

**Responding to climate change in a transitional Politics:
Review of political context in relation to designing LAPA in Nepal**

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Executive summary

This political appraisal aims at providing a brief overview of Nepal's political dynamics and responses to climate change from various political institutions. The appraisal examines the political dynamics, particularly explores how political constituencies understand and respond to the emerging climate change threats.

The review is primarily based on literature review, content analysis of some key policy documents and interactions with Members of Parliament (MPs). In particular, the election manifestos of major political parties, drafts of various constitutional committees and government's major initiatives on climate change were obtained from secondary information. It was followed by bilateral and joint interactions with several MPs including those who are advancing climate change related activities within the Parliament.

Analysis of these documents and interactions with MPs reveals that there have been enormous interests and concerns around climate change. The Prime Minister himself, the cabinet ministers, the government agencies, particularly at the upper layer are adequately informed, concerned and are actively advancing the agenda. On the other hand political leaders, parties and the constituent assembly also appear to be aware of the issue so that several provisions are made in the new constitution.

Up on analysis it is learnt that natural resources management has received a high priority in the political programmes of the parties, in the drafts of the thematic committees of the constitution assembly and in everyday discourses among the political leaders. However, having given a high priority, there are often gaps in policy rhetoric and actual practices of parties and the parliament. Another important aspect that came out is the relative low contention on the issue. While there are several areas of disputes in planning and designing development interventions, the climate change agenda is often perceived as technical and isolated from other development agenda. Devolution and decentralisation appears to be one of the major elements which will have a major implication to climate adaptation programme.

In this context, the effectiveness of the adaptation initiatives lies to the extent in which the Local Adaptation Plans for Action is able to develop a decentralised and highly pro-poor focus. Given the relative access of ordinary citizen including the poor and marginalised in the local governments, it is suggested that local governments should be the locus of programme design and implementation.

Political scoping of the LAPA process

1. Introduction

This study looks at the national political dynamics of Nepal in the context of climate change. The study explores the potential supportive or constraining political environment that strongly influences the success [or failure] of the evolving policies, plans and programmes aimed at addressing climate change. In particular, it examines the potential risks and uncertainties in the political arena that directly influence the successful implementation of the Local Adaptation Plan of Action (LAPA). The appraisal is therefore an important aspect of LAPA as it ensures that the LAPA is adequately informed by Nepal's unfolding political dynamics and allow ample spaces for adjustment to the emerging political impulses.

While reviewing the overall political dynamics in relation to climate change; specific focus is paid in; i) understanding the priorities of relevant Constitutional Assembly and Parliamentary Committees in relation to climate change; ii) Understanding the working modality adopted by the above committees in framing climate change related policies; and iii) identifying and understanding the dynamics of major climate change institutions.

Developing a political appraisal of Nepal is itself a challenging job due its complex dynamics with multiple actors often driven by unstated agenda. Consequently, there is huge uncertainty with very low predictability. The task is particularly challenging because any proxy indicator has relatively low reliability. To overcome this, multiple sources of data is being used. These include: election manifestos of major political parties; prepared drafts of various committees at the constitution assembly; interview and interaction of with CA members; major initiatives of the government; etc.

The report is divided into four sections. First section deals with stated and hidden agenda and positioning of the major political parties towards addressing climate change induced consequences and threats. The second section reviews the emerging responses at the constitutional level. The third section builds from the government's major initiative that often builds towards addressing climate threats. The fourth and final section analyses and synthesise lessons based on political dynamics observed in above three major aspects.

2. The political dynamics

Nepal's political transition towards a new federal republic state has frequently been disruptive and incredibly slower than anticipated. The Constituent Assembly has not made any substantive progress in drafting a new constitution even during its fifth month of additional year after its original tenure of two years. It is less likely that a new constitution will be drafted within the remaining time. There is caretaker government for last four months and parties have not been able to form a new government, forget about resolving major political differences. The differences are at two fronts: i) there are huge challenges in completing the peace process. The crux of the problem is issue of the modality and number of ex-Maoist combatants to be

