) Demands concerning nationality, (2) Demands concerning People’s Democracy and (3) Demands concerning the questions of livelihood. Other demands included: the abolition of the special privileges of the king and the royal family and the promulgation of a new republican constitution prepared by the elected representatives of the people.

By focusing first and foremost on the demands concerning nationality, the Maoists, indeed underlined that India’s importance must be diluted. Many, for this very reason, initially thought that it was basically an anti India movement. While, on the one hand, the memorandum demanded that all “discriminatory” treaties, including the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty should be repealed, on the other hand, it demanded that the “so called” integrated Mahakali Treaty concluded on January 29, 1996 should be
cancelled immediately. The memorandum also demanded that all open borders between Nepal and India be regulated, controlled and systematized. It asked for the ban of all vehicles with Indian number plates in Nepal; ban on the Gorkha Recruitment Centres, provision of dignified employment to the Nepali citizens in the Kingdom, prioritizing Nepali workers in different sectors and the “work permit” if foreign manpower is required in the Kingdom. It called for the stoppage of the domination of foreign capital in the sector of Nepali industries, business and finance, a ban on “the invasion of imperialist and colonial culture” and outlawing “vulgar Hindu movies, video and magazines”.

Seventeen demands concerning People’s Democracy were no less interesting. The memorandum, inter alia, demanded a new constitution to be made by the representatives elected for the establishment of people’s democratic system and ending all special privileges of the king and the royal family. It demanded people’s control over army, police and the bureaucracy; cancellation of “all suppressive acts, including the security act,” it demanded immediate release of all those extra judicially and revengefully arrested for political reasons in Rukum, Ralpa, Jajarkot, Gorkha, Kavre, Sindhupal Chowk, Sindhauli, Dhanusa and Ramechap etc.

It also demanded that the persons killed during the People’s Movement should be declared as martyrs and their families should be duly compensated and murderers should be brought to justice. Very significantly and interestingly, it demanded that the Nepal be declared a “secular nation”. The present constitution declares Nepal a “Hindu Monarchical Kingdom”. Concerning women, it demanded stoppage of patriarchal exploitation and discrimination. While calling for the stoppage
of all racial exploitation and suppression, it also demanded the formation of administrative units taking into account the urges of various ethnic groups.

On the social front, it demanded stoppage of discrimination against the downtrodden and backward people and elimination of untouchability. It further demanded that all languages and dialects be given equal opportunity to prosper and the right to education in the mother tongue upto higher education be established. Significantly, it also demanded the end of regional discrimination between the hills and the Tarai and regional autonomy for the backward areas and the balance between the rural and urban areas.\(^{57}\)

The demands concerning livelihood, inter alia, stressed that land should belong to the tenants and the land under the control of the “feudal should be confiscated and distributed to the landless and homeless”.\(^{58}\) It called for the guarantee of employment and unemployment allowance. Besides, it demanded fixation of minimum wages for the workers in industries and agriculture, rehabilitation of the homeless. Free and scientific health services and stoppage of the commercialization of education. In addition, there was demand in the memorandum for providing drinking water, road and electricity facilities for all, and the protection and promotion of domestic and cottage industries.

This list did not include a demand for a republican state, which had been a regular rhetoric during the insurgency. One of the demands calls only for the abolishment of privileges to the royals. However, the list did include a demand for a new constitution to be drawn by people’s representatives. The majority of the demands are not problematic to any political forces, including the King.\(^{59}\)
Needless to say that the demands in the memorandum were as exhaustive as catchy and appealing to the masses. Though multi party democracy had become about 6 year old by then, economic developments were rather slow, sluggish, defective and discriminatory. There had been more scramble and struggle for government formation and power holding and less sincerity about or effort in the direction of good governance. The timing of the memorandum submission was quite significant. Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba of Nepali Congress, who headed a coalition with the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) and the Nepal Sadbhavna Party (NSP), was leaving for India on February 10, 1996 to sign the Mahakali Treaty with his Indian Counterpart, P.V. Narsimha Rao. Many leftist forces in Nepal have been constantly talking against India and the UPF, if anything, had been more vocal on that front.

