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THE MAOIST INSURGENCY IN NEPAL: 1996-2001

BY

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

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The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal has lasted 6 years and has claimed the lives of 1600 people. Inspired by Peru's 'Shining Path' the insurgents believe that they are the advance guard of a second wave of world revolution that, having established its base in Nepal, will engulf India and then in turn subvert the World. Nepal sits between India and Chinese Tibet. Neither China nor India would allow a potentially hostile state to sit astride its mutual borders. The presence of such a state could lead to conflict between these regional nuclear powers and a communist Nepal could act as a base for world-wide insurgency in the same manner as Afghanistan. I intend to trace the genesis of Nepal's Maoists, to describe their ideology, method of operations and connections with World revolutionary movements. I intend to outline the campaign that has been fought to defeat them and compare its method with that of classic counter insurgency doctrine. I intend to identify the present position of the protagonists and describe how the issue has regional and therefore global significance, asking whether the West can afford to allow Nepal to become a failed state and to be the possible cause of conflict between the world's two most populous nuclear powers.

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THE MAOIST INSURGENCY IN NEPAL: 1996 – 2001

“War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, where they are developed to a certain stage, between the classes....and it has existed since the emergence of private property and of classes”

—Mao Tse Tung

“ We are sure we will hoist the hammer and sickle red flag atop the Mount Everest one day”

—Baburam Battarai

Nepal is a little known Himalayan kingdom noticed by the World only in times of disaster or outrage. For example the massive earthquake of 1996 and the murder of the Royal Family in June 2001 were widely reported but interest soon waned and Nepal, as far as The World was concerned, retreated back into obscurity.

In this obscurity, however, an insurgency has been fought with increasing ferocity since 1996. During this time over 2000 people have been killed. The insurgency is inspired by the doctrine of Chairman Mao and is dedicated to the overthrow of the present Nepali political system. This insurgency threatens the stability of a small nation sitting between two of the nuclear powers of Asia. The authority of the legitimate Nepalese government is challenged by an alternative organization that ‘controls’ large sections of the Nepalese Mid West. Government response has been ineffective and seems to have exacerbated the problem. The Police have tried and failed to contain the insurgency. The Army, recently deployed, has suffered two major reverses. Political initiatives led to a temporary ceasefire in 2001, but this foundered on the irreconcilable negotiating positions of the two parties concerned and the war continued.

Recent events in Afghanistan illustrate how the instability of a ‘failed state’ can threaten security on a wider scale. A government that can not assert its authority within its boundaries leaves its territory open to use by others, not just insurgents, but those with whom the insurgents make friends. Such nations can become breeding grounds for international insurgency and terror. Such a situation in Nepal could invite intervention from outside.

Because of its location between them, the stability of Nepal is of interest to both China and India. Relations between these two countries are traditionally wary. Although both have remained on speaking terms since their war of 1962 this relationship would be strained if one was to gain an advantage in Nepal as a result of intervention against insurgency.

The West must ensure that Nepal does not become a ‘hot bed’ of international insurgency and terror. Equally it must ensure that India and China do not come to blows in their efforts to

help eradicate revolutionary movements in Nepal. The West therefore has an interest in maintaining a strong and independent government there. This will take help, advice, sympathy, and money.

SCOPE OF PROJECT

- This Strategic Research Project will:
- Give a brief Geo-strategic analysis of Nepal.
- Describe the genesis of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal.
- Describe the form and ideology of the Maoists movement.
- Analyse insurgent tactics.
- Describe Government reactions to the insurgency.
- Analyse Government reaction and compare it with classical counter insurgency theory.
- Look at the future.

BACKGROUND

POLITICAL

Until 1956 Nepal was politically, physically and spiritually isolated from the World. Although the war with the British East India Company of 1815 had resulted in the establishment of a British Residency in Kathmandu, outside influence remained very limited. Nepal was a Hindu monarchy governed, from the early 19th Century, by a family of hereditary Prime Ministers called the Ranas. The King remained only as a figure head.

In this isolation the power of a feudal elite remained absolute. The experiences of the thousands of Nepalis who fought for Britain as Goorkhas in India, Burma, Malaya, Mesopotamia, Italy, North Africa, Russia and the trenches of France had no expression in the political or cultural life of the country. This was perhaps because those soldiers were recruited from an agricultural class that had no say in the political life of the country. The overwhelmingly large majority of the people lived without any form of representation, in absolute poverty.

In 1951 a national uprising, inspired by the recent independence of India, threw out the Ranas and restored the King to a position of real power. The King, 'conservative' in the sense that he sought to protect what was best in Nepal but change that which would otherwise be swept away by the currents of History, ended Nepal's self-imposed isolation and began an experiment with democracy which in many ways is still in process.

In 1956 he introduced a multi-party male-franchise form of democracy which he rescinded in 1961 because he believed that the Nation was politically immature and incapable of non-partisan politics. He believed 'party' to be the root of the failure of Nepal's fledgling democracy and replaced it with a party-less 'Panchayat' system in which each village was represented by a group of elders in a council or 'Panchayat' which formed part of a pyramid of such bodies with the King at its apex.

The Nepali political parties had, however, only retreated into the shadows. Strikes and demonstrations forced the King into agreeing to direct elections to a national Panchayat or parliament in 1975, though he still drew the line on partisan politics and 'party' continued to be banned.

The two main Nepali parties: The National Congress Party (NCP) and the Nepal Communist Party (United Marxist Leninists (UML)) were not allowed to establish offices across the country until the mid 1980s. Following this, with their infrastructure in place, the political parties orchestrated continued unrest with massive rioting in Kathmandu and Pokhara, finally forcing the King, now Birendra, to concede a full return to multi-party democracy in 1990.¹

The 1990 Constitution is still in place. The King, a Constitutional Monarch, is Head of State and Commander in Chief. He is advised by a Prime Minister who heads a Council of Ministers appointed from the bicameral legislature. The two houses of the legislature are the National Assembly and the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives has 205 directly elected members from national single-member constituencies. The National assembly has 60 members: 35 are elected from the House of Representatives, ten appointed by the King, and fifteen are elected on a regional basis. There are five Development Regions, which split into fourteen zones, 75 districts, 3995 village development committees and 36 separate municipalities. The Supreme Court acts as a Court of Appeal as well as having powers of original jurisdiction. It presides over 15 zonal and 75 district courts.