integrated in the national army. ii) Bringing the parties with diverse ideological orientation and political programme together into a new constitution is another big challenge. Parties have diverse views on the structure of the government and of parliament, formation of the court, number, border and authority to the states, local governments and property rights. Currently, there are over 200 such provisions where the parties are deeply divided. A Task Force has been formed and is working, but there is no consensus over the major contentious issues. While the CPN (Maoists) is accused of low sincerity, disinterested towards completing peace process to a logical end, Maoist accuse other parties that they do not have any agenda for social transformation and indulge in conspiracy to maintain status quo. Besides, external forces including two neighbouring and other powerful country interests and their influences over the domestic politics has further complicated the situation. Consequently, there is a crisis of trust between the parties which has rendered the tireless political meetings fruitless. There are risks of backlash, return of the monarchy or so called regressive forces, massive civil unrest or even collapse of the democratic achievements gained so far since 2006 movement.

The practical challenges towards reaching to a logical end must be understood in the context of long, painful political history and unique power configuration in Nepalese polity. The famous – twelve-point agreement¹ followed by historical successful people’s movement against the monarchy led to major political change. The key outcomes of the changes are: i) abolition of century long monarchy; ii) comprehensive peace accord between the government and the rebels; and iii) election for the constitution assembly. During this process there has been a major change in the traditional power configuration. While the monarchy and its supporters seriously lost the battle, Maoist has become the major political force with largest presence in the constitution assembly. The conventional parliamentary parties – Nepali Congress and the UML became the second and third parties. Also the regional parties, particularly representing Madhesis emerged as a significant force though they are internally divided. An important aspect of the new power configuration is that the current constitution assembly can be regarded as inclusive with over one third women, a significant number of indigenous people, *dalits* and other ethnic minorities as CA members.

The key development challenges and the government priorities however may remain unchanged despite the evolving political transition, and current stalemate in peace process and constitution drafting. The widespread poverty, rising inequality and deep-seated social exclusion, which are largely recognized by all actors including the political parties may continue to be the key development priority.

At the operational level, rampant corruption both in political and bureaucratic institutions is a major challenge in effectively implementing the programme. Corruption has largely undermined the achievement of development outcomes. The situation is gradually deteriorating. In a recent report, the Transparency International ranks Nepal with corruption index of 146, one of the countries with high level of corruption. Besides, frequent strikes and road blocks disrupt the

¹ Twelve point agreement was made in 2006 in Delhi, between the rebels (Maoist party) and seven party alliance of parliamentary parties to end the decade long violent conflict and to reinstate democracy that was undermined by the monarchy.

movement of people and goods across the country, posing difficulties in effective implementation and monitoring of project activities. Changing in political equations and instability in the government that usually results in frequent reshuffle and transfer of senior government officials and project staff is another major challenge.

3. Constitutional responses to climate crisis

Nepal is drafting a new constitution to institutionalise a fundamental political and social change in recent years. After its completion and approval, the new constitution provides a general framework within which all laws and regulations will be developed. In this context, the provisions associated with natural resources management, environmental governance and fundamental citizenry rights can be regarded as the proxy indicators for political responses to the issue of climate change. Therefore, the analysis of the relevant provisions in drafts of different subject committees of the Constitution Assembly is an important aspect of this analysis. This section is dedicated to the review of the constitutional provisions.

Generally speaking, the constitution has addressed climate change issue directly or indirectly at different points. Out of 10 thematic committee reports (Annex 1) six have substantially touched on the issue (Table 1). It is observed that climate change issue is clearly spelt out at the heart of the constitution -in the fundamental rights section – that citizens enjoy rights to adaptation and that they will have rights to compensation against climate related disasters. Apart from guaranteeing other basic rights, the interim constitution ensures rights of ethnic minorities, indigenous people and those who fully rely on natural resources as well as those who are vulnerable to climate change impacts. Moreover, the constitution instructs to set aside 40% forestland, for environmental conservation. Major arguments behind the proposal are sustained supply of environmental services, conservation of biodiversity, arresting erosion and landslide and watershed protection. However, the rationale for the provision has been questioned from several corners. Redefining forests as a most productive and climate resilient ecosystem can be a good strategy to address food scarcity, poverty and climate change.

