

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The term development is an abstract notion in itself. Though, the most flashing sweet and demanding term, very few people seem to have understood the different aspect of the terminology. The notion and concept of the term varies from people to people, west to the east. The meaning and concept vary to the sociologist, political scientist, the economist and the historian. Each one-view development from there own perception and angle. Along with the interest and views of the people, it changes and differs. So the modern definition of the term 'development' has become more complex.

Lucian Pye was among the earlier batch of writers to analyse the concept of political development in depth and kept on evolving his ideas on the subjects. "Political development is cultural diffusion, adopting, fusing and adjusting old pattern of life to new demands. The first step towards political is "the evolution of the nations state system which is treated as a basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion throughout all societies of what we might call a world culture " (Pye; 1965:21).

'Political development is the increased differentiation and specialization of political structures and the increased secularization of political culture" and its significance lay in the increased effectiveness and efficiency of the performance of the political system and its increased capabilities.

The term was defined as "an institutional framework capable of continuous absorption of changes" (Eisentadt; 1964:19). But the words "ability", "will", "skill" and "capacity" continued to be used in a rather imprecise manner, Halpern, Huntington, Diamant, Holt, Turner, Nye and others have developed a new approach variously known as "will and capacity"

approach, Problem solving capacity' "institutionalization " "ability to sustain new goals" One major idea or concept in the realm of political science is that of political decay. "Institutions decay and dissolve as well as grow and mature (Halpern, 1964, 159). He questioned the linking of political development with modernization, economic, social and cultural field.

Amidst Universe thinking, it may be necessary to do some fresh thinking on the meaning and purpose of political development. The development ought to mean development not of things but of men and the satisfaction of their basic needs- food, cloth, shelter, health & education. The development that cannot fulfill these needs of the masses cannot be regarded as development. The change or growth that benefits a handful of few wealthier, rich and powerful and that, increase disparity between/among the masses cannot be positive and regarded as development. The fulfillment of basic need also include the 'other needs'! Other goals' and other values, which are equally important, like freedom of expression, right to information, right to life and right to participation in the decision making in the system. (Riggs; 1967:314)

In fact, what is regarded as development in the context of the western societies suffered set back in the third world or least developed countries. We see underdevelopment is one side and over development on the other. Man must eat to live but he can also over eat. It is the over development of the western world responsible for the "by and large" underdevelopment of the so called developing world, though the countries in this group also can't get green signal for following or pursuing wrong policies and blindly copying or imitating the west.

So, the goals and meaning of development have to be redefined and we have to try to buildup such plans, and theories, which would better suit our environment, soil and our needs.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the context of a third world society specially Nepal in particular, democracy and development has not been adequately understood or analysed as a value or an ideal that is a part of the overall goal of societal development. It should be pondered whether democracy and the systems been given a proper chance by the society to prove itself against the wishes of those who may be inclined to condemn it without proper trail. The hard earned democracy is due to the success of the people and because of the sacrifices made by our known and unknown innumerable martyrs time and again. The series of activities, trends, practices, tendencies and development after the restoration of democratic system has been a matter of concern for every citizen. Any system can be sustainable only if it is brought to practice honestly and then only people will feel good about it. The system can have bright future if people enjoy their rights freely and establish their access to decision-making process.

If we study periodic trend and development the following questions arises:

-) Why did people's movement 2062/063 take place?
-) What were the ultimate achievements of the people's movement of 2007, 2046 and 2062/063 B.S.?
-) What were the false and fallacies of Nepali politics after 2046 B.S.?
-) How can democratic system be strengthened in Nepali?

So, this study aims at finding the answer of the above-mentioned questions.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The struggle for democracy and political change in the Nepal was due to the long cherished desire of the people. The wish of self-rule came true with some happiness accompanied by large-scale frustrations. The over throw of 29 years long party less '*Panchayat*' regime was something to boast about but it was very important that the appropriate model of democracy be adopted and the sky rocketing expectations of the people be solved one after another on the priority basis.

No system can reach its zenith of success without constructive and conscious contribution on part of all the citizens, parties and other internal or external environment agents. It is the duty and responsibility of the citizens to study, analyse and to work to uproot the unwanted trends, practices, support the positive pro public activities so that peaceful, prosperous and stable system be groomed that will be tolerant and progressive. Though, all these have been the distant dreams for us. This is not what has been happening in Nepal. So, the proposed study keeps the following objectives:

-) The main objective of the study is to trace out the history of the political development in Nepal up to 2064 B.S. based on evidences.
-) To suggest for remedial of the political crisis in the process of institutionalizing democracy.

The study also aims to explain main events of political development in Nepal. It also aims to point out the causes and consequences of political development in Nepal.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Since very few systematic studies regarding the periodic democratic activities in Nepal specially after 2058-064 B.S. have been conducted, it is hoped that the proposed study would prove to be of great asset in the study about democracy, its implementation, obstructions, pros and cons and about its future in Nepal.

Though the systems work in more or less similar manner everywhere but there are marked differences in the factors influencing the functioning and its impact upon the society, like its geography, educational attainment, culture, development of science & technology and economy etc.

So, it is important to study the cause and effects of the revolution and keep the people conscious regarding the need and ways of strengthening the system. The proposed study would highlight the achievement to the people at the cost of their sacrifices, ill practices in the politics of the country and ways of strengthening the system etc. and would serve as important for the social worker, students and all those engaging themselves in study about Nepal and its transition towards democracy. To political leaders and policy markers too, this study is likely to provide important insight.

1.5 Research Methodology

The proposed study is based on the secondary data. Library method is used extensively. The published data's records, information sheets magazines, newspapers, journals and reference books studied. Analytical description is used the core of its presentation.

1.6 Hypothesis

- Political process has been initiated towards democratic infrastructure and institutionalization
- Democracy has been strengthening in slow pace tackling with hazards.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The proposed studies have some limitations. It is based upon secondary data. The study doesn't aim to study everything about the entire political development process but its historical development and confine it to enquire about the positive and negative aspect of multiparty democracy only from 2058 to 2064 B.S. in Nepal.

1.8 Literature Review

Though there has been enough and more than enough inking about democratic system and political development and their best form but very little has been done and written about the democratic system established in 2062/063 B.S. about its benefits and challenges. Scholars have conducted a plethora of studies about the system of democracy, democratic process and political development.

R.Chauhan, the Indian keenly interested in Nepali politics has mention in his book called Political Development in Nepal 1950-70(1971) that the changes in Nepal is just the conflict between the traditional and modernity. All though the renowned writers like Lok Raj Baral in his published dissertation called Oppositional Politics in Nepal (1977) and Rishikesh Shah, in his books entitled Nepal Politics, Retrospect and prospect (1978) and in. Introduction to Nepal (1975) throw clear cut impression of political trends and tendencies but they also have not reached to the very recent political development

Dr. Nabin Mishra (2054) in his book called "Government & politics of Nepal and India", has written, that the political parties as the political organization are the essence of democracy. He has mentioned that neither the elections can achieve legitimacy nor can the political institutions and process get legal recognition without them. For him political parties and elections are the need and necessity of any democratic system.

Similarly, Mihir Kumar Thakur in his book "Nepal constitution and politics" has claimed that the then His Majesty the king Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev was the most popular and people's loving king, the king who respected the people's feelings and wishes. It is written in his book that very seldom in the history is found that the autocrat accepting the people as the sovereign power and transfer the state power without much craziness which is a matter of satisfaction but he has not been able to throw much light upon the different aspect of democratic practice in Nepal and the palace's role to defame the system. Acharyut Raj Bhandari has also conducted a study and has written in his book "Democracy's decade"(2051 B.S.) the democracy is not the people's democracy but it is only pluralism. Even, multiparty system is not fully democratic, it is better to promote the demigod of the royal apartment (khoppi ka dewata) as the impartial referee in the game of politics, which is very difficult to understand. But the real threat to transition towards '*loktantra*' and '*loktanrik ganatant*' may create several obstacles, which if not handled scientifically may harm the unity and the integrity as well. While Devraj Dahal in his book titled "Civil society in Nepal" (2001 A.D) has pointed out that there is institutional development of political parties in the democratic system but he hasn't highlighted the vivid aspects of the institutional development of political parties.

A very recent full scale survey conducted by Krishan Hachhetu in association with state of democracy in south Asia/Nepal Chapter (SDSA) reveals very clearly the perception of democracy and show that though people regard it as the suitable form of government but point out towards 57% of the respondent being dissatisfied with the way democracy functions but he also like others has failed to suggest and provide best solution impartially of the alternative system. Although this survey report prepared with great precision and care, has projected more negative aspects than positive aspects of democratic institutionalization and practices.

Kathmandu Post (Asar, 3, 065) Ronald Inglehart, a political scientist at the University of Michigan institute for social research and the director of the study funded by U.S. government strongly recommended that there is strong co-relation among peace, happiness and democracy. Writing in the Journal Perspective on psychological Science, Inglehart's team said that they had surveyed some 35,0000 people and found that ultimately, that most important determinate of happiness and development is the extent to which people have free choice in how to live their lives. The study reveals that Denmark, with its democracy, social equity and peaceful atmosphere is the happiest country in the world where as Zimbabwe, torn by political and social strife's is the least happy while the world's richest nation, the united states of America ranks 16th. The study reveals that gender equality, tolerance of ethnic and social diversity and political freedom are the must for happy life. But this study report, too, has failed to educate about the obstacles & problems in happy life that of Denmark, in the least developed countries like that of Nepal.

1.9 Organization

The study has been divided as following for

Chapter

- One : Introduction
- Two : Deals with political practices trends and tendencies till 2007 B.S.
- Three : Covers the features, activities and development upto
(2046B.S.)Second People's movement.
- Four Throw light upon achievements of historic peoples movement
part II
- Five : Highlights the constituent Assembly as the new dimension to
Nepal's nationhood and its achievements.
- Six : Conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 The History of Political Development Till 2007 B.S.

How to integrate and incorporate the development variable in the realm of political arena is becoming an issue in the literature. Political development has long been a concept baffling the political scientists if not the main. Among the earlier batch of writers to analyze the concept of political development, Lucian Pye was ahead of all. He not only has left an abiding impression on the entire literature but kept on evolving his ideas. Political development is the process of "cultural diffusion and adopting, fusing and adjusting old pattern of life to new demand." The first step towards political development was the evolution of the nation state system, which he treated as basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion through out all societies of what we might call a world culture." "The signs of political development can be traced to three deferent levels."(Pye; 1965: 19).

1. With respect to the population and as a whole.
2. With respect to the level of the government and general systematic performances and
3. With respect to the organization of the polity.

The basic change in the character of the population was that the citizens behaved, no longer like subject passively, receiving orders from the higher authorities but as one carry them out as an active participant who contributed to the shaping of political decisions. In other words, there was a greater involvement of the masses in a developing political system, and this naturally led to a greater sensitivity on the part of the people to the principles of equality and a wider acceptance by them of universalistic laws. Secondly, with political

development there develops a greater capacity in the political system to manage public affairs, control, controversy or cope with popular demands. An underdeveloped and also a transitional political system like that to Nepal which didn't have the creative and participatory support of the masses, naturally, were not very effective in carrying them along with it.

Finally, with regard to the organization of the political system, a developing political system, implied greater structural differentiation, functional specificity and integration of the participating institution" The advice was to search for the characteristics of equality, capacity and differentiation in a developing systems like that of Nepal and determine the degree of their advancement characteristics which were subsequently described by Coleman as a developmental syndrome.

At the outset, let it be clearly understood that very little is desire to burden the reader with description of Nepal's past. For one thing, there is very little scope for that there. For another, too many details would defeat the purpose this account is expected to serve. Sufficient is to say that the mention is to interrelate the political development process of Nepal which suggests the following account.

For centuries, the kingdom of Nepal was divided in to many principalities. The kirat ruled in the east and the Newars in the Katmandu valley while the Gurungs and the Magars occupied the Middle West.

Earlier, kirat ruled over Katmandu valley in 1st Millennium B.C.. During their reign, Mauryan emperor Ashoka visited to the holy sites of Lumbini and erected a pillar at Lumbini in memory of the birth of Lord Buddha. The Kirat were followed by the lichhavis, whose descendants today are believed to be some of the newars of Katmandu (Keshari; 2041: 18).

In real, sense, the history of Nepal can be said or the history of political development can be traced clearly from the start of the lichhavi dynastic rule and due to the all around progress in its recording system, coinage, political system. Language Creature, art, architecture and its external relation, this are rightly Known as the golden era of the Nepalese history" (Thapa; 2032: 22)

"Though hereditary rule, this dynastic rule had decentralization with authoritative royalty ruling with feudal lords and landlords immediately after the provincial administrative units called 'Janpad' 'Bisaypati' "Saulkik" and "gaulmik" Which were entrusted with district administration ruling the Unit of petty Kingdoms "bisayapati" Land revenue tax collector was called saulkik and security officer was then called "gaulmik". The village level disputes and issues were looked after by village penchayat (Acharya; 2047:32-33).

Then also lacked political differentiation, specialization, and public participation. People were mere the subject and the ardent follower, had no right to suppose or oppose. The freedom was to the extent to which it did not breach the royal supremacy and wouldn't question royalty. Kings and the royalty were treated and worshipped as the incarnation of god and goddess.(Joshi;1993:33)

With the end of the Lichhavi dynasty, the malla kings came to power in 1200 A.D. and contributed tremendously to Nepal's art and culture, Shiva Dev III's tenure witnessed the first ever revolt for the acquisition of power. Amsuverma started the system of nominating the crown prince as the successor to the throne and added the high sounding title of "maharaja dhiraj" before the sovereign's name. (Bajracharya; 21) Death of JayaDev II resulted in the regular and serious conflicts among the successors, which coasted to the breaking down up of the kingdom. Para chase the Doy kings from Simraungarh invaded Kathmandu Valley.Nagraj established his rule over Jumla with it's capital in

Sinja capitalizing the division, enmity between /among the kings of Nepal (Regmi; 2035:121).