The National Congress Party (NCP) has dominated the political scene since 1991 and in the most recent elections of May 1999 gained a little over 50 % of the House of Representatives. This allowed it to form a majority government for the first time in 5 years. In spite of this, internal party power struggles have seen three prime ministers come and go: Krishna Prasad Bhattarai until March 2000, Girija Koirala until July 2001 and Sherbadur Deuba from July 2001 until the present day. The National Communist Party (UML) (which split in 1996, with a militant wing (Nepal Communist party or NCP) turning to violence and forming the basis of the present Maoist insurgency) holds some seventy of the two hundred and five seats in the present House of Representatives and is the main opposition party.

The fears of both Kings Mahendra and Birendra have been realized. Nepali democracy has been characterized by violent partisanship, instability and rancor. Nepalese political parties expend great energy on internecine fighting and little on governing their country.

GEOGRAPHY

General.

Nepal is a long, thin, land-locked, oblong country of approximately 147,000 square kilometers, stretching 800 kilometers from east to west and 90 to 130 kilometers from north to south.

Borders.

The Republic of India forms its southern, western and most of the eastern border; Tibet, controlled by the People's Republic of China, lies to the North. Sikkim, Indian-controlled, abuts Nepal's North West border. The Indian border is 1660 kilometers long and crisscrossed with paths and local roads. The best land routes into Nepal are from the South. The Chinese border, about 650 kilometers long of Himalayan mountain chain, is crossed by as few as 7 recognized routes, only one of which is a sealed road. This does not make the policing of the border any easier, as the Insurgency in Mustang illustrated.² The borders are porous and insurgents and their supplies can pass easily to and fro.

Terrain.

There are three distinct types of terrain: The Terai, The Parbat, and The Himal.

The Terai.

The Terai is an extension of the Northern Indian Plain. Flat and populous it represents 23 % of Nepali territory and supports 42% of the Nepali population. Well watered by the mountain rivers of the Himalayas it is a good rice producing area with large markets in main urban centers of Bhutwal, Nepal Ganj and Dharan. Communications are relatively good both laterally and North and South.



The Parbat.

The Parbat is the central hill system that runs across the country from East to West. It covers 43% of the land and supports some 10% of the population. Here the hills are no higher than 10,000 feet, with the highest villages at about 9000 ft above sea level. The hill system is cut through by the deep gorges of North to South flowing rivers draining the Himalayas. The road system is very limited and confined to the valleys. Trade and communication is mainly on foot along beaten paths between the many villages. Both roads and paths are prey to subsidence during the heavy monsoon rains of May to September. Farming is difficult with limited maize and corn crops being grown on small terraces tilled by buffaloes. It is an almost exclusively subsistence economy because markets are too far away to grow food for profit. The area is poor and getting poorer. There is some depopulation occurring with those who can afford to do so moving to the towns of the Terai. Much land is owned by absent landlords or is subject to squatting.

The Himal.

From around 10,000 feet Nepal's Himalayan mountains rise to 26000 feet. Nepal has 6 of the world's highest 10 peaks. The Himal covers some 33% of Nepalese territory and supports about 1.1% of the population. The lower slopes were once heavily wooded but are

now badly logged and subject to erosion. The Himal is a new, growing mountain range where earthquakes and landslides are a constant hazard. Communications are restricted to North/South running valleys. Depending on type of course, helicopters can not operate efficiently at altitude.

The Valley.

In the middle of the Parbat is The Valley. The area was once beneath a vast lake and is fertile and heavily populated as a result. In the center of The Valley sits Kathmandu, the political and commercial capital of the Nation. Kathmandu has a population of around 800,000 people with a further 1.5 million people living in the surrounding area.

WEATHER

The weather is a factor in movement. Air travel in the Parbat and Himal becomes problematic in the heavy monsoon that lasts from May to September . Roads and paths are regularly cut by landslides and large areas sealed off from outside help .

COMMUNICATION

Travel.

Travel is slow, even by road. For most Nepalis getting about means walking, or taking a dangerously over-laden public bus. There are a small number of sealed roads built with British, Chinese or Indian help. The road system is a like a many-pronged fork: with a single lateral route running East/West across the lower third of the country and a number of prongs cutting up the valleys to connect the main urban centers. In the Parbat the roads are narrow and easily cut by the rivers that so dominate the life of the country. Easily flooded by the monsoon or by snow melt in the early spring they slash the Parbat and spread out across the Terai before heading south into India. In the monsoon in particular, rivers can make East/West movement very difficult. There is a small national air carrier using airfields at many district centers. The cost of air travel is way beyond most Nepalis but much government and tourist business uses this means.

Passage of News.

Telephones are more widespread than before but are still limited to the major villages and towns in the Mid West, The Valley, The Terai and the East. Radio is local to the main urban centers and reception is only widespread in The Valley and The Terai. Likewise television

coverage is limited to The Terai, Pokhara and The Valley . For most Nepalis news travels by rumor, or by poster stuck to a tree.

Summary.

Poor communication prevents strong central control and allows easy spread of rumor. Nepal tends to divide in to four natural regions: The Valley, centered around Kathmandu, the Mid West/West, The East, and The Terai. Each is parochial and spiritually independent of the central authority.

THE PEOPLE

The Nepalese population is fragmented by ethnicity, caste, geography and economics. There is an estimated population of 23.4 million people with an annual rate of growth of 2.5%.³ There are many tribal groups, each with distinct traditions, dress and language but in general terms they divide into those of Mongolian origin in the high areas of the West and East and those of Indian origin in The Valley, lowlands and the Terai. Nepali is the lingua-franca. Tribal groups can be ordered by caste: Gurungs, Magya, Rai and Limbu form, for example, a middle, agricultural caste. Newars and Chhetris tend to be of higher caste along with Brahmins⁴, with Sunars and Khamis being examples of lower, artisan caste. Though caste is less important in Nepal than India it is possible to generalize that the higher castes are at the center of the intellectual and political elite of the country. Middle and lower castes are under-represented.

There is a pronounced population shift from the hills to the Valley and The Terai, particularly in the West. Officially 90% of the population is Hindu, though this statistic is meaningless because until 1990 it was impossible to register as anything else. Many Nepalis are in fact Buddhist or animist, and the two great religions of the region often share equal place in people's affections. Two percent of Nepalis are Muslim. Except for higher caste Brahmins and Chhetris, Nepalis tend to be relaxed on religious issues.