Relevantly, the Maoists were endearing themselves to hoi pollai of Western Nepal, who had been deprived of the fruits of various economic developments from the outset and, who had experience the brutal rule of various power holders and power welders in the kingdom. Their various activities, including emancipation of bonded labourers, burning of papers pertaining to various loans under the possession of the local money-lenders and rich, building small bridges and roads to facilitate the local people’s various needs and aspiration, were bound to be seen in a very positive perspective.60

The memorandum discussed in detail above, gave an ultimatum for the fulfillment of the demands upto February 17, 1996 and threatened to start a struggle in case the government did not take any positive initiative.61 Clearly, the time given to the government on such an exhaustive memorandum was unreasonably short. Remarkably, the Nepali state did not show any discernible political will to take these problems seriously. All this helped the Maoists in their strategy formation, objective achievement and terrorizing the state actors and ordinary people.62
However, four days before the expiry of that ultimatum, on February 13, 1996, the left wing group of CPN-M started the “People’s War” after the then Deuba government failed to respond to the former’s 40 points demands, patently anti-Indian and steeped in Marxist ideology.63

**Strength and Structure of the Maoists**

The Maoists have managed to find sufficient resources to maintain the various aspect of their movement. The Maoist fighters have been provided weapons and ammunitions, and the political campaign has been sustained with significant funding. It is quite difficult to give the full picture of the current status of the Maoists.

**Leadership and Command Structure**

The CPN-Maoist has its own traditional structure based on the communist ideology. The CPN-M consists of the most powerful standing committee at the top, followed by the politburo, central committee, regional bureaus, sub-regional bureaus, district committees, area committees and cell committees. The leadership structure, organizational structure of CPN (M) and PLA organization structure as follows:

**Table 3.1 : Organisational Structure of the CPN-Maoist**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>People’s Army</th>
<th>United Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standing Committee</td>
<td>Central Military Commission</td>
<td>United People’s District Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politburo</td>
<td>Regional Military Commissions</td>
<td>United People’s Area Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Committee</td>
<td>Sub-Regional Military Commissions</td>
<td>United People’s Village Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Bureaus (Five)</td>
<td>District Military Commissions</td>
<td>United People’s Ward Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Regional Bureas (in some places special sub-regional bureau)</td>
<td>Included in this are: Temporary battalion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Committees</td>
<td>Companies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area Committees</td>
<td>Platoons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell Committees</td>
<td>Squads (separate people’s militia also exist under United village People’s Committee)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: The Upper Structure of the People's Liberation Army

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Headquarters</th>
<th>Western Division</th>
<th>Mid Division</th>
<th>Eastern Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supreme Commander</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpa Kamal Dahal</td>
<td>Dev Gurung (Kanchha Bahdur)</td>
<td>Post Bahadur Bogati (Diwakar)</td>
<td>Ramm Bahadur Thapa (Badal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Prachanda)</td>
<td>Janardan Sharma (Prabhakar)</td>
<td>Nanda Kishor Pun (Psang)</td>
<td>Commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vice Commander</td>
<td>Vice Commander</td>
<td>Barsha Man Pun (Ananta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[unknown]</td>
<td>Barun</td>
<td>Vice Commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rajesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brigades</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brigades</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brigades</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissar</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddhav</td>
<td>Kim Bahadur Thapa (Sunil)</td>
<td>Ganga Bahadur Karki (Vistwa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander Jit</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(killed in action in Baridya, March 2005)</td>
<td>Vivek</td>
<td>Hari Shreshta (Pramod)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Lisne-Gam Third Brigade</td>
<td>2. Basu Memorial Fourth Brigade</td>
<td>2. Solu-Salleri Sixth Brigade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissar Top Bahadur Rayamajhi (Jivan)</td>
<td>Commissar Hitraj Pandey (Uttam)</td>
<td>Commissar Dhruva Parajul (Santosh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander Sanjay</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yam Bahadur Adhikari (Pratiksha)</td>
<td>Pavel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissar Tej Prakash Oli (Pratik)</td>
<td>Commissar Ganeshman Pun (Rashmi)</td>
<td>Commissar Santu Darai (Parvana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander Kuber</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td>Commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madan</td>
<td>Sanjiv</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chief of operations of the CPN-M is its Chairman Comrade Prachanda. He is also Chairman of the ‘Central Committee’, Member of ‘standing committee’ and ‘Supreme Commander’ of the People’s Liberation Army. Another front ranking leader of CPN-M Babram Bhattarai heads the political wing of the Maoists called the United People’s Front (UPF). He is the ‘Politburo and Standing Committee’ member and also in charge for planning and foreign affairs. Among other important leaders of the CPN-M, Mohan Pokharel Vaidya, a founder of the party and a ‘Politburo and Standing Committee’ member, is widely known as the political ideologue and is in charge of the Kathmandu valley and eastern central command. Post Bahadur Bogti is another important Maoist leader serves as a ‘Politburo and Standing Committee’ member and in charge of the Western Central Command. Ram Bahadur Thapa, ‘Politburo and Standing Committee’ member, is reported to be special central command in charge. Krishan Bahadur Mehar, who acts as the Maoists spokesperson, is in charge of the ‘Foreign Section (India).