Whereas, Nyaya Dev is believed to have established his rule by conquering Simraungarh in the Terai region and established Karnat dynasty rule. The Mughal conquest in Delhi forced the Hindus to escape towards the north and in the process they reached Sinja who were welcomed by the Pal dynasty rulers. The 1553 A.D.'s Sikandar lodhi invaded Sinja due to which the kingdom splited into two Karnali and Gandaki region. "Altogether 46 small and petty kingdoms. Were included in there two provinces. (malla; 66:6)

The 22 principalities in the Karnali region included the kingdoms like Jajarkot, Achham, Gotam, Rolpa, Mal Neta, Bhajhamg, Dailekh, Salyan, Jumla, Falawang, Gajur, Darma, Johari, Doti, Bajura. Thalhara, Banfee, Lekam, Purchaundi, Binauyak, Rukum, Dhurkot, etc. where as the 24 principalities in the east to Karnali region or in the Gandaki region were the principalities like Lamjung, Tanahun, Galkot, Parbat, Nuwakot, Satahun, Garhun, Paiyun, Rishing, Ghiring, Palpa, Gulmi, Isma, Musikot, Pyuthan, Bhirkot, Dhurkot, Argha, Khanchi, Kaski, Khurikot, Bhingrikot, Gajakot etc. (Baidhya; 2039:23)

Jumla and Palpa were the two most powerful principalities in the "22& 24" Baise-Chaubise rajyas. These weak & small states used to fight against each other, which had weakened their position & strength (Acharya; 2017:8).

During this troubled period of Nepalese history full of crisis as mentioned by Lucian Pye and other political development scientists a new group of adventurous people, the Mallas, appeared on the political scene. Destined to play an important role in shaping the country's destiny, they soon made their presence felt. About their origin of the Mallas it is said that they came from one of the hereditary land owning clans in India. Around the middle

of the twelfth century, they were found to have established themselves in Katmandu as well as in some other parts of the country (Shrestha; 2041:22).

The malla rule was not much significant from the political development point of view because except Yaksha Malla, who ruled successfully about fifty three years worked out in 1480, the harmful scheme of parceling out his kingdom between his three sons - which turned out to be disastrous and it only unleashed forces of discord and disunity. Bitterly jealous and suspicious of each other, the three principalities soon got entangled in reckless conflicts. This proved to be the ruin of the malla dynasty (Dahal; 2041: 22).

The Mallas also advocated the devine origin of the state and hereditary right of the legal heir to succeed the throne. The royalties were busy in plots, conspiracies and intrigues to get power. Their enmity and rift served as a condition for further political development what Pye had coined as the nation state of Nepal a for The unification of these principalities in much more bigger and powerful state called Nepal led by P.N. Shah of Gorkha (Khatri; 73).

Ages had to go by before Nepal could emerge as a united political unity. It was no doubt an agonizing process the people of Nepal had to go through before they could claim for themselves the status of nationhood.

Modern Nepali history began with the rise of king Prithvi Narayan shah the great (1742 A.D. - 75 A.D.) who became king in 1799 B.S.at the age of 20 (Stieler; 1975:96). A man of vision, reason and courage, took advantage of favorable political and strategic situation to unify what were then tiny kingdoms and principalities. He did not, however, accomplish the task all by himself. A team of brilliant advisers assisted him and strategists like Damodar Pandey, Kalu Pandey. "One of the most significant contributions he made is the concept that Nepal was a permanent entity which transcended the person of the ruler (Regmi; 1995:40).

P. N. Shah had to spent most of his time in Unification and consolidation of the empire so he could not do much for socio-cultural and political development. The royal place in Kathmandu became the centre of plots, conspiracies and petty politics. The courtiers were busy in internal rivalry and competed against each other to get nearer the royalties (Regmi; 1977:47).

The conflict between Pratap Sing Shah & Bahadur Shah, Rajendra Laxmi and Bahadur Shah also proved the internal rift in the rulings elite. Almost, all the rulers after Pratap Singh Shah were infants assisted by the regents and the co-regents who had their ploy and say in the state affairs. Maharani Rajendra Laxmi, the queen mother and Rana Bahadur Shah's uncle who had gone to Betiya in exile served as co-regent to 2.6 years old king (Krik Patrick; 1975: 121). The rift between the two resulted the worst for the shah dynasty. Bahadur shah arrested Rajendra Laxmi and kept her in palace arrest on 19th Bhadra 1835 B.S. in the pretext of illicit relations of queen and Sarbajeet Rana. After the release of Rajendra Laxmi form arrest, Bahadur Shah escaped again to Betiya but returned back to serve as regent to 10 years old king Rana Bahadur Shah after the death of Rajendra Laxmi in 1785 A.D.

Historian Kirkpatrick says that "King Rana Bahadur Shah and the courtiers did not like the increasing influence of Bahadur Shah" (Hamilton ;1971:250). So they accused him of corruption and misappropriation of funds during Nepal-China war removed him from his post and imprisoned where he died after three years due to fast until death. Rana Bahadur Shah was murdered by his own brother Sher Bahadur Shah. The stained king's bodyguard Bal Narsingh Kunwar stabbed him. Bhimsen Thapa took control of the situation and removed his opposition with his supporters and ruled Nepal for 31 years unopposed and the clever diplomat had in formed about the event to the British resident to avert their opposition (Regmi; 1975:177). 16 queens of the

murdered king had burnt themselves alive (sati) on the funeral fire of their husband and 77 were killed in the event (Acharya; 2020:98-99). Bhimsen Thapa was promoted to the post of kaji in 1804 A.D. He had deputed all his kith and kin in the key posts to consolidate his position and had initiated many reforms.

The great Nationalist military and political leader wanted to chase the Britishers not only away from India but from whole Asia too, so he had shook his hands with Anti British forces in India. He also met ill fate after the losses in Anglo - Nepal war (1814-17 A.D.). The ugly fractional politics between the Thapa and the Pandeys victimized one of the most patriotic figures. He was jailed for life and not being able to bear the insult 64 years old Prim minister attempted his own life with a khukuri and died three days latter on 16th Shrawan 1896 B.S. (Tukur; 1957:73). He and his dead body also met the same fate as he had done to the dead body of Sher Bahadur Shah some 33 years back. The female of Thapa family were also not left. They, too, were insulted and tortured.

The years after 1837 A.D. were instable due to over ambition of the younger queen Rajya Laxmi Devi, rivalry for power between the two queens, weakness and impotency of king Rajendra Bikram Shah (Rana Pramod; 1978:56). Samrajya Laxmi wanted to make prince Surendra Shah, the next king by her influence over the Pandeys. After her death on 6th October 1841 A.D., younger queen Rajya Laxmi Devi insisted king Rajendra Shah to do what she wanted. Where as the Pandeys, the elder queens supporters started oiling king and Chakari of prince Surendra. He too not being happy with the increasing influence of younger queen mother started pretending as mad and the subject through his rude and ill behavior & treatment. (Father Steiler; 1975:280). So on the 5th Jan 1843 A.D. king Rajendra being fade up with regular complaints against crown prince, handed over all rights to the queen and declared that she

will be responsible for state affairs and the disobedience to her orders & commands would seriously be treated as offence. This declaration not only formally shifted the state power from the king to the queen but also reduced the cruelties of the prince Surendra to some extent (Pandey; 2024:180).

New bold, beautiful and young queen who had hand packed the king started laboring hard to get the throne for her son Ranendra Bikram Shah instead of Surendra Shah. So she thought, the Thapa family can be trusted against the Pandeys. She invited Mathbar Singh Thapa from Simla, with assurance of returning all his seized property and of high-ranking post in the palace (Jain; 1972; 37).

The British government in India wanted to lure him by proposing him to be the king of Ram Nagar which he turned down but the Britisher's knowing his caliber as the military and political leader offered him to pay Rs 1 lakh as salary and the post of commander of 35-36 thousand army (Yogi; 2022: 45-46), Which the great nationalist hero rejected with ease. As a result on 26th December 1943 king Rajendra with the popular support and also of queen appointed Mathbar Singh as "Shree Prime minister and commander in chief" and decorated him with general Kali Bahadur title (Jain & Mehra; 1972:16).

He also followed the trend of political revenge, removed all the Pandeys from their high profile jobs and punished them badly. He though could not fulfill the younger queen's demand. The king had suspected his initiation of reorganization of the army to regain the lost territory due to Sugauli treaty of 1817 A.D. The queen wanted to punish him for denial to address her wish so he proposed to resign from his post in 1844 A.D. to return back to India but was reinstated. The Chautariya group eared the king against Thapa where as he supported the improved prince and inspired him to demand for the crown. The repeated insistence of prince for power forced the king to transfer all his power

of the king to the prince without abdicating on 13th December 1844. A.D. (Rana; 1980: 35).

2.2 Political Trends During the Shah Period

Even though there was the wave of modernization around the world specially in Europe, Nepal was far way from such process. Political development, mass mobilization, representation, organizations, accountable government, norms and values were not at all known and thought about. The territorial extension and its preservation was the main motto and mass mobilization was done for only this purpose. So, Nepal had to engage itself in internal & external wars specially the hostile exchange of bullets between the armed forces of Nepal and Bhot and with India resulted in the treaties like 'Sugauli treaty in 1817A.D.' which proved miserably a great loss to the power and prestige of Nepal (Bhandari; 2027:106).

The people neither had any interest nor any involvement in the state politics. They were the subjects and the kings dealt all the political, socio-economic cultural and religious matters. King hired and fired the employees as per his wish and will but there was never any kind of opposition.

This period witnessed instable political situation due to the minor kings. The regents and co-regents competed against each other, which resulted in fractional politics in the royal court. The plots and conspiracies were common. **The chakari system** got strengthened and the key post of the state were held by the crafty and over ambitious people so there appeared many groups deadly opposed to each other. These groups never had any programmes and policies nor did they have people's support and contact. The kings and the ruling elites advocated the divine origin of the state and the divine theory of succession to the throne. There lacked any legal proposition so the entire administration of

the state was the prerogative of the king. The appointment dismissal, promotion demotion everything was the kings wish. So the political system during Shah Rullers was entirely of military and autocratic type (Sharma; 2027: 312).

The king used to distribute the land as "birta" to those who were near and dear to him and supported his intentions. So only few families were conscious and they played the royal palace for their benefits. The Basnets, Pandeys, Thapas, khanals, Aryal's, Bohoras and the Ranas were the prominent. These groups competed against each other and tried to eliminate each other, which misguided the politics of the court and misled the country. Their intrigues even were successful in breaking sanctity and unity of the royal family (Rose: 1973; 31-32).

The history is the testimony of what and how these trends affected the Nepali Politics. Neither the palace nor these groups could understand and realize the trends' developing in the national and international areas so Nepal followed traditional, parochial system. Consequently the socio-political and economic development of the country was at the lowest. (Bhandari; B.S.2027: 106).

2.3 Politics During the Rane (Rule) Period

The Shah Kings rule could not lead the country towards political development and stability. The conflict between the Thapa, Pandeys and the Basnets families took new dimension after the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa. The rivalry between, the Thapas and the Pandeys reached to climax during Rajendra Bikram Shah. The weak and the hand packed kings did not have the courage and the ability required to control the situation in the courts (Kumar; 1973). The incompetence, of king Rajendra Bikram Shah allowed the rise of Jung

Bahadur Rana by plotting and staging the most notorious and shameful events in the entire Nepalese history (Baburam; 2014; 22).

The kot massacre helped him to get near the palace and the post, Bhandarkhal event allowed him to remove all his opponent from his way and exercise the power of Prime Minister but alou incidence projected him as the sole ruler or unopposed ruler. He started the 104 years long family rule called "Ranarchy" and started a new system of transfer of power called "Agnete system" according to which the post of P.M. was also to be hereditary, to be passed to his own sons only. He handled the administration in such a way that the king became a mere rubber stamp. Prime minister was the source of all state power (Sharma; 2033:19).

The Ranas ruled in a despotic and military base. The defense, justice, military revenue administration was regulated under command of the prime minister himself. They did not have any organizational pattern, law, but despotism was their main mantra. The Ranas held all the key posts and the state treasury was emptied for the benefit of the handful of Ranas. They had followed the closed policy to exploit the people and the resources to the greatest extent. Country was isolated from rest of the world. They tried to befool the people and the international community by starting some developmental works but all those philanthropic looking works were for their benefit and not for the people (Shah; 1978: 347).

The country passed through medieval feudal stage. There was no development any of the sector of the national life. The Rana prime Minster ruled the country as the undisputed ruler and declared them the source of every authority of the state, the factional politics that existed earlier ended due to the shrewdness and cunning Jung Bahadur Rana's strict polices. They also continued to distribute the land to their supporters as Birta, Raikar, Guthi and

Jagir without paying taxes. Merit was totally discouraged Chakari and Chaplusi was the main criterion for appointment to govt. jobs- Nepotism favoritism prevailed to the extreme points. The over centralization of political power resulted in the political suppression and economic exploitation. Even the Ranas were not happy and satisfied by the system of succession to the Prime Minister by Jung Bhadur Rana the Classification among the Ranas done by Chandra Sumsher into A.B.C. groups for not allowing the C grades Rana to come to power had annoyed them and they worked against the Ranaarchy. (Acharya; 2047; 278).