The proposed provisions are quite progressive, have specific provisions for minorities and indigenous people, and relatively clear on the issue of climate change and potential negative consequences. The strong and explicit provisions on climate change issues could be due to the timing of drafting the constitution. This is being drafted in a time when climate change has dominated the national and international discourses of development and environment including national security. Also Nepal being an agrarian, developing country, there is no strong industrial and corporate influence over the policy making. Whatever is the explanation, strong constitutional provisions provides a general assurance that any policies and plans to address climate change threats may get adequate support from all the state apparatus including the government agencies.

Table 1 Treatment of climate change by the drafts of the new constitution

SN		
1	NRM Committee	Recognises the priority rights of indigenous people and local community over natural resources; rights to food, shelter, clean environment and drinking water are recognised as the fundamental rights; protection of natural resources and other public property is the duties of citizen, state is obliged to maintain 40% forestland and to support its citizens with adequate compensation during natural calamities;
2	Committees on constitutional bodies	State shall monitor whether rights of indigenous people are properly observed and whether all environmental agreements including the climate change one is being properly complies with.
3	Constitutional committee	State shall impose state of emergency during natural disasters
4	Committee for national interests	Citizen will have rights to food, clothing, shelter and healthy environment; state shall keep 40 % forestland; protects the rights of IPs including their patent rights and fair benefits from biodiversity;
5	State restructuring and power sharing committee	State power will be exercised by different level political and administrative entities with fully decentralised power sharing mechanism Autonomy to various social groups in managing local affairs
6	Fundamental rights and Guiding Principles	State will manage all land, rights to clean, healthy and sustainable environment, adaptation rights against climate change, compensation against climate related disaster, rights to food

Source: review of the drafts of thematic committees at Constitution Assembly, author

Structure of governance, particularly the extent of devolution and decentralisation is a critical issue in responding to climate change. Strong local governance with adequate autonomy in handling environmental and development issues may open up spaces of locally suitable, and designed responses to climate change. Although a good local self governance Act was promulgated in 1998, it was not implemented to its spirit. Meanwhile, due to the violent political conflict, and painful political transition after 2006 movement there are no elected political local governments in Nepal for over a decade. Government officials are running the office for administrative purposes. Consequently, the whole agenda of local governance has been in the shadow.

There are strong prospects for strong local governance in the future. There is a political consensus and the constitutional drafts have put important functions under the list for local governments. Recently a high level multi-party Task Force has agreed to empower local governments with their own legislative, judiciary and executive functions. It indicates a political consensus for strong local governance. This will provide adequate spaces where LAPA and other programmes can be implemented in direct collaboration with the local governments.

4. Climate change and party manifestos

In a parliamentary political system, citizen vote to the parties based explicitly on their stated agenda, which are expected to be translated into government policies and programmes. Therefore, an assessment of election manifestos of political parties gives an indication of the public policies to be adopted by the government. This study has analysed manifestos of major political parties which can influence the government policies either being part the coalition or from their opposition bench. The table below presents key statements of the four major parties namely the CPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress, CPN (UML) and Madhesi Jana Adhikar Forum (Table 2).

Table 2 Key natural resource management issues in parties' manifestos

Issues	Maoist	NC	UML	Forum
Land tenure	Revolutionary land reform	Land reform through national consensus	Scientific land management	Land issue under provincial policy
Forest management	Scientific forest management, plantation, forest and biodiversity based industry	Green parks, plantation; commercial management, mgt of Terai forest, protected areas in Siwalik,	Conservation for enhanced production, community based management, mobilise international aid for Himalayan conservation	State will protect forests of the hills and Churia
Water mgt	Water power as the basis of national economy	Water power as the basis of national economy	Water power as the basis of national economy	Churia must be protected as water source for Terai as the basis of national economy
Agriculture	Transform traditional agriculture into a commercial one	Modernise agriculture	Scientific agriculture as the foundation of rural development	Agriculture under provincial policy
NRM	Optimal use of resources for alleviating poverty	Sustainable management of NRM	Participatory NRM	NRM issues under provincial policy
Environmental sustainability	Protection of natural environment,	Mainstreaming environment in overall DDC programme		Environmental issues under provincial policy
Multilateral environmental agreements	Respect all MEAs	Respect all MEAs	Respect all MEAs	

