

Maoist Movement in Nepal, 1996-2006

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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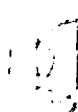
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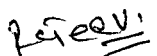
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I am alone responsible for whatever errors may exist in this work.

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Abbreviation

RC	:	Revolutionary Corridor (RC)
RIM	:	Revolutionary International Movement RIM
CCOMPOSA	:	Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia
PWG	:	People's war Group
MCC	:	Maoist communist centre
CPN	:	Communist Party of Nepal
JTMM-J	:	Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha
CPN (ML)	:	Communist party of Nepal (Marxist Leninist)
CPN (Marxist)	:	Communist Party of Nepal Marxist

Introduction

Nepal is a landlocked country in the Himalayan range sandwiched between two giant neighbours, in the north lies China and in the south, it is India. Accordingly, it occupies a strategic position in the sub-continent. Historically the leadership of King Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha founded Nepal, during the late eighteenth century (1769). In this historical process, the rise of princes and chieftains and the feudal ruling class was the main character in the Nepalese history.

The Nepali politics is passing through a critical phase. With the Maoists joining the political mainstream, the prospects for republican state and inclusive democracy have brightened in Nepal. The main objectives are still to be realized but the country is still moving towards that direction.

The withdrawal of insurgency by Maoists had given a new direction to Nepali politics. Why did Maoists agree to join the multi-party democracy is a significant issue. This particular development has necessitated looking at the Maoist movement from the broader perspective.

The advent of the Rana regime, which continued for a century, was of great concern. It was in this period that power and feudal character of the state was reflected very clearly. A strong hierarchical dominating class characterized the political system of the Ranas.¹ The rigid centralized structure of administration and politics remained intact with the ruling class. Which helped them to preserve their personal and familiar power till now until the people's movement of 1950. When the Rana oligarchy was uprooted, the traditional political system of Nepal had over a period of time gone through various ups and downs? It is no surprise that the modern Nepal reflects the characteristics and

¹ Michael. Hutt (Edit, 2004), Himalayas "*Peoples' war, Nepal's Maoist Rebellion*". New Delhi: Hurst & Co. PP 291.

problems of this historical process even today.

The present research is entitled as the “Maoist movement in Nepal” (1996-2006). In the ten years of Maoist uprising in Nepal more than a thousand people have died. Many civilians have been arrested, abducted and killed by police and Maoist guerillas. Therefore, to understand and deal with this situation it is necessary to establish the root causes of the Maoist movement. It is necessary to analyze them with a view every possible way to the Maoist problem in Nepal. In the first chapter, the emergence of the Maoist party (CPN) has been discussed. The discussion begins, with the background of the evolution of communist party of Nepal in 1949. The emergence of communist party in Nepal. In the first chapter of the emergence of the Maoist party (CPN) has been discussed. The discussion begins, with the background of the evolution of communist party in Nepal. During its initial phase was influenced by the Indian independence movement and also the success of Chinese communist Revolution of 1949 .But the foremost happenings in the sphere of communist political can be viewed in the latter period .There occurred various ups and downs in the communist movement. This resulted in various differences, splits and realignments among the communist factions.

Although several meetings of the CPN congress were held from time to time to sort, out the differences but to no avail. Due to conflicting leadership interests members created different parties to take advantage of the situation. The rise of CPN (Maoists) can be seen as the result of an internal conflict within the CPN. After the people’s movement of 1990, when democracy was established in the country, several political fronts cropped up. It was the front organization known as Samyukta Jana Morcha (United People's Front) which contested in 1991 general elections and emerged as the third largest party, and thus the seeds of CPN (Maoist) were planted.

The two communist faction, CPN (Masal) formed by Mohan Bikram Singh and CPN(Mashal) led by Prachanda got united to form the CPN (Maoist) in the years 1995 .Therefore it was under the new communist party CPN(Maoist),that the revolution of arms was started. In 1995, March, Pushpa Kamal Dahal the chairman of CPN (Maoist)

held meetings, and decided to take up arms against the monarchy and existing democratic political system.

The focus on the socio economic issues which stand among the prominent agenda of the CPN (Maoist) to lead the mass rebellion in the countryside .The movement was mainly based in the mid western hilly region of Rolpa, Rukum etc. This area of Nepal has remained the worst neglected in socio economic terms in the country. That is why they have control over more than 35 such underdeveloped districts of the hills and Tarai .This region lied to the fact that “armed struggle” is carried out in the countryside to liberate the majority from the shackles of feudalism.²

Therefore, the CPN (Maoist) have spearheaded the movement on the basis of social and economic issue in the country .Besides this, the problem of casteism, class, ethnicity nationalism are also the part of their agenda. The ethnic and regional issues have emerged in a more focused way. People who support the movement have asserted for their rights. The Maoists are challenging the policies of establishing caste supremacy under the fold of Hinduism through religion and language policies. So it is fact that the social issues have affected the system the deep-rooted social problem reflects a kind of discontent in the society against the malfunctioning of the government.

The problem of economic development is the foremost element, which has taken a serious turn to add fuel to the fire in the ongoing Maoist movement. Under the issue of livelihood, they demand radical land reforms. Apart from that eh Maoist also ask for writing off of loans of the farmers increasing wages of the cottage and small industries labour and also to be given protection to them and of elimination of corruption and back market which is existing in Nepal.³

² Lok Raj Baral (1977), *Opposition Politics in Nepal*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, P.88.*consciousness*”, Merlin Press, Pp. 15-27.

³ Rohan Guaratna, “*Nepal’s insurgents Balance ,Politics and violence*” Jane’s Intelligence Review ,Vol.13 no 10,october,2001 Pp .32-35

It can be opined that the center of Maoist movement lies in the western hills, which is the poorest of the region in the country .Therefore the Maoist economic goals are concerned with the ordinary people. The people in these areas have remained under the stranglehold of feudal vested interests. Therefore, the grassroots for the Maoists is from these poorest areas. Therefore, it is here in these areas where the Maoists are gradually expanding their strength.

There has also been discussion on the part of the organizational structure and leadership of the CPN (Maoist). The organization of CPN (Maoist) right from its emergence has concentrated fully to give a concrete structural posture to their organization. To run the organization in a proper way the CPN (Maoist) have two different organizational institutions by which it run the organization. One is the political front, in which it runs the organization. One is the political front, in which the party has the Polit bureau members in its central committee, formulating plans and policies and also for the mobilization of funds and political support. They do have different regional committees, sub regional committees to operate at the field level. To take care of the arms struggle they have military front. In that, they have the central military commission, regional military commission and district military commission. So according to the organizational structure requirements, recruits are trained in Maoist concepts warfare and organizational requirement and organizational requirements. At, last on the part of the political agenda and the strategy to pursue it has been discussion Maoist campaign is aimed at gaining political control over the major part of Nepal. Their political agenda consists of the charter of 40 demands put before the government in February 1996. There are three major categories of their demands, namely the constitutional transformation economic survival and Nepal's self respect .The Maoist talks of constitutional transfer of power from the monarchy to the people and also of drafting a new constitution where there would be no forms of monarchy existing.

To pursue their strategy, the Maoists believe in disrupting the legitimate administration by attacking police stations local government offices and banks.⁴ Therefore, their primary aim lies or launches guerrilla activities in their strongholds in remote districts to create terror and expand their power base. Also, they have a unique ways to campaign for political front that is through street level they are taking political mileage step by step.

Therefore there is need to analyze the root causes of the Maoist people's war in Nepal .Why have Maoists politicians started this difficult strategy for political power and why the people are supporting them? The Maoist problem is the political problem. The Maoists are engaging in armed struggle to establish their political system .Their aim is political and they are guided by a political philosophy but their methods involved the destruction. An attempt to answer some of these questions has been made in the subsequent pages.

⁴ B.Bhattachan, Krishna (2001) "*Possible Ethnic Revolution or insurgency in a Predatory Unitary Hindu state, Nepal*", in Dhruba Kumar (ed), No.4. P.148.

Chapter 1

Background and Evolution of the Movement

Introduction

Since 1996, the People's War, led by the CPN (Maoist), has spread in the Nepalese countryside. Close to 2,000 people have died in the fighting, which has hit almost all of Nepal's 75 districts. The Nepalese police have carried out gross human rights violations of rape, torture, and murder. Nepal's press regularly reports on military encounters involving hundreds of guerrillas, and the Maoists now control large areas of the countryside. The Nepali Civil War (labeled People's War by the Maoists) was a conflict between government forces and Maoist rebels in Nepal, which lasted from 1996 until 2006. It was started by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on 13 February 1996, with the aim of overthrowing the Nepalese monarchy and establishing the "People's Republic of Nepal." It ended with a Comprehensive Peace Accord signed on 21 November 2006, which is now monitored by United Nations Mission in Nepal⁵.

To understand the Maoist insurgency in Nepal we have to analyze the history from the Shah kingdom to the Rana regime until the today's context. Then in a context, how far the social causes were responsible. And with that, equally the ethnic problem and the demand for the autonomy of the two types of sects in the form of Austro Mongoloid race and the Aryan race and their related conflict were also needed to be analyzed in this scenario.

The introductory chapter is intended to provide some of the contextual detail without which one is not able to explain. Why the people of Nepal had to experience their beautiful country torn apart by the civil emergence of Maoist insurgency in Nepal during the 1990s met with bewilderment and incomprehension even among many of those who

⁵ V.D. Chopra. (ed 2001) *"Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia"*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2001. Pp 34

claimed to know the country well.

Maoist movement has emerged as a significant force in the South Asian region. Nepal have people across the country mobilized in protracted guerrilla war aimed at annihilating class enemies,⁶ creating liberated zones and seizing state power through the barrel of the gun.

In Nepal, a people's war was to overthrow the old order, which included monarchic and privileged rule by an establishment of royal families and to replace it with a new people's democracy. The following years saw the spread of the Maoists from their strongholds in Nepal's mid western districts attacks on the royal Nepalese army. The deployment of the army and the suspension of the democratic powers. In 2003 and 2004, Nepal had the highest number of disappearances in the world (human rights watch2004) and more than 14000 people have lost their lives since 1996⁷.

However, from November 2005, the Maoists were set to shape the country's political future, as they collaborated with seven mainstream political parties to agree on a programme intended to restore democracy. Following a successful people's movement in April 2006, king Gyanendra who had staged a coup in February 2005, relinquished power. The government and Maoists signed a peace accord in November 2006 declaring a formal end to the 10 year insurgency and finally in April 2008 the, Maoists won a stunning victory. In this context, it is necessary to analyze the history of Maoist movement in Nepal and find out the causes of emergence of the movement and its quick success⁸.

⁶ Pradyumna, P.S.Hiroke, Karan (1996) "*A Himalayan in Transition*" Tokyo: United Nations University Press.Pp 45

⁷LokRajBaral(1977), *Opposition Politics in Nepal*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, P.88.consciousness", Merlin Press, Pp. 15-27.

⁸PradyumnaP.S.Hiroke, Karan (1996) "*A Himalayan in Transition*" Tokyo: United Nations University

While Maoist Insurgency and Communist governments seem virtually extinct all over the World, the strength and the influence of the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) has kept on growing in the Hindu kingdom. Presently, the CPN-M has emerged as the biggest challenge to the Nepalese nation and to the whole region, due to its contacts with other insurgent groups in India and beyond. Maoist insurgency in Nepal has been waging a 'People's War' since 13 February 1996 with the objective of overthrowing the state and to replace it with the New People's Democracy. Since the beginning of this conflict, more than 12,000 people have lost their lives in the crossfire; the number of casualties has been rising significantly since 2001.

The insurgency began in two districts in Mid-Western Nepal: Rolpa, Rukum, and then spread from West to East. , all the district headquarters have remained under government control. The Maoists have not only strengthened their position inside the country, but also established links with Maoist groups across the border, in particular, with the People's War Group (PWG) and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI). There have been reports that the PWG, the MCCI and the CPN-M are currently setting up a Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ) stretching from Nepal across Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh to Andhra Pradesh⁹. If this Zone is successfully established, it will facilitate the Maoist groups in India and Nepal to procure weapons and facilitate the exchange of goods.

Furthermore, the CPN-M has also established links with other insurgency groups from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan under the umbrella organization named the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA). This organization was established in December 2001 to unify and coordinate the Maoist parties and their activities in South Asia. All these South Asian Maoist parties are also members of Revolutionary International Movement (RIM). It is

Press. Pp23

⁹ S.D. Muni (2003), "*Maoist insurgency in Nepal*": *The challenges and the Response*, New Delhi: Rupa & co in association with observer Research foundation Pp 34

said that the CCOMPOSA and RIM have been advising the Nepalese Maoists against peace negotiations with the government of Nepal. The achievements of Nepalese Maoists can be viewed as a success of the 'People's War' in the entire region and beyond and therefore stimulate Maoism in the whole South Asian region.

Some of the Indian and Nepali Maoist groups have established links outside South Asia. For example, the Workers Party of Belgium (WPB) has invited Maoist activists to their Annual International Communist Seminars in Belgium. Furthermore, WPB regularly spreads propaganda on behalf of Nepalese Maoists.

The Ideology of the Nepali Maoists is largely derived from the 'Naxalites' or Indian Maoists. There is striking similarities between the CPN-M and the 'Naxalites'. Both are founding members of RIM. Both groups had the same kind of ideologies in their respective countries. Both have coincided their armed struggle against the establishment of parliamentary democracy in their countries. The CPN-M has adopted similar strategies as the 'Naxals' to launch a guerilla style insurgency in Nepal.

During the discussion, we will also look at the ideological roots of Maoism in general and the relationship between senior Maoist and their new followers in Asia. Maoist insurgency is emerging as a regional and global challenge. Political and socio-economic factors are often cited as the main cause for the rise of Maoist insurgencies and other guerrilla movements, as these insurgencies usually commence in economically deprived areas. However, Maoist insurgency in Nepal which started from Rolpa and Rukum. (Which are not the most remote or deprived areas of Nepal).

History of the of the Maoist Movement in Nepal (Background)

The shah kings of whom the first seized the throne of the tiny hill kingdom of Gorkha in the mid sixteenth century are generally credited with having created the modern nation state now known as Nepal. This development took place during the second half of the 18th century when Prithvi Narayan Shah overran most of the other petty states of the central and eastern Himalaya in a campaign of military and incorporated them into his

own territory. The Gorkhali expansion ended in 1768. After a series of battles with the armed forces of the British East India Company and thirty years later the shahs' king's powers were eclipsed by a courtly family which adopted the title of 'Rana'. The Ranas pursued a programme of Hinduisation, which systematized the incorporation of Nepal's many disparate ethno linguistic groups into a national hierarchy of castes. Ethnic groups headed by the Khas (later called Chetri) and Bahuns (Brahmins) of the Gorkhali elite. Between 1768-1951, the Rana regime achieved an accommodation with the British that suited both sides but which strengthened the traditional order in Nepal against the forces of changes unleashed by British rule in India¹⁰. Over the course of these 105 years, the shahs and Ranas intermarried on a regular basis, and their genealogies became closely intertwined.

The first Nepali political party, the praja Parishad was established in Kathmandu in 1936 and was sternly suppressed. Therefore its successors the Nepal congress party and the communist party of Nepal which though splintered still constitute the two main party political camps were formed not in Nepal but in India, during the 1940s. In 1951 the Rana regime was overthrown by a coalition which included the shah kings, Tribhuvan, the political parties and disgruntled factions of the Rana elite¹¹. Eight years later the Nepali congress gained a majority in Nepal's first general elections, but in December 1960 king Mahendra who had succeeded his father in 1955 used the emergency powers granted by the constitution to dismiss the congress government on the pretext that it had failed to maintain law and order and was endangering the sovereignty of Nepal. Here it should be noted that multi party parliamentary democracy was an alien system that was unsuited to the circumstances of Nepal, and in 1962, a new constitution was promulgated which enshrined a new political dispensation, the Panchayat system. This was designed to provide a veneer of democratic participation and electoral accountability, while the king retained ultimate power and party's political activity was banned.

¹⁰ Michael. Hutt (EDT, 2004), Himalayas' Peoples' war, Nepal's Maoist Rebellion'. New Delhi Hurst co. PP 291-333.

¹¹ Sangeeta, Thapliyal (edt2003) *Rise of Maoists in Nepal: causes and implications* Manak Publications. Pp45

The political parties continued to operate underground, proliferating all the while. As education spread and levels of political consciousness, rose during the 1960s and 70s. Opposition to the Panchayat system grew partly because of its increasing exclusivity and unaccountability. Partly because it was patently failing to deliver the development that had become one of its watchwords, and partly also because of the manner in which latterly it tried to suppress dissent even among adherents to the system. Anti Panchayat, movements were led by the banned parties in 1979 and 19 5. The first, spearhead by student activists led to a national referendum, conducted in 19 0 which was deemed to have provided the system with a renewed mandate, the second which was planned as a peaceful movement of civil disobedience movement was called off when bombs exploded at several locations in Kathmandu.

Finally, in April 1999, the Panchayat system were dismantled in the wake of a people's movement for democracy and human rights led by the Nepali congress and a united left front consisting of seven communist parties. The Panchayat system was replaced by a bicameral parliament, a new democracy constitution was promulgated in November 1990 and the palace was deemed to have surrendered its powers and acquiesced to a purely constitutional.

The Nepali congress has been the dominant political party since the restoration of multi party democracy. it won a minority in the first general elections held under the new dissension in 1991 the party. Fresh elections produced a hung parliament and the Nepal communist party attempted to run a minority government but this fell after less than a year in Power. Between 1995 and 1999, some half dozen different coalitions came to power, involving some very unlikely bedfellows, and the popular perception quickly spread that their leaders were taking every opportunity to feather their nests before they were ousted by next incongruous coalition. In the 1999 general elections, the Nepali congress party was returned to power with a parliamentary majority, partly because the UM had split and the left vote was divided.

The Jhapa movement

After sometime, “the struggle of the people of Nepal against the monarchy based on party less Panchayat system became more intense. Influenced by the Naxalbari movement and Cultural Revolution in China, a militant revolutionary peasant struggle emerged in the Jhapa district in Nepal. It was in 1974 the “Jhapa District committee of the East Kosi Provincial committee defied the decisions of the Kosi provincial committee and advocated the Maoist strategy of organizing guerilla warfare. That was adopted by the extremist variant of the Indian communists”¹². In fact taking up of arms against the government in the political sphere of Nepal saw drastic changes in the communist movement in Nepal. It cannot be ignored that the radical groups were much influenced by the Naxalites movement of India.¹³

One of the radical leaders Manmohan Adhikari stated, “What Mao said for the arms revolution. For victory, we need three things, first arms, secondly arms, and lastly arms . ven communists should understand the truth that political power emerges from the barrel of the guns. Therefore, Jhapa movement of 1974 enabled the communist movement to adopt the political line of annihilation of the class enemy. It was in fact this line of communist thoughts, where there occurred differences. The issue of the Mao’s line. Where there occurred differences .The issue of the Mao’s line where the active members of the CPN created a coordinating body in 1971. But it soon became divided over two issues the application of Mao’s strategy in Nepal and the question of “constituent assembly” although one member Mohan Bikram had always been advocating for a “constituent assembly” since 1961 it broke away from it and took the revolutionary path, and formed his own group known as the communist party of Nepal. (Mashal).¹⁴ The

¹² *Spotlight*, Kathmandu, vol.19, No.20, 3-9 December 1999.

¹³ C.K. Tiwari “*A note on People’s War in Nepal*,” *Spotlight*, Part 2 downloaded from the website of Nepal news (February, 5, 1999)

¹⁴ Hari Prasad, Upretty “*Problems of governance in Nepal*.” *BHISS Journal*, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

original theme of the Jhapa movement was centered on the revolution by the help of arms, which followed with the strategy of organizing the peasants and eliminating proprietors. In fact, this movement opposed by several splinter groups of the communists and even the government tried its best to suppress the movement by arresting several of its leaders. Meanwhile an underground convention was held and the all Nepal communist revolutionary co-coordinating committee (M) was formed in 1975. But actual establishment of the communist party of Nepal took place on 26 Dec 1975. The CPN (M) held its first convention on 1 January 1979 and came up with a resolution.

Changing scenario after 1990

After 1990, many of the parties situated at the extreme left of the political spectrum resorted to extra parliamentary tactics. Such as street demonstrations and bandh to press their demands. However they also established political front organizations to contest elections, most notably the united people's front which managed to win nine seats in the 1991 general elections making it the third largest party in parliament. Its stronghold was in the mid western hill districts of Rukum and Rolpa where three contiguous UPF constituencies. After 1991 the UPF and its supporters were subjected to repeated abuses of areas with the result that the Nepali congress and the police force were hated, its bidding came to be widely hated there.

The united People's front split into two factions in 1994. The one that was recognized by the electoral commission fielded forty candidates in the 1994 general election. But failed to win as single seat February 1996 having renamed itself the communist party of Nepal the unrecognized factions announced that because the congress led coalition government had failed to respond to a list of forty demands submitted by the UPF it had launched a people's war. The forty-point demand was for an end to the intrusion into Nepal and domination of foreign elements for a secular state free of all discrimination and oppression with the monarchy stripped of its privileges, and for a wider range of welfare provisions and social and economic reforms.¹⁵

¹⁵S.D. Muni (2002), "Rose .Leo. E. *Nepal and Bhutan in 1999: Some Progress* "Asian Survey, Vol. 11 no.1 jan-Feb, Pp.1 9-194

The Maoist leaders laid plan for a protracted war during which they would recruit ,train and equip an army establish 'base areas' in rural hill districts from which all state bodies and institutions would be banished and gradually encircle the towns and cities. Their main tactics were the concerted political indoctrination of villagers in the areas they controlled, armed attacks on government officials and police posts in those areas, the replacement of state institutions by "pro- people" bodies, and the eventual establishment of a Jan starker in each district under their control. The government's response, when it realized belatedly that the situation in certain districts was spinning out of its control was to try to crack down, with repressive security measures. However, its inability to deploy the royal Nepalese army and its use of poorly trained inadequately equipped police personnel mean that many innocent lives were lost and allegations of human rights abuses multiplied¹⁶. Subsequently the government softened its response and attempted to initiate a political dialouge with the Maoists but progress on this front was hampered by divergence of opinion within the Nepali congress party. Moreover, between it and its various coalitions collaborates on how best to handle the crisis. The government's approach remained muddled and contradictory with prisoner release and negotiations one month and police action the next.