The internal dissection in the Rana Family had resulted against it. The exiled c grade Ranas worked in close collaboration of modern democratic activist and overthrew the family rule. The liberal and softhearted Ranas either had to quit from their post or had to face ill fate. The best examples were Rannodip, Dev Sumsher and Padma Sumsher. The post of Prime minister and title of Shree 3 was centre of attraction to all; so, intrigues plots and conspiracies were common. The despotic character of the Rana government could not establish the stability in the country. (Baidya Tulsiram & Ratna Manandhar; 2035:53-54)

The growing antagonism and discontent among the masses resulted in slow but gradual people's awakening. Anti Rana feelings and opposition started taking organized form. The conscious youths returned from India- being inspired by the people movement for independence in India started the work of social awakening. The opening of Mahabir school, Nepali Bhasa Prakasani Samiti, Arya Samaj, Prachanda Gorkha, Praja Parishad, All India Nepali Rastriya congress,, democratic congress, Nepali Congress and the communist party was against the miserable condition of the Nepalese. These organizations

raised voice against the extreme politics and demanded for socio-economic and political reforms in the country (Sharma; 2033).

The rubber Stamp King, humiliated by the misconduct and insult inflicted by the Rana family also had sided with these anti Rana activists though for his own benefit. Due to the combined efforts of king Tribhuwan and the people's leaders of Nepali Congress, the 104 years long family rule came to an end formally through Delhi accord of 2006 B.S. The restoration of king Tribhuwan and installation of coalition 10 member cabinets started a new era in Nepali politics in 2007 B.S. (Tuladhar; 2039:110)

The country had a great leap forward towards a civilized democratic society. This event provided an opportunity for institutionalization of political process and institutions, democratization, to establish rule of rule and accountable system. The chance was also to establish people's rights march towards political stability and political development. So Nepali society strove for a peaceful, orderly, progressive and democratic change and system.

2.4 Rana Regime and Downfall Cause

The highly centralized family rule headed by the kith and keen of Jung Bahadur Rana was highly exploitive and tyrannical in nature. The closed policy also could not prevent the influence of worldly change upon the Nepalese society. The Rana Prime ministers could not understand the quick change in the political trend with the passage of time, people's wish, international environment and their own family contradictions as a result of which they had to pack up for ever and the revolution of 2007 B.S. took place. (Devkota; 1960:38).

The following can be considered as the causes for the downfall of the Rana rule in Nepal:-

Family Rebellion and Contradiction:- The power thirsty Ranas lacked unity and solidarity among themselves. They lacked morality too and used to become ready for everything right or wrong. Plots and conspiracies were part and parcel of Rana rule. Even Jung Bahadur Rana had to face an attempt on his life by his own brother Badrinath Singh along with Jaya Bahadur, Karbir Khatri and Upendra Bikram Shah (Rana; 1980: 156).

So he in order to consolidate his position he introduced 'Agnate system' the system of transfer of post to his sons and in laws simultaneously as per the "Dharmaputra" from king Surendra Shah (Ramakanta; 1968:343) but this sowed the seeds of family conflict and struggle for power & post.

Jung Bhadur Rana's sons rebellion during Rannodip Singh tenure, Dhir Sumsher reluctance to get the coveted post for his sons, the murder of childless Rannodip Singh by Dhir Sumshers sons, Unsuccessful attempt of commander - in-chief Khadga Sumsher to eliminate Bir Sumsaheer and forceful exit of liberal Dev Sumsher from his post and taking refuge in India were some of the example of family tension & conflict. So, towards the rule of 64 years old Mohan Sumsher's rule the family had become the weakest ever and it could not foresee the possible outburst against their irresponsible rule, consequently, the revolution of 2007 B.S. couldn't be averted.

Classification of Ranas: - The classification or grading of the Ranas by Chandra Summer to secure the authority for his sons into A.B.C. promoted the family conflict started by Jung Bahadur Rana. He Graded the kith and kin of Dhir Sumsher's line into 'A', Jung Bahadur's line of sons and in laws into 'B' grade and 'C' grades Ranas were those who were from the "inner wives" of the Rana's. This grading invited rivalry and competition among the Ranas and they

started playing against each other. The 'C' grade Ranas were insulted humiliated and was exiled for their voice against such behaviors to them. The sense of revenge got developed among the Rana's away from the power and they oiled the rebellion. The 'B' grade Ranas tired to grab the power form with in the country where as the C grade Ranas insisted the anti Rana forces for organized rebellion against Rana rule resulting in 2007 B.S. movement that ended the 104 years Rana rule in Nepal.(Mujundar; 1975:79)

Faulty System:- The highly centralized administration run by favoritism and nepotism was against meritocracy. There lacked uniformity and of laws the P.M. was the source of all state powers, key posts were held by the family members of Rana irrespective of their abilities and efficiency. Political freedom and people's participation was a distant dream. The autocratic and faulty policies of such weak and incompetent administrators increased the miseries and discontent among the masses and it lost its appeal. (Rose & Joshi; 1966, 73)

Public Consciousness and Awareness:- The worldwide wave of freedom fighting specially in India and national movement in China had far reaching impact upon Nepal. Nepalese were immensely inspired by their struggle and they also started thinking for their rights. The soldiers recruited in British Indian army and the students returned from India they took the leading role in social uprising. They opened educational institutions and secretly educated people for their rights. The government tried its level best to suppress such social awakening by using naked force but it could not and the revolution took concrete shape in 2007 B.S. (Kolvala; 2027:347)

Indian Independence:- Ranas were true friend to the Britishers. They had impressed them with regular armed support to fight for British interest around the world and in India itself. They dictated Nepal so long the Britishers ruled India. With the with drawl of the English from India the anti Rana activist got ample opportunities to run anti Rana activities. King Tribhuwan was sheltered in India with full state honor. Indian government mediated the accord to end the crisis in 2007 B.S. It didn't recognize the minor king Gyanendra Shah and pressurize the government to start the political process.

Economic Causes:- The economic status of the state was miserable. The government did not have any financial policy. Agriculture, forest & forest products and land taxes were the main sources of income. The revenue collected used to be deposited in the accounts of Rana family. People were heavily taxed but the government did never do anything to increase their condition. So the people had no other options than to rise for revolt.

Social Causes :-The social inequality and disparity was also the important cause for the ouster of the Ranas. There was social discrimination, religious control, conservatism, child marriage, unmatched marriage, slavery, sati system (though latter eradicated by Chandra Sumsher) which had created the rift between / among the people. The Rana used to interfere even in the personal life of the people, the women used to find difficult to save their pride and prestige from the Rana and the government officials. (Painigal; 1915, 97-98). So the people rose against the large-scale social inequality and exploitation.

Impact of Second World War:- The Second World War resulted in the decolonization around the world. The national freedom movement against the cruel, harsh imperial rule ended the centuries of colonial rule and the victory of the communist party of China under Mao-ste-tung had inspired the people. The people returned after participation in the Great War and the educated youths took the responsibilities to raise people's voice. The Rana, Priminister Mohan Sumsher couldn't understand the increasing discontent, want of time, the international situation so continued the aggressive policies so, the people demanded for change. Ultimately the revolution of 2007 B.S. ended the Ranarchy from the country.

King Tribhawan's Excape From The Palace and Refuse in Delhi: - The king was a mere figurehead. Mohan Sumsher had tough control and vigilance in and around the palace. His majesty the king Tribhuwan had to bear different sort of insult and humiliations, the last was during the trial of the people involved in the Indrajatra incidence, moreover, the rumors about Mohan Sumsher's plan to shift the monarchy to Gorkha so he in pretext of hunting, along with all his family members except 44rs old grandson Gyanendra took Shelter in Indian embassy on 6 Nov. 1950. Latter, he was given red carpet welcome and sheltered in Delhi with full state honor. This increased the pressure upon the Ranas to start the political process. The different round of talks and negotiation ended with the signing of Tripartite agreement between the Rana representatives, Nepali congress and the kings representatives ending 104 years long family rule (Pandey; 2017: 108).

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION (DEVELOPMENT) FROM 2007-2017 B.S.

3.1 Application Of New Concept & Development

The wish for constitutional rule and political stability had given birth to many social and political organizations, to struggle for freedom from 1993 to 2007 B.S. From outside as well as inside the country though secretly, when a nation transits towards a new system or development, there arises different sorts of crisis in the system. (Lucian Pye; 1965:190-212) The organized political parties can only deal such crisis. The establishment of political parties in Nepal also can be viewed in the same prospect, so as to end the tyrannical rule, establish democratic system and political stability. The worldwide wave of freedom and independence resulted in the downfall of the British rule in India so, the Ranas had no other options than to start some reforms in Nepal. The liberal among the Rana Priministers Padma Sumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, viewing the changed world politics, end o f British rule in India, internal conflict among the Ranas and increasing anti Rana feeling among the masses on Magh 13, 2004 B.S. enacted "Nepal Sarkar Baidhanik Kanun" Government of Nepal act 2004 B.S. but hardliner Mohan Sumsher deposed him and did not allow to implement the act, He followed strict policies towards the political parties activities and tried to suppress them. This resulted in the hectic political awareness and the political parties one after the others took birth. The legacy of library Parva, Makai Parva jaiyatu sanskritam was carried on by Nepal praja parishad (12th oct. 1948). Democratic Nepali Congress & Nepali National congress got merged and led the mass movement of 2007 to establish

democracy for the first time. Many political parties sprung up after that in Nepali society, Rastriya Praja Parishad, united prajatantra party, Nepali prajatantrik Mahasava, Nepal Terai Congress etc. Nepali Congress and the communist parties struggled in their own way for the restoration of parliamentary constitutional monarchy and development.

Palace, the partner in movement against the Ranas followed the policy of breaking the political parties to consolidate its own position became very effective after 2007 B.S. khukuri Dal changed its name as Gorkha parishad. The dissatisfied dissidents in Nepali Congress opened their own parties as mentioned earlier. The incompetence inexperience, and personal ego clash of the leaders and the design of the palace over shadowed the demand for constituent assembly. The parties lost their interest in the constituent assembly election and agreed to participate in parliamentary elections of 7th falgun 2015 B.S. Nepali Congress obtained 2/3rd majority and formed the government as per the provision of the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 2015 B.S. enacted on 1st falgun. Nepali Congress leader Bishweshwor prasad koirala was sworn in as the first popularly elected P.M.

There were several attempts to bring stability and establish democratic government but all the government specially the one party government of Nepali Congress also failed to do what they were expected to. The coalition of Rana - Nepali Congress formed immediately after the restoration of democracy in 2007B.S. could not last even one year due to their differences. The personality clash between Mohan Sumsher and B.P. koirala proved fatal for the government. The government of Nepali Congress under the leadership of Matrika Prasad Koirala also failed due to the rift between the two brothers. The Janakpur Conference elected B.P.Koirala as the president of the party which tried to impose party line over the prime minister so he resigned on 26th

shrawan 2009 B.S. and Nepali Congress got spitted into four factious namely Nepali Congress headed by B.P. Koirala, Jana Congress of Bhadra Kali Mishra, Samajwadi Congress of Balchandra Sharma and Kedarman Vyathit and Matrika Prasad Koirala formed Rastriya Praja Party and all were busy promoting their petty interest.

An advisory consultative govt. under the leadership of General Kesar Sumser but M.P. Koirala again was sown in as the P.M. So the dream of constituent assembly could never come true during King Tribhuwan's tenure. M.P. Koirala's govt. was also dismissed because of its failure to fulfill its duties and a royal consultative govt. was formed and direct rule was imposed. In this sort of situation Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev ascended the throne after the death of his father Tribhuwan in Zurich Conton Hospital. He invited T.P. Acharya to lead the govt. (Praja Parishad) who reigned for one and half year. He was followed by a very hard liner Dr. K.I. Singh who didn't last for 4 months (Manandhar & Sharma; 2053,18).

Since then King Mahendra himself regulated the State administration directly. The elections were conducted by the govt. headed by Subrna Sumsher. It was widely believed in Nepal that King Mahendra had allowed the elections to go ahead in the belief that there would be a hung parliament and that he himself would continue in effective control of administration and on the other hand B.P. Koirala believed that this was also the Indian assessment and that India used this as an argument to persuade the king to hold elections. Though King Mahendra did have some reservation about B.P. Koirala against Subarna as Krishna Prasad Bhattarai and others continued to believe (Joshi & Rose; 1993:148), but in the end evidently felt obliged to appoint him and also to appear enthusiastic about it.

Nepali Congress with two third majority support of the people formed the govt. and there arose some qualitative changes in the politics of the country. The govt. earlier didn't have popular mandate so dependent upon the kings wish and will so were accountable to him only but the democratically elected govt. was not only accountable to the king but also to the Parliament (Gupta; 1993:125).

Gradually there arose the conflict between the place and the parliament. The norms and values that were tried to be established by the revolution of 2007 B.S., now got implemented slowly but gradually. There appeared a sharp distinction between the political parties into traditional and modern forces. The parties advocating the parliamentary supremacy were labeled as modern forces whereas loyal of active kingship came to be known as traditional parties (Chhaterjee; 1977:11-12).

Once in power, the congress administration's attempt to implement its major manifesto, commitments, inevitably ran into opposition from the vested interests. In April 1960, some of those who felt threatened by the reforms organized themselves as the '*Jana Hita Sangh*' (Public Interest Association) and later staged a campaign of strikes in the run up the King's removal of the government (Subedi; 2061:210).

