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Declaration

I, Hemanta Raj Poudel, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.S.	-Bikram Samat
CCNN	-Climate Change Network Nepal
CEN	-Clean Energy Nepal
COP	-Conference of Parties
CAN	- Climate Action Network
DD	-Deforestation and Forest degradation
GEF	-Global Economic Fund
ICN	-International Climate Negotiation
ICIMOD	-International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
INGOs	-International Government Organizations
NEEP	-Nepal Energy Efficiency Program
NAPA	-National Adaptation Programs of Action
LAPA	-Local Adaptation Programs of Action
LDC	-Least Developed Countries
LDCF	-Least Development Countries Fund
LEG	-LDC expert group
MCCICC	-Multi-stakeholder Climate Change Initiatives Coordination Committee
MOPE	-Ministry of Population and Environment
NGOs	-National Government Organizations
NPC	-Nepal Planning Commission
RPP	-Readiness Preparation Proposal
UNEP	-United Nation Environmental Program
UNFCCC	-United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change
WMO	-World Meteorological Organization

ABSTRACT

Climate Change has emerged across the world as a burning issue, which is posing increasing challenges to the human existence in the earth. In a recent period, effect of climate change has grown enormously making almost impossible for a single country to cope with its impacts. Keeping in view the gravity of the situation, international attention has increased with international community coming into a single forum to mitigate worsening effects of climate change. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiation, which is popularly known as the Kyoto Protocol, has become a negotiating forum to seek measures to combat the challenges created by the climate change.

The main objective of this thesis is to find out how Nepal, a developing country, has been affected by deepening climate change effects, attempts being made to sensitize the issues of climate change global negotiations and various factors influencing the framing and forwarding of Nepal's concerns in international climate negotiations. I, then compare Nepal's experience with the international relations theory focusing on Liberalism and Realism.

This thesis illustrates the latest developments and updates on global climate negotiations besides exposing the facts regarding the effects of climate change on Nepal that led to policy intervention in the country.

As a developing country, Nepal has sought technical and financial support as being enjoyed by other developing countries to fight climate change effects. On the other hand, Nepal has also been making efforts itself for last few years to uplift the profile of other land-locked Himalayan nations that are suffered by the worsening effects of the climate change.

These kinds of initiations have strengthened the political clout of Nepal paving the way for securing greater financial and technical assistance from developed countries in the international climate regime to enable the country to fight impacts of climate change.

The secondary aim of this thesis is to study whether international climate negotiations are realist or liberal from Nepal's prospective and also whether Nepal, as an example of developing

countries, follows a liberal or realist logic. My research suggests that international climate negotiations are characterized by aspect that could be seen as realist or liberal and that Nepal follows a liberal logic, in part as a counterweight to realist and power politics aspects of international climate negotiations.

In the research methodology, the semi-structured was taken with different personnel from government, NGOs and INGOs. The document analysis was also done along with the reports of Earth Negotiations Bulletins especially the volume 12 related to the UNFCCC in which Nepal raised important issues in the negotiations. The primary data were collected from the interviews while others are the secondary data obtained from the reports, articles and online newspapers. The historical evolution of the climate change along with the factors influencing the international negotiations in shaping and framing the country were also analyzed on it. The inductive approach was used in the thesis.

This thesis makes a contribution to the literature on comparative climate politics and the international politics of climate change by providing an original case study of Nepal's climate policies. The country has thus far been understudied in this context.

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Climate change has become one of the challenges and burning issues the world has been confronting with, for last few years giving clear message that every country, state actors and non-state actors should forge alliance to cope and contain the deepening effects of climate change. Issues related to climate change have gone beyond the national and regional boundary as its effects have spread across the globe. Diverse voices over worsening effects of climate change have emerged from different parts of the world. And, the climate change has become a serious issue in different countries making respective governments to come up with policy intervention to minimize its impact.

Climate change, in general, is the change in the weather pattern or condition of the particular area with the fluctuation of temperature from normal level. The UNFCCC defines climate change as “a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods” (*UNFCCC, 1994*).

The IPCC Fourth Assessment report, issued in 2007, concluded that human-produced pollutants are the key factors contributing to climate warming observed over the last 50 years. Depending upon the assumed emissions scenario (a prediction about the amounts, rate and mix of future greenhouse gases) and on the intensity of the climatic response, the IPCC report projects a 0.2°C (0.4°C) increase in the global average temperature in every passing two decades.