The killing by the Maoists of fourteen police personnel at Dunai the district headquarters of the inaccessible district of Dolpa, on 25 September 2000, marked turning point in the conflict. The level of violence escalated quickly for instance more than seventy police personnel were killed in different places over a five day period in April 2001. By mid - 2001, the Maoists had gained almost total control of five mid western hill districts where they were busy establishing logical Jan sarkars and their cadres were active almost everywhere else. The People's war and the state's response to it had so far led to the deaths of nearly 2000 people.

¹⁶ Hari Prasad, Upretty "*Problems of governance in Nepal.*"BIISS Journal, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 424-429.

Royal Massacre and the Response of the Maoists

Now in this context let us analyze the Nepalese royal Massacre and its impact on the Maoists and there change in tactics after that. On the night of 1 June 2001, king Birendra had the whole of his immediate family were either killed or fatally injured by gunfire while they were attending their customary monthly gathering at the Narayanhiti palace in Kathmandu. The Nepalese royal massacre occurred on Friday, June 1, 2001, at the Narayanhity Royal Palace, then the residence of the Nepalese monarchy, when Crown Prince Birendra allegedly shot and killed several members of his family. Because of the shooting, ten people died and five were wounded. The dead included King Birendra of Nepal and Queen Aiswarya, Dipendra's father and mother. Prince Dipendra became de jure King of Nepal upon his father's death and died whilst in a coma for three days after the fact.

hour later, Dipendra returned to the party armed with an MP5K and an M16 and fired a single shot into the ceiling before turning the gun on his father, King Birendra. Seconds later, Dipendra shot one of his aunts. He then shot his uncle Dhirendra in the chest at direct range when he tried to stop Dipendra. During the shooting, Prince Paras suffered slight injuries and managed to save at least three royals, including two children, by pulling a sofa over them.¹⁷

During the attack, Dipendra darted in and out of the room firing shots each time. His mother, Queen Aishwarya, who came into the room when the first shots was fired, left quickly, looking for help. Dipendra's mother Aishwarya and his brother Nirajan confronted him in the garden of the palace, where they were both shot dead.¹⁸ Dipendra

¹⁷Deepak Thapa(2001),”Day of the Maoist”, www.Stratmag.com,P.2

¹⁸“Nepal, India to set up joint border team to target Maoists”, 5 May 2002.www.Outlook.com.

then proceeded to a small bridge over a stream running through the palace, where he shot himself.

Some people in Nepal suspected that Gyanendra was responsible for the royal palace massacre on June 1, 2001, and that he had blamed Dipendra so that he could assume the throne himself. Gyanendra, not as popular in the country as his son Paras, had been third in line to the throne before the massacre. He was out of town (in Pokhara) during the massacre and was the closest surviving relative of the king. Gyanendra's wife and son were in the room at the royal palace during the massacre. While his son escaped with slight injuries, his wife was injured during the incident. Feeding the rumor is the allegation that Dipendra was mortally wounded by a gunshot to the left side of the head, while Dipendra was right-handed. Some believe that this casts doubt on whether the injury was self-inflicted.¹⁹

While Dipendra lived, Gyanendra maintained that the deaths were the result of an accident. However, he later said that he made this claim due to legal and constitutional hurdles, since under the constitution, and by tradition, Dipendra could not have been charged with murder had he survived. A full investigation took place, and Crown Prince Dipendra was found to be responsible for the killing. Numerous conspiracy theories suggest an alternate conclusion, but there is little evidence to support them.

The widely circulated rumors are that Prince Dipendra was angry over a marriage dispute. Dipendra's choice of bride was Devyani Rana, daughter of Pashupati SJB Rana, a member of the Rana clan, against whom the Shah dynasty has a historic animosity. The Rana clan had served as the hereditary prime ministers of Nepal until 1951, with the title Maharaja, and the two clans have a long history of inter-marriages.

A two-man committee comprising Keshav Prasad Upadhaya, the then-Supreme Court Chief Justice, and Taranath Ranabhat, the then-Speaker of the House of Representatives,

¹⁹ "24 policemen killed in Maoist attack", 24 November 2001, www.Nepalnews.com

carried out the weeklong investigation into the massacre. The investigation concluded, after interviewing more than a hundred people including eyewitnesses and palace officials, guards and staff that Dipendra had carried out the massacre. Large numbers of critics and Nepalese both inside Nepal and abroad disputed the official report because many evidence and facts reported by the then investigation team seems to be in contradiction in many forms.²⁰ A close aide of the then prince Dipendra said, "He can give up the throne for the sake of his love, but he can never do this kind of thing." The mysterious murder of the royal family in Nepal may seem like something out of Shakespeare. Nevertheless, like all such events, these took place in a context. Moreover, the context here is the growing strength of the People's War, led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

Now in the context many analysts predicted that monarchy would now become more active than beforehand that it would weaken democracy. It became politically active in an underground gang (*bhumigat giroh*) after Birendra's announcement of a national referendum on the future of the Panchayat system in 1979. It was also widely believed that all of the royals except Birendra himself had been opposed to the political reforms of 1990.²¹ Others argued that Nepal's constitutional Monarchy and parliamentary democracy would weather the storm, and those who held this view were heartened by the new king's early public statement of his commitment to the democratic dispensation. However although, the institutions of the monarchy remained capable of generating loyalty among the general population, Birendra's legal successor began his reign from a very weak position, and questions were raised about whether his son would ever be acceptable to the Nepal people as his successor. The fact that Paras were not granted the title of Crown Prince immediately, and that the title was bestowed upon him during the autumn festival of Dasain, when most newspapers were not published and the politically volatile

²⁰ Maoist Information Bulletin, No.1, 10 January 2002, <http://www.rwor.org>.

²¹

P.Sainath, (2009) "The Dull Days of White Gold", <http://www.indiatogether.org/2009/apr/psawhitegold.htm>, accessed 10 April 2009. www.choike.org 2009 eng informes.

university campuses were empty, reflected an awareness of public anxieties on the apart of the palace.

Today, the defining political question in Nepal is whether to support or attack the Maoist revolution. Moreover, King Birendra had been deeply enmeshed in the crisis within Nepal's ruling class over how to deal with the People's War. Current news stories about Birendra portray him as a figurehead with little power. However, in fact, Nepal's Constitution puts the king in charge of Nepal's army. In addition, over the last year, one of the biggest disputes within Nepal's ruling class has been whether to send the army against the People's War.²²

The police have been the main force deployed against the insurgency, but they have proven quite ineffective. Police posts in guerrilla zones have been forced to close down. The police have suffered many casualties, and among their ranks, there are defections and widespread demoralization. Meanwhile, areas under Maoist control have grown. All this has intensified the debate over mobilizing the army, creating fierce infighting within the ruling Nepali Congress Party, among the different parties in the parliament, and between the government and the royal palace.

Up until 1990, Nepal was rule by a monarchy and all political parties were banned. Then after widespread unrest and protest, King Birendra was forced to institute a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament. The new constitution gave the king supreme command of the Royal Nepal Army and the power to appoint the army commander in chief. ²³The police forces, on the other hand, are under the command of the ruling government. This setup had made King Birendra the focus of much of the struggle over

²² Sudhir Sharma. (2001) "*Nepal terrorist groups-Maoist insurgents*" (The Maoist movement an evolutionary, (Merlin press) vol 6 PP 39-78

²³ *Spotlight*, Kathmandu, vol.19, No.20, 3-9 December 1999.

whether or not to mobilize the army against the Maoists.

Some forces within the ruling class may be hesitant to give the monarchy so much power by giving the army the main responsibility for defeating the People's War. In addition, there is concern that mobilizing the army could lead to bigger and more destabilizing defeats for the government forces and tarnish key state institutions--the monarchy and the army.

Debate in the ruling class over mobilizing the army came out sharply in 2001 when guerrillas launched a major raid in Dunai, the district headquarters of the Dolpa district in the Western Region. This was the first time the people's army carried out an attack like this on a district headquarters. Fourteen police officers were killed, at least 40 more were injured, and 11 were captured²⁴.

Four days after this the Home Minister, Govinda Raj Joshi, resigned after criticizing the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) for not aiding the police in Dunai and failing to provide the police with better weapons. The Dunai incident also became the catalyst for Prime Minister Koirala to try to knock down those who had argued against sending in the army. The new Home Minister criticized those who argued that the Maoist problem should be settled through dialogue. A high-level meeting was held to discuss deployment of the army, but still no consensus could be reached.

Debate intensified again, in early April, after Maoist guerrillas killed 75 police in a series of raids. Once again, under pressure to deploy the army, King Birendra approved a paramilitary ordinance to set up a special Armed Police Force of 15,000 personnel to combat the Maoist insurgency. As the People's War advances, it has become increasingly

²⁴ Hari Prasad, Upretty "Problems of governance in Nepal."BIISS Journal, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

difficult for the Nepali ruling class to keep the king and army from being drawn into the war. In addition, there is now speculation that the new king, Gyanendra, might be more open to involving the army directly in the war.

Abductions and Negotiations by the Maoists

During the second week of July 2001, the Maoists attacked six police posts and in the course of these actions abducted approximately seventy policemen from their headquarters at Holier in the district of Rolpa. At this point the prime minister, Girija Prasad Koirala, ordered that the army should be deployed to release them. Soldiers were flown into the areas, and Nepali Newspapers reported that they had surrounded the Maoists. However, in fact there then occurred a kind of stand off with neither to the two sides engaging the other in combat. Soon afterwards, it emerged that senior army staff has refused to send their soldiers into actions at which point Koirala tendered his resignation.

This bizarre series of events reflected severe tensions between the elected government and the palace over the question of who actually controlled the royal Nepalese army. Although the army had been stationed in Maoist-affected areas for some years. It had not yet engaged militarily with the Maoists at all. Article 11 of the 1990 constitution provides for the king to “operate and use” the royal Nepalese army on the recommendation of the National Defense council. This consists of the prime Minister (as chairman), the defense minister, and the commander in chief. According to article 119 the king is the supreme commander of the royal Nepalese army, and he appoints the commander in chief on the recommendations of the prime minister. However, Nepal culture dominated at it is at senior level by Ranas and Thapas is traditionally royalist and suspicious of politicians, a feature that would remain unaffected by any constitutional amendment at least in the short term. Koirala had failed to bend the army to his will and

he had to go.²⁵

On 19 July 2001 she, Bahadur Deuba who had already served once as prime minister from September 1995 to March 1997 replaced Koirala. Deuba had also been in charge of the efforts to promote dialogue with the Maoists that had been initiated under Koirala's predecessor, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, in 1999. The Maoists attacked a police post in Bajura, killing seventeen, on 20 July, but three days later their leadership agreed to postpone offensive actions and enter into talks with the government. It suddenly became respectable for elected politicians to talk with the Maoist leadership and it emerged that several of these leaders, including the supreme leader Pushpa Kamal Dahal "Prachanda" were actually residing not in Nepal but in India, where they met opposition politicians in mid-August.

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Three rounds of talks were conducted between five government negotiators and three mid-ranking Maoist leaders in August, September and November 2001. The Maoists put three core political demands on the table: these were for an interim government, the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, and the redesignation of Nepal as a republican state. The government made concessions by scrapping a controversial set of public security regulations it had introduced in June and releasing sixty-eight Maoist detainees and the Maoist side responded by dropping its demand for a republican state. The talks ground to a halt after the Maoists' final demand for a constituent assembly was rejected and on 21 November Prachanda declared that there was no longer any point in continuing the talks. The Maoist leadership announced the establishment of a joint Revolutionary People's Council headed by Baburam Bhattarai. Moreover, on 23 November attacks were launched in Surkhet, Dang, Syangja, and other parts of the country²⁶. For the very first time, Maoists attacked the royal Nepalese army at its base in

²⁵ Hari Prasad, Upreti "Problems of governance in Nepal." *BISS Journal*, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

²⁶ Leo E Rose. (1965), "Communism Under high Atmospheric Conditions: The Party In Nepal" in Robert



Gorahi in Dang. The Nepali press reported that fourteen soldiers and twenty-three policemen were killed .And that a total of Rs 225 million was looted from banks. Maoists also captured and made off with a very large quantity of arms and ammunition. Days later on 25 November 2001, Maoists attacked the army again this time at salleri in the eastern district officer and four soldiers were killed but also sustaining heavy casualties themselves.

On 26 November 2001, the king declared a national state of emergency taking its cue from the American. For the first time since the restoration of multi party democracy in the kingdom in 1990, the press in Nepal has had to exercise considerable self-censorship on account of the declaration of a state of emergency by King Gyanendra on November 26, 2001. Recommended by the democratically elected Nepali Congress government headed by Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, the state of emergency, aimed at quelling the armed Maoist rebellion in various parts of the country, will last for at least three months, i.e. until February 25, 2001. It can, however, be extended if endorsed by two-thirds of the parliament within three months of the declaration of the emergency. (More than 2,500 people have been killed in the course of the Maoist rebellion that started in 1995).

The Terrorist and Destructive Activities (Prevention and Control) Ordinance 2001 states
Despite the emergency, expression of views, running of presses and publications, migration and operation of communication systems can take place as usual without however infringing the Terrorist and Destructive Crimes Control and Punishment Act and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal. Nevertheless, there is also a clause in the directives, which mentions that “the government can declare a terrorist affected area or terrorist individuals . which thus gives the government sweeping power for arrest and other forms of action. In the course of the emergency, several journalists have been arrested. Some of them have already been released and others continue to be in detention.

A.Scalapino (d.), *The communist Revolution in Asia: Tactics, Goals, and Achievements*, Prentice Hall, University of California, P.44.

Several have gone underground. According to some of the journalists arrested but released later, they were treated shabbily. Most newspapers that were considered close or sympathetic to the Maoists have stopped publication and a number of their editorial staff continues to either remain in detention or have underground.²⁷

Journalists have been advised not to write anything that might lower the morale of the army or boost the morale of the Maoists. As a result, there is hardly any reporting on Maoists activities and the army action against the Maoists, except for regular news releases issued by the Defense Ministry. The broadcast media, except for FM stations with highly limited reach, are government-controlled. As such, there are complaints from various quarters of the civil society and professional organizations that the media need to work harder for more news pertaining to the Maoists instead of relying wholly and solely on government sources alone. Several of the broadsheet dailies and the government-owned media have their own correspondents in most parts of the country². These correspondents have had to virtually fold their hands as far as the Maoists activities are concerned. They and their seniors at the news desk fear that they might be arrested on charge of boosting the morale of the Maoists or lowering the morale of the army. Photos and visuals of the army in action or of Maoists, either dead or alive, are not carried. Likewise, newspaper articles and editorials remain silent on most key issues related to the Maoists, unless the comments are in support of the government action. The Ministry of Information and Communication had issued a list of do's and don'ts for the media. Human rights organizations and senior advocates were to speak against such directives. However, the directive has not been withdrawn.

The recent change in content, style and practice of the newspapers is in marked contrast to the earlier times when noted that these very media used to publish articles and statements signed by Maoists leaders, allocating prominent space. Human rights

²⁷ Sangeeta, Thapliyal (edt2003) *Rise of Maoists in Nepal: causes and implications* Manak Publications.

² Sangeeta Thapliyal, "Coalition Politics in Nepal" Strategic analysis, ol.20, no 3, June 1997.Pp.501.

organizations have also expressed concern over the existing state of media situation. It seems that the present media environment will continue until the state of emergency is lifted. How long that period might be is only a matter of conjecture at this stage.

Sections of the public are complaining against the failure of journalists to inform them about the various details concerning army operation against the Maoists and the actual situation of the rebels. At seminars and talk programmes, various speakers have urged the journalists not lose sight of their professionalism. Their emphasis is that professionalism allows a lot of room for journalists to report accurately and yet responsibly even under a state of emergency.²⁹

In 2001, the civil war escalated as the Maoists attacked the Nepalese Army for the first time. Although there were intermittent ceasefires, fighting was roughly continuous through 2005. In 2005, the CPN (M) sought a different strategy of seeking permanent peace accords while forming a pro-democratic alliance with several other mainstream political parties in opposition to the monarchical dictatorship of King Gyanendra. Following massive popular uprisings and protests (some involving over a million people each), a prolonged general strike in 2006, and several violent clashes between protesters and the Nepalese Army, the monarchy finally capitulated³⁰. The CPN (M) gained international legitimacy as they agreed to lay down arms and participate in the new electoral process. In the aftermath of the conflict, several western European powers removed the CPN (M) from their government's terrorist lists.

In early 2008, the CPN (M) won the largest voting bloc in the Nepalese Constituent Assembly. International observers, like the Carter Center, said that the election was held in a peaceful, orderly manner and were satisfying. Other major political parties in

²⁹ Sangeeta, Thapliyal "Coalition *Politics in Nepal*" Strategic analysis, vol.20, no 3, June 1997.Pp.501.

³⁰ C.K. Tiwary "A note on *People's War in Nepal*", "Spotlight,Part2 downloaded from the website of Nepal news (February,5,1999)

Nepal such as the pro-democratic Nepali Congress Party and the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist- Leninist), however, accused the Maoists of using force and fraud to win the election

A considerable number of retired Gorkha soldiers of the British and the Indian Army inhabit many of the areas. Previously controlled by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) during the Nepalese Civil War and Nepalese security agencies have suspected that these former soldiers along with those retired and deserters from the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) were involved in training the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) insurgents. Government estimates provided in early 2003 on the CPN-M strength indicated that there were approximately 31,500 combatants, 4,000 militia, 150,500 active cadres and 100,000 sympathizers. The main fighting and support forces consisted of ethnic groups like the Magars, Tharus, Limbus, Tamangs, Dalits, Brahmins and Chhetris, the last two also providing the political and military leadership). These communities are also an important vote-bank for the CPN (M) Among the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) fighters – about 60 per cent were deployed in the mid-west and west in their strongholds. Another 10 per cent were in the far west with around 10 percent in Gorkha, and the rest were located in Kathmandu valley and east of it.

People's Liberation Army, Nepal is the armed wing of the party. The P A was founded in 2001, in the midst of the Nepal Civil War initiated by the Maoists in 1996. The chief commander of the P A during the war was Prachanda (Pushpa Kamal Dahal). On September 12, 2001, Nanda Kishor Pun was appointed new chief commander of the P A, as Prachanda had become Prime Minister of Nepal. This move was in line with a pledge issued by the CPN (M), issued prior to the 2001 Constituent Assembly election,³¹ that their members elected to the Assembly would leave their P A positions.

Following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the P A soldiers stay in cantonments.

³¹,C.K. Tiwari "A note on People's War in Nepal," "Spotlight,Part2 downloaded from the website of Nepal news (February,5,1999)

The party stands by the agreement whereby it states that PLA and the Royal Nepal Army should be integrated. Integration of the two armies is a one of the issue that is lagging behind with the downfall of the Prachanda government. The government claims the PLA to be under its supervision and chain of command. On the other hand, the party claims that the PLA is still under the party's chain of command and are ready to work for the party when it faces hard times.

During the Nepalese Civil War, the guerrillas of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) operated to varying degrees in 68 of the 75 districts that comprise Nepal. Their influence varied between moderate to very strong in these districts. In the districts of Rolpa, Rukum, Jajarkot, Salyan, Pyuthan and Kalikot in mid-western Nepal, The Governments presence was limited to the district headquarters with the rest of each district under Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) control. The Nepalese Home Ministry had designated these districts as 'sensitive class A'. Nine districts, namely Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Kavrepalanchowk, Sindhupalchowk, Gorkha, Dang, Surkhet and Achham, had been classified as 'Sensitive Class B', while 17 'Sensitive Class C' districts where Khotang, Okhaldhunga, Udaypur, Makwanpur, Lalitpur, Nuwakot, Dhading, Tanahu, Lamjung, Parbat, Baglung, Gulmi, Arghakhachi, Bardiya, Dailekh, Jumla and Dolpa. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) insurgency initially commenced in the three districts of Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot and eventually spread throughout Nepal. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) had very strong bases in Western and mid-Western region and partially in Eastern region³²

After holding the People's War for ten years, the CPN (Maoist) sat down for peace talks after the successful accomplishment of the people's movement in 2002/03. The twelve-point agreement held between the then seven party alliance and the Maoist rebels in Delhi created a path for peaceful agitation against the direct rule of the king. Another important

³² S.D. Muni (2002), "Rose .Leo. E. *Nepal and Bhutan in 1999*: Some Progress "Asian Survey, Vol.11 no.1 Jan-Feb, Pp.189-194.

point of the twelve-point agreement was to end the autocracy in Nepal. The people's war conducted by the CPN (Maoist) created a basement for the establishment of a republic in Nepal. It also created political consciousness among the people at the grass root level and to some extent awareness for socio-economic transformation.

After the declaration of the king to reinstate the parliament, the CPN (Maoist) insisted that the declaration was a betrayal to the people. Instead, the king should bring down his institution for his deeds. However, there was no hearing from the other parties in the alliance. Maoist chair Prachanda appeared at the prime minister's residence, Baluwatar for the peace talk and said that he was there to establish a new modal of democracy in Nepal rather he did not reveal the new modal of system that was going to be established in Nepal.

After the peace talk held between the CPN (Maoist) and the government of Nepal, the Maoist rebels were ready to put an end to the ten years long People's War. Signing the Comprehensive Peace Accord, Maoist chair Prachanda said that the people's war was given a stop and a new revolution is to be performed from the reinstated parliament. The peace accord was signed in September 21, 2006 after which the Maoist revolution was ended. However, Prachanda was able to provide legacy to the nineteen thousand people's liberation army that was kept in the cantonment under the supervision of the United Nations Mission in Nepal³³ (UNMIN).