The reforms like imposition of taxes on '*birta*' holdings, the proposal to abolish the '*rajautas*', nationalization of country's forest were opposed only by the landlords, the loyalist of the palace but the politicians who had lost at the polls. Consequently the govt. was charged of promoting corruption, congressifying the administration, misleading the country in foreign relations and of talking faulty decisions on economic grounds. The communists were prominent in the politics of agitation. On the other hand the old rivalry between

B.P. Koirala and M.P. Koirala did prove troublesome and in addition there were other rifts within the party (ibid).

Despite, B.P. Koirala's cordial relations with King Mahendra, the king was very clean from outset that sooner or latter, he has to play an active role. So this private cordiality went hand on hand from the beginning of 1960 with Public criticism of the government performance. (Chhaterji; 1977:116)

The king had hinted of something unexpected by warning the congress govt. to fulfill the people's wish and check corruption after the tour of Western Dev. Region on January 1960. So, though told and suggested by many not to do anything unwanted to democratic government and democracy for which his father had struggle and get bad name but he was hell-bent on assuming power. Consequently at 2:30 P.M. of rough 1, 2017 B.S. king Mahendra in his royal broadcast to the nation explained that he had used his emergency powers to take over the administration and claiming that congress had fostered corruption, promoted party above national interest, failed to maintain law and order and encouraged antinational elements (Joshi and Rose; 1966:384-5).

No demonstrations came out onto the streets and the king was for the time, in unchallenged control of the situation. The royalist's high ranking military and bureaucrats to government secretaries, landlords and other groups with vested interest couldn't tolerate the Koirala government so they instigated and supported the royal take over with in 18 months of parliamentary democratic system. The infant democracy of Nepal also got trapped in negative wave against democracy (ibid).

The democratic governments in Burma, Pakistan, and Indonesia were suspended and the authoritarian governments were installed. So the power hunger of the king, the inefficiency, in competency and the egoist leaders costed the downfall of the multiparty democracy in the country and the political

instability continued to prevail. And on 22nd Poush 2017 B.S. king Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah declared partyless Pachayat system in the country, which lasted up to 2046 B.S. with tough opposition from within and outside the country.

3.2 Failures of Parliamentary Democracy in Nepal

Although king Mahendra's assumption of power faced a delayed but powerful challenge from congress activists, he was able to face this down and for a period of twenty years he himself and then his son Birendra were able to retain full political control of the country. The period was one of "revival" in the sense that the old patrimonial order re asserted itself but also one in which economic and social change continued, drawing Nepal ever more closely into a modern world and preparing the way for the renewed pressure for democratization which was to mark the 1980 s.

Though, there are many who see selfish and an egoist political leader as responsible for the end of democracy and some blames the king's intention to play an active and assertive role in country's politics. Basically the following fundamental factors were mainly responsible for the failure of the parliamentary form of democracy in 1961 A.D.

- i) The system was imported from outside and imposed from above as the substitute for 104 years old Rana autocracy but didn't evolve from within in the country.
- ii) The system didn't suit to the soil, climate and the situation of the country and foreign to the social values and traditional virtues.
- iii) The system didn't have any sort of resemblance known to the political institution of Nepal. It was not a familiar system to the people and the state didn't have any sympathy towards it.

- iv) The inexperience, incompetence, lack of farsightedness and egoist leaders couldn't rise up to the exception of the people to sustain the system.
- v) Moreover, the parties didn't have clear-cut policies and the mass background. Neither they spring from the necessity of the people nor did they could organize and educate the people for the rights. They were the 'test tube products' of a handful individual who were more politically ambitious.
- vi) The plots and conspiracies of the internal and external forces who didn't like to see strong democratic Nepal and their intrigues were also important factors in the untimely demise of democracy in Nepal.
- vii) The hidden but latent wish of king Mahendra & Gyanendra to play active and decisive role in the politics of the country and revive the lost glory of the kingship in the country (Baral; 2003:39-40).

With all these reasons and effects, his majesty the king Mahendra by a Royal address to the Nation on the 5th January 1961 banned all political parties along with all class organizations affiliated to them. By the same message, the king proclaimed that direct participation of the people in the administration and economic development of the country would be secured through the Panchayat directly springing from the people through the grass roots level.

3.3 The Pachayat Regime (2017-2046 B.S.)

The Panchayat system under the constitution of Nepal. 1962 remained in operations in the Kingdom of Nepal for about three decades. King Mahendra was its political philosopher. He was the founder of the Panchayat system in Nepal. He had successfully projected his nationalist image by expanding Nepal's contacts and relations with a number of major world powers. Therefore, his political innovations were highly impressive and influential for some at that moment (Houftten & others ;1999:81). He experimented with the Panchayat system in an attempt to evolve a democratic administration. The political system with its unique method of representation often illustrated as 'tiered democracy' also as "guided democracy". But king Mahendra didn't allow the political parties to function because he felt that they were disruptive elements and faction oriented by their vary nature. During the exercise of Panchyat system under the constitution of 1962 A.D. three significant amendments were carried out in years 1967, 1975 and in 1980. (Houftten & others; 1999:81). For promulgating the will of the people into realities a referendum was held on 2nd of May 1980 by Royal proclamation of his majority king Birendra to ascription the view of the people about the Panchayat system.

But before this a lot of “cat-and-mouse” game between the government forces and the political activist had taken place.

From late autumn, 1961, onwards, attacks were mounted against government installations by congress guerilla army. Over the country as a whole congress forces numbering around 3000 didn't manage to establish control of any area, but kept up continuous pressure against the 9000 strong royal Nepalese army. Indian co-operation was a vital element in the congress strategy. According to a government statement in September 1962, a total of 205 incidents, 180 launched from across the border, had cost the lives of 77

Congress insurgents, 31 members of security forces and 22 civilians (Baral; 1977:72-73). When weapons belonging to Padma Shhankar Adhikari's group were discovered by the police in Jayanagar, he was able to get out of trouble simply by telling the station commander "we are fighting in Nepal for democracy" (Bhimarsha, Spatahik; 4).

Faced with a seemingly endless struggle, Mahendra himself considered compromise so probably was on the verge of releasing him but was persuaded to wait a little longer by Biswabandhu Thapa and Tulsi Giri (Chhaterji; 1980: 127-28).

Though claimed to be of democratic character and thought of being able to end the factional politics the constitution promulgated and the system didn't succeed in eliminating factional or group conflicted altogether despite the setting up of the "National guidance Ministry" to over see its works regular admonitions from king Mahendra himself (Saha, 1993: 82).

Due to the tough stance of congress leaders over the newly adopted system, negotiation were on but the situation changed dramatically in may 1968 when Subarna Sumser without consent of B.P. Koirala and others issued a statement in Calcutta offering "full co-operation" for king Mahendra and agreeing to accept the Panchayat constitution in the earnest hope of its further development under the guidance and leadership of his majesty (The statement; 15/5/1968). B.P. Koirala was unwilling to directly endorse this formula as he believed that negotiations would have lead to something loss of a complete surrender than was Subrna's statement. After being convinced that B.P. and Ganeshman would not openly repudiate Subarna. King ordered for the release of these two stalwart of Nepali congress. In Feb. 1969, after a warning from Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa that his statements were putting him in danger of re-arrest, B.P. went into self-exile in India.

Despite several tactics applied by the regime, anti Panchayat activities went on increasing. There started appearing division among the Panchas and some started opposing the system. The hard-core supporters right from the beginning like Rishi Kesh Shaha, Tulsi Giri, Biswabandhu Thapa, Surya Bahadur Thapa were also the suspicious characters for the palace (Baral; 1972: vol- 28). Surya Bahadur Thapa, the front liner and the most beneficiaries went up to criticize the system as "Dual Polity". The activist couldn't implement and fulfill the wishes and dreams of their philosopher king Mahendra. They also engaged themselves in-group politics and were busy in meeting their selfish ends. Nepotism and Favoritism was the basis for government job but merit was avoided. The near and dears of the palace and '*Panches*' ruled but others had to accept the exploitation and extortions. Though, the cabinets were tried to be made balanced and of inclusive character by appropriating some ministers from different castes, regions, languages and religions but it couldn't be brought into practice due to sidelined democrats and the liberals from mainstream politics.

Despite the intermittent challenges, the king remained firmly in control. He initiated some genuine works for the country also but to of no avail. His innovative programs like "back to village National campaign" and "Muluki ain" the civic code of 2020 B.S. were noteworthy. The land reform act 1964 A.D. was intended to promote more quartile agrarian system (Adhikari; 1998:240).

King Mahendra died in February 1972 and his son Birendra then aged twenty-six ascended the throne. It was hoped by many that the Eton and Howard Educated Monarch would favor a more liberal line than his father. While Birendra made it clear by both words and deeds that he did not want to make substantial changes to his father's constitutions, opposition of a more drastic kind emerged in the shape of violent action (Punaragaran; 2046:53).

Even the king himself faced an attempt on his life. Another security threat was posed by a group of communists in Jhapa district (in the eastern Terai) who for a time adopted the line of elimination of class enemies practiced by the Naxalities across the border in India. This Jhapali Groups included Radha Krishana, Chandra Parkash, Mainali, Mohan Chandra Adhakari and Khadga Prasad Oli the member of communist party's eastern Koshi Regional committee. Man Mohan Adhikari was also committed to people's war however was not prepared to endorse a policy of individual assassination (Chauhan; 1971:289).

The declaration of emergency in India initially enabled Birendra Shah to take a harder line against Nepalese dissidents; it was also at least partly responsible for starting a chain of events that would lead to very different change. On Dec. 30, 1976 with many of his friends under arrest in India B.P. Koirala returned to Nepal with a appeal for national unity between the monarchy and the opposition forces. Though the real reason for his return is still not clear but suggestions are many that the king had given him assurances of reconciliation in the limelight of Indhira Gandhi's incorporation of sikkim into India (Pramanand; 1982:81). Whatever might have been the reasons and conditions B.P. was arrested on his arrival at Tribhuwan airport.

The victory of Janata party in Indian elections taking strong line on human rights issues changed the situation for political change in Nepal. The government changed its stance against B.P. and was allowed to travel to America at the government expense.

The student demonstration on 6 April 1979 protesting against the hanging of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan, clashed with the police, invited further troubles for the Panchayat government. The demand for reform was not tackled properly so it got spreaded and become popular all

around the country, faced with the prospect of unrest spreading further King Birendra on May 24, 1979 in a national broadcast surprised all by announcing the national referendum in order to understand the kind of change countrymen desire, on the basis of universal adult franchise. Though it was welcome by outlawed leaders through their appeals to the people to make this step towards democracy, a successful one, the palace continued its designs against the process. Many, specially the communist groups as well as those active with in the Panchayat politics were in disarray.

Despite mixed reactions from all quarters, the national event was conducted on 20th Baisakh 2037, giving clear cut victory for the reformed Panchayat, against the multiparty system. The government used all possible tactics like rigging, extortion and irregularities in the process. There was large-scale use of muscle, money, men and machine against the democracy (Shah; 1992:51).

The result of the referendum came as a keen disappointment to the party politicians and to the more politicised sections of the population who had generally opposed the panchayat system. It was hoped that the results would open the eyes of the panchas but they became even more extreme and started taking very wrong direction. Rather than uniting the country behind the Panchayat system, the referendum and the third amendment ushered in a period of even greater disenchantment and cynicism. The opportunist's elites and the reactionaries swarm round the king like scheming moths round a lamp. The closer to the king, the greater power. The power clique remained hidden, behind closed doors, the names of King's brothers frequently mentioned as '*bhumigat giroh*'. The '*mandales*', the members of the Nepal Rastrabadi Swatratra Bidhyarthi Mandal created havoc in the country (Baidya & Bajracharya; 1996:123).

Despite, the disillusion that had set in among the opposition, the political parties began to re-organize themselves very quickly and tired hard to adapt to the new situation.

Towards its end the panchayat system and the pachas had developed many cracks in them. Factional politics was a strong headache for the palace.

On the other hand after the death of B.P. Koirala in July 1982, the Nepali Congress adopted 'Troika' leadership system led by Girija prasad Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh and K.P. Bhattarai and launched Satyagraha against the ban on political parties in 1985. The communist, like Man Mohan Adhikari, Krishna Raj Verma, Tulsilal Amatya, Narayan Bijukche (Rohit) and Nirmal Lama also launched their own programme but the series of bomb explosion in the capital around the palace, by Ram Raja Prasad Singh's Janabadi Morcha forced the leaders to call off their satyagraha. Singh's admission though still a doubtful aspect in many minds indubitably gave a new gravity to the political situation in Nepal.

The palace tried its level best to take control over the situation. It changed the leadership of government more often the monarch changed his Suits from Surya Bahadur Thapa to Marichman Singh Shretha in a desperate bid to survive. Series of corruptions scandals shook the government, rumors flew around the country about the involvement of the palace in the smuggling and lavish distribution of country's resources to the relatives of the palace, extortion and killing become common. The notorious persons like Bharat Gurung (A.D.C to prince Dhirendra) Bhim Prasad Gauchan, Jagat Gauchan and Dil Bahadur lama and their gang trafficked drugs and got involved in many illegal offences. The severe imprisonment given to these convict forced Dhirendra Saha to renounce his royal title and privileges. He left the country and appeared just before the royal massacre of Naraynhiti (Koirala; 1990:137).

Towards the end of the 1980 the political struggle in Nepal intensified. The banned political parties had increased their activities and the government continued its crack down further. National and international attention was fixed on human rights offences in Nepal. Rishikesh saha funded the human Rights organization of Nepal, which in a few months became one of the largest organizations opposing government policies.

Although opposition grew strong towards the government during the late eighties, the 1990 revolution might never have taken place had India not play a positive role. What weakened the Panchayat government more than anything else and strengthened the opposition was India's trade embargo imposed in March 1989 (ibid).

