South Asia Human Security Series

Nepali State, Society and Human Security

An Infinite Discourse

Dhruba Kumar

South Asia Human Security Series

Gamini Keerawella
EVOLVING SECURITY DISCOURSE IN SRI LANKA
From National Security to Human Security

Shaheen Afroze and Abul Kalam Azad
HUMAN SECURITY IN BANGLADESH
Discourse, Practice and Proposition

Mahendra P. Lama
HUMAN SECURITY IN INDIA
Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications

Jennifer Bennett (ed.)
PAKISTAN
Haunting Shadows of Human Security

Abdur Rob Khan and A. K. M. Abdus Sabur
HUMAN SECURITY INDEX IN SOUTH ASIA
Exploring the Issues

Ajay Darshan Behera
VIOLENCE, TERRORISM AND HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Mohammad Humayun Kabir and A. T. Salahuddin Ahmed
ETHNICITY, ETHNIC CONFLICT AND HUMAN SECURITY
The Cases of Bangladesh and Pakistan

Saba Gul Khattak, Kiran Habib and Foqia Sadiq Khan
WOMEN AND HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA
The Cases of Bangladesh and Pakistan

Monirul Hussain
HUMAN SECURITY IN INDIA
Health, Shelter and Marginalization

ISBN 984 05 1794 5
9 789840 517947

Dhruba Kumar is Professor of Political Science at the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal. He was FCO Fellow at the Department of War Studies, King's College London, England; Ford Visiting Scholar at the Programme in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois, Urbana Campaign, IL, USA; and Visiting Fellow at the Faculty of Asian and International Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. He has also served on contract as a Professor at IDEC, Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, Japan. In 2002, he was a member of the SEAS 2002 Conference jointly sponsored by the USCINCPAC and the Department of State for security professionals of the Asia/Pacific region.

He is the author and editor of several edited volumes and has contributed chapters on edited books by different scholars along with numerous research papers published both in national and international journals. His recent publications include *Proximate Causes of Conflict in Nepal* (2005); *Impact of Conflict on Security and the Future: The Case of Nepal* (2005); *Terrorism and Subalterneity, Understanding 'Terrorism' in Nepal: The Marginalization Syndrome* (2005). He is currently engaged in completing a manuscript on Political Violence in Nepal.

ISBN 984 05 1794 5

This study narrates the context and complexity of the state-society relations in Nepal and puts the socio-economic and political situation of Nepal into perspective against the background of the emerging discourses on non-traditional security.

Nepali state, which is traditionally seized by the misgovernance of its political leaderships, has never been sensitive towards the dignity of its citizenry. Hence, the question that looms large is whether and how far can human security be achieved through the existing political structure in which the state apparatuses are vital to centralized authority? The question is integral to the process of state restructuring as has been demonstrated during the course of *Jana Andolan II* in April 2006 and after.

The Study concludes that the plan for shaping a future for Nepal is still at an embryonic stage. However, the inspiration behind the change is alive and alert among the toiling mass.

(see back flap)

Tk. 540.00

South Asia Human Security Series

Nepali State, Society and Human Security

An Infinite Discourse

Dhruba Kumar

Bangladesh Institute of
International and Strategic Studies

The University Press Limited

The University Press Limited
Red Crescent House
61 Motijheel C/A
P. O. Box 2611
Dhaka 1000
Bangladesh
Fax : (88 02) 9565443
E-mail: upl@bangla.net, upl@bttb.net.bd
Website: www.uplbooks.com

First published 2008

Copyright © Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means without prior permission in writing from the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

This book is an output of the BIISS Regional Collaborative Research project on *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition*, 2003-2006 conducted with assistance from the Ford Foundation, New Delhi.

Cover design by Ashraful Hassan Arif

ISBN 984 05 1794 5

Published by Mohiuddin Ahmed, The University Press Limited, Dhaka. Computer design by Ashim K. Biswas and produced by Abarton, 99 Malibagh, Dhaka. Printed at the Akota Offset Press, 119 Fakirapool, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

South Asia Human Security Series

South Asia Human Security Series is the product of a three-year regional collaborative research project titled, *Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition* conducted by BIISS under the aegis of the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, 2003-06. The aim of the project has been to provide an understanding of the prevailing discourses and practices on human security in South Asia as well as to generate inputs for policy making at regional and national levels. Five individual country papers on Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and five thematic areas: (a) Constructing a Human Security Index for South Asia; (b) Violence, Terrorism and Human Security; (c) Ethnicity and Human Security; (d) Gender and Human Security; (e) Marginalization and Human Security – were covered. The outcome is the present series.

The Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS)

The Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS) is an autonomous research organization under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Bangladesh. The Institute was founded in 1978 to undertake research and promote deliberation on foreign policy, security and development. The Institute published regularly a quarterly Journal, *BIISS Journal,* organizes seminars/ conferences and undertakes research projects. More about the Institute at: www.biiss.org

List of Tables and Figures

TABLES

Table 2.1.	Ethnic/Caste Composition of Cabinet During the Panchayat Era 1960-1990	69
Table 2.2:	Integrated National Index of Governance based on Social Groups 1999	75
Table 2.3:	Ethnic/Caste Composition of Parties' Central Committee as of 2001	75
Table 2.4:	Caste/Ethnic Composition of Members of the House of Representatives (HOR)	76
Table 2.5:	High Caste Group in the House of Representatives (HOR)	77
Table 2.6:	Caste and Ethnic Composition of Nepal's Legislature (in Percentage)	77
Table: 2.7:	Positional Sketch of Women in Nepal	89
Table 3.1:	Ranked According to the Overall Composite Index and Poverty and Deprivation Index	116
Table 3.2:	Government Investment across Development Regions (in Rs '000)	117
Table 3.3:	Per Capita Budgetary Expenditure Patterns Total Expenditure in Nepali Currency divided by total Population Rather than Allocation	119
Table 3.4:	How Development Projects are Funded?	123
Table 3.5:	Flow of External Assistance between 1990 and 1998 in US$ Million	127
Table 3.6:	Food Situation in Three Ecological Zones in Population Percentage	133
Table 3.7:	Structure of Energy Consumption	138
Table 3.8:	Reported Cost of Large Hydropower Projects	139