The interim constitution of Nepal 2063, gave a constitutional position to the nineteen thousand Maoist cadres. There was a provision for providing monthly allowance for the Maoist armies staying at the cantonment. The Maoist leaders believe that the revolution has not ended just here but only the form of struggle was changed. The national conclave

³³S.D Muni. (2002), " Rose .Leo. E. *Nepal and Bhutan in 1999: Some Progress* "Asian Survey, Vol.11 no.1 jan-Feb, Pp.1 9-194.

of the Maoist cadres held recently in Bhaktapur, Kharipati has ended up happily. Opposing chairman Prachanda's document, another senior leader Kiran produced a document contrary to it. The conclave ended up when a consensus was made to incorporate the spirit of both the documents and produce a new one.³⁴ The cadres were split up into groups and then discussions were held about the documents produced. Majority groups including senior leaders C.P.Gajurel, Hari Bhakta Kandel, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, Netra Bikram Chand supported Senior Leader Kiran's document. While Chairman Prachanda and his supporters as Baburam Bhattarai, Barsaman Pun got shocked seeing the majority in favor of Leader Kiran. Leader Kiran presented a document, which claimed that a suitable time has come for popular uprising and setting up a people's republic contrary to Chairman Prachanda who produced a document stating that the party should move ahead creating a new statute in the favor of people and a tactical slogan for People's Republic.

The conclave held several level of discussion where some disputes regarding the team leader had arisen. The team who supported Kiran's document had a leader who favored Prachanda document and vice-versa. The meeting ended up compromising both documents, which will again be presented in the National Convention. The groups supporting Karan's document³⁵ blamed Prachanda's group for betraying the spirit of people's war and being more into luxury after holding the power. Chairman Prachanda is also blamed for sidelining the revolutionary leaders from important positions of the party and filling them up with those who support his steps. The conclave is most awaited after the Chunbang meeting, which decided the party's slogan of 'Federal democratic republic'.

The national conclave of the Maoist cadres held recently in Bhaktapur, Kharipati has

³⁴ Shyam Shrestha,, "*Nepali Cart before Horse*" Himalaya south Asia, Vol .5 (sep-oct.1997 *The Maoist challenge in Nepal*", *Akrosh*, Vol.5, No.14, January, P.50.

³⁵ Ashok Mehta (2006) "*The March of Maoists*" *The Pioneer*, New Delhi 13 December, 2006.

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According to available information, the Maoists of Nepal have well-established linkages with Indian revolutionary communist organizations, primarily with the Communist Party of India (Maoist), currently leading a protracted people's war throughout the subcontinent. The first signs of contacts were reportedly registered during 1999-1990, when the two groups started collaborating in order to expand their influence³⁶. According

³⁶ Deepak Thapa (2001), "Day of the Maoist", www.Stratmag.com,P.2

to Indian government analysis, they began the process of laying a corridor, which is now widely referred to as the Revolutionary Corridor (RC) extending from Nepal to across six Indian States, including Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This entire area has been identified in Maoist literature as the Compact Revolutionary zone (CR). The CR was organized by the Nepal and Indian members of the Naxalites movement, in a meeting at Siliguri in the Indian State of West Bengal during August 2001³⁷. Indian Maoists are known as Naxalites or (Naxals) in reference to a popular uprising that began decades ago centered in the town of Naxalbari.

Nepalese Maoists had sent their delegates to the March 2001 Congress of PWG held at Abuz Marh in the Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. The establishment of CR gave a wider space and platform for all the proscribed Nepal and Indian Naxalites organizations to strengthen their bases in both the countries.

The CPN (M) is a participating organization of the Revolutionary International Movement (RIM), a global association of revolutionary communist parties. In July 2001, ten regional Maoist groups formed the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia (CCOMPOSA), in which the Nepalese Maoists, PWG, MCC, Purbo Banglar Surbahara Party (Bangladesh), Communist Party of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and other Indian communist parties became members. The appearance of graffiti in remote villages in Naxalites-strongholds, in Rayakal and Mallapur mandals (administrative unit) of Karimnagar district in Andhra Pradesh, hailed CCOMPOSA points the spread of the idea of a common front of revolutionary communist groups in South Asia. Moreover, the Central Committee of the Maoists, in late-January 2002, passed a resolution stating that it would work together with the PWG and the MCC in fighting the ban imposed on the latter two organizations in India, under the Prevention of

³⁷Prakash Lohani (2003) "Activities against Monarchy intolerable" The Kathmandu Post 21stDecember 2003.

Terrorism Act, 2002. ³⁸A year earlier, in 2001, the Maoists had sent a senior leader named Gaurav as a fraternal delegate to attend the ninth Congress of the PWG. Reports indicate that the Maoists and the PWG have also formed the Indo-Nepal Border Region Committee to coordinate their activities in North Bihar and along the India-Nepal border.

During the people's war, the Maoists also gathered a lot of support from organizations in South Asia, which was very important in carrying out the struggle with certain pace. Having visited several districts in India, Maoist chairperson Prachanda studied the challenges of launching an armed struggle. Chairman Prachanda drafted war policies and tactics staying in India. Chairman Prachanda says, "First and foremost, there was the RIM Committee. There were important ideological and political exchanges. From the RIM committee we got the experience of the Communist Party of Peru, the two line struggle there, and also the experience in Turkey, the experience in Iran and the experience in the Philippines." The CPN Maoist also participated in a South Asian Conference where they held discussions with the people's war group and Maoist communist Centre groups. The party believes in achieving a lot from this meet about conducting a people's war.

Having realized the necessity of spreading the party's message to the world, the party came up with a decision to host a website, which was to spread the knowledge about Nepalese revolution. Thus, www.cpnm.org was hosted with the help of some of the fraternal Maoist organization in Europe. The CPN Maoist currently after the jump into the 'mainstream' politics played an initiative role in introducing a Maoist Communist Party in Bhutan as well. The new party in Bhutan is said to have greatly inspired from the Nepalese People's War and want to have a same practice there.

In 2004, a small group split from the CPN (M) to form Jana tantric Tarai Mukti Morcha. Till today this group has split up into more than five groups and said to have no

³⁸ Prakash Lohani (2003) "Activities against Monarchy intolerable" The Kathmandu Post 21st December 2003.

specific ideological destiny. The group accused the CPN (M) of not guaranteeing the autonomy of the Terai region. The name is in Nepalese, which means Terai Peoples Liberation Front in English. The Jwala Singh faction of the Janatantrik Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM-J) was formed by Nagendra Kumar Paswan. Jwala Singh in August 2006 after he broke away from the Jaya Krishna Goit led JTMM. Jwala Singh is a former CPN-Maoist cadre and had joined Goit when he floated the JTMM. Later, he developed differences with Goit over the strategies to be adopted for the liberation of the Terai and establishment of an independent Terai state.³⁹ In 2009, a faction under Matrika Yadav splitted from UCPN (M) to form a Terai based party.

Nepali society is profoundly unequal. Average income in Kathmandu is five times higher than income in the mid western districts that have become the Maoist heartlands, and there are poorer districts still. The majority of Nepal's people are excluded from most avenues of personal advancement and many sources of justice for reasons of ethnicity, caste, gender, social class and regional origin. The country is also based on the one place centric in the form of Kathmandu. The fact that the real reason for the emergence of Maoism were not addressed properly by the Nepali government. Until it had assumed massive proportions can be explained at least at least partly in terms of the ruling elite not having any political terms. Findings in the districts that were most affected by it. Nepali party politics since the mid 1990s has been short terms and parties have been often used the people's war as a stick with which to beat their rivals. Many politicians have used their positions to form what as distributional contribution⁴⁰ coalitions in order to enrich themselves and forces with a longstanding apathy towards multi party democracy since 1990 has been a game played by politicians at the center which has brought very few rewards.

Therefore, it is vital to understand local contexts, as well as common political and sociological aspects, while dealing with insurgencies. During this, we hope to achieve

³⁹ Nepal opposition slams P.M. Over emergency" *Times of India*, 12 December 2001.

⁴⁰As it had been quoted by Joanna Pfaff-Pfaff-Czarnmecka in the book Nationality and ethnicity in a Hindu kingdom. kingdom

this understanding by comparing cases from two south Asian nations. This analysis will provide important insights on Maoist movements and set a path for further analysis of Maoist and guerilla movements in the world.

Mass Movement of 1996

The major contribution of the fourth congress lies in the formation of the United left front for the joint mass movement in 1996 and the functional unity with the Nepali Congress for democratic movement. It was after 1999 onwards where the efforts for objective thinking and correct policy has been observed in different aspects like struggles in the line of thinking organizational approach, class struggles, left unity for democratic movement and the process of party unification. As opposed to the united front for the anti Panchayat struggle in 1996 was success. "Subsequently the United left Front Organized to fight against the monarchy and its Panchayat system. The following groups joined the front CPN(M), CPN(Marxist), CPN(Fourth Congress), CPN(erma), CPN(Manandhar) CPN(Amatya), Nepal Mazdoor Kishan party, CPN (M), CPN (Maoist), CPN (Masal) etc. It was thus this united front, which played extremely vital role in the historical mass movement in 1990. Although, the diversity of thoughts created difficulties in the operation of united front, it existed for an important period even after the mass movement due mainly to good understanding among the major parties. Historically, because of the joint efforts under United left Front, Party Unity would be achieved for the formation of CPN(UM) in 1990.

The people's movement of 1990, which was joint movement of all the political parties, which saw a different tune within the political sphere of Nepal. It can be termed as it is not concerned with the change of the policies of the government, but it is totally opposed to the existing political structure.⁴¹ It is offered either in the form of a violent revolution or in an attempt at completely the existing political arrangement including personal

⁴¹ Nepal opposition slams P.M. Over emergency" *Times of India*, 12 December 2001.

ideologies of the existing regime into a new order. However, in the sixth congress held in which the congress visualized conflict of two political lines. In March 1996, a formal split in the party took place. CPN (UM) under leadership of Manmohan Adhikari and Bandev Gautama to form CPN (M).

New Democracy and People's War

In March 1996 Pushp Kamal Dahal (Prachanda), General Secretary of communist party of Nepal (Maoist) decided to take arms against the monarchy and the existing symbolic democratic political system. It was on 4 February 1996 Baburam Bhattarai presented the Nepali congress led government of Sher Bahadur Deuba with a list of 40 demands related to nationalism, democracy, framing of a new constitution, declaration of Nepal a secular nation, etc. In fact, Baburam Bhattarai letter contained an ultimatum. That the government should take steps towards the fulfillment of its demands by February 17th, 1996. Or else they would be forced to resort to an armed struggle against the existing state. However, in the mean time, while the Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba was on a state visit to India, the CPN (Maoist) struck on 13th February 1996, before the deadline could expire.⁴² Thus February 13 marks a historic and decisive victory for the revolutionary Marxist Leninist-Maoist line over the various brands of revisionism and neo-revisionism plunging the Nepalese Communist movement for long, and in that sense the supreme sacrifice made by the historic martyrs in this phase of the revolution deserves permanent place in the annals of proletarian revolution.

The initiation of people's war of February 13 1996 was due to the necessity of prevalent conditions in Nepalese society, and its agenda rested upon yearlong preparations of the Maoist revolutionaries. The new historic initiation of the people's war gave blow to the revisionist and reformist past of the communist parties, which was, are by the achievement on both forms as an organizational and the struggle. This introduced a new era of democratic revolution in Nepal. It focused on all spheres, of the society, economic,

⁴² Prakash Lohani (2003) "Activities against Monarchy intolerable" The Kathmandu Post 21st December 2003.

political, social, and cultural⁴³. It was the organizational call of the right to rebel. Therefore, the CPN (Maoist) party led the masses all over Nepal, to rebel against the reactionary state the ruling feudal and bureaucratic class to smash the existing order and build a people's new democratic state.

On February 13, 1996, the army of Maoists attacked several government establishments. In one of its first operations a group of party revolutionaries captured a government agriculture Bank in Gorkah, subdued the bank staff and took into possession of the loan deeds of the farmers that had fixed their signatures to seek loans. After the advent of the armed struggle, the politically reactionary class was stunned. The launching of the great people's war struck within a powerful earthquake and posed a grave threat to them. Another interesting aspect of the CPN (Maoist) attack was that a new wave of curiosity and consciousness arose among the masses. The government very often tried to suppress it in various forms. However, their revolutionaries set a new trend through sacrifice and dedication. After the declaration of the people's war by CPN (Maoist), a Nepalese Journal Spotlight wrote

People's war is a revolutionary strategy developed by Mao Test Tsung in during the long struggle in China to overthrow Japanese imperialism. semi feudalism and semi colonialism countries that are semi feudal and semi colonial are suited to protracted people's war which under working class of leadership mobilizes the oppressed peasants in the countryside in waging armed struggle to liberate the countryside and surround the cities to and in the final taking of cities.

After the Maoists embarrassed the path of violence, they not only managed to take control of substantial territory in the isolated mid hill regions but also claimed to have people's government in 22 of the country's 75 district. They have influences in all the district of Nepal, and even the Tarai region, which used to be seen as an isolated politically, has not escaped from their influence. The rebellion is thus a growth phenomenon in south Asia, inspired by the inability of democratic institutions all over to deliver social and economic progress and attracting the under-educated rural youth with

⁴³ Saurabh Shukla (2001); ISI encouraging Nepal's Maoists', *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 17 June

gun wielding romanticism. There is doubt that the CPN (Maoist's) existing unity, during the fierce battle of people's war has played a leading role that reflects in the Nepalese communist movement. This unity has been entirely differently from the one in the past in which group wise unity and bargaining would have been a real unity of the revolutionaries from all the perspectives such as ideology, political line and spirit. Thus, guided by this high spirit of selfishness that the great people's war and ideology if conceded by its leadership are the main assets of not only a single particular group but are a collective assets of the whole movement.

Formation of CPN (M)

The emergence of the CPN (Maoist) in 1995 as the front ruler in carrying out the mass movement of arms struggle was not a new phenomenon as described earlier. Therefore, several other factions, which had followed the lone of Maoists, but due to some reasons not all, could carry on with this line of politics. As far as the Maoist ideological line is concerned it was in the late 1960s that the like-minded pro-Chinese communists held a party conference in India and accepted Maoist thoughts as the main ideological guidelines therefore it did not gain popularity.⁴⁴ Although the CPN (M) group adopted strategy but political scenario in Nepal forced it to suspend its revolutionary strategy. Further, there occurred splits in parties, which had adopted the Maoist line because they did not accept the leadership of the violent anti-landlords. The above movement, the line of Maoism which prior to the decades of 1990s solved the correct ideological orientation and a revolutionary political line. The political lone of Maoism which was adopted by the CPN (Maoist) and some other like minded political thoughts. Infact the new Democratic revolution was developed during the anti- imperialist regime in particular it was theory and strategy of new democracy and its application to the new concrete conditions in China at that time .

In fact, Mao talked about the new democratic revolution "New democratic Revolution" is part of world proletarian's socialist revolution. Opposes imperialism international

⁴⁴ Saurabh Shukla (2001); ISI encouraging Nepal's Maoists', *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 17 June.

capitalism, politically. It strains for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialist traitors and reactionaries and opposes the transformation of society into a society under bourgeoisie economically it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists traitors and reactionaries and distribution among the peasants of the land held by the land lords. Whole preserving private capitalist enterprise in general and not elimination of the rich peasant's economy: But if we analyze the situation in Nepalese context we find that some of the characters do not match with the Chinese structure .The Nepalese society is semi feudal in nature. ⁴⁵

Although the CPN (Maoist) and like-minded political parties claim that India looks upon Nepal as a colonial state. However, this is CPN (M) to keep away the masses from taking Indian side when the CPN (M) took part in the first democratic general elections in 1991, despite that the party was a new player in the political scenario in Nepal. It did figure best as a new party and won 69 seats. It in fact created history in the south Asian region. That a communist government took over power at the national level. But in the mid terms election of 1994 Mohan Bikram Singh was associated with the "Masal party" which split on the 6th April 1994. The new party founded under the veteran leader Dina Nath Sharma who also named its party Mashal declared to be with Maoist people's war group. The other party that strictly followed the Maoist path was the "Unity Centre" (Kta Kendra) which constituted around 1996. This party changed its name to communist party of Nepal (Maoist) and after long deliberations and discussions developed the present line on ideological political questions⁴⁶. By adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideological firmament, the party has chosen the path of protracted people's war. The CPN (Masal) and CPN (Unity Centre) followed the path of new democracy that is on the Model of Mao. The war against the UML's multi-party model of New Democracy. Although at times there were several small parties which believed in Maoism, but they

⁴⁵Prakash Lohani (2003) "Activities against Monarchy intolerable" The Kathmandu Post 21stDecember 2003.

⁴⁶Prakash Lohani (2003) "Activities against Monarchy intolerable" The Kathmandu Post 21stDecember 2003.

function did not succeed .

It can be stated that there emerged various groups within the communist party. Nevertheless, the prime aim of the parties, which followed on the warpath were lenient on some agendas. Like the CPN (Masal), the unities centre the Marxist-Leninist-Marxist - Maoist party and united people's fronts have been to establish a communist regime. Even though in the mean time some of these parties adopted as opportunist strategy .The CPN (Masal) have also been distancing themselves from the Marxist and Leninist parties for they abandoned the revolutionary path. The CPN (Masal) has expressed its commitment to the line of new democracy based on the Mao model. With the leadership of the proletariat and dictatorship of the people as essential attributes. Also the CPN (unity centre) which symbols as revolutionary communist party and leads the revolutionary front under people's army to achieve people's revolution without getting involved in the constitutional parliamentary system. The other group of the Marxist-Leninist -Maoist, which represents the worker and peasant class, believe that only through Leninist type organizational networks and Maoist type mobilization of the rural peasantry class they achieve true Maoism in Nepal.

By viewing the several factions of the communists, parties of Nepal and the emergence of the communist party of Nepal (Maoist) can be seen from the Masal faction. In 1983, the CPN (Masal) was formed by M.Singh. but after two years of its formation the two government split, paving the way to CPN (Mashal) were just differentiated only by their pronounciation.It was in the CPN (Mashal) faction in which the prominent leader, Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda of the CPN (Maoist) who is spreading the movement in a skilled manner rose on the political scenario of Nepal. The other contemporary and renowned CPN (Maoist) leader Baburam Bhattarai was still with Mohan Bikram Singh for some more time. As mentioned it was during the people's movement of 1990 when all the main political parties of Nepali congress and groups of seven left parties, came together to lead the movement, against King Brenda's Panchayat system though after the restoration of the democracy the left parties press for a fresh election to the assembly. In some months of November 1991 Mashal and Mashal emerged as a communist party of Nepal (Unity

centre) and went for elections emerged as the third largest party winning nine seats. In the meanwhile, CPN (Unity centre) held its first conference in 1991 and came up with the proposal of “protracted armed struggle” in the form of New Democratic revolution. However, by the 1996, mid term elections there again occurred a division within the unity centre, one headed by Nirmal Lama and another by Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda).

The CPN (Maoist), after initiating the people’s warpath emerged with a strong ideological line after debate and discussions in the congress regarding the political line to be adopted. As can be termed “the Maoist tactics” of isolating and attacking the army. By forging a united front of the remaining classes could provide fruitful guidance in this respect. In fact for nearly two and half years against a right liquidation clique opposing this ideological orientation and political line. Were finally expelled from the party in May 1994. The party ultimately decided of the historic third decided plenum held in March 1995 to gain with the initiation of the people’s war and chalked on the strategy and tactics of the people’s war in the country keeping in mind the speculation of Nepal. In the sense, the people’s war aimed for creating a new democratic state, and they marching towards socialism they finally towards communism through a continuous series of Cultural Revolution⁴⁷ under the dictatorship of proletariat and their making is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

What the CPN (Maoist) aimed in the political scenario of Nepal was to overthrow the Monarchy. In fact, all the communists’ parties of Nepal were well aware that without first overthrowing the monarchy, the possibility of stabilizing a proletarian regime is almost impossible. As rightly said the monarchy, which has been associated in the social traditions of Nepalese society, the monarchical institutions derives power and authority not only from the feudal elements who support it but also from all economic classes. Therefore the CPN (Maoist) started the theory of complete revolution by firstly starting with the opposition to feudal structure of the society. To make the movement a mass movement, the CPN (Maoist) first took the issue of poverty and social issues. There

⁴⁷,Michael Hutt.(Edt,2004),Himalayas“Peoples’war,Nepal’sMaoistRebellion’.NewDelhi Hurst co. PP 291-333

exists another important fact to which if not discussed would be like discriminating it. Till now, all the communist movement were active in the central and eastern part of Nepal, but only few cared about the southern part of Nepal. Because of this .The people of the low land of Nepal called the people of Terrain have, felt discriminated against by the people of the hills and mountains who dominate the socio- political life of Nepal. They feel that the existing communist parties have failed to address their grievances. Therefore, in the Terrain region separate Nepal Tarai communist parties were founded in July 19 0.

However, the joint efforts of some of the leading communist parties that followed the of Maoist are resultely marching forward to rejoin the disconnected chains of history with initiative for revolutionary polarization and to make the new democratic revolution in Nepal a success. Therefore, once it is started, it follows the objective law of development of people's war. Through its different strategic stages and take different twists, and any way will not stop until it has attained its final goal, a classless society of universal communism as thought by Mao in his theory of continuing the revolution u under the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the proletarian revolution has both immense challenges and opportunities in the present day. The CPN (Maoist) however going ahead with a heap towards achieving the goal. As confined by the CPN (Maoist) ideological lines and left the CPN (Maoist) in 1996. But during the party's third plenum in March 1991 it was fully decided to take up areas. Again, in the meeting of the central committee of the party held in September 1996 a concrete shape was given to the party. It was in this meeting that the name of Maoism came to be used instead of Mao Tse Tsung thought' until then only the communist party of Peru had adopted the term "Maoism". It was during this period that the party defined its military and political lines.

Evolving Situation

Historically, the revolutionary trend in the Nepalese communist movement for about a decade has degenerated. However, on the other, as can be said the CPN (Maoist) sincere and disciplined revolutionaries devising their correct ideological and political line and by uniting all the revolutionaries have been able to lead the people's war in Nepal today. It

can be said CPN (Maoist) movement is marching forward by maintaining a new unity and discipline revolutionaries devising their correct ideological and political line and by uniting all the revolutionaries, have been able to lead the people's war in Nepal today. It can be said CPN (Maoist) movement is marching forward by maintaining a new unity and discipline. Although very often in the process of development, one can see internal conflicts, difficulties, splits and factions. However, the people's war led by CPN (Maoist) which already had completed its 6th year manifests about the party's unit.