At first, the crisis seemed to strengthen the Panchayat government. All the Nepalese were called to unite to fight the national crisis and to resist the foreign aggressor but as the crisis deepened and the scarcity with price hike arose. The altitudes began to harden against the regime. The people lost their patience and started showing discontent (Adhikary; 1955:2).

The quiet opposition started talks for launching a movement for the restoration of democracy and human rights. The Nepali Congress and the left parties started organizing more and more rallies by the end of 1989 A.D. to challenlise the energy and the angry sentiment of the people for the restoration of democratic system and free the country from such miserable condition. Nepali Congress and the united left front (Samyukta Bam-morcha) took a historical decision to launch a united people's movement the political leaders of all quarters & ideology declared that they would forget their petty differences and Ganesh Man singh was given the commandership of the movement. When the communist faction's joined the Nepali congress to demand for full fledged

democracy and lift ban on political parties the home ministry described them as "the sheep in wolf's skin"(Sharma; 1988: 10).

The first ever public meeting held in Nepal for ten years, a three days national conference at the residence of Ganesh Man Singh on 5,6 and 7 Magh 2046, was attended by 3000 delegates and the figure like last premier Marich Man Singh of the Panchayat regime, Chandra Sekhar (ex-p.m.of India and Prominent leader of Janata Dal) Harkishan singh surjeet (Senior politician) and communist leader Subramaiyam swami, M.J. Akbar and Dr. Farukhi, etc. It ended with the resolution to launch mass movement (Dhakal; 2049: 55).

Then came the broad based peaceful and non-violent movement launched by the Nepali Congress and the united left front on the 18th Feb 1990 or 7th Falgun 2046 (the same day when democracy had been proclaimed in Nepal for the first time) with the active participation of all other democratic, left forces, professionals, laborers, peasants, farmers women and all in general (Shah; 1990: 213).

Within no day or time the protest went on spreading and becoming more popular. Government tried its best to suppress the popular agitators. The government of Marichman Singh was dismissed and the political leaders were called for the negotiations. The royalist organized panache rallies to overshadow the movement but inspired the agitators. The more use of force and pressure tactics government used, the more paralysed the country become. Though king announced of some reforms but couldn't impress the opposition (Shah; 1990: 196).

The negotiation initiated by newly appointed P.M. Lokendra Chand resulted in the direct talks between the monarch and the people's leaders like Ganesh Man Singh, K.P. Bhattarai, Shana Pradhan, G.P. Koirala and R.K. Mainali. On 26th Chaitra 2064 B.S. the leaders reached an agreement to lift the

ban on political parties and the late night royal proclamation was made. This brought a sudden turn around in Nepali politics. Leaders categorically, called off the movement. All the opposition leaders rallied in support and praise of the king. K.P. Bhattarai went to say. "He has a deep and sincere concern for the Nepalese people."(Hoftun; 1999: 64)

The fifty day long pro democratic movement that started on the historic day of 7th Falgun, forced the 37years long deep-rooted Panchayat autocracy to accept the sovereignty of the people. Panchayat regime tried every tactics but could not sustain.

B.B.C. reported in the evening of 24th Chaitra 2046 B.S. that at least fifty had died as a result of police firing at the crowd, advancing towards palace near wood lands hotel. The exact number of death is still not known for certain and after the end of Panchayat regime the government was able to establish the names of only 63 persons who had been killed during the whole course of Janaandolan (Brown; 1996: 148).

3.4 Interim Government

The royal press release of Chaitra 26, 2046 B.S. though had deleted the word "Partyless" from the preamble of the constitution of 2019 but democratic Panchayat system remained intact so Panchayat had not ended constitutionally. There could not be any base to believe that the ban on political parties and the political activities was relaxed because it could again be imposed as early as it was removed through royal decree. So, it was not reasonable to stop the mass movement. Realizing the urgency of the situation, the leaders of the movement had to convince the mass by claiming that the movement had not end but postponed only.

The dialogue began on Baisakh 2, at Royal Academy, was very closely and consciously warned by chanting slogans in favor of multiparty democracy and general elections (Adhakari; 1997:44) The negotiators had no other options then to deal the wish and will of the people very Cautiously.

On 3rd Baisakh, the dialogue amidst erupting public pressure resulted in the suspension of article 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 41 A, 42 B, 267A of the constitution of Nepal by exercising article (B), and also suspended National Panchayat and other class organizations of Panchayat system on 3rd Baisakh. Gorkhapatra (2047/14).

This was the real victory of the people, fighting to end Panchayat. The appointment of a true loyalist to the monarchy, Lokendra Bahadur Chand as the P.M. annoyed the democrat leaders so supreme commander Ganeshman Singh had a royal audience and urged the king to from the government of peoples leaders and order for fresh elections. Ganesh man singh as the true commander of the people, stepped back and proposed k.P. Bhattarat to be appointed as the new P.M. of government. The proposal was endrosed by the left front so consequently on Baiskh 6th 64, king Birendra nominated the senior politician leader of Nepali Congress Krishna prasad Bhattarai as the prime minister and a eleven member cabinet was formed as the interim government which had two main objectives, the formulation of new constitution and holding free and fair general election as per the new constitution. (Gorkhapatra; 204/2/25).

3.5 Constitution Recommendation Commission

A constitution Reform commission was proclaimed by his majesty the king, Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in April 1990 though there were demands for constituent assembly elections to draft new constitution. The commission under the chairmanship of Justice Bishwonath Upadhaya, was appointed by the

king on Baisakh 28, 2047 B.S. without much needed consultation with the cabinet. It received nation wide resentment and described as yet another in a series of conspiracies to sabotage, was taken as a desire of the king to continue the '*sishu prajatantra*' and example of kings deceit the Panchayati constitution with minor reforms. The resignation of the commission's chief and the member compelled the king to dismiss the same and a commission as recommended by the interim prime minister K.P. Bhattarai on jetha 16, 2047, a new nine member constitution Commission comprising three each experts from Nepali Congress, Left front and three independent was formed under the chairmanship of Biswonath Upadhaya with suryanath Upadhaya as the member secretary, the members were Mr Dhamanath Dhungana, Laxman Prasad Aryal and Mukunda Regmi from Nepali congress, Mr. Bharat Mohan Adhakari, Mr. Madhav Kumar Nepal and Mr. Nirml Lama from left front, Mr. Ramanand Prasad Singh and Pradhyumnalal Raj Bhandari, the independent members. It submitted a draft constitution to the interim government, which extensively analysed and discussed all concerning points and then forwarded the same to the king. The constitution was then promulgated on 23rd Kartik 2047 a special ceremony of Narayanhiti Royal Place and the Panchayat Conshilution of was of 1962 was abrogated (Shah; 94).

3.6. Achievements Of Revolution Of 2064 B.S.

The End of 37 Years Long Panchayat Autocracy

The people never liked the highjacking of the democratic process but due to lack of organized leadership and mass uprising, it looted the country but the joint people's movement showed no mood to compromise with panchayat system. The large processions and demonstrations were called off only when king removed ban on political parties and deleted or removed the word

partyless from the constitution and invited K.P. Bhattarai to form interim government with the task of formulating the new constitution and hold new general elections, as a result of sacrifices made by the people during the people's movement. Panchayat system that did not have necessary prerequisites for the successful working of the system and due to wrong handling of the institution and the workers surrendered and there dawned the democracy in consonance with the popular will of the people.

Written Constitution Based On Constitutionalism:- The popular movement resulted in the nomination of the constitution recommendation commission to "make recommendations institutionalising constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy in the interest of Nepal and the well being of the Nepali people (Press communiqué; 11 May 1990) and described as 'yet another in a series of conspiracies' to sabotage the infant democracy and against the spirit of the movement. Ganesh Man Singh, the super commander asserted that, "Nepales were cheated by three shah Monarchs and did not want to be cheated again (Gorkhaptra; 3 may 1990) on may 15 1990 the commission was dissolved and rechristened as the constitution Recommendation commission and reconstituted on 31 May. A nine-member commission headed by chairman Biswanath upadhaya and surya Nath upadhaya as the member secretary was given the task to submit the draft within as ninety days.

The commission sought suggestions from different quarter of national life. The constitutions prior to 2047 B.S were all guided and prepared by the authority and had not accept the sovereignty of the people.

The concept of constitutionalism was accepted and tried to be implemented by the commission for the first time in Nepal. The constitution thus formulated had provision for the separation of power between the organs of the state, sovereignty inherited in the peoples hand, fundamental rights, multiparty parliamentary democracy, periodic elections and the autocratic monarchy turned into constitutional monarchy were some of the basis of it . No other constitutions earlier had such features. This first ever constitution formulated with widest possible participation at that particular time in consonance with the spirit of constitutionalism accommodating 133 articles, 33 parts and 3 schedules was promulgated on 23rd karlik 2047 B.S.

Constitutional Monarchy: - The constitution thus implemented had the provision of constitutional monarchy. The political dealing among the political leaders ended with the consensus of converting the autocratic monarchy into limited monarchy. Except certain provisions like article 27,28,30,31,32 &33, 15,16 and 127 i.e. provision relating succession to the throne, the expenditure and privileges concerning the king and the palace kings action be a lof from the questioning in the court, emergency power, making king the most powerful political figure head and the unamendable porvision of the constitution with the power to remove the obstacle in the practice of the constitution, the king had lost all his powers and privileges. The kings power, position, function and activities started to be limited, guided and controlled by the people's constitution. Had the kings been like that of the British type, they would also enjoy the same degree of respect and honor but(Karki; 2053; 269). His majesty as constitutional monarch was expected to flourish and protect the constitution of the kingdom of

Nepal by keeping in view the best interest and program of the people of Nepal.

Recognition of Peoples Fundamental Rights:- Part three of the constitution deals with the fundamental rights guaranteed to all citizens of Nepal. These rights may be mentioned as rights to equality, Liberty, Freedom of press and Publication. Criminal Justice, right against preventive detention, right to information, property, culture and education, religion, right against exploitation, right to privacy and constitutional remedies. Like in India, U.K., U.S.A. and other democratic countries of the world. Part three in which there are thirteen articles (11-23) totally devoted to fundamental rights in Nepal. Though people's rights had been mentioned in previous constitutions but they were limited and controlled. The unconditional restrictions over these rights can be remedied and reviewed by the supreme courts.

Pluralism- Parliamentary Democracy & Rule Of Law:-Democratic movement resulted in the establishment of rule of law and multiparty parliamentary democracy Panchayat was opposed to the existence of any political party but the constitutions promulgated after the popular uprising allowed the representation of people's faith by different political parties. People's representatives in the parliament would form the executive and the executive was made accountable to the legislature.

There lacked uniformity of laws in the country before but the constitution-established rule of law all around and for everyone in the country. Constitution was regarded as first and final law and all other laws and action in

inconsistence with it would become null and void to the extent to which opposed to the constitution.

Separation of Power:- The theory of separation of power between the organ of the state is a must and the Nepalese constitution of 2047 also had clear-cut separation of power between the organs of the state so as to stop them from interference in each other's scope. Legislature elected directly as well as indirectly was entrusted with the task of formulating, amending and repealing the laws along with the power of passing the budget where as executive, the government was vested with the powers like making plan policies, safeguarding the boarder, maintaining the foreign affairs, maintain, raise armed forces and lead the country towards peace, progress and prosperity, while the third organ judiciary is given the task of interpreting the constitution safeguarding the fundamental rights, work as a court of records and as the reviewer of verdict given earlier. The judicial set up followed has been such that helps in its independence and competence.

The chief justice and other judges can be appointed and removed only by adopting very complex method and they are well qualified and handsomely paid so they are competent enough to deliver justice and remain free and fair.

Freedom of Press and Publication:- Free conscious and organized media is regarded as the watchdog of democracy. The freedom of press and publication under part III article 13 of the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 2047 has been very impressive. This has forced transparency into the system and forced the state authority to be more accountable. It is necessary to educate the people as well as to keep the government alert for not to do

anti people activities. The role of media has been such immense and indispensable that it is regarded as the fourth organ of the state. Nepalese Media has played their role considerably after the restoration of democracy in 2047 B.S.

Sovereignty Inherited in Peoples Hand:-The most important achievement of the people's movement is the constitution of 2047 and the best thing in it is its preamble. The preamble to the new constitution declared that the people of Nepal are the sovereign and it is the result of the desire of the people that translated into a mass movement in order to bring about changes is the constitution with a view to providing them social, political and economic justice. The people have been given the supreme authority of making and destroying the government as per their wish but their sovereignty is exercised by the cabinet in the time other than the elections.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Political Tendencies During 2046-2059 B.S.

Hard earned democracy couldn't sustain due to lack of enough political consciousness and awareness. It required 30 years of continuous struggle for restoration of people's rule to end autocratic and tyrannical rule and the democratic process proceeded (Regmi: 2060).

Nepal also couldn't remain uninfluenced by the worldwide wave of decolonization and democratization. The eastern European notions along with Nepal entered into the era of multiparty parliamentary democracy in 1990's decade one after another (Peter, 2001:45).

The Panchyat system was abolished due to the people's movement of 2046 B.S. and interim constitution 2047 was implemented on 23rd Kartik 2047 B.S. Nepal's transition towards democracy was slow but gradual and conduct of three parliamentary and two local level elections success of (2048/049, 2051/054: & 2056 B.S. respectively) seemed to strengthen the roots of democracy (Baral; 2004:34).

The reactionary forces which couldn't digest the openness, Liberalization of political thoughts, people's increasing participation and political differentiation caused troubles through their secret alliances and latter openly. Specially in the period between 2051 B.S.-2056's instable and increasingly becoming polluted political practices inspired and provided fertile ground for carrying out the evil design to defame the hard earned democracy (Thapa: 2055).