Temperatures are expected to rise anywhere from 1.8 to 4.0°C (3.2 to 7.2°F) by the year 2021 depending on whether and how much we can control green house gases emissions. Based on reconstructions of Earth’s past climates, such global warming would make the Earth warmer during the 21st century than in several tens of millions of years (*Raven et al, 2010*). This statement explores that joint and concrete efforts are really needed at the international level for mitigating the effects climate change. Especially the countries that are highly dependent on the natural

resources will be most affected by the rapid rise in the temperature, mainly in developing countries.

The study in such cases of International Climate Negotiation (ICN) and domestic cases related to the climate change will provide adequate information about actual status of Nepal on the issue to different people, organizations and policy makers. The historical evolution of the climate change issues shows why the country is still in this state over the period. The relation between the main leading officials, the NGOs and INGOs will be known. The rising voice of the Nepal government in the ICN especially in UNFCCC and their increasing efforts to combat climate change will also be found from this study. The shaping and framing the country's climate issues in the international communities with respect to different schools of international relation theories especially the Liberalism and Realism will show the direction the country is heading to. The liberal view and attachment with the realistic view will help to introduce a new concept in the field of climate negotiations.

The aim of this thesis is to find out the factors framing and shaping Nepal's climate change policies in the domestic and the international climate spheres. This thesis also aims to examine on which international relations theories best explain interactions revolving around the problem of global climate change, especially as seen from Nepal's perspective.

This chapter introduces the research questions and provides background on Nepal's climate policy in particular and developing countries policies more generally. Then I will go into further detail in the subsequent chapters and argue for why it is interesting and important to study the case of Nepal in the contest of international climate negotiations.

1.2 Research Questions

- i. How does Nepal, as a developing country affected by climate change, attempt to navigate and influence international negotiations and how is various factors influencing in shaping, framing and forwarding Nepal's aims in international negotiations?

- ii. Which theory of international relations, Liberalism or Realism, best describes the nature of international climate politics seen from a developing country's perspective (in this case, Nepal)?

1.3 Environmental issue on climate change in international relations

Environmental issues, exemplified by climate change, are serious problems that transcend national borders making them the issues of discussion at international level. The world has experienced a drastic change in the field of the climate change over last three decades with the growing effect of globalization. The changes in global atmosphere became a serious and burning issue in international relations since 1985, when "Antarctic ozone hole" was confirmed. This global problem eventually led to the Vienna Convention for the protection of the ozone layer.

Other key developments in the international politics of the environment included the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report and Montreal protocol on substances that cause the ozone layer to deplete. This was followed by the establishment of the intergovernmental panel in 1988 on climate change. In 1992, the United Nation Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was held in Rio de Janeiro, leading to the publication of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. The UNFCCC was established in 1992. Similarly, the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC was introduced in 1997 making for the first time the legally binding mechanism designed to facilitate carbon emissions reductions. In 2001, the US president George Bush denied to put his signature in the Kyoto Protocol. Nonetheless, the Kyoto Protocol came into force in 2005 when emissions trading system was introduced by European Union, one of the powerful groups in the climate negotiations. International discussions on climate change commenced in 2006. In 2007 and 2008, there were fourth assessment report of IPCC and first commitment period of Kyoto Protocol were made respectively.

Understanding of the climate change problems and participation in international negotiations process have passed through different stages, with different countries and alliances playing key roles on various issues and areas. Different groups were formed for different purposes to justify their agendas in the climate change negotiations such as BRICS, Rainforest alliance, G77 and China and Least Developing Countries (LDCs), among others. Some countries stood firm to

protect their economy and never took part in the negotiation process. Some countries played power game in the negotiations. We have seen varied progress of negotiations as well as changing arrangements of cooperation between the states involved. Developing countries have, however, always played an important role in this regard.

1.4 Developing countries and international climate debate

Developing country is a term generally used to describe a nation with a low level of material well-being. Since no single definition of the term ‘developing country’ is recognized internationally, the levels of development may vary widely within so-called developing countries. Some developing countries have higher average standards of living. “There are no WTO definitions of “developed” and “developing” countries. Members announce for themselves whether they are “developed” or “developing” countries. However, other members can challenge the decision of a member to make use of provisions available to developing countries” (*WTO, 2012*).