Further more during these early years of commencement of the people's war, the Maoists were perceived as the only revolutionary party among the masses. On the other, hand the other political parties p-received them as terrorist organizations. Nevertheless, the CPN (Maoist) in August 1997 initiated a new height by taking guerrilla warfare of qualitative military capabilities. Those who had assumed that the people's war is just an act of terrorism were faced with a set back on April 1999, when the party for the first time called for a "Nepal bandh" which was a great success. The "bandh" was so total that even factories markets and educational institutions were closed and motor vehicles were off the roads. The strike paralyzed most of the public life in the capital and other parts of the kingdom. Citing the anecdotes of a famed Hindu Temple in Pokhara, the most famous tourist destination in Nepal. The Kathmandu post wrote, "The temple was closed for there time in history owing to threat from Maoists. In the same year, the Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala attempted to crush the Maoist movement. Koirala government attempted Achyut, Krishna Kharel as the DGP of police. In May 1999, a police operation was launched as operation "Kilo sera" to exterminate the Maoism. During this period a lot of repressive measures were taken by the police. At that time almost all the political parties had extended their support to the government repression.

It was just not the operation, unlike Kilo Sera², but similarly on several occasions the government made to suppress the Maoist movement the Maoist's movement could not brought to halt, instead it kept the pace of the movement going. However, in the year 2000 the Deputy Prime minister Ram Chandra Pandey took the initiation for a dialouge between the government and the Maoists to find a solution on the ongoing crisis. Of

people's war which have been running for over five years ago. But the party general secretary Prachanda holds the view that the government used party leaders for mere political selfishness and for that he withdrew from the talks with G.P. Koirala.

King Birendra during his regime never tried to use the military against the Maoists. He wanted to solve the problem through dialogue between the government and CPN (M). But the unfortunate massacre at the Narayan Hiti palace sparked off a sudden political vacuum in Nepal. The Maoists in the meantime gained a lot of support from the masses even the royal Nepalese army was not deployed to stop the Maoists for further movement. As it had noted in Kathmandu Post, a report by an American intelligence firm, that "Maoist insurgents have already captured one third of the country and announced the creation of a provisional government that aims to take over the country within one or two years. The army prefers to stay neutral even if Maoist detachments are nearby. The population in Maoist dominated regions seem to support the insurgents while some sympathies with them if current trends are unchanged, it would ultimately lead to the government's collapse and the potential victory for the Maoist rebels.

Thus, a possible victory for the Maoists in Nepal can significantly change the balance of powers in South Asia. Although there were series of talks between the government and the Maoist leaders but eventually, on November 23, the Maoists once again declared war on the government bringing to a bloody end to the four-month-old ceasefire. The government invoked emergency and called the army for the first time. Nepal is passing through a period of great upheavals and change, which may forever change the course of Nepalese history. There has been a declaration of countrywide state of emergency since November 26, 2001 in the light of raging mass rebellion in the form of people's war led by the CPN (Maoist). There are daily reports of encounters between the two armies the CPN (Maoist), and royal Nepal army. The royal military take over was completed with the declaration of the countrywide state of emergency and suspension of all political and civil rights of the people. The parliament has been reduced to a rubber stamp. The pathetic state of the parliament and the parliamentary parties was reflected in the way they were forced to grant parliamentary approval. To the declaration of emergency by

king Gyanendra with the dissolution of the parliament all, the political leaders were put behind bars on corruption charges on February 20, 2002. However, the people's democratic forces under the leadership of CPN (maoist) have raised the resistance struggle against the royal military dictatorship to new heights both politically and militarily.

At that time, it was the existence of dual power in the country. The government of the king confined to headquarters urban areas and accessible areas of the Terai, whereas the rest of country is still under the control of the revolutionary forces of the CPN (Maoist) sounds and in this context, even the seven party alliances had been formed to protest against the monarchy and the military takeover. Then finally, to resign from the post and the election took place. Where the Maoists led by Pushp Kamal Dahal Prachanda had won by the big margins .Finally monarchy had to leave the palace and in place of them now parliamentary democracy is running.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC BASE OF THE MOVEMENT

Introduction

The Maoist insurgency in Nepal has been viewed from the several different perspectives. Some see it as a consequence of failed development perspectives others view it as ethnic uprising, and many attribute it to bad governance. If the Maoists development is considered to be solely an outcome of the problem of poverty and unemployment, the possibility of its upward movement to the point where it takes over state authority cannot be denied. However, this approach seems insufficient to answer two questions: why did the Maoists people's war begin from Rolpa and not from some other area where conditions were worse? Why are none of the districts of Nepal's far western region (the most underdeveloped area) included in the list of those twenty five districts in which the Maoists have formed there own district governments or Jan sarkars? If the Maoist insurgency is viewed mainly as a rebellion against the exclusion of ethnic groups and the Dalits community the possibility of a Maoist takeover is very unlikely. Moreover, how can this view account for the fact that out of a total of 608 persons killed by the Maoists up to October 2001, 33.73 percent belonged to non-Bahun and non-Chetri or Thakuri castes?

The perceptions of the Maoist issue, which overemphasis economic and or ethnic factors seem to be informed by the forty-point demand of the united people's front that was submitted to the government on 13 February 1996 a few days before the Maoists, began their armed action⁴⁸. This list of demands is an auxiliary item is an agenda provided for the public consumption, rather like an election manifesto. It is designed to be used an

⁴⁸B, L Joshi & Rose Leo, *Democratic innovation in Nepal*, Berkeley, California University Press, 1966, p.37.

instrument to neutralize pro establishment forces and particularly urban dwellers, opinion makers civil society and articulate sections of the masses and to cultivate and mobilize rural inhabitants and poor and marginalized sections of society to achieve the Maoists goals. These are proclaimed to overthrow of the present polity, based on multi party parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy through armed revolution, and its replacement with a new political system known as New People's democracy The Maoists key agenda items during their negotiations with the government-an interim government a new constitution and a republican state reveal the crux of the issue. Another point of reference it should be noted that the Maoist people's war started when the Nepali state was heading towards instability and crisis owing to the unholy alliances both in nature and purpose, that were being struck between the various parliamentary parties. Of course the Maoist insurgency has its own multiple dynamic and this includes social ethnic and economic issues but it is basically an ideological and political offensive against the present political system of the country. This chapter confines itself to an analysis of how the state has tried to contain the Maoist insurgency through security measures as well as negotiations. It presents the various strategies the state adopted to deal with the Maoists violent people's war between early 1996 and late 2001.

The chapter organized into various sections the first sections deal with the various issues as in the first case I deals with the state's withdrawal from the insurgency area, creating a consumptive environment for the Maoists to have their own territory. The second section focuses on why the government's attempts to reinstate the state failed and the third on the state's peace offensive. The final section suggests that the election of a constituent assembly would be the best means of managing the Maoist insurgency.

From one perspective the Maoist insurgency in its mid western stronghold areas can be seen as a renewal of an old confrontation between the Thakuri Raj and the radical left. The Thakuris (descendants of the rulers of the old principalities) and their clients had long dominated this area and the nature of their rule at local level was repressive. This was in accord with the authoritarian regime at the center during the party less Panchayat system (1962-90). Even after the restoration of democracy in 1990. The

former Panchas survived reviving their power base under a new guise by responding to the Nepali congress's policy of incorporating the traditional social and political elites in its scheme of party building during the early 1990s. However the sense of popular empowerment that spread after the successful 1990 Jan Angolan introduced a new power against the traditional forces. Both the CPN (UML) and the CPN (formerly the UPF) emerged as the most influential left forces in the people's fight against various forms of the Thakuri Raj in this region. The equation among the left forces has changed in favor of the CPN (Maoist) as a consequence of the UML's movement from the left towards the right from the center in the political spectrum of the country. The local Thakuri centrist alliance in the mainstream parties has never been strong.

Social Structure

The hierarchical social structure in the Nepalese society is also no less responsible for the ongoing problem. These disparities in the economic, political and administrative spheres, linguistic, racial and cultural differences create serious problems in the nation building process⁴⁹ according to the hierarchical social structure the Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars dominated every sphere of social life in Nepal. The religious and social minorities and indigenous people feel discriminated against in the political, economic and cultural areas by the ruling elites. The ethnic communities such as the Limbus and Gurungs are treated as second-class citizens. One aspect of the domination of the Brahmins and Kshatriya was that a certain measure of cultural uniformity was tried to be achieved in Nepal by bringing different tribes under the fold of Hinduism as a result of the process of Sanskritization.

But this proved to be one of the dangerous exercises in the subsequent days. This saw all the minorities' tribes to gather under the umbrella of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). To fight for their independence and equality in 1990, the People's Movement when the constitution was formulated it declared Nepal as a Hindu state and Nepali language as an official language. Creating differences between the indigenous ethnic

⁴⁹ Ramakant, B, C Upreti "Regionalism in Nepal: A Study of the Terai region" in Prinder Grover (ed) Encyclopedia, SAARC, Nations Nepal New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publishers, 1997, P 243.

minorities on the one hand and the ruling class on the hand. Other such discrimination helped the CPN (Maoists) to mobilize the mass minorities support in the people's war against the ruling class.

Looking back at the history of the communist movement in Nepal. It can be rightly said that every communist party in Nepal unlike worldwide communist parties of other countries was formed by the petty proletariat, and other oppressed class fighting against the decaying social evils prevailing in the society according to the Maoists the current dictatorship of the bourgeoisie oppressed the majority. Therefore, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is necessary step towards world without inequality or dictatorship in a communist world. As opined by Gupta in the beginning of the CPN's rank and fill came from among the peasantry especially landless and lower middle class intelligentsia and business community in the cities⁵⁰. Thus from this point of view the politics of Nepal's political parties have left a vacuum which cannot be filled by any organizations which can accommodate ethnic or regional aspirations. This situation helped the CPN (Maoist) to establish itself rural areas of the country within few years of the fragmented society of Nepal. Paved the way for the popularity of the CPN (Maoist). Among the masses and this due to the social problems, which is gravely, hampering the cohesiveness of social structure can be said that society was feudal and agrarian with no industries to speak. The political consciousness was confined to the valley and Tiera.

The Tiera the ethnic group in the hill region will still away from the mainstream. Social and economic integrity was a conspicuous feature of the Nepalese society⁵¹ is mentioned. Earlier the Nepalese society could be divided into a small ruling elites an intermediate sized group of government officials, large landholders' merchants and most importantly the vast majority of the population consisting of peasants. But what helped the CPN(Maoist) to lead forward and grab the opportunity to lead the mass revolution of

⁵⁰ A.Gupta, *Politics in Nepal: A Study of Post Rana development and party politics* Bombay, 1964 p.210.

⁵¹ Georg. Luckas (1967), "*History and class-c*" Rishikesh Shaha (1990), *Politics in Nepal 1980 1980-1990: Referendum, stalemate and Triumph of People power*, Manohar, New Delhi, and Pp.32.

people's and political instability over the years which helped the Maoist emerged as a formidable force ⁵².Beside this one cannot ignore the fact that due to some serious blunders committed by the rulers and frustration of the people over power abuse. By individual family community, partisan interests and the systems inability to check them also contributed to the rapid growth of Maoists.⁵³

Regional Base

The Maoist insurgency erupted first in the mid western region of Nepal, which is considered the most backward, and poverty town area. It was mainly in the districts of Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot, but as time went by it spread to the adjoining areas and later rapidly to almost the whole of Nepal. The extreme left parties always initiated the movement in the Most poverty town areas, especially the mid hilly regions and the hills regions because these areas were inaccessible for the development plans by the government and were neglected, so from the very beginning all the extreme left parties concentrated their movements form the underdeveloped districts of the mountain regions.

It is considered that out of 75 districts of Nepal, 3 districts are the worst affected by the Maoist insurgency. It can be said that the Maoist insurgents are gradually expanding their social base. At one time, the movement was limited to the upper caste but it has now expanded to different cast groups. Even the women have been participating in terrorist activities⁵⁴. one thing is clear this due to the failure of the government to change the socio economic condition, Nepal now is facing the acute problem of insurgency by the Maoist, which has organized the masses to raise voice against the government regions of the eruption of Maoist insurgency is considered to be one of the poorest in Nepal. It is estimated that those districts are worst affected by the poverty and other social issue.

⁵²Lok Raj Baral (1977), *Opposition Politics in Nepal*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, P.88.*consciousness*", Merlin Press, Pp. 15-27.

⁵³ Nischal .N Pandey. (2001), "*Nepal's Maoist movement*" *implications for India and China*: Samkalin's Tessari Duniya, Pp.233-246.

⁵⁴ Harjeet Singh. (2008), "south Asia Defense and strategic year", New Delhi, Panchseel PP. 62-94

Table 1
Nepal's social composition (1996)

S. No	Category and one	No of group	No	Percent
1	thnic	26	6572265	35.5
	Mountain	3	136552	0.7
	Hill	11	477693	25.
	Inner Teri	7	20606	1.1
2	Caste	5	1452652	7.9
	Hill	30	1452652	56.4
	Terai	9	1042551	40.3
3	Religions	21	7457.170	16.1
	Hill (churaute)	3	246 .34	3.6
	Terai(Muslim,Sikh)	1	664125	0.0
4	inguistic	1	177	3.5
	Terai (Bengal)	2	662347	4.4
5	Others	1	7909	0.0
	Mountain	1	13471	1.0
	Hill	-	1741	3.4
	Terai	-	1 4216	0.0
6	Other Unstated	-	627514	40.0
	All	60	1 491097	100

Sources -B.C. Upreti; "Nepal in search of good governance "Asian studies,Vol,19,No 1,July- Dec,2006,P.63.

To a considerable extent, Maoists economic goal of livelihood reflects the concerns of common people in these areas that have remained under the influence of the vested feudal interests in Nepal for a very long time .Therefore the grass root support of the Maoists came from these areas⁵⁵. The government's initiative for development in these areas has never been looked seriously. As in these places, it lacks the basic amenities like schools, roads, Medical facilities or electricity, which were considered as the basic need at the time.

Economic Issues

The lack of economic development helped the CPN (Maoist) to strengthen itself and also mobilize the people in the poverty torn areas. By review in the development planning under the five years plan. It can be observed that it failed to improve people's welfare in fact the lives of the common masses does not change, the condition has deteriorated from bad to worse, in these years. The developmental process has brought little scope of improvement in the rural areas development benefits are largely concentrated in the cities and in urban areas. As a result, the basic amenities such as drinking water, health services and transport a facility are lacking and has worsened⁵⁶ .It can be rightly said diverse economic interest had always given rise to social tension. ither economic interest may act as an accelerator or a brake on separatism, among the most frequent and precocious secessionists' backward groups in backward regions economic loss or gain plays the smallest role.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Thapa, Deepak. Thapa (2003), "*Understanding Maoist Movement of Nepal* ", Kathmandu, center for social research and development pp.193-226.

⁵⁶B.C. Uprety (2001) "*Uneasy Friends*":*Reading Indo-Nepal Relations*, Delhi kalinga Publications.Pp 34.

⁵⁷ S.D. Muni(2003), "*Maoist insurgency in Nepal*": *The challenges and the Response*, New Delhi Rupa co in association with observer Research foundation. Pp 34.

The CPN (Maoists) aims for economic change and creation of social wealth accompanied by change in every sphere of society. More important in the outlook and thinking of the people. In fact Maoists emphasize that economic development by itself is not enough nor is it the essence of socialism growth mostly serve and be guided by larger political and social goals fundamentally the quest of the proletariat and laboring people to master all of society and ultimately to eliminate classes on world scale.⁵⁸

In the case of Nepal it is clearly visible how the economic conditions prevails which has helped the CPN (Maoist) to go to the masses and lead the revolution to a new stage. The gape between rich and poor, the source of unemployment ,the oppression and degradation of women, the subjugation of and discrimination against nations and nationalities ,the problems of health care ,housing are other sources of class society in Nepal, which the government from the initial phase did not taking it seriously.⁵⁹

From the monarchy period itself, the social situation remained the same. Although there were popular mass movements, but this did not distract and disturb the ruling elites has to change their attitude. The semi feudal structure of the society hampered the social order in Nepal⁶⁰ .The feudal order in Nepal not only upheld the interests of the privileged classes but also kept the state underdeveloped and weak. The society conservative and orthodox, and the people ignorant and exploited in fact the disparities between various aspects. Agriculture nationalities and putting politics is fundamentally making sure that economic strategy prompted the revolutionary transformation of society.⁶¹

⁵⁸ B.C Upretty.(2001)“*Uneasy Friends*”:*Reading Indo-Nepal Relations*, Delhi kalinga Publications.

⁵⁹ Anand Swaroop Verma (2001), ‘*Rolpa Se Dolpa Tak*, Nepal ka Maowadi Andolan”, Samkalin Teesari Duniya (in Hindi), Noida, February, Pp34-39.

⁶⁰ A.S. Verma (2001) “*Maoist Movement in Nepal*”, New Delhi: Samkalin Teesari Duniya.

⁶¹ Loni Anderson “*Emergency and Public safety Laws in Nepal*” Seminar 572, April 2002, Pp 54-57.

Thus it relied on social mobilization and the spread of social values, as this served the cause of the state. The Maoists have demanded radical land reforms land of the rich proprietors should be confiscated and distributed to the homeless and others who have no landmine addition to this they also demanded the loans waver to the poor farmers, minimum industrial wages protection for cottage and small industry and elimination of corruption and black market. Theoretically, the Maoists did not see any conflict between the rural and urban areas or between agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy.⁶²

According to the charter of demands, half of it is centered on the economic aspect. A survey of Nepalese economy gives the picture that it did not make any significant change in theses several areas. The economic conditions remained unimproved during the various plan⁶³. The distributions of sources are not equitable in Nepal. Development is a myth for the people, especially in the western part of the country. Therefore the people especially in the western part of the country. Therefore, their demand related to the economy point, that the foreign capital, which comes to Nepal's industry, should be stopped⁶⁴. In fact, the Maoist considers that sufficient income should be generated within the country and the economic infrastructure should be developed from the economy. For the economic development in the country, they insist development priority in the backward region, instead of the cities. The labors in industries should be given proper wages. The countries inflation should be controlled. In Nepal there are several cottage and small industries. On the part of market economy they insist that brokers and commission dent's property be confiscated and the money invested in industry and thus way the black marketing could be stopped.⁶⁵

⁶² V.D.Chopra,(ed 2001) *"Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia"*, New Delhi:Gyan Publishing House,2001.

⁶³ Anju, Susan, Alex *"Maoists of Nepal"* downloaded from the website of Institute of Peace and con B.Raman, *'Maoists Tet like offensive in Nepal'* Paper No.37.

⁶⁴ Anthony David, *"Nepal faces Upsurge in Violence"* Jane's intelligence Review Vol.36, No 26, April 2000, Pp.35-37.

⁶⁵ N.Gellnes David, Joanna Pfaff Czarnecka and John Whelpton, (ed.), *"Nationality and Ethnicity in a*

The interesting aspect in the process of economic development can also be traced out from the facts, which is observable that the government of the Nepali congress did not take any appropriate step to change the economic disparities in Nepal. In fact, the socio economic reforms undertaken time to time by the Nepali congress government led to varied reactivation in the opposition political parties for their petty politics due to the varied personal interests of the political. Parties, there was no inclination to help the existing governments for any serious issue to solve it. That is the reason that Nepal is one of the lowest income groups of countries. One of the least developed country. One of the least developed country, and is considered one the country to be most affected by the recent adverse conditions.⁶⁶

Although the Maoist are fighting against the economic disparity of the poverty torn Nepal.⁶⁷ Very often due to their won destructive tactics, they also bent upon destroying the infrastructure of Nepal. Maoists have from their violent campaign from 1996-2006 tries to target unguarded bridges, held no water projects supply.⁶⁸ Irrigation offices, horticulture farms, forestry projects telecommunications and government buildings and it has already cost the Nepali nations of millions of dollars.

As per the statement made by various political elite's and also from the monarchy it seems to convey, the economic equality is one of the main objectives of the planning for

Hindu Kingdom". The Politics of culture in Contemporary Nepal. Amsterdam: Harward Academic Publishers, 1997.conflict studies.Pp 32.

⁶⁶ Loni Anderson "Emergency and Public safety Laws in Nepal" Seminar 572, April 2002, Pp 54-57.

⁶⁷ Verinder, Grover (Ed), *Encyclopedia SAARC, Nations, Nepal, New Delhi Deep and Deep Publishers, 1997.*

⁶⁸ L.S. Baral (1972), "Opposition Groups in Nepal: 1960-70", *India quarterly, New Delhi, Vol.XXVIII, No.1, January-March, p, 15.*

development in Nepal⁶⁹. It is intended that caste and class, shall not be of any importance in creating resources, each individual shall be treated only according to his or her merits .But this has not been happening in the present economic scenario in Nepal. Nepal in its own geographical specificity's suffers from all these merits.⁷⁰ In fact, the process of regional imbalance and unequal development is giving to sharp regional contradictions in the country. As Nepal is considered, a semi feudal contradictory 90% of the population is engaged in agriculture. For agriculture process one needs adequate amount of land but only 10% of the population owns land.

Table 2
Land Tenure Distribution after “Land reforms”

Land Tenure with Land holding	Total house holdings	Households with Land holdings(% of households)	% of Cultivation of area	Average size of holding (hect)
Land Lords	92.2	100	100.00	18.33
Owner Cultivator	1.8	3.31	26.91	1.67
Owner Cum Tenants	62.0	65.22	49.19	1.64
Tenant cultivators	19.1	20.70	15.38	1.74
Landless	78	10.77	8.62	1.74
Total	100.00	100	100	-

Sources- Baburam Bhattarai “Politico Economic Rationale of People’s war in Nepal downloaded from the Maoist website, Pp 26.

⁶⁹ Hari Prasad Upretty Prasad, “*Problems of governance in Nepal.*”BIISS Journal, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

⁷⁰ V. D. chopra .(ed 2001) “*Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia*”, New Delhi:Gyan Publishing House,2001.