DEVELOPMENT

Accepting a very low base line, development and education is patchy. The Terai and The Valley are best served, with the West and the North East being the least developed. In the Far West there is still polygamy, indentured labor, wide spread child-labor⁵ and low literacy. Here on average women produce 5.5 children and two thirds of the 2.1million people there are below the poverty line.⁶ This area is the center of the Insurgency in Nepal.

Unemployment is widespread with as few as 47% of the work force having employment. Many Nepalis go abroad and remit money to their families who remain at home.

The insurgency has attacked one of Nepal's greatest foreign currency earners, Tourism, which in 1999 produced \$168m or 4% of GDP. As incomes remain static or actually fall, prices rise. Though inflation between 1996 – 2000 was officially 4 – 10% ⁷ the price rises of key consumables such as rice have actually been much higher.⁸ 45% of the population as a whole lives below the poverty line.⁹

Nepal is a primarily agricultural country, with farm products amounting to 41% of GDP¹⁰ and farming provides 77% of what employment there is. Most of this agriculture is subsistence farming. Land is a very important issue to many Nepalis. Apart from tourism and agriculture Nepal exports soldiers and textiles. Nepalis serve in both the British Army (around 3,500 personnel) and the Indian Army (around 100,000 personnel). They also serve as security personnel in many middle-eastern and sub-Saharan countries. This exported labor accounts for 80% of foreign exchange earnings in past 3 years.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

GENERAL

Nepal was a non-aligned country and has a strong belief in the efficacy of international organizations such as the UN, perhaps as a counter-weight to its two enormous neighbors.

RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Relations with India are mixed and India tends to act as a bully. Though the country is heavily dependent on India for trade and communications there is a great deal of resentment against what is seen as the Indian tendency to overplay its power. India would dispute this. The 'New Transit Treaty' signed in January 1999 gave Nepal up to 15 'routes' for duty free export of goods through Calcutta to third countries, and India offered Mumbai and Kandla as ports for export, but this largesse is offered on the assumption of good behavior and the Indians are quick to punish too much independence.

India has been seen to subsume Sikkim, and coerce Bhutan and Nepal is determined not to be absorbed as an Indian satellite state. This feeling of suspicion is strongest in the urban population: elsewhere the influence of Goorkha service leaves some sympathy for India. The relationship is complicated by the large number of Nepalis domiciled around Darjeeling (where a "Free Goorkha" insurgency has begun), Assam and Dehra Dun.

Nepal is intermittently accused by India of harboring Kashmiri militants and members of Pakistan's ISI. The hijack of an Indian Airlines aircraft by Kashmiri terrorists at Kathmandu airport strained relations between the two countries with India suggesting that Nepal was not

doing enough to control terrorism within its boundaries. The accusation could be made the other way however. Indian based insurgencies in Assam and Bihar provide moral if not physical support for the Nepali Maoists and India seems unable to prevent these connections being made.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Nepal flirts with China in order to balance the influence of India. There are loose economic ties dependent on the few routes that run into Tibet. Nepal unwillingly hosted a number of Tibetan 'freedom fighters' in Mustang in the late 1970's and it was some time before Nepalese troops could close this safe haven in response to governmental level pressure from China.

Some Indian commentary seeks to blame China for the Maoist Insurgency quoting the US Ambassador to Nepal to support their point: "China is the biggest gainer from the instability in Nepal. The instability is being instigated by China-inspired Maoists" ¹¹There is little hard evidence that this is the case (or that the Ambassador said it!) and the Nepalese Maoists are dismissive of China as a reactionary regime

THE INSURGENCY

GENESIS

The Communist Party of Nepal was formed in 1949. From the beginning the party set itself against Nepal's domestic feudalism, which imposed a rigid hierarchy on the county at the apex of which was the King. Nepalese Maoists tried the democratic route as part of the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist Leninist) but the party split and the Insurgency began in February 1996. The rump of the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) continues as the present official opposition.

This Maoist inspired insurgency has caused the death of between 2000 to 3000 people. The insurgents have 'liberated' five of Nepal's seventy five districts and are active in half of the rest, including the Kathmandu valley. They are most successful in the Mid West, where expectations of development have not been met, though they are also strong in the Far West where there is deep, abject poverty.

The Maoists began with small scale attacks on police and local government and party officials. These have demoralized the Police and sent government officials and politicians scurrying to the towns. The government response has been slow and ineffectual. A plan to arm a large para military police force has come to little and the King, until November 2001, refused to commit the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) against the insurgency except as part of a limited

'hearts and minds' campaign and in the static defense of some district headquarters. Constant changes of government have destabilized democracy and hampered the ability to strike a constant line against the rebels.

When King Birendra was murdered by his son on 01 June 2001, Maoists attacks intensified accompanied by an information campaign suggesting that the Palace was leading a cover-up on the multiple murders in the Royal Palace. The insurgents marked the new King Gyanendra's birthday in July with an attack which killed 40 policemen. PM Koroila (a hardliner hated by the rebels) was replaced by PM Sherbahadur Deuba in August and Deuba announced an immediate ceasefire. Talks began on 30 August 2001 and commentators said: "this chance for peace through the negotiating table in place of guns is one that must not be thrown away".¹²

The ceasefire collapsed on 23 November 2001. From the beginning (though there were some gestures of good will such as the release of prisoners) negotiations were hampered by the entrenched positions of both sides. As Deuba said: "There cannot be any compromise against the monarchy"¹³; and the talks were stymied by "impossible demands of abolition of the monarchy and lions share of government".¹⁴ Chief Rebel negotiator Krishnabhadur Mahara demanded a one-party communist state to follow an interim government responsible for preparing a new constitution.

Since the collapse of the ceasefire the RNA has been drawn into the fight. In fact the ceasefire ended with an attack on security forces camp at Pyuthun where 14 RNA soldiers were among the 38 killed. Others were captured.

A State of Emergency was declared in 26 November 01. The rebels responded by announcing the establishment of a revolutionary government in Rolpa and have particularly targeted many areas of the Mid-West.¹⁵ The rebels have continued well coordinated attacks designed to achieve maximum political effect. For example on 25 November 2001 they destroyed helicopters at Surkhet and communication centers at Syanja and Dang. On 05 February 2002, in an incident reported by the BBC News¹⁶ sixteen policemen and six insurgents were killed in an attack on an isolated police post guarding a Japanese Road project in Northern Kavrepalanchok District. This attack preceded a Parliamentary session to extend the State of Emergency, which needed a two thirds majority to succeed, and was timed to apply maximum political pressure. It was also designed to discredit a government due to ask World donors for more cash to off set the damage done by the rebels threat to tourism and commerce at an International Aid Conference in Nepal.