The Maoist insurgency or people's war that began in Flagun 2052 B.S. and the reactionary force like R.S.S Nepal's invitation to the king for saving

the nation, seemed to weaken the infant democracy (Nepal: 16-30 Kartik 2059) The king's strong temptation for active political life and immaturity of political leaders dragged the country into the era of new political conflict resulting in the speculation and fear of loosing the achievement of the revolution (Baral; 2060)

The 'prado-pajero' culture, unnecessary horse-trading of the parliamentarian, Bankok event, and scandals left the people in despair. These events not only annoyed the masses but also hampered the dignity of the people's movement. The unseen but tough pressure instigated the Nepalese parliament to endorse Mahakali agreement, which can never be forgotten for its cons to Nepal. The unholy alliance was formed and broken, inner and intra-party conflicts and break away were common. Nepotism, favouritism and '*chakari*' that prevailed during Ranarchay and Panchayat system prevailed everywhere in democracy, seemed as not worth desired and unpopular. (Regmi; 2004)

The "musical chair game" among the political parties promoted corruption. Bribery and scandals. The "*Sura sundari*" influence upon Nepali politics enchanted the political leaders so much that they didn't think it wise to deal with the 40 point political demands put forward by Jana Morcha (people's forum) in 2052 which forced then to people's war ever since Flagun 2052 B.S The armed insurgency soon took the large portion of the country except the capital and the district headquarters. The ever-increasing influence of P.L.A and the Maoist forced the mainstream political parties to rethink about their strategy. They were trying to play using the drama of dialogue. Different rounds of talk failed and cease fire withdrawn. The government with support of the parties supporting the existing system with minor changes wanted to drag long the practice of '*warta*' dialogue to reduce the intensity of rebel influence

whereas the rebels continued to reorganize and become more stronger (Himal; 2058).

The success of people's liberation army of Maoist in Holeri, Dang, Solukhumbu, Sindhuli, Syanja, Achham, Jumla, Arghakachi etc were of large scale causing great damage to national army's pride & prestige. Declaration of emergency along with red corner notice of Interpol also couldn't check the torture, killings abduction etc. of common people from either side. Thousands of innocent people lost their lives. The government failed to take control of the situation so the people's war that promised to bring all around positive change in the socio-economic, cultural and political sector became wide spreading popular. The use of army, police and armed forces to counter the violence resulted in the destruction of not only of the infrastructure but also of many political practices process and institutions. People lost their faith in government institutions and leaders. The cases in the courts drastically decreased, the presence of police banks, government offices was centralized to district headquarters. So, Nepal started to become a failed state in national and international areas.

Jestha 19, 2058, brought a shocking and unbearable painful news of Narayanhiti royal massacre projecting Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah as the apparent heir to the throne provided a slim hope and confidence to the right wing royalist for their revival. His statement that he wouldn't quietly accept what so ever happen as his brother, was even more inspirational for them and a clear cut message for the political leaders.(Kumar; 2000: 23)

The power hunger, egoism, in competency and immaturity of the political leaders led to 'tug of war' and 'musical chair like game' resulting in the political institutions becoming representative less. All these prompted the king to exercise article 127 of the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 2047B.S.

and suspend the cabinet of Mr. Sher Bahadur Deuba with a blame of being inefficient to conduct the elections and took all the executive power in his own hand on Feb; 1, 2005A. D. This act not only over shadowed the achievement of 2046 movement but invited political stalemate. It is a matter of research whether the king's action was his wish to be active in politics or was to improve the deteriorating politics of the country. (Baral; 2060:36)

Had it been for bringing the politics to the leek and for providing efficient, effective but corruption free government, why would he bring such old, out dated and infamous faces in the government under his own leadership. (Himal; 1-15 Asoj 2062). The mainstream political parties supporting constitutional monarchy also being suspicious and being cheated by the king's action were annoyed and started advocating for republicanism. The press also reacted and criticized it as the "wish of king to be active in state politics", start of multiparty Panchayati raj "Repetition of poush, 1, 2017" Hijacking of people's sovereignty etc.

The mainstream political parties continued their no cooperation towards almost all the governments formed after and did not recognize them. They opposed the regression. The increasing popularity of movement of parties and the failure in defaming and to suppress it, forced the king to invite the same Mr. Sher Bahadur Deuba, Whom he had earlier dismissed on account of being inefficient. Mr. Deuba tried to give his cabinet the shape of all party government, surprising was acceptance of Mr. Deuba because he had committed that he would not join the government under article 127. So the important faction in the movement CPN (UML) also joined the government claiming the partial correction of regression. So king used the political leaders as the toys in his hands. Whereas the parties like Nepali congress and others

regarded the government as the same as earlier and remained on the streets demanding for reinstallation of the parliament, dissolved earlier.

The persons like sachhit Sumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, Bharat Keshari Singh, Mr. Keshar Jung Raimajhi, Sarat Chandra Saha etc. Who were demanding for active role of king government got appropriate opportunity to have their say. (Samaya; 16 bhadra: 2062). Bharat K. Singh and his allies even didn't hesitate to advocate that the "Hindu kings can't be confined to the constitution" and the mainstream political parties should also be dealt as the Maoist to instigate the king and his supporters. (Kantipur; 7 Bhadra).

The new regime continued the game of political revenge in the name of checking corruption by instituting Royal commission. It tried to defame the political leaders, tortured by detaining them in police custody, corruption charges, strict censorship over press and publications but all these pressure tactics were becoming unproductive.

The international community also demanded for restoration of democratic process specially the countries like U.S.A., England, India and European Union member following the policy of 'wait and watch' till 100 days lost their patience. (Kantipur; 30, Asoj: 2062) King Gyanendra and his '*mandales*' remained busy in violating human rights, abducting the freedom of press and trying to isolate Nepal from rest of the world.

The balance in the politics of Nepal took new turn. The three political forces namely Royalist, mainstream political parties supporting democracy and hard liner communist Maoist, waggging people's war since 2052 B.S. got organized into two polls after their agreement held simultaneously one after another from Rolpa, Siliguri, Delhi and Kathmandu resulting in 12 point deal between them. The parties proceeding with the demand of reinstallation of parliament and the constituent assembly reached a step ahead, the agreement to

uproot the autocratic monarchy and to establish full fledged democratic republican state. The political parties having very bitter relation like that of "३ ६" of Nepali numbers now are sitting together to discuss and take collective decisions due to king's lack of far sightedness. Which have brought the politics of the country in to its decisive junction. (Bimarsha; 10-16, Mangsir 2062)

In the meantime a working unity was forged among the five parties with the objective of achieving "Complete democracy". This unity was forged among Nepali congress (NC) communist party of Nepal (united marxist Leninist), people's front Nepal and Nepal sadhvawana party (Anandi Devi) The Nepali congress (Democratic) which had split from the NC three years ago and the left front led by Chandra Prakash Mainali, also joined the alliance making it seven.

After the release of Girija Prasad Koirala and Sher Bahadur Duba from house arrest, Nepali congress declared nation wide "*Satyagraha*" on March 28, seeking complete democracy and reinstatement of parliament. The seven party alliances announced a six point common programme to end king's direct rule after the release of general secretary Madhav Kumar Nepal of CPN (UML) on May 2, 2005. The document that outlined that only a '*Jana andolan*' can defeat autocracy in the country. (The Kathmandu Post, March; 15: 2005)

Drawing support of people and political activities had been a difficult task for the political parties. They have apologized for their mistakes committed by them during the democratic system. Meanwhile the seven party political leaders had understood the need of unity and co-operation with the outlawed Maoist to find solution. Therefore, the seven parties and the Maoists under pressure, sat for talks for ideological and political clarity.(Baral; Kantipur, August, 07:2005)

The foreign response was also of much importance. Immediately after the dissolution of Deuba government and take over by the king, friendly countries expressed much concern. They stressed that the royal government withdraw the state of emergency, release the detainees, improve human rights condition, and ease censorship on media and returns to democratic principles. Though India's stance suspicious, tried to establish a triangular relationship with the king, political parties and Maoist. (Timilsina; Nepal National Weekly:August 07:2005) American's stance on Nepalese political affairs was normal in establishing democracy. The U.S government under tremendous pressure from senate and the congress suddenly stopped military training and aid, The United Kingdom and European Union also expressed their concern but unlike India, China didn't show much interest in Nepalese political affairs. China reacted it as the internal affairs of it's neighbor. China's preference to stay away from Nepal's political affairs may be motivated by improving friendship with India.

4.2 Causes of Political Crisis and Conflict Prior to 2062-063 Movement

The politics of Nepal and the political system, which is in transitional phase, has been suffering from many weaknesses. It takes long time to achieve political stability, development, political culture cultivated and establish democratic principals & institutions but the honest effort even of very little can leave far reaching influence, which can get established in future. But nothing can be said with surety about Nepali politics what happens next moment. There is no doubt that the past 12 years of democratic era is responsible for different kinds of Crisis in the system but undoubtedly the political actors and the people to some extent should not escape from their responsibility. So the followings

are the causes/reasons for the failure of the system and the people's movement 2062/063.

- Lack of experienced, mature and selfless political leadership.
- Lack of institutionalization of political institutions & process.
- Inefficiency of the government to lead the country towards peace, progress and prosperity.
- Political protection to the convicted by mallik commission.
- Large scale corruption, bribery and misuse of country's resources.
- Nepotism, favoritism and meritocracy sacrificed, political criminalization and criminalization of politics.
- Over emphasis to the ex. *panches*.
- Avoidance & neglect of sovereign parliament.
- Inability of judiciary to impart impartial and competent justice.
- Political parties were unable to deal the Maoist demands and tactics.
- Unnecessary interference over military and security forces.
- Inner party and intra -party conflict & fractional politics
- Narayanhiti Royal massacre.
- Over ambition and in competency of the monarch.
- Environment of suspicions and mistrust between the king and major political parties.
- Over exercise of article 127 of the constitution of 2047B. S.
- Absence of political consensus among the parties to give farsighted leadership.
- Over interference and involvement of foreign powers.
- Weak and confusing foreign policy and absence of foreign relation experts.

The declaration of emergency on 19 Magh 2061, forced the Maoist waging people's war since last 12 years and seven mainstream political parties to come to a single front and have common agenda for the establishment of federal democratic republican state. This alliance had surprised the entire world.

The twelve point historic deal between the Maoist and the parties of 7th Mangsir, 2062 B.S. proved to be a landmark event. This inspired the people from all sector of the national life to come to the street to expose the outdated feudalistic autocratic system. (Himal; 16-30, Mangsir: 2062)

The seven political party alliances and the Maoist called for nation wide general strike from 24th chaitra to 27th chaitra. This aimed at forcing the king to transfer sovereignty to the people by withdrawing the Royal proclamation of 19 Magh 2062 B.S. The country was paralysed and the red flags were beautifully flying all around the streets. The seven parties led the revolution peacefully from the urban areas whereas the Maoist revolutionized the people from all around. King Gyanendra Shah and his ill wishers used brutal force and different pressure tactics for 19 days but to of no avail. Imposition of curfew and breaking it was common everyday. This was like national event as if people were celebrating their festival. Everyone played his/her role. Dozens of people got martyrdom. (International forum, year 21 ed 7; 167-177)

The Tsunami of people's movement forced the king to issue proclamation in the name of nation on 8th Baisakh 2063 B.S. in which he tired to assure that he was dedicated for democratic process and claimed that he had returned the people's property to them. He asked the parties to suggest the name for the appointment to the post of prime minister but the parties regarded it as yet another plot to befool them so continued their movement. (Himal; 16-31, Baisakh: 2063) So he had no other option than to announce the reinstallation of dissolved parliament on 11 Baisakh 2063 B.S. This time the political parties

accepted his address as positive and the reinstated parliament held its first meeting on 15 Baisakh 2062. The second meeting of reborn parliament through Royal decree passed the proposal of holding constituent assembly on 17th Baisakh 2063.

The people's movement of 19 days from 24th Chaitra- 11th Baisakh was unique and no such exemplary movement has been ever witnessed anywhere else in the world. Not even an event occurred against the popular movement. Tulsi Giri, Kirti Nidhi Bista, Kamal Thapa, Sris Sumsher Rana, Tanka Dhaka were the most active in suppressing the revolution.