Therefore, Nepalese agriculture is extremely backward and also primitive in nature. Particularly in the hilly region, when the CPN (Maoist) have based up its stronghold. The nature of agriculture operation is frustrating and alarming. But in general, even today 99 of the total investment in Nepalese agriculture is made in land the country's economic structure in agriculture. But viewing the parameters of Nepalese society, which still is it the semi feudal character, there is a lack of land ownership for the peasants.⁷¹The CPN (Maoists) through its mass base of the peasantry class also went ahead with the distribution of land rights. Although various land reforms were initiated but there were never a success. Generally, in Nepal, the distribution of land is very unequal and a large majority of population is landless and poor peasants. The life of peasantry class is very difficult. Although because of the land reform s taken in the 60s it could not liberate society from the degenerated conditions. The feudal ownership of the land is strong in the mid-mountain region, and in the Tarai. In the hillside, the farming is carried out by the tribes.⁷²

Therefore, the CPN (M) did not lag behind, but instead took the issue on hand, and started mobilizing the people of these regions. It also to be noted that, the CPN (M) were not only the party, which had raised the issue of land reforms. However, earlier the other communist parties to gain advantage of the existing situation had co-opted the issue. However, they did not keep the same momentous as shown by the CPN (Maoists) in the current phase. It can be rightly said that the CPN (Maoists) economic policy helped the party to strengthen itself in this region and keep the tempo going.

The problem of unemployment in Nepalese society is of great concerned. The nature of

⁷¹Shyam Shrestha, "Nepali Cart before Horse" Himal south Asia, ol .5 (sep-oct.1997 *The Maoist challenge in Nepal*", *Akrosh*, Vol.5, No.14, January, P.50.

⁷²Hari Prasad, "Problems of governance in Nepal."BISS Journal, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

development can be traced to the nature of existing economic infrastructure such as land lawlessness and skewness in the distribution of agriculture land. The existence of Arm conflict distinguished unemployment and underemployment is both the cause and effect of backward agriculture. And without transferring this large scale surplus labour to non agricultural sector it is just impossible to develop the poor agricultural land, low production, lack of alternative employment other than agriculture lack of market and high population pressure on the land have forced people to migrate. It can be said that the basic economic base of the Nepalese society in more over depend on agriculture. Therefore 0 of the labour force engaged in agriculture, and the domestic products too came from the agriculture sector. However, lack of agriculture development in the mountain region leave the people of this region without any tool.⁷³

Therefore, the agriculture economy was marked by rampant poverty in the hills. In fact, in rural areas, land other than labor is still the key to subsistence without access to sufficient land. It is increasingly difficult avoid feeling into serious deficit and poverty⁷⁴. The industrial sector of Nepal is not blooming. Most of the industries are closing down either due to lack of raw materials or because they are not able to compete with foreign goods. Therefore, less than 55 are utilizing their total capacity due to this the surplus labour of the country especially from the rural areas migrate to India and some to the Tarai.

The Problem of unemployment in the Nepalese society is one the vital issue. The unemployed local youths either migrated to the other side of the border to India or join the CPN (Maoists). People's power to join the society from such discrimination. Due to the economic downturn in what is already, one of Asia's poorest nations would push

⁷³ Sudhir Sharma. (2001) "*Nepal terrorist groups-Maoist insurgents*" (The Maoist movement an evolutionary, (Merlin press) vol 6 PP 39-7 .

⁷⁴ N. Pancha Mahajan (2001), "*The Maoist insurgency and crisis of Governability in Nepal*, in Dhruva Kumar (ed), Domestic conflict and crisis of Govern ability in Nepal, centre for Nepal studies.

towards base. To change the power structure in the effected districts the Maoists have led the mass movement, and actively got the mass support. At the grass root level from where the Maoists got the fire for the movements, was primarily due to the failure of the government to look upon the interests of the people of poverty torn districts of the hilly regions⁷⁵. The other parts of Nepal was also ignored by the government Nepal's efforts toward economic development in recent years have been subdued by increasingly acute and rampant corruption that marginalized the prospects of good governance in Nepal. Although good governance requires accountable, legitimate and transparent government, corruption has been the biggest obstacle and problem that had widened the gap between government the citizen in the absence of an acute civil society.

Social Issue

Besides the economic deprivation, there exist various other problems in the Nepalese social structure, which are seen to be responsible for the Maoist Movement. Historically, looking at the facts of Nepalese society it can be asserted that there existed diversity in the Nepalese society. Different race of People resided in the same demographic settlements interlinked with geographic and largely to a greater extent affected by it are the demographic features characterized by the congregations of many ethnic groups like Aryans, Mongolians, and Indo-Burmans⁷⁶. Ever since the population have remained were well integrated, but the main reasons for started causing the alienation was the dominant role played by the higher castes and class who created dissatisfaction at lower levels within the social order division, which led the Maoists to exploit the gap to their adequate.

For the centuries, the Nepalese ruling has inflicted discrimination, exploitation, and oppression against other religions, languages and nationalities. In fact, tribal community

⁷⁵V.D. Chopra (ed 2001) *"Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia"*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2001.

⁷⁶Sangeeta, Thapliyal (edt2003) *Rise of Maoists in Nepal: causes and implications* Manak Publications.

wanted for themselves a regional identity rather than a national identity. Some of them even opposed the central authority, while some supported it, and, some people to stay aloof from the politics of the country. But here the point that emerges is that the Maoists were quick to identify all these problems, ethnic discontent and to their purpose, taking advantage of the correlation between ethnicity and poverty, which added ethnic demands as a flavor to their ideological struggle.⁷⁷

The Issue of Religion and Ethnicity

The assertion of ruling elite's in Nepal, who hold that Hinduism should be the state religion in the country gave many of the ethnic tribes' considerable discomfort⁷⁸. The establishment of some sort of a Hindu hegemony in Nepal gave rise to the emergence of a new hierarchical social order. The rulers and the priestly class occupied the top position in the society. Apart from all these the ethnic tribes of Nepal were not in favor of adoption of the new religion, which was imposed upon them. Although it seems that, the issue of Hinduism was not much of a concern before the emergence of the movement. However, the Maoists in their social agenda gave due importance to this. Therefore this factor of religion boosted the movement when many ethnic tribes joined the movement to safeguard their identity. At various levels the people joined the people's war because of the discrimination they faced from Hindu chauvinism⁷⁹, and from the reactionary ruling class. It is not only the economic repression which was the reason for the people to join the people's war but problems like caste, ethnicity and language were also there due to which the people felt oppressed and consequently joined the people's war to fight against

⁷⁷ Krishna B. Bhattachan, (2001) "Possible Ethnic Revolution or insurgency in a Predatory Unitary Hindu state, Nepal", in Dhruva Kumar (ed), No.4. P.148.

⁷⁸ N. Gellnes, David Joanna Pfaff Czarnecka and John Whelpton, (ed.), "Nationality and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom". The Politics of culture in Contemporary Nepal. Amsterdam: Harward Academic Publishers, 1997. conflict studies. Pp 23

⁷⁹ Sangeeta, Thapliyal (ed 2003) *Rise of Maoists in Nepal: causes and implications* Manak Publications. Pp3

this repression. Rightly taken from the account of Li Onest ⁸⁰ who visited the insurgency torn areas in mid hills .In her account she stated.

In Rolpa 80% of the people are Magar. In Rukum it is about 65 %.In Jajarkot it is about 40% to 50 %.Sologan is about 40 Percent Magar. In the west as a whole, it's about 40 to 50 percent Magar .All the Magars are poor peasants. They mainly practice natural shamanism with local priests (Jharkari).But religion is not that strongly practiced of among the Magar people. They have been dominant by Hindu Religion has suppressed the Magar, indigenous religion and enforce the practice of Hinduism. Earlier Magars used to eat beef but the government banned this.

The communist party of Nepal (Maoist) has its policy, based for the oppressed nationalities in Nepal. The programmes included the movement against the sorts of exploitation. With the join participation of all nationalities, they are trying to achieve an end to all form of oppression and exploitation. Which may be based on nationality, language, religion etc giving equal treatment and opportunities to all the ethnic groups and their respective languages? An important aspect of the Maoist's support base is the participation in bulk of ethnic tribal minorities (indigenous people) at the grass root level. From the table it can be clearly assumed what are the distinct features of religion in the country, which fueled the movement and join the people's war for the religion right. The ethnic composition of the Maoist affected region, focus prominently on the ethnic part of the movement.

⁸⁰, N.Pancha Mahajan (2001), "The Maoist insurgency and crisis of Governability in Nepal, in Dhruva Kumar (ed), centre for Nepal studies Pp43

Table 3
Major Religions of Nepal (percent)

Religions	2002 ()	2006 ()
Hindu	9.5	6.51
Buddhist	5.32	7.7
Islam	2.66	3.53
Kirat	-	1.72
Jain	0.66	0.04
Christian	0.03	0.17
Others	2.43	0.14
Unstated	.1	0.10

Sources -B.C. Upreti; "Nepal in search of good governance "Asian studies,Vol,19,No 1,July-Dec,2006,P.63.

Table 4
Major Ethnic groups

Ethnic groups	Total Population	Percentage
Chettri	2968.082	16
Hill Brahmin	2388.455	12.9
Magar	1339.308	7.2
Tharu	1194.224	6.5
Tamang	1081.252	5.8
Newar	1041.070	5.6
Kurmi	963.665	5.8
Yadav	705.137	4.1
Muslim	653.055	9.5
Raj-kirati	525.557	3.8
Limbu	-	1.6
Sherpa	-	0.6

Sources -B.C. Upreti; “Nepal in search of good governance “Asian studies, Vol, 19, No 1, July-Dec, 2006, P.63.

The Maoists had many ethnic, religion minorities to support their movement. Like the Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Newars and Tharus of Mid western region⁸¹. It also had attracted the minorities of central and eastern Nepal like Rais, Limbus, and Kiratis, who found a ray of hope in the movement. The people of this region are mostly Buddhists who do not follow the Nepalese language. That is for their right to language and religion they supported the Maoist movement. The Magars and the Gurung, who resides in the hilly region, are generally looked down upon the ruling elite. However, sometimes they

⁸¹ Sangeeta Thapliyal, Lucas (edt2003) *Rise of Maoists in Nepal: causes and implications* Manak Publications. Pp32

are treated well and are allowed to carry and their customs and traditions if they do not go against their basic principles of Hinduism. Thus, the forceful imposition of religion, tradition and customs forced the indigenous people to join the Maoist movement and take it to new heights⁸². The political leaders of Nepal do not understand the social problems or they are ignorant. They are betraying their won class audience and at times championing the cause of other classes. Even the 1990s constitution defined Nepal as a multilingual state. (article4), but the ethnic tribes are treated differently. Although Nepalese language, the mother tongue of about 50% of the Population is called the national language and also the official language but most of the tribes speak their own mother tongue.⁸³ The Nepalese national parties have not initiated to solve the problem of the country. Therefore, the situation has helped the Maoists to establish themselves as strong political force in the most backward rural areas of the country within a few years.

The Maoists demand from the government is on the question of secular state, and equal rights, exploitation based on caste language status and land distribution that has made them came closer to the ethnic organizations of the remote areas. The argumentation is that it has been part of the basic strategy of the Maoist politics in Nepal to win the downtrodden section of the Nepali society as infantry for their political ambitions.⁸⁴ Moreover, along the ethnic composition, the leadership of the CPN (Maoists) hardly differs from that of the leading national parties. However, one cannot ignore the fact that the minorities groups in some cases due to the feeling of consequences are also organizing themselves to fight against all the evils.⁸⁵ The issues discussed earlier have

⁸²Krishna B.Bhattachan, (2001) "*Possible Ethnic Revolution or insurgency in a Predatory Unitary Hindu state, Nepal*", in Dhruba Kumar (Ed), No.4. P.148.

⁸³ George Luckas. (1967), "*History and class-consciousness* Rishikesh Shaha (1990), *Politics in Nepal 1980 1980-1990: Referendum, stalemate and Triumph of People power*, Manohar, New Delhi, and Pp.32.

⁸⁴Michael Hutt, (EDT, 2004), Himalayas"*Peoples'war, Nepal'sMaoistRebellion*".NewDelhi: Hurst&co. Pp291-333.

⁸⁵Karan, Pradyumna, P.S.Hiroke, (1996) "*A Himalayan in Transition*" Tokyo: United Nations University Press. Pp 23.

also emerged in a sharp way after the 1990 democratic upsurge. A large number of minority groups are being politicized and trying to assert for their rights based on their distinct identity. Thus, the Hindu and chettris have tried to deprive the fundamental rights and human rights of the minority people in the country and tried to treat themselves. In fact “ the CPN (Maoists) party have been stressing the development of the united front, such as the United Front of the People’s for different classes, castes ,nationalities, and regions oppressed by feudalism according to the specific conditions of Nepalese society.

Conclusion

Therefore, the government did not look at the problem that gave the CPN (Maoists) an opportunity to be in the front line to go ahead lead the movement. It should be seen that the successful implementation of such a programme could have meant a radical change in the public administration to make it more responsive to the needs of the peasant communities. But all the ruling parties have done nothing in the area, in fact it will not be fully true to say that the CPN (Maoists) if given the opportunity would be able to solve the problem .It is only the political objective that the Maoists are trying to avail for their popularity and political gain.

The Maoist insurgency has survived for a period of sixty years and continues to enter into a new phase. This in itself is a clear indication that the movement is no longer a temporary phenomenon without social bases even the Nepali congress supported high caste groups in their conflict with dalits in eastern Nepal .And on the issue of woman's property rights, the congress stance can be compared to the Taliban's. For its part, the pro poor, UMK too has supported the real cause of big landlords when the commission it set up recommended doing away with the rights given to tenant farmers by king Mahendra in the Mid 1990s ⁶. It can therefore say that all the political outfits were in sincere terms

⁶S.D. Muni (2003), “*Maoist insurgency in Nepal*”: *The challenges and the Response*, New Delhi Rupa co in association with observer Research foundation

supported the real cause of the poor.

Due to the widespread corruption on all levels social and political instability bickering parliamentarian and abuse of power caused frustration among large segments of the population. The conditions of the masses have gone from bad to worst. Due to the lack of proper functioning of the government in the development of the economic infrastructure .The government, do not pay any heed to the programmes towards the development of economic infrastructure. Many economic reforms are to be taken .In the present stage in the Nepalese society due to the semi feudal structure the main hurdle has grown much bigger. The people's reason to join the people's war is due to inequality in the society.

The main objectives as opined by some of the Maoist leaders are to enhance promote and advance the culture, language and economic standards. Thus, Maoists position and their demand for participation in the revolutionary struggle are to fight against the reactionary government. Which oppressed them economically, politically, socially they demand for the equality of all castes and respect for all religions and culture, as they have not given equal rights. Which every human being requires in all aspects. They proclaimed to the masses to get united and fight for the equality, because for centuries, the semi-feudalistic society have created an extremely hierarchical society in Nepal. This kind of discrimination and National oppression had its effects in the Nepalese history and has its own uniqueness and these are the reasons why the Maoist insurgents have lot of popular support in the village as they reel under poverty and unemployed.

It can be argued that the Maoist insurgency problem cannot be overlooked .The problems have to be looked in a broader perspective of the existing socio economic relationship and the causes behind all these .The government mass support for their revaluation against government mercenaries, which is being reflected in the contemporary profile of Nepalese political social and economic conditions. It is deep-rooted social, problem and reflects a kind of discontent in the society against the Malfunctions of the governments and their inability in delivering goods to the people.

In fact, the flaws of the government in its policies are hampering the social life of the

people of Nepal. It can be said that because of the helplessness shown by the government to deal with the Maoists have given the Maoists the upper hand with no solution left for the government behind. The Maoists though small have drastic impact upon the condition prevailing in the Nepalese society. The fact lies that Maoists have been able to take the advantage of the ethnic caste ethnic divisions on a contrary wide campaign in their struggle. It is after all a class war with ideological underpinnings and its roots can be traced to the general kind of discontentment in the aftermath of the 1996 movement, when parliamentary exercise proceeded nothing significant happened in terms of improving the social and economic conditions of the people.

The Maoists, on the other hand, have initiated social reforms in the society that, include arrest of decadence, that gambling drinking programme, child marriage, flesh trade and corruption. The reforms undertaken by the Maoists in some of the least developed areas have at least assured the masses of some sort of relief unlike under feudalism there occurred several hiccups in the society. The case of common repression is deep rooted in the feudal system. As the peasants have to rely on the land to survive, women are forced to have sex and labour provide to landlords for free. The people's war they aired slogan such as ,land to the peasants and for the women the right to property. Proves that all causes of people are involved the Maoist people's war. In the revolution several feudal traditions that oppressed human are being scrapped at, it is the assumption of the Maoists that the problem of women can only be solved by overthrowing feudalism and all the evils prevalent in the present society.

CHAPTER 3

Organization and Leadership

Introduction

The need for organization and able leadership seems to be one of the important factors. Which helps a revolution to lead ahead within a short span of time. In fact organizations which have purposes that can be efficiently reached with the socially possible organizational forms because both the leadership and organization they can function effectively with organizational forms and because of forms tend to become institutionalized the basic structure of the organizations tend to remain relatively stable.

Therefore, any revolution without any short of organized and avert leadership will wither out slowly. According to the Leninist, theory of organizations cannot be a revolution without a revolutionary party. This was opined according to Lenin who was the architect of a true revolutionary working class party, which accomplished theocracy revolution of 1917 in Russia⁸⁷. Therefore, it seems clear that without any organization and able leadership any short of revolution will not be able to succeed. In fact, this means that the party, which is well organized, will do better and will be able to implement its policies and programmes in an able way. The leadership too however plays an important role in running the organization in a better way. The rank of the leader makes it more important to from, late its policies and pro-programmes to make it more meaningful to run the organization and so bring into the organizations etc.

Organizations structure of CPN (Maoist)

The development-taking place in the radical left camp took a final shape in the form of the birth of communist party of Nepal (Maoists). The party was formed after a discussion between Babu –Ram Bhattarai and Pushpa Kamal Dahal. It is still not clear when exactly

⁸⁷ Michael. Hutt (edt, 2004), Himalayas“*Peoples’war, Nepal’sMaoistRebellion*’.NewDelhi: Hurst&co. PP 291-333.

the party was formed. There are different opinions about it. However, it seems that the party was formed some times towards the end of 1994 and it was formally announced in the third plenum in March 2005.

The party declared its goal to establish a new democracy in the country and its strategy as protracted war. It believed in the ideology of Marx – Lenin – and Mao. The party viewed Nepali congress party as the main revisionist party that was protecting the cause of Monarchy and other feudal elements. The radical communists also termed CPN (Maoist) as a rightist and new revisionist party. The party began to prepare for launching a movement in the country soon after its formation.

The CPN (Maoist) initiated a programme to propagate its ideas among the people, as a part of its objective to launch a movement. The programme was named as “Sija Campaign”.-after Sijon and Jalijala two significant mountains in Rukum and Rolpa in mid western region. It may be pointed here that the radical communists now termed to be as Maoists had already selected this area as its main base.

The post 1990 political process and the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Nepal were important in the rise of the Maoist movement. The Maoists as a political strategist tried to in cash the conditions in order to move further for the attainment of their political objectives.

It can be said that the political uncertainties that prevailed in the country in the years immediately following the establishment of democracy created conditions for the rise of Maoist movement. The outcome of the first general elections (May 1991) was rather disappointing as the Nepali congress, the largest party.

The communist party of Nepal (Maoists) who endeavor has brought the party to a position of strength and lime light was only due to its able leadership and organizational structure. That is why they are able to mobilize the masses for the revolution. Thus this is only way to bring the social and economic equality in the Nepal through its communist

movement. The society of Nepal broadly themes upon the prevailing social economic system. Thus a new system can be achieved only on the basis and as a result of social revolution as aired by the CPN (Maoist). Marx called revolution the locomotives, the engine the history so revolutions may be ripe, and yet the forces of revolutionary creators may prone ,insufficient to carry it out in which cases society decays.⁸⁸

There should be revolutionary consensus of the masses their understanding of the objectives of the revolution and their role in it and their readiness and determination until the death and also the organization level of the masses and their vanguard party. Their ability to act in unison to build and if necessary all rests upon their ranks in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary process. Therefore, the leadership of the masses by the party guided revolutionary theory knowing the laws of the revolutionary struggle⁸⁹ and determination until and able to implement their laws would make it a success .Thus each organizations has a number of important characteristics that makes indifferent from other organizations. The degree of centralization can be used in contrasting and comparing organizations.

According to evolution of the communist movement in Nepal, it can be said that it is not the just CPN (Maoist) who wanted to eliminate Nepal of all oppression⁹⁰. The CPN (Maoist) believed in socialism dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is a necessary step towards a world without inequality or dictatorship as in the communist world .Thus while USSR under Lenin and Stalin and China under Mao are their models from an ideal social system. It is CPN (Maoists) opinion that the opposition will not give up their power without a fight. Opposition is only possible by building against them and to seize

⁸⁸ Georg. Luckas (1967), *“History and class-consciousness”* Rishikesh Shaha (1990), *Politics in Nepal 1980-1990: Referendum, stalemate and Triumph of People power*, Manohar, New Delhi, and Pp.32.

⁸⁹ V.D. Chopra(ed 2001) *“Rise of Terrorism and Secession-ism in Eurasia”*, NewDelhi:Gyan Publishing House,2001.