Source: Analysis of manifestos by the author

The review focuses on sectors that are already affected or are most likely to be affected by the climate change. Therefore, the focus is on natural resources management and rural livelihoods

associated with the management of these resources. These are agriculture, food, land use, forest management and environmental policies. The analysis of party manifestos reveals that there are very limited provisions that directly address climate change. However, the responses to climate change threats can be found in different areas including forest and natural resource management, environmental governance, agriculture, public health, fundamental human rights, state institutions, national security, etc. Land use and land tenure are the priority areas. There appears a common concern for the need of transforming land use system and land tenure. Parties have used language according to their ideological baggage – revolutionary, radical or scientific. Agrarian reform in diverse form appears in all manifestos.

A related issue is reorganising agriculture. Enhancing agriculture production and productivity is often on the top of the agenda across all manifestos. In all manifestoes modernising agriculture with increased inputs has been given due attention. Not surprisingly, all parties follow that path of enhancing production through high input agriculture but quite in identifying potential impacts of climate change on the performance of the sectors. A few exceptions exist at some points – organic farming, local varieties, sustainable farming though not promoted as adaptation measures to climate change.

The discussion on water is often associated with hydro power. Almost every document recognises hydro power as the key sector that potentially contributes to national economy. Harnessing hydro power potential is therefore a major priority. Only a few document talk on irrigation. Unfortunately, little is discussed on how to arrange drinking water. It appears that water is seen as the source of national economy not a basic livelihoods need.

Policies towards forest management appear to be influenced by conservationist agenda. Almost every manifesto associates forest management with non timber forest products (NTFP), ecotourism and biodiversity. There is little discussion on timber management and forest's contribution to national economy. The language itself is forest conservation, not of management. Only the NC manifesto recognises commercial management of forest resources as a priority policy agenda.

Having said these similarities, the manifestos also show some dissimilarity as summarised in Table 2. The differences exist on land distribution. Nepali Congress (NC) and Forum are relatively silent on the issue. Though scientific forest management is common, CPN (Maoist) appears to have emphasised on industrial use of forest while Forum is concerned with protection of Churia forest. The language of CPN (UML) appears to be influenced by developmental, participatory discourses (e.g. mobilising international aid for Himalayan conservation, participatory NRM). Mainstreaming environmental management in DDC level planning is explicitly stated in NC manifesto. It is to be noted that the party manifestos are not developed any particular framework and therefore comparison is very difficult. Consequently, many specific issues may have been left out unintentionally.

Despite above indicative policy directions, it is generally hard to track any specific policy focus of the manifestos. In many cases, similar programmes are proposed by the parties with seemingly opposite orientation. Moreover, parties prefer to use general language than specific and often populist tune. Analysis of the manifestos shows that the parties try to please everyone than to propose any substantial policy options. In addition, parties treat climate change,

often as a technical and isolated issue largely associated with environment. In most of the documents climate changes comes along with forest and other natural resources and the solution offered are also associated within reforestation/plantation.

As parties largely see climate change along with forest and environment often detached from the economy, industry and livelihoods; there appears little contestation in recognising the problem. It has two consequences. First, there appears consensus among the political in recognising and defining the problem. Second, most of the solutions offered are around afforestation and forest protection where there is little debate. The potential consequences are that climate change may never get properly recognised and addressed.

The party manifestos give diverse views on understanding poverty and addressing it. The Maoists often talk of socio-economic and cultural restructuring- redistributing the power and resources. There are heavy, politically loaded concepts such as feudalism and imperialism which the Maoists want to transform. Other parties, particularly NC aim for high growth and addressing poverty through trickle-down effect. Madhesi Jana Adhikar Forum has little explicit explanation of the issue. Maybe the difference exists on the process and steps for economic transformation. Maoists seemed still to be committed for political change before they directly go for economic transformation whereas other parties' position seems to be to institutionalize political achievement and give top priority for economic transformation.