There is little effective political or security response to the rebellion. Nepali democracy is "an experiment refusing to succeed"¹⁷ because government initiatives such a plan to ban

untouchability, to grant to women rights in parental property and allocation of land and dwellings and to free bonded labor are all overshadowed by inability to deal with insurgents.

IDEOLOGY

The Maoist campaign in Nepal is a conscious imitation of the 'Shining Path' in Peru. The Maoists describe their campaign as a 'People's War'. Their web site contains long tracts on the "class struggle", with the avowed intent to turn Kathmandu into a "red fort" and hoist the hammer and sickle flag "atop Mount Everest". The essence of their cause is the need to end a 'despotic monarchy', change the 'feudal regime' in Nepal and give a 'voice to the people': "I am fighting this war to create a true people's democracy. This is a feudal society – the king and all the landlords rule by the gun. We want to overthrow them and create a people's republic".¹⁸

This central pillar is supported by other themes such as land for the landless, jobs for the unemployed, representation and money for the provinces, and an end to the exploitation of labor and discrimination against caste: - "(we wish to) overthrow the bureaucrat-capitalist class and state system, which are dependent on and serve imperialism, uproot semi feudalism, and drive out imperialism...".¹⁹ The Maoists challenge the legitimacy of the present government, highlighting poor administration, endemic corruption, overwhelming taxation and a failure to fulfill promises as evidence that the regime is unfit for its role: "Our immediate aim is to destroy or get rid of the present system, which is feudal, class-ridden, and is in the grip of corrupt middlemen and rich people..."²⁰

The Maoist manifesto is both progressive and desirable. The Maoist lay out a clear campaign plan on their web site which sees the villages surrounding the towns in the classic Maoist fashion, forcing the present government into negotiation leading to a constitutional convention which will establish a democratic republic as a step towards a new socialist society. How much of the rural peasantry understand such hyperbole, even if they have access to a web site (which they do not) is a moot point, but in a sense it does not matter. The Maoists offer the peasants tangibles: land, education, release from the burden of Kathmandu's taxation and women's rights.²¹ In essence they offer a better life, an escape, for youth in particular, from a humdrum and grindingly poor life, couched in vague terminology with local appeal in an oft stated suspicion of the control from The Valley.

The next question to ask is does the cause have legitimacy. The answer is "yes" in relation to its ideological content and probably "no" in relation to the manner in which the cause is being realized.

The Maoist mantra has deep roots in the reality of Nepali rural society. The countryside has been neglected by the governing classes and exploited by absent landlords. There is widespread poverty and decreasing hope. The Maoists offer a better life, and though a little history might suggest that they will be no better in their government at the moment there are no other options, and present conditions are full of despair,

But some of the Maoists method lacks any form of legitimacy. There has been widespread terror directed against teachers, low-level government officials and party members: "Twenty eight teachers have been deliberately killed by the Maoists... dozens maimed... In addition to conducting armed operations against the army, police and socio economic targets, the CPN (Maoist) has been responsible for deliberate killings of an estimated 400 civilians considered to be 'enemies of the revolution' including alleged informants. The Maoists have also been responsible for execution-style killings of police officers who were wounded or taken prisoner or who had surrendered." ²² In addition, the report goes on to allege, the Maoists have taken hostages, tortured "scores of people" and have recruited children as combatants. These methods would offer a useful target for a government information campaign if such a thing existed. The problem has been that Nepali communications are too fragmented for a coordinated information theme to be effectively developed through the media, and some of the government actions have themselves lacked any form of restraint or excuse.

GUERRILLA METHOD OF OPERATIONS

The leader of Nepal's Maoist insurgents is Puspa Kamal Dahi, or 'Comrade Prachandra' ("the furious one"), a graduate of Nepal's Rampur Agricultural College. His deputy is Baburam Bhattarai, a graduate of India's Jawahar Nehru University School of Planning and Architecture. Both are well educated intellectuals. They belonged to the mainstream Communist party of Nepal (Unified Marxist Leninist) but left in 1995, setting up their own Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), and denouncing their former friends for remaining inside the democratic process.

The War is conducted according to 'Plans'. The Maoists are now in their 6th 'Plan'. Elements of the strategy work in parallel.

... "To do this , the CPN(Maoist) is applying Mao's strategy of a protracted people's war – establishing base areas in the countryside and aiming to surround the cities, seize nationwide power, and establish a new democratic republic as a step towards building a new socialist society... The people's war in Nepal has advanced from primitive fighter groups to disciplined and trained squads and platoons. The people's army has established guerilla zones and is sinking deep routes amongst the people. Women continue to play a major role as fighters in the people's army "²³ ...

First the Maoists must establish safe bases from which they can operate with impunity. This involves the gradual expansion of land controlled by them (or not controlled by the Government). The base building process began in Rukum and Rolpa prior to 1996 where rebels conducted training and indoctrination largely untroubled by the authorities. The main effort has been concentrated in the Mid West because here the influence of Hinduism is weakest because the peoples are of Mongolian rather than Indian stock, and the difficult terrain makes any government response a great challenge.

The first official response, Operation SIERRA2KILO (Shoot to Kill), appears to have been heavy handed and provoked greater support for the rebels. Using this support the Maoists have steadily increased the tempo of their operations.

“During the Fifth and Sixth Plans , there have been qualitative leaps in both military and administrative formation of the prospective base areas.... Now it is publicly known that the revolutionary people’s committees have been functioning as embryonic new democratic at local levels doing political, economic, social cultural, educational activities and exercising coercive organs of power like people’s armed forces, people’s courts and people’s jails...”²⁴

The Maoists now have a presence in 68 or Nepal’s 75 districts (This translates as 165 of the total of 205 parliamentary constituencies) and in up to 25 hill districts they run such a parallel administration. Some observers report that the Maoists claim that they have an active cadre of 2000 men and women with a ‘reserve’ of 10,000.²⁵ ‘People’s Power’ is exercised according to a Directory of United People’s Committees. There are four levels of committee: sub regional, district, village and ward. The Village United People’s committee functions as the main organ of government. A Village Committee usually consists of three wards. Ward committees generally have 5 to 7 members. These members include two members of the proletarian class, two or three members representing poor peasants and “one or two members from other petty bourgeois class”. Committees are formed by “general consensus of the masses”. The committees are organized into 3 zones and 27 districts.