Meeting of Restorated Parliament:- The first meeting of reinstated parliament was held on 15 Baisakh 2062. The meeting began 5 hours after the scheduled time due to newly appointed Prime Minister Giraja Prasad Koirala's illness. Mrs. Chitra Lekha Yadav presided over the function. Mr Koirala in his letter message invited the Maoist for Constituent assembly election, Cease-fire and peace talks. The second meeting of the house held on 17th Baisakh passed the proposal for having constituent assembly with majority. On 20th Baisakh, 2063 the cabinet withdrew the red corner notice upon the Maoist leaders and the terrorist tag on them. The government also declared unilateral ceasefire complimenting the 3 months old existing ceasefire.(Gurung & Subedi; 2064: 202)

The restored parliament passed with unanimity on 4th Jestha 2063 restoring the sovereignty in the hands of the people and the king became a helpless spectator without any kind of authority. The historic declaration also made it clear that the constitution of Nepal 2047 would be regarded as null and void to the extent to which it opposes the declaration. This Historic declaration

of the house of representative is taken as the landmark event in the entire history of mankind. It was no less than the Magna Carta of United Kingdom and Bill of Rights of USA. (Kantipur, 2063, Jestha 5)

Government of Nepal and communist party (Maoist) sat for the summit talk on 12 Jestha 2063 and for the first time and on 1st Asar 2063 and reached the decision to formulate interim constitution, to hold constituent assembly election by constituting interim government and six other points. (Nepal Samachar Patra; jestha, 13: 2063) After 4 months, 22nd Asoj 2063, the government, the Maoist and the eight political parties sat for yet another highest level talks. (Kantipur, Asoj; 23: 2063)

Due to the resultless talk of 22nd Asoj, the meeting of 24 Asoj resulted in deciding to have interim government by the month of Kartik, manage the arms of the combatant and restrengthen the election commission. The meeting also decided to hand over these agendas to take them to final conclusion but it also couldn't reach to the conclusion up to 29th Asoj. (Kantipur, 30; Asoj: 2063)

4.3 Historical Peace Agreement, 2006

The long cherished desire of people to have self rule and people's constitution through people's movement 2007, to establish democracy, peace and have drastic change in the socio-economic, cultural and political sector is very near to be possible. To endorse the 12 point deal among the parties 8 points deal, 22 points deals and the cease fire deal between the government and the Maoist, historic comprehensive peace accord was signed on 5th Magisir 2063 by Prime minister Girija Prasad Koirala and Puspa Kamal Dahal Prachanda. It contains 10 articles. It paved the way for triangular agreement to manage the arms and combatant in PLA organized by CPN (Maoist). (Gorkhapatra, 2063; Kartik: 22)

4.4 Terai Movement

There was happiness and confidence for peace progress and prosperity all around after the success of people's movement II. Newly formed groups and parties for Terai movement blamed the government for avoidance and betrayal so fire of discontent mixed with some anti national and social elements costed near about 40 lives and Arbas in which 60% of total GDP. National and international trade collapsed and the industrial sector suffered the most. (International forum, year 23, ed 7 Nepal yearly edition; 74)

India reasserted its stance that the solution for the Madhes movement should be searched with in from the constituent assembly. The political parties and the Madhesi Groups, Madhesi forum reached 8 point understanding to end the dead lock in the southern part of the country. The government and the other parties expressed their deep commitment to have aimicable solution. The people loosing their lives in the process would get 10 lakh each and be declared Martyrs. Government agreed to give every kind of assistance to the family members of the deceased and the compromise between the federal republic national forum and the government created the environment for election of the constituent assembly.(Gurung &Subedi; 2064: 236)

The appearance of new militant out fit carrying out their criminal activities created a sense of lawlessness but the govt's inability to counter such antinational elements across the border caused serious concern for national unity and integrity. Some elements didn't even hesitate to demand for separation of the Terai from Nepal and establish a new country. The secessionist movement seemed very threatening. (Chhetri; 2008: 18)

4.5 Constituent Assembly Election Emergence of New Political Power

The election for the constituent assembly on Chaitra 28, 2004 amidst speculation, its further postponement, fear in security, unfair competition among the political parties and due international pressure was a event of its kind in the history of Nepal, the "Destined day" a day of the century. The dream that Nepalese have been decorating in their hearts came true ever since 2007 B.S .The plots & conspiracies were foiled by the enthusiasm and determinations of the people. Out of one crore, 76 lakh eligible voters, 88 lakh 80 thousand males and 87 lakh 29 thousand female were the voters. The maximum voters were in Gulmi election constituency No. two where one lakh four thousand eight hundred and eighteen voters and the minimum were in the Laliguras Primary School Chame center where only 23 were the eligible voter. Three thousand nine hundred and 47 candidates in direct election called and five thousand seven hundred and one candidates in proportional representation system contested the election. Election commission had set up 20882 polling stations in which 234000 government employees hired by the commission and 135000 securities personal were used.

The election was contested by the all together 54 new and old political parties including the CPN (Maoist) and some royalist as well.(Election Bulletin, Chaitra;30: 2064)

Large scale violence, clashes between the cadres created the environment of fear and insecurity but blasting and the murder of the candidates also couldn't frighten the voters. (Siwakoti & Others; 2064: 218)

The top-level leaders appealed, king's appeal, the appeal from General Secretary Wanki Moon, reassured the people for voting in the polls. International Community had given its due attention towards the CA polls, near about 850 election observers from 70 countries including 60 experts of Carter

center were entrusted the task of monitoring the polling, which increased the dignity of the process and proved its reliability and validity.(Gorkhapatra, Chaitra: 30: 2064)

Apart from few incidences of irregularities, the election process was free and fair, according to the international observers. The political parties too, accepted the results and declared that it would be a milestone for the country.

The results were out right from Chaitra 28, the first to win the election was Prakash Man Singh of Nepali Congress from Kathmandu, constituency No. 1 of Kathmandu. The results were not up to the expectations of Nepali Congress and Communist (UML). 50% of the Maoist candidates, 15.5% of Nepali Congress, 13.75% of CPN (UML), 12.52% of MPRF won the direct elections from their respective constituency. (Election Result Buliten;29 Chaitra- 6 Baisakh: 2064)

The results of proportional representation, indirect elections were even more surprising, CPN Maoist could win 100 seats, Nepali Congress could win 73, CPN (UML) had 70 seats, MPRF with 22, TMDP could bring 11 seats and other had marginal success. (Gorkhapatera; 4: Baisakh, 2064)

Altogether, CPN (Maoist) emerged itself as the largest political party with 220 seats, Nepali Congress are (73+37) 110, CPN (UML) could send 103 members whereas MPRF (22+30) 52, and TMDP could get its (11+9) 20 representatives in the constituent assembly.(Rastriya Samachar Patra ,11 Baisakh:2064)

So, there are 8 political parties having its presence from both the system of election whereas 17 party candidates are present from the indirect system.

In total there are 25 political parties in the present constituent assembly.

Consequently, the party, which fought for the cause of the people for past 12 years, emerged as the leading factor in the political horizon of Nepal.

Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) had to contend with second and third place respectively. The assembly is the assembly of 58% members below 45 years of age and 42% below 40 years of age. Not even a single candidate above 73 years age finds place in constituent assembly. (Gorkhapatra; Jestha, 10:2064)

There are about 170 constituent assembly members from different ethnic tribes and more than 50 members from the dalit, near about 150 madhesis members and the women representation nearing 200 proves that this has been what Nepal was looking for. It's new dimension of inclusiveness and participatory democracy coming to practice in real sense. The new hopes and aspirations have arisen for peaceful conversion of old Nepal in to New peaceful, progressive and prosperous Nepal.(Himal,Jestha; 16-31: 2064)

CHAPTER FIVE

Nepal In Making

5.1 Constituent Assembly: New Dimension

Formulation of the constitution as per the people's wish can get validity, legitimacy and effectivity only if it is done with the maximum possible participation of the people. The history of drafting constitution as per the mandate of the people can be dated 230 years back in 1789 A.D. with the drafting of American constitution and 41 countries of the world have the constitution drafted by the assembly of the constitutional experts and the political representatives duly elected by the people.

The dream, desire & the demand of the people of Nepal to have constituent assembly came true on 28th Chaitra, 2064 B.S. The people's voice to have their own constitution during struggle for democracy was even endorsed by the Ranas as well as the Delhi accord. Infact, the convening of a constituent assembly had been part of the deal worked out in Delhi in 1950/51A.D. and had also been promised to the people in Tribhuvan's proclamation of 18 february 1951 and in the 1954 representation of the people Act" (Devkota; 1980:403).

The acceptance of the proposal by king Mahendra to set up a constitution drafting commission, the convening of a third advisory assembly and formation of government with party representatives and independent without prime minister meant the final abandonment of any hope for a constituent assembly. The promulgation of the constitutions and subsequent election- reluctance of Nepali Congress to participate and win the election overshadowed the demand for Constituent Assembly elections forever, though

a faction of communist line didn't give up its demand for Constituent Assembly even after the Negative revolution of 2017 B.S. The failure of democratic government to address the hopes and aspirations of the people encouraged the Nepali communist with Maoist ideology to wage armed conflict for Republican form of government and new constitution drafted through Constituent Assembly (Vaidya; 2001: 135).

Soon other mainstream political forces also competed to cash the slogan initially given by the Maoist and ultimately defeating several odds the dream came true. The successful conduct of Constituent Assembly elections have set an examples for rest of the world and the whole world is eyeing upon Nepal with great curiosity. The landmark event achieved after the untold misery, suffering and sacrifices by thousand martyrs is expected to change the facade of the country. It will not only help to rebuild the nation but also will redefine revolution and for the country. (Nepal; 2063/5/4)

5.2 Achievements of the Constituent Assembly Election

Right To Draft Full Fielded Democratic Constitution: People got their dream came true and the opportunity to participate in drafting of the constitution. The people of all caste, race, religion, ideology, profession, region and gender casted their valuable votes to choose their representative for writing constitution, for the first time in Nepal's history, people exercised their sovereignty.

As a Tool to Meaningful Conclusion of Peace Process: Constituent assembly has always and everywhere been taken as the assembly, which draft the constitution as per wish according to which the country is ruled but our experience is

different. It is integral organ of comprehensive peace accord as well as of the peace process. Without drafting and enactment of the meaningful people's constitution by Constituent Assembly, the peace process of Nepal would never be possible. So, it should not be viewed only as the principle process of the drafting of new constitution but also as the means to transform war into peace so it is the road map to peace, progress and future prosperity of Nepal and the Nepalese.

Emergence of New Political Forces:-The revolution of 2007 B.S. had established constitutional monarchy- supported by the Brahman, chhetries and high class feudal lords, where as the people's movement for democracy of 2046, awarded middle lower middle class liberal democrats and leftist parties. The commoners experienced very little change, so the popular uprising of 2062/063 and constituent assembly election rewarded the revolutionary forces, advocating drastic changes in socio-economic cultural and political aspects of the majority of people's life. The power of the state has been shifted towards new tribal revolutionary class, marginalised community, *Madhesis* and the women. Those who were neglected till now are enough in Constituent Assembly, to end the family or dynastic rule. The Constituent Assembly has ensured at least 33% representation for women and this would end the patriarchal domination of male and empower them. So, in this way, the qualitative and quantitative emergence of new political force can be regarded as historic event.

Abolition of Feudalistic Monarchial System:-The abolition of 240 years long deep rooted institution called monarchy and the establishment of republicans state is a unique event in the world. Never ever the institution of monarchy had been outdone by Constituent Assembly But the king rejected by people's

movement remained in the palace until Jyestha 2064, finally thrown out of palace. Though desperate efforts were seen but nothing could stop the people from getting what they desired.

Democratization of Communist Hardliner Maoist:-The coalition of armed Maoist and the Mainstream political parties with their faith in democratic parliamentary system for political change is also the very few of its kind of experiment. The Maoist inspired the people in the remote rural areas where as the seven party alliance, to the urban settlers and led the movement. These coalition partners had signed 8 points, 12 points and 22 points agreement for the restoration of democratic system and its strengthening. The communist who believed in the seizure of power of government, expressed their faith in the ballot and showed their peaceful transformation. The guns of the peoples Liberation Army has been kept in cantonment under U.N.M.IN'S supervision and they are now being rehabilitated.

End of Feudalism, Centralization and Hegemonic Institution:-The other importance of the constituent Assembly is its stability. The traditional forces and status quo couldn't address the increasing hopes and aspirations of the people so it can't be expected of maintaining stability. Constituent Assembly has emerged as the new institution of the people that sidelined the traditional institutions having too much centralization of state power and feudal backing and it paved the way for federalism, power distribution and inclusion of all in the mainstream of the nation building process. It also has given the leaderships that can be expected of fulfilling these people wish.

Inclusiveness-Integration of People:- Constituent Assembly's main aim is the restructuring of the state. The people through the Janaandolan 2062/063 have rejected the outdated and old modeled system of governance. It has abolished monarchy from its roots and the feudalistic institution forever and republicanism has been adopted. Now a commoner also can have access to the position of leading the country irrespective of his caste, race, creed, religion, region or ideology. Federalism would include more people in nation building process by empowering them and by making them the makers of their own destiny. The election process adopted for Constituent Assembly has ensured maximum involvement of each and every one towards making of a great nation of tomorrow.

Endorsement of People War, Janaandolan and Madesh Movement:-The verdict expressed by the people during Constituent Assembly election proved all those as cynic and hypocrite who use to proclaim that Maoist fear and insecurity has forced people to follow and respect them. The overwhelming support they obtained established them to the Singha Durbar and Baluatar to lead the country. Similarly, the defeat of secessionist extremist group and popular support for newly formed parties and groups endorsed the Madhesis demand. The unexpected defeat of leaders not reluctant for joint movement with Maoist and supporting monarchy also glorified the people's movement.

Expression of People's Desire For Peace, Progress and Prosperity :-The huge participation of the people in the Constituent Assembly election reflects their deep concern for peace, stability, and '*loktantra*'. The people appearing for expressing their sovereignty for the first time fearless and free sidelined the fear, insecurity and confusion with uncertainty that prevailed before in national

and international arena. The unexpected participation of the women, Dalit, Madhesis and the marginalized community was clear message that peace had no alternative

Rejection of Status Quo-Regression Anti Democratic Forces :- The participation of people in the Constituent Assembly election is a landmark event in the history of Nepal. People suspended all kinds of status quo and such elements, which didn't like change. The mandate is for drastic change against all kinds of monarchy, centralization, feudal system and they have asked traditional political forces, which couldn't advocate revolutionary changes to be the second and third political respectively. The declarations of Nepal being an "independent, indivisible, sovereign secular, inclusive, federal, democratic, republican state" is the clear message that people rejected all kind of status quo, regression and all those who didn't support democracy and democratic movement.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 Conclusion and Recommendation

Development is the concept, which will perhaps be never defined fully to everyone's satisfaction or every day's effectiveness.