Table 3.9: Primary and Fiscal Deficit in Million Rupees 142
Table 3.10: Total Budgetary Allocations to Basic Services (Regular and Development Budget Combined) 147
Table 3.11: Selected Child Health Status Indicators in Nepal by Ecological Zones and Geographical Regions 155
Table 3.12: Percentage Distribution of Households by Number of Trips for Water Fetching Made by Women in One Day 157
Table 4.1: Statistics on Human Rights Violations between 1992 and 1995 188
Table 4.2: Statistics on Human Rights Violations between 1996 and 2004 200
Table 4.3: Data on Trend Analysis on Torture 210
Table 4.4: Cases and Types of Torture in Nepal 211
Table 4.5: Disappearances 214
Table 5.1: Estimates of Regular Expenditures (in Rs. 000) 256
Table 5.2: Current Status of Security Forces 2004-2005 260
Table 5.3: The State of the Maoists' "People's War" Since 23 November 2001 (Includes major skirmishes only) 273
Table 5.4: Weapons Possessed by Maoists Guerrillas 275
Table 5.5: The Maoist Military Formation as Claimed by CPN (Maoist) Chairman Prachanda 276
Table 5.6: CPN (Maoist) Military Brigades 277
Table 5.7: Military Capability Scale 285
Table 6.1: Living Standards Survey 2003/2004 314

FIGURES

Figure 1.1: State of the State and Human Security 48
Figure 5.1: Organisation of the Royal Nepal Army 255
Figure 5.2: Organisation of the People's Liberation Army, CPN (Maoist), November 2004 279
Figure 6.1: Crises of Insecurity 320

Preface

Life is full of societal woes. Challenges for survival with simple aspiration of the people for "freedom from want and freedom for fear" have become a complex issue in the state-society relations. People's struggle to fulfil their aspirations for basic needs have continued amidst the state denial of rights to security, safety and welfare of the people as its primary obligation.

This study has narrated the context and complexity of the state-society relations to put the socio-economic and political situation of Nepal into perspective against the background of the emerging discourses on non-traditional security. With the increasing irrelevance of unimpeded growth in the sphere of military security at the cost of the provision for social security for the citizenry, this study interrogates the essence of the state-centric approach by shifting the focus towards the evolving concept of human security. Nepali state, which is traditionally seized by the misgovernance of the political leaderships irrespective of their authoritarian or democratic categories, has never been sensitive towards the dignity of its citizenry, and treated them as expendable in the pursuit of preserving the traditional elite interests. My research on the state of human security inextricably linked to human rights in Nepal shows a pathetic situation. The Nepali state that has long thrived on the culture of impunity has shown no inkling of sensitivity and responsibility towards the people. The dominant ethos of Nepali politics remains status quo despite the rhetoric of change and political reform. The hegemony of the traditional elites in the socio-political, economic and military hierarchy has continued to remain a reality nourishing the entrenched political interests of the high caste people. Hence, this study advances with interrogating three fundamental questions:

1. Can human security be achieved through the existing political structure in which the state apparatuses are integral to centralised authority?
2. Will the political leaderships divulge state power and their exclusive identity and sacrifice privileges for fostering human

security by undertaking humanitarian policy measures through inclusive democratic practices?

3. What condition should be evolved to sensitise the concept of human security in Nepal?

These questions are integral to the process of state restructuring as has been advocated and aspired by the people and the political parties alike; evidently demonstrated during the course of Jana Andolan II in April 2006. The political mandate for the future is the elections to the Constituent Assembly for the ownership of the state by the people by becoming the genuine citizens not forever remaining subjects of the state. I have reflected on the past and contemplated for the future of the Nepali state to evolve as a citizen of the state who cannot escape from the implications of the political development in the country. While preparing the manuscript, I have also taken liberty to draw on my previous studies and publications properly attributed in the text. As preparation of the manuscript was overtaken by rapidly unfolding events in Nepal, a post-script has been added.

I offer my earnest gratitude to Dr. Abdur Rob Khan, Research director of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), Project Director of this regional initiative, for inviting me to pursue a study on Nepal under the BIISS-Ford Foundation Collaborative Research Project on Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition. I am also indebted to A. K. M. Abdus Sabur, Associate Project Director, for providing me an opportunity to explore the intricacies of such an important issue the relevance of which is more pronounced in the context of my country.

Several other scholars from South Asia, who were the panelists, discussants and participants in the three rounds of workshops held in relations to the project, are duly acknowledged for their generous contributions to enrich the contents of the book. Professor Syed Anwar Husain deserves my sincere appreciation for his painstaking review of the entire manuscript and for critical comments and valuable suggestions. To Professor I. N. Mukherji, I would like to thank him for reading the first three chapters and offering perceptive comments.

I should like to thank particularly Hari Sharma for his discerning views and advices along with Dilli Ram Dahal, Krishna Hachhethu, Krishna Khanal and Pancha N. Maharjan who helped me in different ways. Dal Man Dahal has assisted me in various stages of material

collection whose support was indispensable. Critical readings of chapters four and five by some searching minds, who prefer to remain anonymous, and their helpful comments are immensely appreciated. Needless to say, none of them is responsible for the final result.

Dhruba Kumar
Professor, Political Science
Tribhuvan University
Kathmandu, Nepal