From such safe bases the Maoist offensive has continued, first on a small scale and then with greater boldness as new weapons were captured and units were organized and trained in the havens.

The Maoists aim to attack government administration and instill fear in the ‘instruments’ of government: local officials, teachers, the police and the army as well as the people they are liberating. ‘The Worker’²⁶ describes how the Maoists fill a “power vacuum” created by “driving away the local agents of the reactionary state”. Attacks create fear which leads to the abandonment of police posts and desertion from police ranks. It is reported that the police in

the remaining posts in the Far West sometimes hide in the fields at night and there is no doubt that morale in the Police is low. There is some 'collateral damage' but 'The Worker' alleges that civilian casualties during attacks on police posts are the result of police using 'innocents' as human shields.

As bases are secured the Maoists have been able to develop company level operations: "Thus in some regions People's War (sic) has developed from guerilla warfare to mobile warfare".²⁷ They seek to provoke retaliation and thus discredit the authorities, whose reputation is already poor following the excesses of Operation SIERRA2KILO (Shoot to Kill).

Achham is a small administrative center in the Far West. The attack here on Saturday 16 February is indicative of the level of sophistication that rebel tactics have reached. Here there were two coordinated attacks, one on the airport and another on the government offices nearby. The attacks continued for several hours and although the Army resisted with some determination the rebels were able to decide when to withdraw and retained the initiative throughout. The Insurgents now move in bands of 100 fighters or more, supported by a hidden logistic and intelligence organization.

The support of the people is key to continuing security of the safe bases. Non-combatant supporters provide early warning and intelligence. These supporters are kept under control by a subtle mixture of carrot and stick. The Maoists have, in areas under their control, redistributed land and hold cultural programs to project themselves as a more acceptable alternative to the inefficient local administration. Their literature constantly stresses that military activity complements health, women's and education programs in 'liberated areas'. With the help of these silent supporters areas which are already difficult to access are rendered inaccessible. Selective terror is also used "pour encourager les autres".

The Maoists expect the area under their control to gradually expand and slowly strangle the cities. In a three phase war, the defeat of the Police is merely 'Phase 1'. In this phase police stations have been sacked, allowing the Maoists to seize arms, ammunition and radio sets and prove to the people the Government's inadequacy in protecting them.

In November 2001 the RNA deployed in to the field against the Maoists who expect to defeat it as part of Phase 2. When the Police and Army have been defeated the Maoists expect intervention of the Indian Army: "Ultimately we will have to fight the Indian army....When the Indian Army comes in with thousands and thousands of soldiers, it will be a very big thing."²⁸ Prachandra sees this Indian intervention as a precursor to the subvention of the Indian Army and the wide spread revolt of the Indian sub classes. Finally the process of offensive action

surrounds the towns and the war is taken in to the Urban areas. At this stage either the government negotiates or it is completely defeated.

RECRUITING

Observers believe that the insurgents have a force of some 2000 active members , and up to 10,000 men and women in reserves. If this is true then they appear to have no trouble recruiting. 'The Worker' claims "Mass scale recruitment", and explains how the insurgents have a problem convincing even 'minors' that they may not join up to fight.

Recruitment is strongest amongst the 'SLC failed' class. These are youngsters who have failed their Class 10 exams²⁹ yet are literate, intensely political and dissatisfied with their lot. This dissatisfaction is strongest in the Mid West, where the expectation of development has not been met and there is a conviction that development, when it has occurred, has benefited The Valley most. Here too, unemployment is higher than before: job opportunities in the British Army have reduced and even Indian Goorkhas are being recruited more from domiciled Nepalis in Sikkim and Northern India.

There is also a caste element in the insurgent recruiting. In very broad terms the polity of Nepal is dominated by Brahmins, Chhetrtis and Newars (BCN). The participating intellectuals in the early communist movements of Nepal have been of the same high caste stock. The Maoists however seem to have a cross caste appeal: low caste Kami, Sarki and Damais³⁰ are now amongst the leadership of the movement supported by rank and file of the yeoman castes of Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magya and Thamang.

Finally recruits also come from desertion from the police and there are reports that ex-Goorkhas of the British and Indian armies are involved in their training.

SUBVERSION

The insurgents have targeted officials from government, local security forces, police and para military with a view to crippling the administration and creating a power vacuum in the countryside. The pattern of activity is classic for a communist insurgency and reflects a steadily growing strength and confidence. It is estimated by *Amnesty International* that up to 400 civilians (Party officials and civil servants) have been killed as "enemies of the revolution". Typical are the killing of the District Secretary of the Marxist Leninist Party on 5 March 1998, the murder of NCP Committee members in August 1998 and the murder of local officials in Achham on 16 February 2002. Teachers have been tortured and killed in front of their pupils. The acting headmaster of one school in Lamjung was tied to a tree outside his school, shot in the stomach and left to die when he refused to give donations to the Maoists. In another

incident it is reported: "on 23 December (2001) Maoists hacked off the hand of Khem Bahadur Rana, the Headmaster of Bahakot High School, Syanja District"³¹ Police have been ambushed regularly: 7 killed in Harjang (Rolpa) in March 1997, 3 more in an ambush on a bridge in Rolpa in April 1999, 70 captured in October 2001. The pace of Maoist operations picked up in the early Summer of 2001, eased during the ceasefire, but has now involved large scale attacks on police stations and since November 2001 Army Posts across the Far West and East. Modern Weapons, stolen in attacks in November 2001³² have been used in the most recent and most brutal attack at Achham. The Maoists seem also to have used the period of the ceasefire to consolidate, gain the release of some of the imprisoned comrades and spread the message of armed revolt.

PROVOCATION

Maoists actions have sought to erode the legitimacy of the Government by provoking authorities to over-reaction.

A State of Emergency was declared on 26 November 2001 in response to the end of the ceasefire and resumed rebel attacks. New measures suspended Article 23 of the Constitution, denying individuals right to judicial remedy (though not suspending Habeas Corpus) and giving the police in some areas the right to shoot curfew violators on sight. The Terrorist And Disruptive Activities (Prevention and Control) Ordinance (TADO) allows detention without charge for up to 90 days with extension on application to 180 days.