⁹⁰ S.D Muni. (2003), *“Maoist insurgency in Nepal”: The challenges and the Response*, New Delhi: Rupa & co in association with observer Research foundation.

power through armed struggle⁹¹. The democratic centralism the system of unified application of majority decisions is necessary to defeat the oppressions. Therefore this system includes organization, leadership discipline and hierarchy. The oppressors use the weapons and so the revolutionaries should do that too. By building a disciplined revolutionary communist vanguard party, they (Communist party movement in Nepal) follow the tradition of comrades Lenin, Mao and Henry Newton.⁹² Before that there were several communist factions emerged to fight the social causes, but their entry did not long among the masses. Therefore according to the CPN (Maoists) of Nepal, their is that correct tactics flow from correct strategies, which flow from a correct ideological and political line the fight against imperialism chauvinism and oppression for this they need a well organized organization with a mature leadership⁹³

The communist party of Nepal was set up in 1995 and consists of ultra radicals from the CPN (Mashal) elements who broke away from the CPN (UML) and members of the united front lead by Pushpa Kamal Dahal alias comrade Prachanda (The furious one) and Baburam Bhattarai. It denounced that CPN (UML) and all other above found factions as regrouped and revisionists because of their participation in the parliamentary process.⁹⁴ It has already been discussed in the previous chapter. That the other communist faction the (CPN (UML) had instigated the arms revolution during the JHAPA movement. But later on after the movement was over it never came forward again to lead arms revolution. So in essence the great process of the initiation of the people's was has made a direct and massive impact on the politics of the country. It has enhanced the possibilities of utilizing from new heights and contradictions developing in new forms.

The base of the revolutions, which show the foundations of the state and society, is very much popular. This war organized by the communist forces the CPN (Maoist). Yet after

⁹¹ Georg. Luckas(1967), *"History and class-consciousness"* Rishikesh Shaha (1990), *Politics in Nepal 1980 1980-1990: Referendum, stalemate and Triumph of People power*, Manohar, New Delhi, and Pp.32.

⁹² Rahul, Ram(1996) *Royal Nepal: A Politics History*, New Delhi:VikasPublishing House Private Limited

⁹³ Deepak Thapa. (2003), *"Understanding Maoist Movement of Nepal "*, Kathmandu, center for social research and development pp.193-226.

⁹⁴ A.S Verma. (2001) *"Maoist Movement in Nepal"*, New Delhi: Samkalin Teesari Duniya.

the democracy movement of 1990. After that, some extremist splinter groups of the erstwhile CPN joined under the name CPN (Unity center). It originated in fact with the unification of two communists party (Mashal) and CPN(Mashal) .In the forth general assembly in 1994 the Mashal merged with the other organizations⁹⁵. There was also another party, which was founded by Baburam Bhattarai named CPN (Ekta Kendra) and the samyukta Jana Morcha. In the year in 1995 in a secret meeting of the General assembly Prachanda was elected as head of the (CPN (Maoist) and Bhattarai remained the head of the Aamyukta Jana Morcha which also contested the first general elections in Nepal⁹⁶. Under the samyukta Jana Morcha Nepal (United people's front) as a political wing they had participated in the 1991 elections wining a seats and becoming the third largest party in the parliament the split of the u unity center in 1993 saw the end of the samyukta Jana Morcha Nepal as a parliamentary force. This split was due to the organizational land leadership failure in the party⁹⁷. In the third plenum in March 1995. It was decided that the party must make preparations for launching the people was which keeping in view the specificity's of Nepal, the highly talented ideologist, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, even calls his party's activities a people's war with the aims of fundamentally changing the economic and social structure of the country and introducing a new king of democracy. As opined by Baburam Bhattarai.

Transformation of one social system into the other organization or negation of the old by the new does always take by force and in a revolutionary leap. Democratic people's war is such a means of negating the old by the new forces and of taking a leap into a new and higher system⁹⁸.There would be two important specificities of the process of new democratic transformation through he protracted people's war in Nepal.

⁹⁵ Anju,Susan,Alex "*Maoists of Nepal*" downloaded from the website of Institute of Peace and con B..Raman, '*Maoists Tet like offensive in Nepal*' Paper No.37.

⁹⁶ L.S. Baral (1972), "*Opposition Groups in Nepal: 1960-70*", India quarterly, New Delhi, Vol.XXVIII, No.1, January-March, p, 15.

⁹⁷ N.Gellnes David, Joanna Pfaff Czarnicka and John Whelpton,(ed.), "*Nationality and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom*". The Politics of culture in Contemporary Nepal.Amsterdam: Harward Academic Publishers, 1997.conflict studies.

⁹⁸ Narayan, Khadka "*US aid to Nepal in the cold war period*": Lessons for the future Pacific affairs vol 73, No 1(Spring2000) pp 75-95 Published by pacific affairs.

The Nepali state represented by the Nepal congress and other political parties on the other hand in speaking about terrorist activities, of the Maoist, which have to be oppressed forcefully by the state.⁹⁹

According to the theoretical theme the communist party of Nepal (Maoists), formulated the strategy of achieving success with dictatorship under the leadership of proletariat based on the unity of workers and peasants against feudalism. It can be seen that party had various mass base of workers, peasants, women and all the middle class people. The party went on for the demands of social and economic issue. Therefore, the agitation was directed basically for the socially oppressed region and economically deprived class and the region it choose was the mid western hilly region considered to be the worst affected .The armed struggle of the peasants' in mid 70s gave a fillip to the CPN (Maoists) to establish the line of ideology.¹⁰⁰

It was Nepal's first Maoist uprising the early 1970s an extremely lion swept across the eastern Terai the Nepalese to India's west Bengal state centered of Jhapa in Biratnagar. That movement to the radical communist Marxist Leninist which it work under events of 1990,.But the peoples interest did not get fulfilled with the CPN(M) ideology because what the peasants basically had dream through the armed struggle was not fulfilled.¹⁰¹ However, the CPN (Maoist) succeeded in listing mass support from the basis the peasantry class who were from the oppressed class. Because of declining popularity of the other communist parties who were not revolutionary in nature, CPN (Maoists) got the opportunity to take charge of the revolutionary struggle through the armed struggle.¹⁰² In-

⁹⁹ C.K. Lal "Continuing Confusion in Nepal." Seminar, 494, October 2000.Pp 3 -42.

¹⁰⁰ Rita Manchanda , (2001), "Maoist Insurgency in Nepal" (south Asian forum for human rights Nepal, 2001 Manjushree Thapa, Hari Roka (DT 1999) "Politics of Fragmentation". Published by (Economic and Political weekly) vol.34 no 34 35 (21-sept 1999). PP 34-50.

¹⁰¹ N.Prachanda, N. "Two Momentous years of Revolutionary Transformations" downloads from the Maoist website Nepal, and Asian studies, Kathmandu, P.16 .

¹⁰² Sudhir. Sharma (2001) "Nepal terrorist groups-Maoist insurgents" (The Maoist movement an evolutionary, (Merlin press) vol 6 PP 39-7 .

fact the oppressed peasant felt that without an armed revolution they would not be able to get their rights over the land from the proprietors' class. Therefore, the failure of the communist parties to fulfill their promises to the masses gave opportunity to the CPN (Maoist) to lure away-disgruntled masses towards them. As a result, the CPN (M) received vehement support from the masses. They did not believe in the peaceful protest march or in elections. CPN (M) functioning with the help of these masses and its organizations .Strength benefited it and also helped it to strengthen itself .Therefore those who are leading the Maoists people's war have also shown to the people that with no stretch of their imagination liberation could be achieved through the parliamentary path. It was from 1990 1994 through public meeting s posters and pamphlets the Samyukta Jan Morcha leaders had been emphasized that the parliamentary system serves those who have been exploiting and tyrannizing the common people.

The Maoists had started their action according to classical revolutionary methods identification of the so-called negative state force and deliberate attacks upon the life and property as a result the law and order situated in the affected areas deteriorated seriously. In 1997, the Maoists used local elections to intensify their actions. In some parts of the country, elections could not be held at all in others they were hindered considerably¹⁰³. The revolutionaries demonstrated impressively that their activities were no longer a passing fancy of crazy left revolutionaries.

The organizational structure of the communist party of Nepal (Maoist), from the date of its formation is basically centered on its general secretary and his associates the organization which, is politically formed as a revolutionary group, has the mass base of the section of the society. The (CPN (Maoists) operates from the underground the revolution is based on four instruments.¹⁰⁴ The party building,had started in the new democratic style and development of the united front on mass alone took place. As a fact

¹⁰³ Sudhir Sharma, . (2001) "*Nepal terrorist groups-Maoist insurgents*" (The Maoist movement an evolutionary, (Merlin press) vol 6 PP 39-7 .

¹⁰⁴ S.D. Muni (2002)," Rose .Leo. E. *Nepal and Bhutan in 1999: Some Progress* "Asian Survey, Vol.11 no.1 Jan-Feb, Pp.1 9-194.

spontaneous and militant mass breaks out mainly happen in working class and poor neighborhoods of the cities around economic demands and possession by the state.¹⁰⁵ In the case of Nepalese mass revolution, the mass is oppressed by the ruling reactionary class in various ways. The workers are occupying factories take official hostage shutting down the roads and highways around the factories and engaging the progressive forces of the state. The issue of peasant's struggle revolves around the landlords and the land .Thus the semi feudal structure of the Nepalese society is much more responsible for the peasants' uprising and due to this peasant joined the communist party of Nepal (Maoists) in large numbers. The structure of the party has political and military with further divisions as follows

Party structure of CPN (Maoist)

Political wing	Military wing
Polit Bureau, or central committee	Central Military commission
Regional Bureau	Regional Military commission
Sub Regional Bureau	District Military commission
District Bureau	Area committee (village)
village Committees	

Source : Chopra, V.D.(ed 2001) “Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia”, New Delhi:Gyan Publishing House,2001.

¹⁰⁵C.K Tiwari. “A note on People's War in Nepal, “Spotlight,Part2 downloaded from the website of Nepal news (February,5,1999)

Political wing

While talking of the organizational structure of the CPN (Maoist). One important aspect lies in the fact that they have basic two tier organizational structure. The Political and the military, which gives them a boost in their revolutionary struggle. The movement is not that old to give any permanent phenomena of structural disfunctioning or show weaknesses. The well organized institution of the CPN (Maoist) is in real terms of endeavor¹⁰⁶. The Political wing of the organization is headed by united people's Front (UPF) up by the veteran Baburam Bhattarai. In the political wing the cadre include school and college student some intellectuals also people from lower castes and relatively a high percentage women. Therefore, the organization strength is estimated about 4000 to 5000 members and they have more than 10,000 supporters and sympathizers in Nepal.

It can be said that these Maoist cadres work on the basis of being Front organizations. Such as the all Nepal Free student Union (Revolutionary) of the students from school and colleges. This support can be seen from the strike coordinated by the All India Nepal National Independent student's Union. According to the President of the Union, he told we morally support the Maoists and people's war. Therefore this student organization work on ground level operating in the schools and colleges. Than the All Nepal Trade Union Federation and National People's co-ordination committee. These organizations are affiliated with the Maoists but work to build a peaceful mass movement. They create awareness about Maoist ideas but there is no doubt about that they work for professional interests. Therefore through these organizations the Maoists organize different campaigns strikes pamphleteering meetings signatures campaigns and rallies. Therefore, the organizations on the part of political work such as organizations building and awareness raising about Maoist ideology underground committees and cadre work among the people. They are politically trained and have strong will and commitment. They have basic ideas on politics and deep knowledge of Marxism.

¹⁰⁶ N.Pancha Mahajan (2001), "The Maoist insurgency and crisis of Govern ability in Nepal, in Dhruva Kumar (ed), centre for Nepal studies

The decision making body is Polit Bureau, which functions as the central organization. The members of Polit Bureau of the central organization. The Members of Polit Bureau of the central committee do not exceed more than 5 or 7 members but some times according to the requirements some members are included. In the other regional sub, regional bureaus whether it be in the political or military wing the numbers of members are not defined exactly according to the CPN (Maoist) organizational tier both the political military wing work on different aspect¹⁰⁷. But in their organizational tier, they have hierarchic system and every committee. Which exist in the Polit bureau or the central committee, which exist in both the political as well as the military wing. But they work separately and have a coordination committee to hiring a balance among them in the other hierarchical order there are the regional sub regional district village and area committee¹⁰. This systematic hierarchical order prevails in both the political and military wing whose cadres perform according to there areas of work. Their activities include formulating plans policies and actively mobilize support. In fact, the economic support and political power mobilizes support. In fact, the economic support and political power streamed out from the politburo to the lower levels. The regional district and cell commanders operate, mainly at field level. The most important part of the congress is related to its political programmes, which the party described as ideological synthesis¹⁰⁹ would expressed the hope that this would play an important role in unifying the Nepalese communist movement in regarding world revolution in the 21st century. Thus, it was through the second congress that the CPN (Maoist) had regulated its functioning of the party.

The party confined its activities of the guerrillas' warfare, developing base areas formation of liberated ones or mobilizing a people's army. It was during the fifth (1999), sixth (2000) plans, that there have been qualitative leap in both military and

¹⁰⁷ P.Sainath, P (2006) "where India shining meets great Depression" The Hindu, New Delhi, 2 April 2006.

¹⁰ Rohan.Guaratna, "Nepal's insurgents Balance ,Politics and violence" Jane's Intelligence Review , ol.13 no 10,October,2001 Pp 32-35.

¹⁰⁹ Georg uckas, (1967), "History and class-consciousness Rishikesh Shaha (1990), *Politics in Nepal* 19 0 19 0-1990 Referendum, stalemate and Triumph of People power, Manohar, New Delhi, and Pp.32.

administrative formation in the prospective base areas. The expansion and consolidation of these temporary base areas not relatively stable areas can only be possible with increased and improved military power of people's armed forces. All the decisions of the third Historic extended meeting of the central committee transformed the party into a Maoist one that was able to lead the people's war¹¹⁰. The meeting strongly raised that fact that the policy, plan, and program should not be used in gradual evolutionist concept of leap, push, discontinuity break up from the old etc. Therefore, the organizational leap was to carry on the people's war through the right direction. In a way, the programmes were chalked to rejuvenate the party's Programme. The struggle along the political line of the party was based on ideological line systematically. The storms of both internally and externally struggle before and after the people's war has qualitatively changed the old structure and working style of the party. New and young party members from poor peasants women depressed communities nations and indigenous nationality communities and backward region rapidly came out of the fire palace of in an unimaginable number. Today there has been majority on the party members developed by the people's in almost all districts of the country.

According to the Maoist organizational structure the political front basically, works to organize create awareness and also spread Maoists ideas among the communist cadres and people. As discussed earlier in the political front there are educated people with basic knowledge of politics and leadership. Therefore, members of this political front they aim of winning support of the masses through their military front, which work underground the CPN (Maoist), have gained a lot of popularity in Nepal and attention all over the world military wings attack mainly the police or other targets. The cadres in the military includes mostly from the rural areas.¹¹¹ These people are not aware of politics and ideology. However, one thing is clear of them that they have strong will and dedication. It can be also said that at the local level the cadres also not have enough knowledge of

¹¹⁰ S.D. Muni (2003), "*Maoist insurgency in Nepal*": *The challenges and the Response*, New Delhi Rupa co in association with observer Research foundation. Pp 43

¹¹¹ Rahul, Ram(1996) *Royal Nepal: A Politics History*, New Delhi ikasPublishing House Private imited 43.

Maoism and its political culture but they are mostly influenced by their military culture.

According to their third extended meeting the central committee, they have structured down the military wing into the regional commands. With a view to turn the people's war into a storm through the armed struggle, a concrete policy of developing military organization, to form defense and volunteer groups at times. In their military units there are 35 to 40 men and 2 women each unit. These women are used to gather intelligence and work as courier. They have also three units in their military organizations. Maoists through their military organizations are capturing weapons from the police and equipping themselves. Politically they loot rich people and gain support. The Maoists are pursuing a two-track strategy of pursuing military and organizational strength¹¹². But sometime they operate in more than 100 men in a group. Like recently the attack on the army barracks they numbered more than 100.

The party initially had three divisional commands: Western, central and eastern commands. The central commands was dissolved in 2004 and mid central commands was constituted in its place. Each command has been allotted some administrative zones. Each command has in its charge a commander who is also an ex officio member who is member of the standing committee of the party.

Structure of the standing committee

Western command	Mahakali, Seti, Karnali, Bheri
Mid central command	Gandaki, Lumbini, Rapti, Dhaulagiri
Eastern command	Janakpur, Sagarmatha, Bagmati, Narayani, Kosi, Methi

Source : Upretty, B.C. (2001) "Uneasy Friends": Reading Indo-Nepal Relations, Delhi Kalinga Publications.

¹¹²Singh, Harjeet. (2008), "South Asia Defense and Strategic Year", New Delhi, Panchsheel PP. 62-94.

The party has also one international department to propagate its ideology and objectives outside the country and seek support from them. The party has been the most powerful organization having the full control over all the other organizations. Prachanda has enjoyed full command and control over the party. His leadership has not been challenged so far from within the party. Another important point is that party has not faced a split during the last more than a decade. However, there have been some problems at the regional level particularly in its relations to its regional organizations. The party has suffered during the insurgency due to the arrest of party leaders' surrender of royal Nepal army. Killings etc. The party has enjoyed wide support base among ethnic groups particularly among the Mongolian communities, the Terai ethnic groups and various caste groups, women youth and student groups, laborers, peasantry etc. The party has its major support base among the rural areas.

Military Wing

Army constituted another important component of the Maoist organization. It was meant to attack enemies, defend its position, and bring area under its control. Mao made it clear that it was not possible for the masses to fight a protracted war. It required army to be trained in guerilla warfare. Mao said that armed struggle was necessity in violent revolution. It was not possible to attain the objectives of the revolution without the people's liberation army. Mao further emphasized that it was not sufficient to have trained guerillas but there has to have a regular army.

A regular army was necessary in order to move from a strategic stalemate to the stage of the strategic offense. It is obvious in a way because once a stage of the strategic stalemate is created retaliation by the state is quite likely and in that it is not possible of strategic defense and strategic offense. Therefore, an army is required ultimately. Mao's concept of a people's liberation army was later on followed by other revolutionaries like che Guavera in Chile German Giap in Vietnam etc.

It might be true that the revolution had become a necessity for the Maoists. So was an army. However, initially Maoists lacked a well-structured army. They had a small

organization in the name of army consisting of fighters, security men and volunteers. There were no dress and other codes for the army. They had small and ordinary types of arms. The Maoists had snatched most of these arms from the police custody and other places.

In the fourth plenum of the party held in August 199 it was decided to build up the military strength .The Maoists had given the slogan of creating the base areas, which was not possible without a strong army. The need for a strong army was also being realized due to the increasing government repression. The Maoists agreed that the deployment of people's military power was necessary to consolidate their strength.

It was decided to establish military training camps at kureli in Rolpa district in September 2001 .The conflict between P A and RNA between 2000-2001 at various places like Dunai, Holari, Salkeri, and Ghorahi, etc. Clearly indicated at increasing military strength of the Maoists. In June 2002 it was decided to raise P A to the bridge level .It gradually had a nation wide network.

In August 2004 P\A had three bridges namely estates division (Barshman Pun Anant), centre division (Nand Kishore Pun Pashang) and western Divisions (Janardhan Sharma Prabhakar). ach brigade was divided into battalion, company, Platoon squad and militia. The militia contained untrained persons. The women also had separate company. The women represented all cadres from trained guerilla to militia .The Maoists army also had a special task force .Prachanda was the supreme commander of the army. He had full control over each aspect of the army. ach divisions of the army had one commander and one political commssar.Such a system was adopted with an objective to ensure full control of the party over the army.

It is not clear as to what was the actual strengthen of the army .In June 2003 it was reported that the Maoists had two divisions, 7 brigades, 19 battalions, and the militia. According to one estimate, Maoists had 4000-armed guerillas, 5000-trained guerillas, 2000 militia, and 2000 sympathizers' .According to international crisis group the Maoists

had 5000-10000 guerillas and 5000-25000 armed militias. It is also said that the strength of the army was 9500 guerillas and 25000 militia. It can be said that Maoists had an average 5000 guerilla trained men. Another 4000-5000 armed men and 20000-25000 militia No doubt it was a big non state military organization .There have been reports that Maoists had at times followed the policy of forced recruitment in the army .it is also alleged that the children were recruited .There have been many stories regarding army recruitment by the Maoists.

It appears that initially there was no such crisis of recruitment in the army there was lot of enthusiasm among youths and people were also by and large,supportive.However ,it was not that easy to sustain this enthusiasm after a certain period of time. There might have been realization among the rural people that it was going to be an endless fighting .The people were scared of large scale killing the Maoist Soldiers .They were also threatened by the strong repressive measures taken by the RNA .It acted quite brutally at times. Therefore, it was quite possible that the poor rural people became scared of joining the Maoist army. In these circumstances, it was quite possible that the Maoists had to decide for taking forceful measures in order to sustain the army.

The Leadership of CPN (Maoist)

The leadership of any organization depends on how able the leader acts in stipulated period. The organization stands as a family, but the leadership is the base, as the need of the family. Therefore, organizations and parties are headed by their most prestigious, experienced and energetic representatives by leaders. Lenin wrote not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders. Its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it. But here the individuals do not matter the fact lies that the leadership of the organizations does not depend on any individual. But all the other members are-responsible to the party. In their organizational leadership. They include people form all state the peasants women indigenouse people .And also from the backward class .in the present context the CPN (Maoists). Under the able leadership of Pushpa Kamal Dahal and Baburam Bhattarai to complete revolution

through arms¹¹³. Which has helped the socially and economically deprived people of Nepal to unite under the umbrella of CPN (Maoists) to fight against the same feudal system of the state. The leadership in the CPN (Maoists) lies with the chairman Prachanda. In fact, the CPN (Maoists) are among the first communist group who gained confidence of the masses according to political and military units set up by the CPN (Maoist) and to handle the affair of the movements there are different groups to function as different order¹¹⁴.

As accordingly stated by the Maoists a 37 member united revolutionary's people's council run the new people's revolutionary. For governmental council is to be headed by the communist party of Nepal (Maoists) number two leader Baburam Bhattarai. In their organization leadership structure, they have different leadership hierarchy in both the political as well as the military leadership. General Secretary or the chairman Prachanda is head of both the political as well as the military wing. In the military wing their chief military strategist is Ram Bahadur Bahar and Krishna Bahadur Mahrana alias Divaskar who function as the commander of the army. Besides in their political wing their have other top other leaders are Man Bahadur Thapa, Dev Gurung, Suresh Aney and EK Bhadur Furung. Thus whole analyzing about the leadership one is concerned that the leadership in the CPN (Maoists) have a strong chain within the party. It cannot be determined as the other communist parties leaders which in need of time side away with the personal interests. But to make it a more confined with the leadership it can be opined that taking into account the feature development of the people's war the scarcity of the leadership at various levels chiefly the central level and underground structure of the party should have given more emphasis and the party should be made more organized. Admitting the fact that the security system is not that much scientific and strong, all party committees should further take more initiatives in this direction.