There are two categories of the countries: developed countries and developing countries, as per the Kyoto Protocol. State leaders, scholars and scientists took part and made different policies in different climate change conferences held in the past to combat effects of changing climate. There are also different debates for formulating the policies and ratification of these issues. There are different organizations and leading groups involved in formulating the laws and policies in solving the problems created by climate change. However, there are still different issues that are to be solved through mutual co-operations.

The climate issue in developing countries has been one of the serious issues that need to be resolved to protect the human civilization in the earth. Climate change has given the most preference to counteract, to mitigate and to protect the earth. The deepening impact of climate changes has created host of problems across the globe acknowledging the challenging issue for most of the scientists and scholars, who are working in this field.

Different countries have taken different steps to fight the effects the climate change within their territory as well as at the international level. Different policies are made to reduce the impact of this global problem. As climate change is world-wide problem, it should be resolved in the

international prospective. Different actors (government, NGOs as well as INGOs) are playing a vital role within the country and international level to deal with the problem. This climate change problem can only be solved forming a global platform by forging coordination among different countries. Mutual understanding and cooperation between rich and poor countries are going on to stave off the effects created by the climate problem. However, it is unfortunate that few developed countries which are guided by their vastest interest of protecting economies, are shying away from global negotiations on climate change.

Developing countries are forming different groups for the climate negotiations such as G77 and China, and LDCs to voice their concern in the international negotiations. Besides, there are many factors behind why these developing countries are still in low profile status in term of international influence. Like in most of the climate related negotiations, the developing countries always remained backward on the back of Nepal's weak economical condition and educational level of the people. The literacy rate of particular country reflects the actual status of the people as well as the country.

Amid difficulties in the categorization of the developing countries, they are integrated in a single group in the Kyoto Protocol. But within the developing countries there is a difference among them in term of their level of developments. Some of the emerging economies such as China, India and Mexico have become the leading carbon emitting countries among the developing countries posing increasing challenges to developed world. On the other hand there are also many poor developing countries are playing an active role in arising voice in the international negotiations and demanding different incentive for adaptive capacity building and resources for combating the climate change effects.

Kyoto Protocol is set up with two sets of countries—developed countries and developing countries-- under meta-categories. However, it seems to be complicated. These categories specify the problems developing countries might face and devises approaches they may take to international negotiations. This is why this thesis takes a closer look at one developing country, Nepal, which is severely affected by climate change. However, there has been no study about Nepal's climate policy so far.

1.5 Nepal and climate change

Climate change has appeared to be in more disastrous in poor developing countries like Nepal. Nepal's geographical location at the center of the Himalayan range places the country in the transitional zone between the eastern and western Himalayas. Nepal's rich biodiversity is a reflection of this unique geographical position as well as altitudinal and climatic variations. It incorporates Palearctic and Indo- Malayan bio-geographical regions and major floristic provinces of Asia, creating a unique and rich diversity of life. Although comprising only 0.09% of global land area, Nepal possesses a disproportionately large diversity of flora and fauna of genetic, species and ecosystem levels (*NBS, 2002*).

Nepal is the landlocked country with the population of around 29 million, which is exposed to the severe impact of climate change. Nepal is ranked at 142nd among the 177 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI). In Nepal, over 75 percent of the population relies on agriculture, which also commands 40 percent of GDP of the country. Rural population density is relatively high at 686 people per square kilometer which is higher than what found in most of the low-income countries. This directly strikes a heavy reliance on tourism and agriculture that makes Nepal's economy very sensitive to climate variability. (*The World Bank, 2002*)

Nepal shares a unique experience of climatic distribution through out the country. Nepal, possess land ranging from the tropical to the arctic only within 200 km from south towards the north. Most of the areas in Nepal depend on the monsoon with it varying with changes in the elevation land. "National means temperatures hover around 15 °C, and increase from north to south with the exception of mountain valleys. Average rainfall is 1,500 mm, with rainfall increasing from west to east. The northwest corner has the least rainfall, situated as it is in the rain shadow of the Himalayas. Rainfall also varies by altitude; areas over 3,000 m experience a lot of drizzle, while heavy downpours are common below 2,000 m." (*USCSP, 1997*)

Retreat of glaciers in the Himalayan region seen in the recent period is the most serious and obvious signs that well reflect the effects of climate change in Nepal. The GOLF phenomenon has increased with the increasing melting of the glacier in the Himalayan region. The flooding in the high scale in unprecedented way, has been noticed in different parts of the country for last two

decade. Changes in climatic pattern such as temperature, rainfall, and snowfall have been observed since last few decades in Nepal. The impact of climate change was noticed in five key sectors: water resources, agriculture system, forestry, biodiversity, and human health (*Sundmann 2007*). The rainfall pattern in the country has been drastically changing over the few years.