The definition of a terrorist in TADO is vague, leading to accusations of individual scores being settled. *Amnesty International* has challenged the Government and the Insurgents on human rights issues: "the police have unlawfully killed hundreds of people throughout the six-year-old people's war,..., and have not been held accountable for them..."³³ the document went on: "While the government must take adequate measures following the killing of dozens of security personnel by Maoist rebels last week, the government must also ensure that human rights do not become victimized in the process"... Likewise in his paper for the South Asia Analysis Group Dr Chitra K Tiwari claims: "Independent observers say that the police have killed more civilians (than Maoists) in fake 'encounters' than the Maoist guerillas".³⁴

OUTSIDE HELP

"The Nepal Police believe that the CPN(M) also has ties with the insurgent United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), operating in Assam; and the Sri Lankan Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The extent to which such contracts have had any impact on Maoist operations in Nepal is unclear."³⁵

There is no doubt that there are personal contacts between the Nepali insurgents and those of North East India. The Indian states of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura have been in a state of unrest almost since independence. Joined to India by a narrow strip of land that runs between Bangladesh and Bhutan, they are economically backward and underrepresented in New Delhi. In addition they have been subject to massive immigration from Bangladesh since that country gained independence from Pakistan. The result is that indigenous populations have reduced in proportion to the whole: in Tripura and Assam the indigenous people now make up only 28% of the total population. Economically destabilized, culturally sidelined and with a tradition of resistance to central authority the secessionist movements of the area have gained considerable popular support.³⁶ 10,000 people³⁷ have been killed in a number of separate insurgencies necessitating the deployment of two Indian corps, a large number of battalions of para-military Assam Rifles (largely Goorkha) and a strong border security force. The Insurgencies are often Maoist inspired, and fuelled by the drug trade out of Myanmar. Indian charges of complicity of Pakistan and China are unproven.

Nepalese insurgents and those of North East India have, therefore, much in common though there is no hard evidence that the Nepalese have received physical support from their fellow insurgents to the East. The insurgents also draw their inspiration from elsewhere. Comrade Prachandra claims to draw inspiration from insurgencies in Turkey, Iran and the Phillipines, gaining "important ideological and political exchange" from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). They see their insurgency as part of a world revolution. This revolution began in Peru, and the flame has now spread to India and Nepal. The revolution has suffered a setback because China is now under the control of counter revolutionaries, and because Shining Path in Peru seem to have suffered defeat, but this is seen only a temporary pause.

The Maoist have also reached agreement with the Khumbuwar Liberation Front (Khampa) operating against Tibetan-based Chinese from Mustang in Northern Nepal. They have agreed to allow that group to establish an autonomous region.

THE RESPONSE

POLITICAL

The political response has been dogged by the lack of continuity in Government. There have been 10 prime ministers in 10 years and "the peoples representatives (seem to remain) preoccupied with the game of forming and bringing down governments" In addition the Maoist threat is not the only challenge to stability, which is also challenged by wide spread student

strikes aimed against the use of English in the curriculum, the agitation of Bhutanese refugees in the eastern part of the country.

The question of 'reform first' or 'insurgent surrender first' has dogged the negotiations that have occurred, particularly during the ceasefire of 2001. Maoists insisted that the Government should hold elections to an assembly to draft a new constitution. PM Sherbahadur Deuba riposted that the Maoists should surrender their weapons, hostages and ammunition first. There has been no common ground identified which will allow useful negotiation to begin, and no attempt seems to have been made to exploit fault lines in the Maoist ranks. For example in 1998 a group of Maoists broke away in response to what they described as Comrade Prachandra's "imposing dictatorship and suppressing any criticism" but the government has been too fragmented itself to take the initiative in this area.

SECURITY FORCES

The Police and the Army have different approaches to the Insurgency. Until November of 2001 the response was very much a Police operation; the Army sought to remain outside the conflict. The Police and the national polity may have cooperated in this: the Police have been keen to attract the funding that the increased tempo of operations would bring to them and politicians have been suspicious of the Army, concerned that constitutionally it is not under democratic control.

Police and Paramilitaries.

The police are under resourced, poorly paid and armed, and ineffective. Recruits, after 6 weeks training, are deployed into the field with little specialist counter-insurgency training. Their main effort during their 6 month deployments is survival. They are scruffy, truculent and unimpressive: they are not a force that projects pride in their role.³⁸

In recognition of the shortcomings of the police the Government has tried to create a 'third force'. Various descriptions as the Armed Police Force (APF) or the Special Police Force (SPF) it was to have consisted of 10,000 men organized into 9 battalions spread over 5 security regions. Tasked with ambushing and night operations the intent was to focus sufficient force at the point of effort to make certain a resounding defeat for the rebels. The SPF has claimed some success, announcing the capture of a number of weapons and "a large number of arrests" which has provided a "morale boost-up (sic) of security personnel" and "secured feelings by the local people"³⁹ but one must doubt the strategic effect of these local successes, even if they could be verified. Though issued with the Israeli Galil rifle the SPF are in all other

respects equipped little better than the insurgents that they are seeking to defeat. Their operations have been hampered by the lack of helicopters, radios and good intelligence.

The police have not until now subscribed to the classical CI doctrine used by the RNA. They see the insurgency as a criminal issue, and have made no attempt to address the root causes of discontent. Indeed they are now substantially part of the problem. If they are to be an effective force their morale and equipment must be improved, and they must be brought inside the full inter-agency process.

RNA.

"The Army is a creation of the Monarchy".⁴⁰ It is more loyal to the King than the elected government. Its constitutional position is perhaps anomalous in a democratic constitutional monarchy and is a legacy of the times of an absolute King.

The Army is 46,000 strong.⁴¹ It consists of 14 infantry battalions, one artillery battalion, one engineer battalion and an armored reconnaissance squadron. It is organized in five brigades. The 'Royal' Brigade is based in Kathmandu, 1 Bde is also based in Kathmandu to cover the Central Region, 2 Bde in Daran to cover the Eastern Region, 3 Bde at Biratnagar to cover the Eastern Region and 4 Bde to cover the Western Region from Nepal Ganj. It has considerable peace keeping experience in Bosnia, Croatia, Haiti, The Lebanon and a battalion is now deployed in Sierra Leone. It has some CI experience from operations against the Khampas in Mustang from 1974. A peace-keeping College has been established near Kathmandu.