¹¹³ B.c.Upretty. (2001) "*Uneasy Friends*": *Reading Indo-Nepal Relations*, Delhi kalinga Publications. Pp 23

¹¹⁴ Anand Swaroop Verma (2001), '*Rolpa Se Dolpa Tak*, Nepal ka Maowadi Andolan', Samkalin Teesari Duniya (in Hindi), Noida, February, Pp34-39.

Given by this statement by the document of the party it cannot be in one of most striking phenomena .

where it has been able to lead the movement in a disciplined way. However, there is a possibility that in the near future that the leadership may bring some decisions and differences among themselves. There is also possibility of the Maoists being fragmented due to conflicts at the leadership level. There are two dimensions of such a conflict one is along the caste and national identities. Where the ethnic and indigenous second tier of leadership finds itself somewhat uncomfortable with the upper caste leadership of Bhattarai and Pushpa Kamal Dahal.

Very often, there seems to arise differences between the military and political wing.

Analyzing the situation from the military point of view. It can be said the opinion of the armed battalion is to uproot the government through arms rebellion that is forcefully to capture power .But the political leadership insists to develop the movements a more mature form it is also willing to join the mainstream political arena if their demands are met in a proper way. Therefore, the difference between the political and military wings can be viewed from this aspect. A clash of personalities was also being talked about between Bhattarai and Prachanda during the year 2000 but it did not come in the way of the party's ideological or organizational concessions. In near future could be a possibility of tensions and differences in the leadership. The high caste domination in the leadership is not a new phenomenon in the revolution for CPN (Maoists) in Nepal. It can be perceived every revolution in worldwide is led by the dominated caste and hierarchy order. Thus in Nepal's case too, the CPN (Maoists) group is led by intellectual Brahmins referring to the highest caste in Hindu religion and rigid social hierarchy. The demands senses of unsatisfied desires and expectation with democracy .If anyone demands that it would obviously not be attacked towards its.

Conclusion

However, several times, there have been reports on difficulties in the leadership within the CPN (Maoists). The difference between the political and the observers have often commented upon military wings of the organization from time to time. It can be said that in due course the main agenda of arms rebellion was trying to be sidelined by the political wings leadership. When it declared ceasefire in April 2001. Which was opposed from the military wing .It is believed that the sudden change in Maoist line from negotiations to people's war in November 2001. This was possessed from the military wing. It is believed that the sudden change in Maoist line from negotiation to people's war. In November 2000 was due to differences between the military commander Ram Bahadur Thapa on the one hand and Political leadership of Prachanda on the other. It cannot be said for certain it this was a factor behind Baburam Bhattarai emerging as the head of the revolutionary people's government after the November uprising. Thus if the failure in the leadership exists there may occur some short of problem in future after the movement. Because the organization structure may slip away .There are instances in Nepal communist movement due to the confrontation of the leadership of the organization has lost its leadership strength .Unlike the CPN (ML), which had instigated the Jhapa movement, but in the due nature of time had faded up in the political history of Nepal. Although the party exists but the base has been lost to the CPN (Maoists) .But as rightly opined by S.D MUNI even a split take place the war will not end the movement will not disappear. However, may be some other political party in the sphere of time take advantage of the situation lead it to its climax. However, the Maoists have been able of mobilizing the People in both overt and covert forms. The intermingling with the masses openly in a regular feature and the manner in which they have able to mix up the ordinary people is likely to transform the nature and intensity of the movement into a new situation whose consequences would before more dangerous for the existing order.

CHAPTER 4

Political agenda and strategy

Introduction

While going through the historical facts one cannot deny that king Prithvi Narayan Shah fought for several years to fulfill his wish to bring Nepal under one banner. Due to his ability, he was successful in carving out a sizable kingdom. Thus, late king Prithvi Narayan Shah contributed to the creation of Modern Nepal. In 1950, king Tribhuvan allowed limited democracy. He was succeeded by King Mahendra in 1955. In 1958 the constitution of Nepal was promulgated. The first democratically elected government of B.P.Koirala came to power in 1959. The democratic process was interrupted by king Mahendra and the rule of Koirala government was cut short on charges of corruption. The king installed his own rule, which lasted from 1960 to 1989. The new system of governance triggered off widespread public resentment against the authoritarian regime and the arks of freedom for the political parties.

Emergence of Nepali Democracy

In fact, the failure of Nepalese new rulers to redress the economic sufferings of the people, by uprooting the old basis of feudal society, fostered them an attitude of defiance to authority. Their people's feeling of helplessness and dissatisfaction with the rulers found expression in committing such occasional acts of violence which has become a part of Nepalese political behavior¹¹⁵. In the current political scenario, Nepal is desperately trying to get out of its peripheral status. However, the pull of the past is so heavy that the strength of the new state is so weak that it is still finding itself in the shadow of its former center. The cause of most of its internal problems has its root in the interplay of various forces, nature of political modernization and the behaviour of Nepal can be traced back to the hangover of the Rana oligarchy regime, which is in conflict with the present restlessness to assume a new dignity. It can be highly opined that not all societies have progressed at the same rate. Their in built mechanisms and ideological mooring have often determined the pace with which they have transformed their physical environment

¹¹⁵ Anirudha Gupta, *Nature of Politics*, Delhi, 1993, P.215.

and institutions. While some countries have achieved spectacular economic growth without sacrificing their political stability, others have lagged behind both politically¹¹⁶and economically. And Nepal too has deteriorated in all its terms. So Nepali politics have gone through various changes and ups and downs.

In the context of the political emergence of the communist party of Nepal (Maoists) and their political agenda can be traced to the communist advancements in the Nepali context. The greatest scope for communists' advancement would still seem to lie in the infiltration of political and social institutions, and it is success or failure in the sphere that will largely determine the party's prospects in the foreseeable future. If permitted an unchallenged opportunity to shape these institutions to their own purposes, which the governments present policy has virtually assured. It is nor implausible that the communists could emerge eventually as one of the feasible alternatives of the royal regime.¹¹⁷This itself would prove how the various communist parties in Nepal gained momentum to cash in the opportunity to take advantages of the political vacuum created.

After a long span democracy was ushered in Nepal. Therefore taking advantage of the resentment among the people against the regime, Nepali congress supported by the united Liberation Front (ULF) launched people awareness programme in 1989. The topmost agenda of the programme was a nation wide campaign for democracy, the end of Panchayat system of government, and the restoration of the functioning of political parties.¹¹⁸Thus when the campaign assume the form of a mass movement the government of Marich Man Singh was dismissed on 6th March, 1990, and Lokendra Bahadur Chand became the prime Minister. However, on April 16, the chand government was also dismissed and Krishna Prasad Bhattarai became the Prime Minister of an interim government as a result of successful people's movement against the Panchayat system.

¹¹⁶ R,S,chauhan, "Role of Political institutions in modernization of Nepal", in Verinder Grover (ed),Encyclopedia:SAARC ,Nepal New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications,1997 P,71.

¹¹⁷ Martin, Hoften (edit 1999) "*People Politics and ideology democracy and social change in Nepal*"Mandala book point Kathmandu.Pp 115.

¹¹⁸Karan, Pradyumna, P.S.Hiroke, (1996) "*A Himalayan in Transition*" Tokyo: United Nations University Press Pp 34.

But, the greatest achievement within government was the royal promulgation of a constitution on 9 November 1990, which declared that the people of Nepal as the sovereign authority and the king as the symbol of Nepalese Nationality and the unity¹¹⁹ of the people. It introduced a parliamentary system of government, a multi party democracy, and adult franchise; rule of law and of course a constitutional monarchy. In accordance with the provisions of this constitution, the first parliamentary election was held on 12 May 1991. However, despite, democracy being announced and elections being held if reviewing the political scenario of Nepal it can be opined that all these ushered. Three general elections have been held since 1991 and the majority of the people have participated in the democratic exercise. But it is sad for the fledging democracy in the country that the political parties have turned out to be too self-centered fussing their entire attention on politicizing. This is a fact, which can be perceived clearly. In a short span of ten years, but through leaders of all the top political parties, have come to power, none of them have been able to deliver any thing to improve the status of the people. It can be opined that all political parties have only words to say and have not shown any vision in dealing with the matters of national interests. Therefore, in this crisis the gap that was created in the political scenario was exploited by communist party of Nepal (Maoists), who visioned better future to the masses. Analyzing the facts, it is really sad to see that the country is facing social, economic and fundamental, democratic challenges.

Agenda of the Maoists

This chapter would discuss about the political objectives, agenda and the strategy adopted by the CPN (Maoist) to fulfill its goal. From time to time, there occurred dissatisfaction among the masses against the feudal monarch, but at time, they also appreciated it and looked upon the monarchy as the symbol¹²⁰ of god. This is due to the feudal structure of administration and imposing of the national religion of Hinduism upon the ethnic

¹¹⁹Georg. Luckas, (1967), "*History and class-consciousness* Rishikesh Shaha (1990),

¹²⁰Anju, Susan, Alex "*Maoists of Nepal*" downloaded from the website of Institute of Peace and con B.Raman, '*Maoists Tet like offensive in Nepal*' Paper No.37.

tribes. But anyway, from the historical context, it can be perceived that the king was the symbol of god. But there are also the other factors, which have influenced the movement. As rightly opined by Prof. Muni "Two factors need to be taken into account in the evolution of the Maoists in Nepal. One related to the external influences that shaped their ideology and strategy, and the other was the context of domestic politics in Nepal". It is to be stated that external political happenings in the Neighborhood have influenced considerably the politics of Nepal. The internal political conflict in the country has shaped the people's war movement to strengthen up further. If we consider the exterior factors we will find that, the neighbourly countries India and China have influenced it very much.

The Indian Naxalist movement in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh stimulated CPN (Maoists). The CPN (M) were also influenced by the arms revolution. It was in the Jhapa district near Biratnagar where the arms revolution was instigated. As, it was influenced by the Naxalites movement of India which took place in the border of Nepal. The armed revolutionaries of the Jhapa movement under the banner of CPN (ML) went on rampage killing local proprietors. This was done because they wanted to confiscate the landholding by the landlords. Also the mode of operations is very much similar to the Peru's Shining Path warriors. Therefore in Nepal the CPN (Maoists) type of politics is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They link themselves with the challenging ideological struggle waged by the communist revolutionaries of the world. It is a synthesis of the proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Political Agenda

The major political agenda put down by the Maoists was through the demands made by them in the letter submitted to prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba on 4 February 1996. These are the demands presented to the National Congress Government by Com Bhattarai. The major political agenda put down by the Maoists were included in their charter 40 points demand issue which has been raised are of¹²¹ fundamental rights. People have been

¹²¹N. Prachanda, "Two Momentous Years of Revolutionary Transformations" downloaded from the Maoist website Nepal, and Asian Studies, Kathmandu, P.168.

deprived of the constitutional rights given to them in 1990.

Although the constitution provides the fundamental rights to the citizens, and democracy is the base of all these rights, which is guaranteed in the Constitution. But in the past twelve years of experiences, there have been no amendments to the constitution. Therefore, there is a lack of democratic culture. The Maoists also talk of intellectual freedom and the repressive acts of the state to be abolished. Their demand includes forming of investigating committee for the inquiry of the disappeared people from police custody. To declare martyrs those who died during the movement. Also of the decentralization of power in real terms. Therefore, the amendment of the constitution should include the power and functions, of local government and clear divisions of rights between central and local¹²² governments.

New constitution and new democracy

One of the reasons for what was the rampant corruptions, criminal negligence of economic priorities, misuse of public office for private gains and failure of successive governments to the provision of basic necessities and development. There have all created widespread discontent. This in turn have served as fertile ground for the Maoists to swell their ranks and enlarge the appeal of their in reactionary politics. Thus, one objective of the CPN (Maoists) is to put forward a new alternative to the reactionary state power. This alternative is based on the Marxist Leninist Maoist philosophy and ideology, which will completely uproot exploitation and ensure equal rights to the people. One of the top most priorities of the CPN (M) is constitutional reforms which the CPN (Maoists) wanted it to be drafted. So, they are demanding for constitutional transformation, and for the elections of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution in which they are in favor that no special rights should be granted to the monarch and his family members. In fact in the initial stages they demanded that the institution of monarchy be abolished but

¹²² Leo Rose E. (1965), "Communism Under high Atmospheric Conditions: The Party In Nepal" in Robert A. Scalapino (Ed.), *The communist Revolution in Asia: Tactics, Goals, and Achievements*, Prentice Hall, University of California, P.44.

later on this demand have been dropped for tactical reasons.

“The Maoist displayed some flexibility when they dropped demands for the monarchy abolition and the setting up of a republican state . It was a clever move, as they belatedly realized that pursuance of the agenda of king less Nepal would be detrimental to their cause since most Nepalese particularly in the villages, still worshiped the king.¹²³

In fact, the one sided cultural and religious politics of the Nepali state has led to the neglect of the great parts of the population. So Nepal currently is in dilemman. On the one hand democracy has entered at the beginning of the 1990s, and the parties have played a decisive part in this development on the other hand this democratization is unfinished. Of ,course democracy cannot come over night, but Nepal's special problem is that there has been no socio-Political change no political will on the part of the population as a whole. The people have the right and liberty to elect their representatives for the different state and in by this way to influence the political development of the country. However, the selection of eligible person is still in the hands of members of the same elites who had once been steering power of members of the same elites who had once been steering power in the feudal royal state and who are now dominating the political parties. The poor masses remain excluded and have hardly any chance to show their interests and aspirations through the current parliamentary system¹²⁴. Therefore this has provided fertile soil for the CPN (Maoists) calling for the boycott for the elections and instigating a revolution.

In such circumstances, injustice results not only when equals are treated unequally but also when unequals are treated equally. Hence, the principle of reciprocity always breaks down. And, these poor people although having their sovereign rights to represent themselves can avail this opportunity in constituent assembly, parliament and local bodies which are also meant for them as promised by the democracy. There is definitely a solution to the Maoists problem and setting the political scenario by accepting democracy and sovereignty of the people, which is in fact voiced by the CPN (Maoists)

¹²³ ,Surya Thapa “Nepal: Threats to Democracy “The Hindustan Times “June 19, 1999

¹²⁴ *Spotlight*, Kathmandu, vol.19, No.20, 3-9 December 1999..

to promote their movement¹²⁵. Infact ,there never existed a people's constitution promulgated by the monarch. ate king Tribhuvan proclaimed it, but it was never promulgated in a meaningful way and it is therefore necessary to have constitutional assembly. The present constitution has no legitimacy of the people. It is reflected by the sponsored politics of Nepali congress the UM and the monarch. So the CPN (Maoists) demand the constitutional assembly to be elected and constitutional amendments to be made, where the people's right would be enumerated in a proper and meaningful way.

The CPN (Maoists) demanded for the people's sovereign right to name the constitutional assembly within the framework of common heritage and fair election systems to the heterogeneous society removing the current polarity of electoral system. Constitutional safeguards to backward communities including dalits, to represent in the constituent assembly, Parliament and local bodies, binding provisions for checking political and bureaucratic corruption having no nexus with criminals, provisions for national governments on specified national crisis including general elections or constituent assembly and of parliament.

*excessive centralization is perhaps the most underlying factor for birth and growth of the Maoists. It alienated the people from the state and provided the environment for the abuse of power leading to the governance problem, which in turn aggravated the situation.*¹²⁶

The centralization has infact alienated different minority groups, because the centre, has been dominated by the elite groups who, have formulated policies that that are harmful to

¹²⁵S.D. Muni (2002),” Rose .Leo. E. *Nepal and Bhutan in 1999: Some Progress* “Asian Survey, Vol.11 no.1 jan-Feb, Pp.1 9-194.

¹²⁶ Ram Pradhan “The Troubled Nepal Government “The Indian Express, (April 17, may, 1991)

¹²⁷.R.Andrew, Nickson “*Democratization and the growth of communism in Nepal: A Peruvian scenario in the making*” Journal of commonwealth and comparative Politics, ol 30, No.3, November 1992 Pp 371.

the minorities. In addition to the alienation of the people, centralization has facilitated and tolerated the abuse of power.¹²⁷ The government objected the demand of the Maoists for a constituent assembly. The claims that the 1990 constitution made by the people and that there is no need to draft a new constitution. But the 1990 constitution is a compromise document between the leaders of the restoration of democracy movement. Therefore democratic forces need not fear a constitution, assembly because the people's will prevail through it, but by not occupying the constitution assembly it seems that the palace is threatened.¹²⁸

In fact, what it to be perceived is that a constituent assembly is needed because this may encourage the CPN (Maoists) leadership to go for the electoral politics. However, the important aspect of the constitution assembly is that it would incorporate people's wishes. Infact the Maoists demand for drafting a constitution have been given a boost due to the experience of the last decade which has shown the need for vast amendments, or a new constitution in Nepal .The constitution should incorporate some serious issues .The constitutional bodies and other central agencies should be independent in their day-to-day duties. The issues of minorities and women should be addressed and this what the Maoists have kept in their topmost agenda. The discriminatory provisions in the constitution towards these groups should be removed. Therefore; it is common feature, that such measures aiming at fundamental social changes are not initiated by the political parties. The latter have prepared the way for democracy but they fail to implement those policies based on which they have been elected and instead turn to corruption and internal power struggle. In the interest of Nepal's future, the only hope are the new democratic leaders who are willing to enforce the socio political participatory and economic changes necessary for the development of the civil¹²⁹ society, before the radical forces are able to take the lead. Although to some extent the CPN, (Maoists) had taken advantage from this

¹²⁸ 14..R.Andrew, Nickson "*Democratization and the growth of communism in Nepal: A Peruvian scenario in the making*" Journal of commonwealth and comparative Politics, Vol 30, No.3, November 1992 Pp 371

¹²⁹ Sangeeta, Thapliyal "*Coalition Politics in Nepal*" Strategic analysis, Vol.20, no 3, June 1997.Pp.501.

situation.

In fact, what is considered to be a just law and order problem is not what it seems to be the government. The most important aspect is that the new and unprecedented wave of people's support in favor of the movement. That has been increasing with every declarations and activities of the government. "The rise of the communists in Nepal could be attributed more to their penetration and intergeneration with the people than to their ideological morings. Their stress on the principle of rationalism also appealed the masses. Their promises are taken seriously. There upon the aim of the movement is to smash the reactionary state and establish a new democratic¹³⁰ order. In fact, in the initial stage of the movement, stage of the movement it was seen that nine left parties of Nepal declared their open support for the Maoists and expressed concern over violation of human rights in the name of combating Maoism. While analyzing the existing scenario, it can be asserted that a parallel analyzing the existing scenario can be asserted that a parallel power center is a is the reactionary state is getting created so the "first step is for sustaining political power locally.

The second step involves encouraging people belonging to various classes, nationalities and strata, who are opposed to feudalism, to participate in the new political set up through a democratic process. However, the problem with the government could not accord to top priorities to end the Maoist popularity. There are problems of poverty, unemployment and the backward communities. But what the Prime Minister sher Bahadur Deuba said in an interview is also some how true "they sell dreams to the poor people, less educated people, and to some extent they are successful. After they recruit some of them by selling dreams and brainwashing, they control society under terror. Politically, the Maoists demand is not for any short of single party rule in Nepal" .Even their General secretary Prachanda expressed.

"we are definitely against a one party dictatorship there will be full freedom to all the anti feudal and anti imperialist political parties in the new democracy .They

¹³⁰ *Spotlight*, Kathmandu, vol.19, No.20, 3-9 December 1999.

were prepared to suspend their armed activities and talk . It the right to determine their won political future is granted to the people, otherwise their fight would¹³¹ .

In short, if the government cannot bring the Maoists to the table for talks and end the six years long insurgency, the situation in the country would go from the bad to worse as the rebels are slowly inching towards the Kathmandu. According to Maoists leaders, until few years they wanted to be politically recognized but all the successive governments since 1996 labeled them as a terrorist organization. So far, as political problem of the Maoists is concerned it can be resolved only if successive governments focus more on poverty alleviation, education and development in far flung areas, the root cause for the Maoists to gain ground, than only the capital can be saved from them.

The issues of livelihood and economic survival and the nation's self-respect is too, very much important to be discussed. These issues have promoted even the rural masses to side up with the Maoists. Having decided to abandon the electoral path and having had to revert to developing a ground level power base. Maoists were quick to identify discontent in the society and try to ride it further for their purpose. Taking advantage of the correlation between ethnicity and poverty was discussed in the previous chapter they thus added ethnic demands as a flavor to their ideological pro class struggle their formation of the state, it can be said that Nepal has been the ground for different civilizations. Different ethnic composition existed in Nepal. According to the present constitution, "Article 4(1) of the constitution of kingdom of Nepal 1990 describes Nepal as a multi ethnic¹³² and democratic. However, t he discrimination made between the people of Nepal especially in the hills and Terai, and also the problem of unequal distribution of power among various regions and communities in the national politics gave a short of dissatisfaction to the people.

¹³¹ Hari Prasad, Uprethy "*Problems of governance in Nepal.*"BIISS Journal, Vol.18no.4, (October-1997) .Pp 494-469.

¹³² Keshav Pradhan (2001), "Maoist leave mainstream left", *Hindustan Times*.29 December."India opposes Maoists "*Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, 26 september2001 Pp 32.