The Politburo issues directives with the assistance of an approximately 25 member central committee. The Politburo and standing committee reportedly formulate most of the political and strategic policies. The standing committee, with approximately ten members, is the most powerful body of CPN-M. There are five regional bureaus: Eastern, Central, Kathmandu, Valley, Western and International department. The All Nepal National Independent Student’s Union (Revolutionary), or ANNISU is the student wing of the Maoists.

**Strength and Support Structure**

The Maoists have a current estimated strength of between 8,000 – 10,000 well-armed and trained regulars and an additional 25,000-‘militia’. These are backed up by a substantial number of ‘sympathisers’,.
who can under certain circumstances be mobilized – voluntarily or coercively – for violent action. Their main fighting and support forces consists of Magars, Tharus, Janjatis (Gurang, Rais, Limbus, Tamangs, Dalits, Brahmins and Chetteries – the last two also providing the political and military leadership). At least three dozen Indian and British ex-servicemen are actively involved in planning, training and conduct of operations.68

Among the Maoist fighters – about 60 percent are deployed in the mid-west and West in their strongholds. Another 10 percent are in the far West with around 10 per cent in Gorkha. The remainder 20 percent are located in Kathamndu valley and east of it. In other words, Puithan and West 2500 to 3000; Baglung to Gorkha-1000; Kathmandu-500 to 1000 and east of Kathmandu-1000 to 1500.69 The main armed component consists of six guerrilla battalions, which launches military action in response to instructions relayed through their individual chief commissioners (one per battalion), who are central committee members.70 The apex military institution of the CPN-Maoists is the Central Military Commission, which was constituted in 1998.

Many of the Maoist affected areas are inhabited by a large number of well trained retired Gurkha soldiers of the British and the Indian Army.71 It is thought that these Gurkha soldiers may have been involved in providing training to the guerrillas.

Gender

One of the most important features of the Maoist Movement is the participation of women’s in the guerrilla ranks. Nepali women have been discriminated under patriarchy of Hindu religion and culture. Women’s participation was limited to mainly in voting and occasional candidacy in
elections. But now they are joining the guerrilla organization under arms. One third of the guerrilla squads are women.\textsuperscript{72} There are usually two women in each unit of 35-40 men, and they are used to gather intelligence and act as couriers.\textsuperscript{73} Women’s involvement in the Maoist army and political cadres have brought a major break in the social fabric of rural areas.\textsuperscript{74}

According to an estimate about 30 percent of Maoist guerrillas comprise of women.\textsuperscript{75} Among the women guerrillas 70 percent are from among the indigenous ethnic communities. More than a dozen women have already given their lives while fighting the police operations.\textsuperscript{76} The women are mainly influenced by the Maoist propagated ideology of gender and class equality, which they never had under the traditional social system.