The Nepalese Officer corps is trained at home, in India and in the United Kingdom. In as much as a coherent CI doctrine exists it is modeled on that of the Indian Army, which in itself is derived from British teaching, further developed from experience in Assam and Sri Lanka. The Doctrine stresses the primacy of a political solution to all insurgencies: a 'peace' rather than a 'victory'. The aim is to win-over the people, not suppress them, thus denying the insurgents their support. The area of insurgency should be dominated by Security Force patrols which are aimed at gradual attrition and isolating the guerillas from their sympathizers.

The use of the RNA has been delayed by conflict between the Palace and the Government and by confusion within the government itself. The RNA has always maintained that prior to their deployment there must be all-party agreement and Royal assent, and neither of these preconditions existed until recently. Even the Prime Minister constantly changed his mind. PM Koroila once said: "I am not in favor of mobilizing the Army... it is the ultimate weapon. If it fails, do we then call in the Chinese or Indian Armies?"⁴² but he clearly came round to the idea by 10 April 2001: "Why can't we use the Army here when it can serve in

different countries as peacekeepers?" Some commentators claim that the King may have deliberately held back the Army in order to enable the insurgents to embarrass the government. This is highly unlikely but indicative of the Nepali delight in conspiracy theories; given fresh impetus by the mass murder of the Royal family on 01 June 01.

Prior to its full deployment in November 2001 The King had allowed the use of military resources in 5 districts for a hearts and minds campaign called the Integrated Social Development Plan (ISDP). This effort has been discontinued since the declaration of a State of Emergency. It is impossible therefore to assess the effectiveness of RNA doctrine so far.

The RNA does not have a substantial technological advantage over the insurgents. It has good rifles, Ferret scout cars and a number of ex-East German BTR 70s. There are a few howitzers of varying calibers. In support of the Army is an air wing using Skyvan, Puma and Super Puma. It has the capability to lift two companies at any one time. In spite of this morale is high, and the Army, at least so far, does not feel tainted by the failure of the Police or the corruption of the administration.

Much, however, still remains to be done. The structure for inter-agency liaison must be improved and the RNA must come under clear political control. Improvements in communications, intelligence gathering and dissemination, particularly the collection of HUMINT must be made to give the RNA an edge over the insurgents.

The RNA will also need a greater ability to maneuver, both operationally and tactically. Lack of transport has, so far, fatally delayed a proper response to insurgent attacks. In 2001 the RNA mounted a cordon and search operation in Hloeri following the abduction of nearly 70 policemen from the area in July but they failed to capture any rebels because the cordon was incapable of covering the ground and the enemy was able to escape with their captives through the fog. Similarly in Achham the response was 12 hours too late; by the time RNA reinforcements reached the scene of the attack the rebels had disappeared.

SUMMARY

The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal has now lasted 6 years. At least 2000 people have died as a result of operations by both sides. The Insurgency has caused dislocation in a country already weakened by poverty, caste, endemic corruption and the challenges of physical geography.

The elected authorities of Nepal have been slow to respond to the challenge. For 4 years the Maoists reigned almost unchecked by an incompetent and unreformed police force. Little was done to address the root causes of the Insurgent's support. In Kathmandu more energy

was absorbed in the business of taking or denying political power. The RNA, controlled by the King, sat in the margins of the conflict.

In June 2001 the King was assassinated by his son. In the following weeks Maoist attacks reached a crescendo as a result of which a new administration agreed to talks. The two sides were incompatible and hostilities resumed in November 2001. The government response now included the use of the RNA.

The past 4 months have seen the fortunes of both sides ebb and flow. The Security forces have suffered heavy casualties in incidents across the mid and far West but there has been at least one major security force success in recent weeks suggesting that lessons have been learned and put into practice. The result remains in the balance.

CONCLUSION

The government does not have a strategic vision. Its response to the Insurgency has been clumsy and ineffective. The Palace, the Government, The Police and the RNA seem unable to cooperate in a coordinated campaign to deal with the political roots of the Insurgency whilst at the same time destroying the insurgents themselves.

There are a number of possible reasons. The endemic factionalism within government, which places greater emphasis on power broking than fixing the ills of the country has prevented the development of a coherent, consistent campaign plan. The rumored rift between the Palace and the Government has, until recently, constrained the use of the RNA. Until March 2002 nothing has been done to deal with the corruption in Government which enervates any response from Katmandu by drawing off funds designed for regions. Much has been said and written about defeating the insurgents but little concrete has been done to right the basic ills that underwrite support to the rebellion.

This may now change. The recent reaffirmation of the State of Emergency (March 2002) suggests greater cross-party support for the response to the Insurgency than may have hitherto existed. The King has also established a commission to investigate the extent of corruption in government.⁴³ Nepal has appealed to the US, UK and India for support. This support (India has offered two helicopters) will come heavily laden with advice on how to defeat insurgency, advice that will be difficult to ignore.

The Nepalese authorities must identify the root causes of insurgency, which are political and economic, and they must deal with them by dealing with corruption down the line and focusing development where it is needed. The plan must have political, economic, military and

informational elements that are executed through a sound administrative structure which allows contact between Government and people. It is an Interagency effort.

CI operations by police, special police and RNA must continue. The use of the Security forces is illustrative of the chaotic mismanagement that has characterized the entire campaign. A special police force has been raised but this force has been denied funding and critical equipment. There has been a marked reluctance to use the RNA.

That said it is essential that the Security Force operate within the rule of law, in order to maintain popular support inside the country and to gain international support from without. This they have so far failed to do: "The police is now a thoroughly partisan force that must win back trust among a population skeptical of its independent law and order efficacy".⁴⁴ Doctrinally, at least, the RNA understands the need for a better record.

Better relations with the people should lead to better intelligence, which must be shared on an all-agency basis up and down the command chain. There are clear signs that the Security forces are 'blind' to the threat, unable to predict where and when the insurgent might next appear. These conditions must not be allowed to prevail.

Finally the security forces must also secure their own bases. The attack in February in Achham illustrates that even with RNA help, the infrastructure of government is not safe. That the insurgents can destroy helicopters, building and kill over 100 members of the security forces with so little visible damage to themselves illustrates how far the Government still has to go.