Box 1

Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal his government has given a high priority in responding climate change threats many of which come from his personal interests. The Kalapathar cabinet meeting, Nepal's participation in Copenhagen and activities of the Climate Change Council indicate so. However, there are doubts in the continuity of these initiatives. Some members of constitution assembly have initiated a collective response to address climate change threats. They visited different parts of the country to observe the impacts of climate change. They also advanced the discussion with concerned stakeholders and professionals and prioritise climate adaptation projects within the regular disbursement of MP's funds. They have funded for projects on improved cooking stoves, environmental awareness, and environmental management.

Source: interaction with MPs on 27 Oct, 2010

5. The parliamentary process

The parliamentary process, particularly, the structure of the various thematic committees (Annex II) and the process of developing and finalising any specific agenda into the form of law is an important issue to be aware of. The parliament works primarily through these thematic-committees. Apart from primary discussion on any bills, they provide a political oversight of respective policy issues and also sometimes monitor the implementation. Some of the past actions of these committees had been very important in shaping government decisions and

actions. The Public Account Committee and the Natural Resource Committee in particular remained active.

Currently over 20 MPs representing different parties have formed an informal group on climate change (Annex III). They collectively visited different parts of the country to see the impacts of climate change in landscape and rural livelihoods. Some members of this group have invested the Parliamentarian Development Fund into climate related projects. However, these projects have received little technical support from the government or other development agencies. Moreover, the group organised a couple of events to increase the MP's understanding on the issue. Now MPs of this group are lobbying towards institutionalising a parliamentary committee on Climate Change that could provide a broad framework for the government's actions around climate change issue. Most of these are young MPs, who have not the leading roles in their parties but of secondary leadership. Therefore it may take a long time before actually realising the authentic climate change committee within the parliament.

An interaction with MPs revealed that the government bureaucracy often tend to avoid any direct interface with the political leaders. Whenever the MPs demand information on specific policy decisions, the senior officials at the bureaucracy respond late or provide only peripheral information. Sometimes they even complain that the parliamentary committees have become bottlenecks for swift decision making process. Sometimes, there have been disputes over defining correct scope of the committees resulting in encroaching other committee's territory. This is particularly important as climate change is overly integrated and may simultaneously influence diverse policy arenas.

6. Government initiatives

The government of Nepal has taken several initiatives in responding the climate change threats (**Error! Reference source not found.**) Most of these initiatives are part of compliance under the UNFCCC. Some others are encouraged and supported by the donors. Many of the activities are routine and mandatory activities under global conventions. Some example include: submission of national communication report to the UNFCCC secretariat, formation of various high level committees, regular participation to COP and development of NAPA, etc. Moreover, being one of the poorest and aid dependent counties, Nepal often immediately signs almost all international conventions and actively participates in several global and regional events. The cabinet of GON met in Kalapatthar, near the Everest base camp and declared three new PAs² as dedicated to climate mitigation purpose. Similarly, Nepal applied to the World Bank's FCPF scheme and is preparing itself for carbon trade through REDD scheme.

² Three new PAs: Gaurishankar Conservation Area, Api-Nampa Conservation Area and Banke National Park were declared in the meeting.

Apart from its domestic initiatives, Nepal has been actively representing itself in the global climate negotiation and has clearly expressed its position in various issues. On December 16, 2009, speaking at the Copenhagen, Prime Minister Madhav Nepal has proposed five-point program on

Box 1 Nepal's major activities on climate change

- 1 Initial National Communication (INC) submitted in July 2004
- 2 Climate Change Network- a multistakeholder body established
- 3 Climate Change Council formed chaired by the Prime Minister
- 4 'Kathmandu to Copenhagen' -a Regional Conference organised
- 5 Kalapatahar (Everest) meeting declared new PAs
- 6 Second National Communication submitted
- 7 Climate change policy under preparation
- 8 Preparation of NAPA

Source: collection from media report

climate change. Firstly, the Prime Minister urged the world leaders to think of the future of our planet, highlighted the need to understand the common but differentiated responsibility. Secondly, he clearly expressed his intention that the Copenhagen treaty should be ambitious and legally binding following the Kyoto protocol and that developed nations should set high targets on reducing greenhouse gases. Thirdly, he demanded that a priority should be given to the least developed countries because of their poor capability to adapt to the climate change impacts. Fourthly, top priority should be given to the gender sensitive development and poverty alleviation to address the climate change. Finally, he requested for a concrete and sustainable investment with easy access to resources and technology for the identified LDCs.