**Age Structure**

Children and teenager have been the most impacted. Most of the Maoists are young people from peasant families of poor low-caste Hindus. A majority of the children involved in the Maoist run organization were forced or attracted to act as soldiers. Around 30 percent of the ‘People Army’ of the Maoist insurgents in Nepal comprises child recruits.\textsuperscript{77} The child recruits comprising boys and girls under 18, do not fight directly and are used to carry weapons, supplies, gather information and help lay booby traps. The New York based ‘watch list’ in a report said that, “Children are subjected to killing and maiming committed with impunity by both the Government and the Maoists.”\textsuperscript{78}

At least 400 children have been killed, 500 seriously injured, 2000 lost a parent and 20,000 were forcible displaced in the nine years of the ‘people’s war’ started the Maoists, said Child Rights Activist, Gauri
Pradhan, who heads the Kathmandu based NGO, child workers in Nepal concerned centre.79

Social Exclusion

The caste system in Nepal dictates that dalits80 are socially, economically and politically the most exploited section of society. More and more person from janjati people like Rai, Limbu, Gurang, Magar, Tamang etc. are joining the Maoist as guerrillas in the hope that they will be released from the control of the high caste people. Ethnic and linguistic division has played an important role in the marginalization of the ethno-linguistic minorities. Based on these grievances, the Maoists platform includes indigenous ethnic groups right to self determination, ethnic and regional autonomy, proportional representation, equal language and cultural rights, elimination of caste-based domination, patriarchy and untouchbility.81 The Maoists have promised self rule and autonomy to various ethnic groups and influence to join their party. According to their 40-point demands the status of dalits as untouchables should be ended and the caste system of untouchability should be ended for once and for all. As there are many areas on combination between the Maoist agenda and that of the indigenous people, the Maoists have a vested interest in mobilizing the socially excluded people in their class war.

Arms and Funding

When the Maoists started their armed struggle, they had no organized military force to speak of and no real weaponry. But as the Maoists stepped up their campaign, they started making their own muskets, taking licensed shotguns and other weapons from local residents and capturing the .803 rifles of the police. More recently they have enhanced their arsenal, primarily by capturing weapons from the security forces, to
include sophisticated automatic weapons, explosives and mortars. The Maoists are said to have procured arms from three sources: (i) raids on the police stations; (ii) purchases from the illegal arms market; (iii) locally made improvised explosive devices.

The Maoist arsenal included AK-47 rifles, SLR, .303 rifles, country guns, hand grenades, explosives, detonators, 2 inch mortars, LMBs, RCL and an unassembled 81 mm mortar. The Maoists also used Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), on a regular basis. There was rise in the use of IED’s by the Maoists. The Moaists used high quality explosive devices, unlike socket bombs made out of nuts and small diameter pipes which contain explosive devices. They also used sophisticated devices by the help of battery and command wire, particularly in urban areas by using long distance devices such as remote control, pagers, timers and camera flashers to set off explosives. They used booby trap and improvised day more type bombs.

The Maoists also obtained weapons through smuggling from India, Tibet and probably purchased some from the grey markets of South East Asia. The Army intelligence claimed that the Maoists smuggled explosives and arms from the Indian and Tibetan borders. The open and porous border between India and Nepal provided safe heaven for the Maoists to smuggle arms at ease. The primary route used by the Maoist was Belauri check post of Kanchanpur district, Melauh check post at the Deleldhura border and Baitadi districts of adjoining India. Most of the arms are purchased from the illegal arms markets of Bihar, Uttaranchal of Uttar Pradesh of India.
Pattern of Attack

Planning, coordination and placement of fighters is followed by stage management and deception to achieve surprise. The attack is mounted in four overlapping stages. The first is led by People’s Militia, Jan Sena, a motely collection of fighters, hangers on and persons simply forced to join the so called human shield or human wave. They are plied with drugs, drinks, food and in some cases, money. Maoists generally operate in large groups consisting of more than 1000 cadres equipped with arms. It carries mashaals, beat drums, uses loudspeakers, make catcalls, fire crackers, guns, explosives. It storms the enemy posts in waves and, therefore, suffers maximum causalities, the idea being to unnerve the defender and make him expend his ammunition. Therefore, this is more than just a jitter party. The second echelon is the support force (500) which fires the main weapons on specific targets to neutralise the defender’s fire power. It also covers the movement of the first echelon of attacks. The main force (Lal Sena) actually enters the post using a few AK 47s, grenades, bombs of all sorts including bucket, tiffin carrier and pressure cooker and socket bombs.