This is no longer simply a law and order problem. The government suffers from political instability and rampant corruption. The money allocated for the development of the interior never reaches there. A large number of villages are totally ignored by economic planners. There are no roads, no schools, no electricity and no medical facilities. Close to 100,000 rural youths failing high school examination every year have neither a job nor a school to go where they could be kept busy...⁴⁵

India and China sit on Nepal's borders. Both have an interest in a stable and neutral Nepal acting as a buffer between them. India has Maoist insurgencies of her own in Bihar and Assam, and would not want the insurgents of Nepal to act as an inspiration to those in India. Equally if India was too overt in its attempts to control Nepal's Maoists it would anger the fiercely independent Nepalese urban population and possibly aggravate China.

China on other hand does not want the Maoists to succeed because they have offered succor to Tibetan 'Khampa' insurgents and would represent an ideological beacon for those conservative Chinese who resent reform in China.

Thus both China and India have an interest in a stable Nepal under a friendly government. Their aid to the present administration must, however, be given carefully and without angering each other, or the Nepalese.

The fate of the insurgency in Nepal hangs in the balance. Left alone, neither side will resolve this issue, but the interests of other nations may not allow the impasse to continue. The example of Afghanistan has brought sharply into focus the danger that a 'failed' state can represent to global stability, and India and China has a more immediate need to ensure that there is peace on their borders. Advice and help will, eventually, swing the balance in favor of the Government: but if they want a lasting peace they too must reform the corrupt and inefficient habits of three centuries.

Word Count: 9228

ENDNOTES

¹ It is interesting that in the 1975 referendum held to justify the retention of the Panchayat system 55% of the nation voted against full parliamentary democracy but that most of the support for the Panchayat system came from the countryside. The division between countryside and town that is so evident in today's Insurgency was already visible.

² From 1974 Tibetan dissidents, known as Khumba (or Khampa) , operated across the border into Tibet from Mustang in Northern Nepal.

³ "Online News – Nepal" UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

⁴ Brahmin, Newar, Chettris are known collectively as 'BNC'.

⁵ "Child Labour Situation in Nepal". International Labor Organization Report of April 1999. According to this document 41.7% of children between the ages of 5 and 14 years are working.

⁶ "Nepal After Regicide: Maoist Threat Increases." Brigadier CB Khanduri.

⁷ "Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment".

⁸ Author's Own Observation.

⁹ "Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment".

¹⁰ Web Site: "CIA.gov/cia/publications/fatbook/nepalhtml".

¹¹ "Legacy of the Nepalese Royal Family's Tragedy" Uday Mahurkar published in 'India Today' 19 October 2001.

¹² "Kathmandu Post" Nepalese English Language Daily.

¹³ Attributed to PM Deuba in: " Nepal Government, Rebels to hold landmark Peace Talks" by Gopal Sharma.

¹⁴ " A Perspective on Developments in Nepal." Brigadier Chandra B Khanduri.

¹⁵ Nepalgunj, Pyuthun, Raraodi, Jajrakot, Lamjung, Gulmi, Surhkhet, and Dunai.

¹⁶ "BBC News South Asia" 5 February 2002.

¹⁷ "A Perspective on Development in Nepal." Brig Chandra B Khanduri.

¹⁸ 'Comrade Praveen.' Quoted in BBC News: "Eyewitness: "Nepal's Maoist Power Base". 4 July 01.

¹⁹ "CPN(Maoist)ONLINE" Introduction to Maoist Web Page.

²⁰ Comrade Gaurev quoted in "The Maoist Offensive in Nepal" by B Raman. Paper No 274 dated 08 August 2001. South Asia Analysis Group.

- ²¹ It is claimed that some 30% of the active insurgents are women.
- ²² 'Amnesty International'. Public Statement: "Nepal: 'Amnesty International' condemns horrific killings of teachers by Maoists" 18/01/2002.
- ²³ "CPN(Maoist)ONLINE" Introduction to Maoist Web Site .
- ²⁴ "Report from the Battlefield." 'The Worker' Maoist 'Online' publication.
- ²⁵ "Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Internal dimensions. " by Dr Chitra K Tiwari. Paper No 187 South Asia Analysis Group.
- ²⁶ "Report from the Battlefield." 'The Worker' Maoist 'Online' publication.
- ²⁷ "Report from the Battlefield." 'The Worker' Maoist 'Online' publication.
- ²⁸ Comrade Prachandra quoted in "Maoists of Nepal: Three Perspectives" by B Raman Paper No 227 South Asia Analysis Group 13 July 2001.
- ²⁹ Aged 16 years: 70% failure rate.
- ³⁰ All 'low caste artisans': A Kami is a metal smith; a Damai is a tailor. Each British Goorkha battalion includes one Damai and several Kamis working as armorers.
- ³¹ 'Amnesty International' Online: Public Statement 18 January 2002.
- ³² In the attacks on the Army barracks in Gorai ninety-nine self loading rifles (SLR) were stolen.
- ³³ 'Amnesty International' Online: "Nepal: State of Emergency may go too far." 'Amnesty International' Report 30 November 2001.
- ³⁴ "Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Internal Dimensions" Dr Chitra K Tiwari Paper No 187 South Asia Analysis Group.
- ³⁵ "Jane's Intelligence Review." April 2001.
- ³⁶ This information is drawn from "What are the Regional Implications of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal". A Joint Service's Staff College Study by Major JA Elliot RGR.
- ³⁷ "Jane's Intelligence Review." June 2001.
- ³⁸ Authors own observation.
- ³⁹ Nepal Police Web Sight: "An overview of terrorist activities in Nepal" 22 Feb 02.
- ⁴⁰ "Emerging Scenario in Nepal and Implications for Indo-Nepal Relations" (Report of the IPCS Panel Discussion held on 22 June 2001 between Ambassador AR Deo, Maj Gen Ashok Mehta.)

- ⁴¹ "Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment South Asia 11/01 to 04/02."
- ⁴² "Quoted in Nepal after Regicide: Maoist Threat increases". Brig CB Khanduri.
- ⁴³ "Nepal officials to face graft inquiry" by Sushil Sharma. Newsroom of BBC Report 08 March 02.
- ⁴⁴ 'Nepal People's Review Feb 21 – Feb 27:Online Edition' – "A disciplined Army."
- ⁴⁵ "Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Internal Dimensions by Dr Chitra K Tiwari" Paper No 187 South Asia Analysis Group.

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