Government actions on climate change so far are focused at the international and national level. There are no specific actions at the local level. Only some awareness types of activities are carried out mainly by the non government development agencies. Absence of significant investment at the local level can be attributed to the weak decentralisation. Though the Local Self Governance Act was promulgated in 1998, it was never implemented in its true spirit. The local government bodies remained largely under the Ministry of Local Development and therefore cannot enjoy adequate autonomy to generate revenue, and plan and implement their own development priorities. Many scholars attribute the poor decentralisation for the current movement for federalism and particularly the regional and ethnic resurgence movements.

As there is a political consensus towards federalism and strong devolution, one can expect strong local governments in the new constitution. Apart from effective mobilisation of available resources, the decentralised planning and implementation would help design more appropriate interventions at the local level. Though decentralised system can be expected to induce a pro-poor governance at the local level, actual realisation of development benefits by the poor remains a major challenge. One way to address this challenge would be to mobilise multiple channels of funding, planning and programme implementation.

There is long history and a rich experience of community governance in Nepal. Local community institutions are managing forests, irrigation canals, watersheds, schools, health posts, saving and credit schemes, cooperatives and several other social services. The disadvantaged groups including the poor, Dalits, women and ethnic minorities have relatively better access to these institutions. Empowering these local institutions, channelling funds through them and mobilising their human and network resources may help the poverty outcomes of any

development interventions. Therefore the local government bodies and the community institutions must be considered during the design of LAPA framework and programmes.

7. Nepal's position on COP 15

Nepal reaffirms the shared vision that all people, nations, and cultures have the right to survive, develop, and alleviate poverty. It views developed countries as the culprits of the crisis demands for a climate justice. Therefore, it favours the common but differentiated responsibilities of all nations including many developing countries. It is in favours of the 1.5⁰ C limit.

Being a mountainous country, Nepal seeks to draw special attention to mountain ecosystem through forming an alliance of mountain countries. Besides, Nepal expects to benefit through its community based forest management particularly through payment mechanism such as Reducing Emission from Deforestation Degradation (REDD+). However, given the extreme poverty and low emission, Nepal's priority is in adaptation, therefore seeks international support to implement National Adaptation Plan of Action (NAPA) other adaptation programmes. For the same it seeks an adequate, additional, country driven, direct, sustainable, unconditional, and predictable funding primarily as grants. Nepal demanded that developed countries should contribute at least 1.5 % of their GDP to the adaptation fund. These funds could help enhance the national capacity to adaptation and enhance and early warning, forecasting, and modelling of potential climate change impacts.

8. Designing climate adaptation programme and transitional politics in Nepal

The review of the literature, content analysis of major policy documents and the interaction with the MPs identified some important message for designing any climate adaptation programmes. This political appraisal has become important exercise revealing a couple of good insights that can enhance the quality of the LAPA design and increase the likelihoods of its successful implementation. Major observation can be summarised as follows.

NRM and environmental issues as priority agenda

The natural resource management, particularly the land, forest and water, all being sensitive to climate change impacts has received attention in party manifestos, drafts of the constitution and everyday discourse among the political leaders and citizen alike. Given the significance of these resources to rural livelihoods, basic environmental services and national economy, the political constituency is rightly aware of the issue and has seriously addressed those aspects. In Nepalese context, both sources of emission and also the impacts of warming are particularly felt in the management of natural resources. Keeping aside 40% forest, promoting community based forest management, land reform, developing land use policies, recognition of the importance of drinking water and using water power for national economy all have implications to climate adaptation. The key lesson here is the political institutions and their leaders have a good grasp of climate change and are concerned with the potential consequences on country's natural environment and rural livelihoods.