The socket bomb is considered the most effective. The main force is around 300 to 500. The last column is the salvage group (doko party) which hacks the heads of victims with Khukhris and puts them into the doko (basket). They also empty the armoury and valuables and set fire to the post. Stealth, storm tactics and speed are essence of these operations. The attackers rapidly melt into the countryside with their booty and casualties, seldom burying the Maoist torso but often leaving telltale signs. It is for this reason that physical fitness is regarded the prime quality of a fighter.
Fund

It is difficult to accurately estimate the income and expenditure of the Maoists, not only because of the nature of the movement itself but also because much of their support such as forced donations for food or accommodation comes in kind rather than cash. The funds for the operations of the Maoists come from various taxes that they have imposed on the area under their control, private donation and extortion. The main sources of funding for Maoists have been through bank robberies voluntary donation, extortion from rich businessman and tax collection in areas under their control. People believe the Maoists from a fact that they have invested the taxes collected from land in the development of the villages under their control. A string of bank robberies and extensive collection of ‘revolutionary tax’ from people in the areas under its control as well as in all major towns and overseas has made the CPN-M one of the wealthiest rebel movement in Asia.

The Maoists continue to consolidate in all sectors, especially their finances; with sporadic reports of looting of banks and ‘forced donations’. According to officials at the Nepal Bank Limited (NBL), 29 branches of the bank had been affected from various insurgency related events. Cash and property worth NPR 250 million has been looted from the NBL after the onset of the Maoist insurgency. Similarly, a spokesperson of the Rashtriya Banijya Bank, Janardhan Acharaya, disclosed that the Maoists had looted property worth 160 million rupees from various branches of the bank over the past years. The bank had to close down a total of 20 branches in the last three years mainly due to security reasons.

Poverty, social and political unrest have forced thousands of Nepalese to migrate. Considerable amounts of fund also derive from ‘collection’ from Nepalese abroad, particularly the several million
Nepalese who work in neighbouring India. The main organization among them the Akhil Bhartiya Nepali Ekta Samaj (All India Nepalese Unity Society), was banned in July 2002 for links to the CPN-M. There are reports of a small but very active Maoist cell among the approximately 20,000 Nepalese community in Hong Kong as well as forced ‘revolutionary tax collection’ there. In Belgium, some Nepalese expatriates have linked up with the Worker’s Party of Belgium, one of the few remaining Maoists parties in Europe, where they are reportedly trying to use the Belgian courts to block the sale of arms to the Nepalese Army.
References

25. Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.
27. Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.
29. Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.
32. Upreti, *op. cit.*, No. 9, p. 36.
37. Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.
Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.

Upreti, *op. cit.*, No. 9, p. 37.

Pattanaik, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 120.

Upreti, *op. cit.*, No. 9, p. 37.


Upreti, *op. cit.*, No. 9, p. 37.


See for details – Annexure I.

Parmanand, *op. cit.*, No. 51, p. 77.


Lawoti, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 47.

Parmanand, *op. cit.*, No. 51, p. 78.


Lawoti, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 47.

Parmanand, *op. cit.*, No. 51, p. 79.


Parmanand, *op. cit.*

Segufta Hossain *op. cit.*, No. 49, p. 43.

*Ibid*, p.33

*Ibid*, p. 34.


Dalit means literally, “the oppressed” and is a new term (adopted from the dalit movement in India) by former “untouchable” groups in Nepal. It signals their rejection of the hierarchically organized ritual pollution embedded in the caste system and focuses on what they see as the inherent lack of justice in Hindu society.

Hossain, op. cit., No. 49, p. 32.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid., pp. 576-577.
Ibid.
Ibid., p. 38.
Ibid.