The idea of development what we understand and pretend to practice it, did come from outside world. Beside most of the thinkers except the economists, development is a complex process that can take different meanings and characters and therefore, require different approaches in different cultural spaces and lexical times. It is often confusing and the cause for disagreement.

However, Nepal's own cultural and intellectual heritage has much to recommend for the meaning, character, complexity, contradictions and importance of what we call development.

It needs to be reaffirmed that development as understood in Nepal is an idea and practice that has grown by virtue of the country's interaction and participation as a member of the modern international community. Our acceptance of the paramount importance of the principles of market economy in development has attained its current recognition as the new method. It is the convergence of interests between national and international power centers have played an influential role. It is now taken as a process of integration with the global economy or pursuit of "liberalization" in the interest of economic efficiency. Nepal's sin today, in this view, is that it strayed from the path. Nepal's development has failed; it was because of its basic strategy. The nation has been plagued by near stagnation. Some might say, it is retrograding.

The political events and trends we have lived through in the period when

Nepal has been striving for development, if we recall, will permit us to understand better the influence of "politics" on the mission, motives and outcomes of development. In the process we can also ponder whether democracy has been given a proper chance by the society to prove itself against the wishes of those who may be inclined to condemn it without proper trial. There are well known facts and tendencies in the country's political history that should underline how comparable are the political events and actions to what country experienced in its experiment with democratic politics and development.

If we draw the inter period parallels in attitudes and events, we will be able to recognize the common factors contributing to the malaise of "democracy I" and "democracy II". We also see how little had changed in the "balance a power" between the three major political forces until 2062/063 in spite of the momentous changes in the regime structure. The three forces may be broadly identified as the palace, the people along with the parties and the external forces.

The change 1951 A.D. promised big things to the people. King Tribhuwan who together with his subjects breathed the air of freedom, promised that Nepal was now a democratic country which would thence forth be ruled under constitution crafted and approved by a constituent assembly of the people, he promulgated the interim government of Nepal act 1951, cementing constitutional monarchy but elections for the proposed constitution assembly were never held until 28th Chaitra, 2064 B.S. The constitution was not drafted for a long time. Slowly, the king gave up all pretensions of a constitutional monarch with the support of revivalist forces comprising the army, the nobility big landlords, petty politicians and the bureaucracy. Keeping the government of India in good humor as required, he started to rule more or

less directly with the aid and advice of his inner circle. The lesson learnt from this period was that, notwithstanding both the revolutions Nepal remained a feudal society where the change in the form of government could not bring a change in the distribution of political power. The king hired and fired as and when he wished and whom he liked and disliked.

However, there were circumstances when people seemed to enjoy certain civic and political rights including freedom of expression and the right of dissent. Significant reforms were also introduced in the administrative and judicial system, which were archaic and not conducive to a society gearing itself for development. The political parties actively engaged in the competition for political power, some of them would demand early election for constituent assembly till 2017 as well as after 2052 B.S., the start of Maoist insurgency. At times they competed for the favor of not only of people and the palace but also of India and U.S. whenever required.

A unique system of government was emerging where a virtually absolute monarch ruled over a society that could never enjoy the benefits of democracy. The king enjoyed such exclusive status because of the relatively weak condition of the political parties and their vagaries, which he exploited under the policy of, divide and rule. Accordingly, despite the fundamental rights, the lower classes, which means overwhelming majority, did not have a voice, and in the absence of meaningful middle class, the upper class would support any regime that was not a threat to their interests.

Of, the three forces the palace, the people and the external powers; the people have generally become a subject of manipulation by the other two. A political cultural befitting the time and the stated objective of the state could not evolve. Nor could a realistic system of mutual role expectations between the 'leaders and the people', 'the citizens and the state', and 'the palace and the

political leaders' get progressively institutionalized.

In the years after the restoration of democratic process in 2064 there was plenty to cheer about even with all frustrations, calculations and alliances for petty internal gains and losses, the division on party lines of even most trusted civil society, professional groups, advocacy groups and even the human rights organizations with few exceptions are some of the miseries of Nepali society which can be said as depoliticizing the political development of Nepal.

The ultimate paradox in political development should also think about how far was the political change in Nepal driven by mass rather than merely elite involvement? We should also think about, was it the product of internally generated demands of external forces? Lastly, what did the political change mean to those who struggled for it?

The obvious answer would be the revolution of 2007 B.S. was entirely the work of external forces and some conscious elite while the revaluation of 2046 was principally a Nepalese movement and marked the beginning of mass politics in the country. The third concern is the concept of democracy entertained by politically conscious Nepalese and the extent to which these were realistic on the context of Nepalese society.

Nepal has been facing legitimacy crisis of government. Legitimacy does not solely depend on its economic success since the key question is one of belief in the government's right to rule. Not even a single government after restoration of democracy could provide good governance, efficient, effective and corruption free administration and complete their term. They lacked the legitimacy of their performance.

Although Nepal's continuing existence as a poverty stricken democracy is a sorry scenario and it is still true that economic and social change is urgently required as required and promised by the recently formed government led by

the communist party of Nepal (Maoist) so that the majority of Nepalese people can achieve reasonable and justified living conditions.

The people have seen that it is one thing to establish democratic political structure but building institutions and practices to address aspirations emanating from injustices and inequalities of the part are another matter. These have arisen some queries among those interests in politics. Whether and how a new political culture is likely to grow as an integral part of democratic convergence in Nepal and how can political socialization be imparted?

We should also understand that Nepal's political development, the character and degree of support it may provide to the development of the society depends on our success to promote transparency and accountability in public affairs as a prerequisite for good governance and development. The voter interest have always been seen resisting this kind of shift in political bureaucratic culture.

Corruption had been a very old legacy in Nepal as it is everywhere else. But its current scale and dimension seems to be threatening the newly established norms & values. The future Nepal or New Nepal can never be secured until the country's leadership makes up its mind and have strong determination that it is diseases that can be cured or at least reversed. Corruption is not only about misuse of public resources and unethical or illegal acts that enrich some at the cost of others. It is about how we order our values, about democracy, the rule of law, social discipline, professional self-respect, collective security and national honor. It is eating into the vitals of the state, so measures have to be taken by the government.

Nepalese political development has been suffering over the years due to the primacy of the personal gains over ideology, which still, also remaining strong at the grass root level. The people still vote for the candidate because

he/she is '*aphno manche*' (One of one's friend, relative of own) but not '*ramro manche*'.

Factionalism has been a feature of Nepalese polity. Ever since the early days till to these days the leaders are grouped into one or the other '*khema*' that is ready to take over the other, which has been the reason for most of political dead lock in the country. The continued political infighting and the failures of the party leaders to bring improvement in people's everyday life brought widespread disillusionment.

Another obstacle to the institutionalization of "peoplescracy" has been the "*andolan mentality*". The temptation to take everything to the streets can be hazardous for the country's transition towards new system.

A potentially most serious problem in making of a peaceful progressive and prosperous New Nepal is the Terai and '*madeshi*' regionalism. The open border, cultural similarities and the free flow of people across the border remained a cause for concern. The fear of regional uprising in the pretext of avoidance, neglect, disrespect and domination can really worry our integration and unity. The discontent among the people in the Terai actually started at the time of referendum of 1980 with the question of citizenship right. The parties are still fighting to get citizenship for 13% of Terai population who are living and looked upon as Indians though they have always lived with in Nepal. Violence erupted in the Terai region after the revolution of 2062/063 in the name of Madesh movement causing a great damage to life and property. But the leaders of Madesh movement alongwith the major political parties are trying to address their justified demands and why shouldn't they? It is their responsibility to give equal share to everyone then only Nepal can remain intact, strong, united and peaceful.

There has been a chequered history of political development. Prithivi Narayan Saha of Gorkha unified the small and petty states of Baise, Chubise, which was continued by Rajendra Laxmi, Bahadur Shah and also by Bhimshen Thapa. Nepal had to bear insult and great humiliation in anglo- Nepal war, which ended with signing of incorrect and unjust Sugauli treaty. But this couldn't lessen the nationalist feeling among the Nepalese. After the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa, the history is full of plots, conspiracies and intrigues with the politicians lacking patience and competency.

The Rana regime didn't have any bright signs as such right from beginning because it had to counter opposition. Lakhani Thapa the first martyred, began and showed the way for political change, which continued till now though the movement had their different forms, ways and aims. Individual opposition slowly but gradually took organized shape.

The establishment of Arya Samaj (in 1953 B.S.), Makai Parva (1977 B.S.), establishment of Gorkha league (1980 B.S.), Library Parva (1986 B.S.), Charkha Prachar ban (1987 B.S.), Parchanda Gorkha (1988 B.S.), opening of Mahabir School (1993), Nepal Praja Parishad (1993 B.S.), Nagrik Adhikar Samiti (1994 B.S.), Nepali National congress (2003 B.S.), Agitation by the labourers in Biratnagar (2005 B.S.), establishment of Nepali congress (2006 B.S.), Bairagania conference of Nepali Congress and armed rebellion and escape of king Tribhuwan from the royal place are the notable incidences/ events that gave rise to new political scenario in the country resulting in the restoration of democracy.

The new era was marked by political instability. The government went on changing one after the others simultaneously. The coalition government of Rana and the congress of 2007 B.S., one party government of (2008 B.S.) Nepali congress, advisory government of 2009 B.S. government of Rastriya

Parja Party (2010), all party government of 2011, government of Parja Parishad 2012 B.S., Tanka Prasad Acharya's government of 2012 B.S. Samyukta Prajantra parties government of 2013 and Subarna Sumsher's leadership witnessed ups and downs in the country's polity. The leaders couldn't show their political cultural, they were egoist, incompetent in nature and corrupt. They couldn't perform up to the expectation of the common masses being very much busy in party politics. They not only politicalized the government machinery but even didn't hesitate to take faulty and random decisions. Unity and integrity of the country seemed endangered and some parties and leaders tried to be close of the royal place. This motivated the Royal takeover of 1st Paush 2017, popularity known as '*satrasalko kanda*'.

After the untimely demise of people's leader B.P. Koirala, the democratic movement suffered great loss. Satyagraha movement of 2042 B.S. got withdrawn due to violent bomb incidence of Janawadi Morcha. But the oppressive regime couldn't sustain long. The united people's movement of 2046 B.S. under the supreme commandership of Ganesh Man Singh paved the way for democratic changes but here too people didn't get their wish met. Monarchy continued and became even more unpopular specially after the royal massacre of Jestha 19, 2058 B.S. The people's war led by Communist Maoist was becoming more and more successful and aggressive. There arose grave situations for the people, parties and the palace.

The government couldn't maintain law and order, peace and security and couldn't conduct elections. So, king Gyanendra Shah, the ambitious king, dismissed the parliament as recommended by Primer Sher Bahadur Deuba. Different rounds of peace talks were proving futile. So there was yet another "Cool and calm take over" by king dismissing Deuba in the charge of being inefficient on Asoj 18, 2058 B.S. He seized all the executive power in his own

hand. The gulf between the political parties and the palace widened. The people didn't like king's action though they didn't express it, as the discontent that lay latent in them.

The palace tried in its extreme desperation to remain clung to the authority but destined was different.

The twelve-point agreement between the political parties and the Maoist rebels might have shocked the king and his dear ones. This paved the way for the people's movement 2062/063 because of which the 237 years of old feudalistic monarchial system got abandoned. The people continued their movement led by the mainstream seven political parties and the communist (Maoist) for 19 days. The use of brutal force, imposition of curfew didn't have impact upon, so king had to give up through his proclamation of 8th Baisakh 2063 B.S. People didn't take rest, understanding there might be yet another "befooling game" with them. So, another declaration for the reinstatement of the dissolved parliament came on 11th Baisakh, 2063B.S.

The first meeting of reinstated parliament held on 15th Baisakh, 2063 B.S. and the second meeting of 17th Baisakh, passed the proposal for constituent assembly and Nepal proceeded with the process of making people's constitution with maximum possible participation of the people.

Our transition towards a full flagged democracy has some historic documents like historic declaration of the parliament, historic peace agreement 2063 and tripartite arms management treaty between the government of Nepal, Maoist rebels and UNMIN.

Interim constitution promulgated on Magh 1, 2063, suspended all the rights of king but the very day violence erupted in the Terai region in pretext of Terai/Madesh movement. The five constitutional amendment till now have been carried out which, though temporarily able to manage the voice raised in

different parts of the country but if not dealt seriously can prove to be very fatal for the nation.

The elections held on 28th Chaitra, 2063 B.S. projected the CPN (M) as the largest party in C.A. and its leader Puspa Kamal Dahal 'prachanda' got elected as the New Premier. The coalition government of CPN (M), CPN (UML), MPRF and others handled the issue of presidency, vice presidency speaker and vice speaker of C.A. properly, and are urging the Nepali congress party to join the government. The issue of integration of the Maoist combatant has dragged the politics in to cross roads and the rift between the parties is widening.

The question of proper model of federalism and the sensitive issue of inclusiveness has to be thought in a very broad manner so that not even a single ethnic tribe or the caste feels insulted and humiliated. Empowerment of one at the cost of the other can never be acceptable to any one.

Nepal has been declared as the "Independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular, inclusive, federal, democratic, republican state by the interim constitution which gives out the vision of New Nepal. But the present political leadership of the country should learn about the past and forget their personal egos and gains in the larger interest of the people and the nation to keep Nepal what has been dreamed of by the uncountable martyrs of Nepal.

What successive politicians and military leaders have not understood is that the system of patronage only strengthens the king makers and their brokers in the system but not necessarily people and the nation.

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