Gaps between written statements and actual practice

There are huge gaps between policy rhetoric and actual practice. While the manifestos are full of nice words and appealing arguments for empowering people, the political leaders appear very conservative in actually delivering those promises. The parliament endorsed the ILO 169 provision, has signed all MEAs, signed all human rights related conventions but hardly any of them are properly honoured in practice. It appears that there is little commitment for implementation. Precisely, the lack of [psychological] implementation burden encourages the leaders to sign anything at their hand. For example, food-rights is clearly stated in the existing constitution and also in the proposed new draft, while people of dying of hunger in western hill districts. Rights to health is well recognised in several documents, hundreds of people died of Cholera last year shaming the government. The key lesson here is not to be overwhelmed by the written statements in party manifesto or even in the constitution.

Climate change as a technical less contested agenda

The climate change adaptation is largely understood as a technical, apolitical agenda. For many leaders, it means asking more money with the international community and fund more development, livelihoods programme. As long as they understand this way there is little conflict between the parties and among other political institutions. Consequently, there is little conflict on developing and designing adaptation programmes. While this may emerge as a naive strategy in the long run, the situation would reduce any complexity around designing and implementation of adaptation interventions. There appears little contestation around making National position clear on UNFCCC, developing NAPA, drafting a climate change policy, preparation of Readiness Preparation Proposal (RPP) for the World Bank are just some cases. Therefore, it appears that there is relatively no opposition in designing and implementing LAPA at least from political institutions.

Local level, including direct community institutions is the preferred strategy

The performance of programme implementation has remained consistently weak in Nepal. Political instability, corruption and lack of accountability have become serious problems. For example, in a recently published report, the Transparency International has ranked Nepal as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. However, the decentralised programme relatively has better performance. Therefore, supporting decentralised implementation modality would increase the likelihoods of effective implementation including better reach to the poor and marginalised social groups.

9. Conclusion

This study shows that the responses of Nepal's political constituencies towards climate change crisis are diverse, inconsistent and non-coherent. Responses usually emerge from individual understanding, often based on limited knowledge of the whole issue. There is little internal discussion among the political bodies, many of them are exposed to international and NGO led activities and therefore get different perspectives. These are further complicated by the conflicting ideological and political orientation of political parties and leaders. However, it is

surprising that there is huge variation even within the leaders of particular political party partly due to little serious homework and discussion on the issue within the parties.

However, despite contingency nature of knowledge of climate politics, the political leaders including senior party leaders share some common dominant narratives on climate change. For example, there is shared view that climate change is primarily due to industrialised countries and that Nepal as a LDC should get aid to better adapt to the changing global climate. However, many have not gone beyond this general situation and there is little understanding and explanation of our adaptation priorities let alone the programmes.

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Annexes

Annex I: Thematic Committees in the Constitution Assembly

1. Committee on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles
2. Committee on the Protection of the Rights of Minorities and Marginalized Communities
3. Committee on State Restructuring and Distribution of State Power
4. Committee for Determining the Structure of the Legislative Body
5. Committee for Determining the form of the Government
6. Judicial System Committee
7. Committee for Determining the Structure of Constitutional Bodies
8. Committee on Natural Resources, Financial Rights and Revenue Sharing
9. Committee for Determining the base of Cultural and Social Solidarity
10. National Interest Preservation Committee

Annex II: Thematic Committees in the Parliament

1. Committee on Finance and Labor Relations
2. Committee for International Relations and Human Rights
3. Committee on Natural Resources and Means
4. Development Committee
5. Women Children and Social Welfare Committee

6. State Affair Committee
7. Public Account Committee

Annex III: List of MPs in climate change learning group

SN	Name	Party affiliation
1	Akkal Bahadur Thing	UCPN (Maoist)
2	Binda Pandey	CPN UML
3	Chandrika Pd Yadav	M J Forum
4	Dina Upadhyay	Nepali Congress
5	Khem Bahadur Bum	UCPN (Maoist)
6	Laxmi Pariyar	Nepali Congress
7	Radha Timilsina	CPN (UNIFIED)
8	Ratna Gurung	CPN (UML)
9	Renu Chand	(Maoist)
10	Renu Dahal	(Maoist)
11	Seela Katila	(UML)
12	Sita Devi Baudel	UCPN (Maoist)
13	Sunil Babu Panta	NCP (United)
14	Tilak Bahadur Thapa (Magar)	CPN (ML)