The Survival of Monarchy

On the question of monarchy, the Maoists have different version at present. Although they wanted to abolish the institution of Monarchy but keeping in view the popularity of the monarchy in the rural even in the general masses this idea has to be keep out. But as according to an interview given com.Prachanda, it seems that they believe that “after the constipiratorial palace massacre of June, 1, 2001 the traditional rationale of the institutions of monarchy has ended. It is high time that a republic be proclaimed in the country. It is a fact that the late king Birendra was one of the popular figure, and during his regime, although the ruling Nepali congress has asked the king to use the royal Nepalese army to curb the Maoist violence, but the king had refused to use the Nepalese army. So this, had often, lead to rumors that the palace was supporting the Maoists secretly. After 1 June Massacre, the Maoists also tried to gain advantage from the incident, as it becomes evident when one of its prominent leaders came up with an article in the Nepalese daily “Kantipur”Published in Kathmandu in its 6 June issue. He said that the Massacre of king Birendra and his family members was an international conspiracy in which U.S.A. Intelligence agency C.I.A. and Indian counter agency R.A.W had their hands, with the help of Nepali collaborators¹³³ Maoists claim that king Birendra was liberal Monarch. The Maoists have commanded the nationalist approach and vision of king Birendra.

After the Narayan Hetti palace, Massacre an initiation for dialouge between the Nepal government and the CPN (Maoists) had been done in August 2001. This is due to the changed political context of the country which has enormously increased the role and responsibility of the government towards the needs and aspirations of the Nepalese¹³⁴ people. Therefore, in this sense negotiation, which is an art and a means of diplomacy,

¹³³Martin Hoften (1994) “*The Dynamics and chronology of 1990 movement*” in Michael Hutt (ed.) Nepal in nineties, Oxford University Press,NewDelhi.Pp 45.

¹³⁴ N.Pancha Mahajan (2001), “The Maoist insurgency and crisis of Governability in Nepal, in Dhruva Kumar (ed), centre for Nepal studies. Pp 32.

could be implemented properly in solving such problem of national interests. As Prachanda said the Maoists were prepared to suspend their armed activities and talk, if the right to determine their own political future is granted to the people, otherwise their fight would continue.

However, other demands such as, formation of republic an interim government and election of ca constituent assembly to draft a new constitution could not meet out. Although the government said that, the proposal for the amendments to the constitution would be under consideration but it was not accepted by the Maoists. In the meantime, when the talks were in progress, suddenly in 21 November 2001 the Maoists broke down the ceasefire and attacked the royal Nepalese army. Having all along demanded royalty's removal and a republican state, and they did a U turn around before the last round of peace negotiations and set up a 37 member people's revolutionary government giving rise of the suspicion that there was more to it than meet the eye. The Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba also talked about it in an interview in the Indian based newspaper (The Times of India).

They spoke about talks. The environment in Nepal was also supportive of talks. The political parties, public opinion all wants talks to take place. I also thought that dialouge would end bloodshed initially though their intention was good, honest. They agreed to further rounds of talks. However, without valid reason they attacked our national army, and looted our banks .I had no alternative but deploy army.

Livelihood Issue

The other issues, on which the Maoists have their agenda, include livelihood of the Nepalese society they are in favor of land reforms, which have seem complex form from centuries. The unequal distribution of land is one of the prominent factors. Nepal is predominantly a rural agricultural society.

Where more than 90 % of the people like in rural areas and depend heavily on farming as a source of livelihoods. As farming is the most important source of livelihood in rural

areas but the scarcity of land placed severe constraints on agricultural.¹³⁵ Therefore, in terms of production they were dependent on large landowners. In general, terms landowners engaged wage laborers and benefited from the existence of excess labour, which kept wages low. In general, the situation of landholders was exacerbated by the archaic nature of farming technology and the absence of other resources. It was not surprising that rural poverty was widespread.

The Maoists also found support across the country where people were tired of their socio economic condition and that too particularly in the poverty stricken economically backward therefore under the leadership of the communist party of Nepal (Maoists) which proclaimed aim of establishing a new democratic socio economic system and state by overthrowing the present socio economic structure and state. However, the politics of Nepal's national parties has led the state to the present position of confrontation. This situation has hoped the CPN (Maoists) to establish itself as strong political force in the most backward rural areas of the leading national parties hardly contain any concrete steps to eliminate the basic roots of backwardness, poverty and discrimination. However, the CPN (Maoists) have accorded to put up the problems of rural masses, and promised to solve them.

Approach Towards India

On the part of Nepal's national self-respect, Prof Muni has rightly, opined, "The thrust of the Maoists goal is on restructuring relations with India"¹³⁶. It can be stated that the Maoists have an anti India stand. They say that they have to struggle specifically against "Indian imperialism, they are against the opposition of the recruitment of Gurkha in the Indian army they are opposed of screening of Hindi movies, selling of Indian Newspapers and Magazines in Nepal. The example of anti Indian feelings was portrayed earlier in Nepal the Maoists when few years back many establishments of Indians were damaged.

¹³⁵ Nepal opposition slams P.M. Over emergency" *Times of India*, 12 December 2001.

¹³⁶ S.D.Muni,, n,5,P51.

The Maoists believe that the Indian market is fully exploiting the resources of Nepal. As, according to the Maoists documents semi colonial relations have multifarious dimensions like economic political military cultural, etc. In Nepal, Indian expansionist's exploitation and oppression too has multifarious character.¹³⁷ They see Indian expansionism in the form of keeping Nepal as its captive market through unequal treaties transportation, communication and trade connection they speak of the Nepal India trade agreement of 1923, which claimed Nepal to be a common market for India. The treaty of 1950 of peace and friendship and also for the abrogation of the Tanakapur agreement and also abolition of Mahakali treaty with India. But one interesting aspect to note down that during an interview with one Indian daily Newspaper Com.Prachanda¹³ opined "we want to develop good neighborly relations based on equality and freedom, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co existence with India ¹³⁹. This in terms in itself contradictory position taken by the prominent leader. Therefore, it seems that they turn side as according to the faces of time.

Strategy to Pursue the Agenda

The communist party of Nepal (Maoists) after its long discussions on ideological and political lines developed the Marxism Leninism Maoism line, and chooses the path of the people's new democratic revolution. Their basic objective was to make the masses aware of politics of armed revolution for capturing power political power and make the people's army as the principal instrument of this struggle. They had parallel committees for various work. They. The political wing dealt with the political set up, which went with the campaigning in political sphere. They had the military too, the CPN (M) formed its central military commission with the objective of operating the people's war.Com .Prachanda stated, for the proletarian state power, that an army is needed in order that ultimately classes, the state the army and war may be abolished once for all according to the scientific principles of dialectical and historical materialism.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ D.Bhattarai,n.31 P54

¹³ Nepal opposition slams P.M. Over emergency" *Times of India*, 12 December 2001.

¹³⁹ The times of India,2 December 2001.

¹⁴⁰ Parmanand,n 13,P.307.

The Maoists are fighting to establish a republic in tiny Himalayan kingdom of Nepal and are preparing to establish a central government as they intensify their attack on police and public installations, sending a wave of terror throughout the country. The immediate problem to be tackled is the one created by the Maoists, who now control more than half of the country, and carry out daring raids. In the past six years they became active, nearly more than 2000 people have killed ,either by the Maoists or the security forces. They have opted out of the parliamentary democratic system. Their modes of operation is a copy of the Mao's Chinese revolution where.

Many of the basic principles of military line and strategy. Which Mao developed in guiding the Chinese people during the starting years of revolutionary war leading up to the seizure of nation wide political power, were applied by Mao to the problem of economic policy and construction both in the liberated areas during the period of the Democratic revolution and in the country as a whole during the socialist stage, which followed.¹⁴¹

It is also considered that the Maoist strategy of taking maximum advantage of political situation is integrated into defined strategy. Analyst says Maoists have devoted considerable time planning to establish new operation zones in the rural areas.¹⁴²

The Maoists waged propaganda and agitation from the point of view on the question of nationality, democracy and People's livelihood and it attempted to arouse the masses mainly in the rural areas against feudalism. According to the theocratic directives of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general specificities of the Nepalese society, Party has formulated a political strategy of completing new democratic revolution with people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of proletariat based on the unity of workers and peasants against feudalism and imperialism. Therefore, it is clear that the

¹⁴¹ R.C Mathur. "India factor to the fore in Nepal". The Hindustan Times, May 12, 1999; S.D.Muni Indian Factor in Nepal's Election "The Times of India, May 6, 1991.

¹⁴² .See News Time, 28 December 1999.

workers and peasants against feudalism and imperialism. Therefore, it is clear that the nature and orientation of the Nepalese armed struggle will be directed by and committed to by the aims of this political strategy. It is the protracted people's war based upon the strategy of surrounding the city from countryside. In order to maintain these liberated base areas and make them as powerful as possible a foundation for waging revolutionary war. In order to unleash the activism of the masses in these areas and ultimately in the whole country in the revolutionary struggle and in order to unite all real friends against the enemy at every point, It was necessary not only to have a correct political line generally and not only in particular it was also necessary to forge and apply a correct line of questions¹⁴³. Therefore, a serious and responsible initiative has been taken to involve various social organizations.

Also, to achieve the political goal, Maoists have different set up in their organizations through which they mobilize the masses, against the state machinery. For this purpose, the Maoists have cultural groups, who perform among the masses and interact through cultural activities like street play and speeches in public places. Even once the government had tried to a ban on three popular music cassettes made by a revolution cultural organization led by the CPN (M) to the fear of mass support from the people. As for their strategically development, the Maoists strife "Land to the tiller" and the principle of "women's equal right to property". Wherever they had established power. Many widows and unmarried have their land restored by the people's courts, an even villager have been organized to oversee and run various aspects of village life.

In some cases, the social evils are being rooted out and washed out from Nepalese society, party proposes the customs of polygamy, because Polygamy is seen as a feudal tradition practiced in Nepal. Therefore, after implementing all these sorts of reforms, they have become very popular among the rural masses, where these kinds of social evil concepts still prevail. As a result, several women's are participating in the ongoing movement. The fight against the oppression is woven into the fabric of this people's war. In rural areas, the family, mother in law husband, oppresses women and some women are

¹⁴³ Bob, Avaikan, n 31, P 3.

killed because of dowries. Thereupon when the armed struggle started in 1996, it was like the opening of prison gate with thousands of women rushing forward to claim an unequal place in the war.

Therefore, it was on February 11, 1996 that the CPN (Maoist) started the violence path. Since then it has been six years, but no solution have been brought out to counter the Maoist problem. As,for the list of 40 demands put up by Bhattarai nothing has been done to comply their charter of demands. It is also a fact that “until the Maoists began their people’s war in Feb 1996 they were quite an unknown entity began only as one of the more than a dozen factions of the communist movement in Nepal, and certainly nowhere near being among the major players in the political scene.

The other aspect is that the government seemed to be interested to solve the problem .In fact the government very often termed the movement as just a law and order problem. Therefore as time went by the insurgents began asserting their authority by levying the taxes from well to do and offering succor to the poorest. Their austere lifestyle and down to earth conduct had its oven impact, particularly in the western and far western districts, which had suffered from total neglect .therefore the real seeds of Maoism in Nepal lie in under development and the exploitative old order. If this is not corrected, Maoism will not go away . ou wipe them out in one battle and they will come up again because the ground is fertile for them .The Maoist movement has been successful in sensitizing the public about the problems in Nepal.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

The current political and social scenario is in turmoil is not only on the part of political sphere but also the social and economic aspects of the Himalayan kingdom. This had suffered severely due to the violence in the country. It appears that ,the failure of the government to deal with the maoist problem has made the state suffer a lot even the “People’s war” Movement initiated by the Maoists, to bring certain changes in the political and social set up is not working as had been expected by the Maoists.

The background of the communist movement in Nepal should be viewed in the light of Nepal’s history of communist movement. People’s war initiated by the CPN (Maoist) on February 13, 1996, has its genesis in various factors. Right from the emergence of the communist party of Nepal in 1949. There have been several communists factions that spearheaded the movement the difference in the ideological line led to factionalism and did not allow it to strengthen in the country. The emergence of CPN (Maoist) was set up in 1995. The party consists of ultra radicals whose members belonged to the CPN (Mashal) and some other members who had drifted away from the strongest communist faction of the CPN (UML).

The CPN (Maoist) party was formed under the leadership of comrade Pushpa Kamal Dahal (who so also known as Prachanda) and another veteran CPN (Maoist) leader Dr. Baburam Bhattarai. In its initial phase, it participated in the parliamentary politics and contested the 1994 mid term elections. Under the banner of Samyukta Jana (United People’s Front). The party had secured a seat in the election and was placed as the third largest party in parliament. However, the genesis of the armed insurgency of the CPN (Maoists) laid, with the demand of a change of constitutional monarchy, the issue of social and economic disparity is the real cause behind the blooming of the movement. So far, the prevailing political instability, the socioeconomic disparity and backwardness instigated the movement to strengthen up in the day-to-day situation. The movement to strengthen up in the day to day situation. The disparity in the social order which are in terms of caste racial ,linguistic, ethnicity ,nationalism and class promoted the

CPN(Maoist) to gain support in the mid western hilly region .Neglected ethnic minorities also provided mass support to this movement. They draw support from minorities unlike Rais, imbus,Gurungs,Magars,etc and have in fact succeed in leading the movement to its present status. Therefore, the CPN (Maoist) strategies in its initial stages were oriented towards the ethnic or regional issues. This helped the party to establish itself as a strong political force in the rural areas of the country.

The lack of economic development in the poverty torn districts of the mid western regions helped the CPN (Maoist) to strengthen itself and mobilize the masses. The Maoists economic agendas of livelihood, which concerned the people of these areas is of great significance looking upon the development in this area, it can be said that in these regions there does not exist any schools, roads ,medical facilities or electricity and the government paid no heed to the problems of these regions. The semi feudal structure of the society, where the mass population depends on agriculture for survival do not have proper land rights. Therefore, the CPN (Maoist) demanded land reforms, land distributed to the homeless, and to those who have no land. They also demanded the elimination of corruption and black marketing in Nepal. The problem of unemployment is also another aspect, by which the Maoists in building support. It is basically the unemployed youths who is in the course of time joined the “People’s war” to liberate the society from discrimination, and exploitation from the feudal society in Nepal.

Since the earlier of people’s war” the CPN (Maoist) have sharpened their organizational skill day by day. They also have able and strong leadership who are leading the movement in a very tactical way. In view of the Political front, they constitute the following committee and at the lowest level is the village committee. The committees separate functions for the political front of the organisation.In the political point of view, their aim is to form the people’s government at the local level also to train the people to run administration at the local level and to capture and run the national governments.

With regard to the armed struggle, the Maoists have adopted the military line of Mao Tse Tung of inflicting defeat on the army. From the military point of view they believe in

tactical defence, balance and attack .For, this the military front was constituted on the 2nd anniversary of the party. They have the central military commission than the regional military commission the district military commission and the village committee.

The political strategy to pursue its an agenda is one of the foremost priority of any organization. Therefore, the CPN (Maoist) has its ideological and political lines clearly defined as the Marxism- eninism and Maoism .Their objective is to make the masses aware of the politics of armed revolution for capturing political power and make the peoples army as the principle instrument. For this purpose the CPN (Maoist) have cultural groups, who perform among the masses and interact through cultural activities lime street play and speeches in public places. Further to pursue their political goal they have put forward 40 points of demands to their prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba on 4th February 1996 .Their demands are mainly related to Nationalism for public well being.

The Political agenda of the CPN(Maoist) consist of all issues of dissatisfaction present in the current system in the present democratic Nepal.It advocates to complete New Democratic revolution with the help of proletariats, workers and peasants the Maoist are fighting establish a republican state in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal. They aim to overthrow the monarchy and establish communist rule throughout Nepali state now control nearly half of the country. The insurgency that began from mid western mountain districts of Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot have spread 68 of Nepal's 75 districts .The six year old "People's war" has created havoc in the social sphere of Nepal .In these six years at least more than 2000 people have killed, which comprised of the army, civilians and the CPN (Maoist) cadres.

In their campaigning, the Maoist have attacked the Police Posts and looted several weapons. Apart from bloodshed, they have destroyed communication towers worth crores of rupees. The development activities have been paralyzed. It was in April 2001 there seemed some ray of hope that the ongoing movement could end, when the veteran Maoist leader Prachanda declared ceasefire and agreed to talk with the Deuba government.

Going through the round of talks it was assumed that the insurgency could end. However, on 21 November 2001, the government of Nepal declared state of emergency. Therefore, it can be seen that CPN (Maoists) shifted their strategy from negotiations to people's war when they did not get proper response from the government. Earlier they never confront the royal army but after November 23 incident they attacked several army outposts and are fighting an open and declared war with the state of Nepal. However finally they were able to overthrow the Monarchy in 2006 and in the aftermath event, they successfully won the elections and form the government.

The other concerned aspect of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal that can be viewed with seriousness is its external linkage under the initiation of CPN (Maoists). To have a coordination of regional network they have established the coordination committee of Maoist parties and organizations of south Asia (CCOMPOSA). The alliance consists of four Indian groups CPI-M (PW), the MCC-RCCI (Maoist) and RCCI (MCM). Bangladesh samyabadi Bangla Sarbahara Party (MPC) and Srilankan Ceylon communist party (Maoist) which is of grave concern in south Asian polity in near future.

According to the media reports another important aspect of Maoist movement of 40 demands. They have expressed strong dissatisfaction with the Indian government and have even termed the Indian government as imperialist and expansionist. What is of serious concern, is that the alliance of CPN (Maoist) links with the PWG of Andhra Pradesh and MCC of Bihar and Jharkhand. Although, their support may be only on moral, ideological and even material content. However, there may be possibility of linkages between the Maoist and ISI of Pakistan are reported in some press reports. The nexus of Maoist and ISI may create problems in the open border of India and Nepal. In addition, the insurgency torn northeastern region, where there can be more violence upon this can be viewed as a serious implications for India's security.

As discussed earlier there are many reasons behind this problem. In part, it can be said that it is a state's administrative failure, as it has not fulfilled its duties to the People. The present democratic era has failed to address people's problems. So the need of hour and

find a solution to the people's realities and the democratic system .For people oriented democracy there need to be some change in Political and social structures. The Maoists also after their victory need to stop violence to seek solution with the state.

ANNEXURE

The Maoists 40 demands

These demands were submitted by the political front of CPN (Maoist) united people's Front to the coalition government headed by the Nepali congress party. These are the same demands that were raised during the 1990s people movement. The UPF raised these demands for five years after the so-called democratic negotiation with the monarchy. However, the successive government opposed the demands. The demands were as follows.

Demands Related To Nationalism

1. Regarding the 1950 treaty between India and Nepal, all unequal stipulations and agreements should be removed.
2. HMG should admit that the anti nationalist Tankapur agreement wrong, and the Mahakali Treaty, incorporating same, should be nullified.
3. The entire Nepal-India border should be controlled and systematized. Cars with Indian number plates, which are plying the roads of Nepal, should be instituted for the foreigners.
4. Gurkha recruiting centers should be closed and decent jobs arranged for the recruits.
5. In several areas of Nepal, where foreign technicians for certain local jobs, a system of work permits should be instituted for the foreigners.
6. The monopoly of foreign in Nepal's industry, trade and economic sector should be stopped.

7. Sufficient income should be generated from customs duties for the country's economic development.

. The control pollution of imperialists and expansionists should be stopped .Hindi cinema and all kinds of such newspapers and Magazines should be stopped.

9. Regarding NGOs and INGOs Bribing by imperialists and expansionists in the name of NGOs and INGO should be stopped.

Demands Related to the Public and its well-being

10. A new constitution has to be drafted by the people's elected representatives.

11. All the special rights and privileges of the king his family should be ended

12. Army, Police and administration should be under the people's control.

13. The security act and all other repressive acts should be abolish

14. All the false charges against the people if Rukum,Raolpa ,Jajarkot,Gorkha,Kavre,Sindhu

15. Phalchowk, Sindhuli Dhanusha, and Ramechap should be withdrawn and all the people falsely charged should be released.

16. Armed Police operations in the different districts should immediately be stopped.

17. Regarding Dilip Chaudhary, Bhuvan Thapa, Magar, Prabhakar subedi at different times, the government should constitute a special investigating committee to look into these crimes and the culprits should be punished and appropriate compensation given to their families

18. People who died during the time of the movement should be declared as martyrs and their families and those who have been wounded should be given proper compensation. Strong action should be taken against the killers.

19. Nepal should be declared a secular state

20. Girls should be given equal property rights to those of their brothers.

21. All kinds of exploitations and Prejudice based on caste should be ended. In areas having a majority of one ethnic group, that group should have autonomy over that area.

22. The status of dalits as untouchables should be ended and the system of untouchability should be ended once and for all.

23. All languages should be given equal status until middle high school level (Uccha - Madhyamic) arrangements should be made for education to be given in the children's mother tongue.

24. There should be a guarantee of free speech and free press. The communications media should be completely autonomous.

25. Intellectuals' historians' artists and academicians engages in other cultural activities, should be guaranteed intellectual freedom.

26. In both the Terai and hilly regions, there is prejudice and misunderstanding in backward areas. This should be ended and the backward areas should be resisted good relations should be established between the villages and the city

27. Decentralization in real terms should be applied to local areas, which should have local rights, autonomy, and control over their won resources.

Demands Related to the People's Living

28. Those who cultivate the land should own it (The till should have rights to the soil he she tills.) The land of rich landlords should be confiscated and distributed to the homeless and others who have no land.

29. Brokers and commission agents should have their property confiscated and that money should be invested in industry.

30. All should be guaranteed work and should be given a stipend until jobs are found for them.

31. HMG should pass strong laws ensuring that people involved in Industry and agriculture should receive minimum wages.

32. The homeless should be given suitable accommodation until from where they are squatting.
33. The farmers should be completely freed from debt loans from the agricultural development bank by poor farmers should be completely written off. Small industries should be given loans.
34. Fertilizer and seeds should be easily and cheaply available and the farmers should be given a proper market price for their production.
35. Flood and drought victims should be given all necessary help.
36. All should be given free and scientific medical service and education and education for profit (Private schools) should be completely stopped
37. Inflation should be controlled and laborers salaries should be raised in direct ration with the rise in process daily essential goods should be made cheap and easily available.
38. Arrangements should be made for drinking water good roads, and electricity in the villages
39. Cottage and other small industries should be granted special facilities and protection.
40. Corruption, black marketing smuggling, bribing and taking of commissions etc should all be stopped.

41. Orphan, the disabled the elderly and children should be given help and protection.

**Documents as translated by Barbara Adam published in (people's review)
downloaded from the Maoist website.**

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