Warming seems to be consistent and continuous after the mid 70s. Between 1977 and 1994, average rise in annual temperature was 0.06C per year (*Shrestha et al. 1999*). Warming was reported higher in high altitude regions of Nepal such as the middle mountain and the high Himalayas, while warming was significantly lower in Terai and Siwalik regions. Furthermore, warming in the winter was higher as compared to other seasons. According to a recent study, Nepal's temperature is rising by about 0.41C per decade (*Dahal, 2005, Kansakar et al. 2004, Sherstha et al. 2000*). Besides that, in the Himalaya region, temperatures are increasing faster at higher altitudes. The monsoon is also intensifying, with fewer days of heavy rainfall. In addition, the last few years have seen a delay in monsoon onset (*Dahal et al. 2009*). Climate change phenomena are becoming functional issues that are changing the trend of different features of the land within the large area.

With the passing of time, the trend in the aggregate precipitation has changed except some cases in some particular areas. "A somewhat clearer picture emerges in stream flow patterns in certain rivers, where there has been an increase in the number of flood days. Some rivers are also exhibiting a trend towards a reduction in dependable flows in the dry season, which has implications both for water supply and energy generation" (*Shakya 2003*). The stream flow changes during the spring and summer due to the glacier retreat and in some of the cases the GOLF phenomenon adds a flooding risk, which is more likely to have happened as the result of the rising temperatures.

There are so many drastic changes in the natural resources and landforms with the growing effects of climate change. The increasingly melting of the snow in the upper Himalayas and number of water resources coming to the verge of disappearance are the prominent examples of how the climate change is affecting the natural phenomenon.

However, such emerging natural phenomenon and its effects on concerned countries are not discussed seriously in the international negotiations as the participant failed to acknowledge the fact that the natural resources are not the properties of particular country but they are common property of humankind in the world.

As a focal agency to deal with climate change related issues, the Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology (MoEST) (earlier, Ministry of Environment- MoE) is responsible to forge coordination among concerned agencies for international climate negotiations. It gets high-level advisory support from Climate Change Council headed by the Prime Minister. The Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology has a separate division called “Climate Change Management Division” since 2010 to oversee this issue.

In the International arena, Nepal is enhancing its influence and image in the climate negotiations. It is one of the active members of LDCs which participates actively in all the meetings in the course of climate negotiations. It is a member of G77 and China, where China is taking an active role in every negotiation. In G77 and China, Nepal raises its issues through LDCs. In climate negotiations, Nepal has taken leadership to advocate on issues related to the effects of climate change on mountainous areas in line with Kyoto Protocol.

As a mountainous country, Nepal always raises major agenda carrying mountain related issues in the international climate negotiations in UNFCCC. However, they are always put on the backburner leaving their issues in the shadow and making their voices unheard in the international climate negotiations. So, the topic of this thesis is ‘How Nepal has changed from a passive actor to a more active participant in international climate negotiations.’

1.6 Liberalism, Realism and the climate change

Liberal theorists see slightly different sort of world, one that is more amenable to cooperation (*Krasner, 1983*). They posit that states are, in fact, far more interdependent than most realists recognize. In a world where countries are dependent on each another for mutual peace and prosperity, there is a strong incentive to work together to achieve joint, or absolute, gains for the international community. Strong variants on liberal theories in international relations do, in fact,

see a very important role for international law in creating an international community of nation states and other actors, rather a world occupied by autonomous and rivalrous states (*Bull, 1977*). Here liberalism seems to be the most pronouncing approach which seems to be real concept in the cooperation. Most of the countries in the world are seeking to have a common organization, which cooperates and tackles the common problems of climate change in a common platform.

Talking about Realism, this theory always thinks about the power, which drives the relation between the countries, and only the cooperation is expected. "Realism is basically argues that the power and anarchy determines the security of the country in an anarchic international setting and international anarchy is unmitigated and states have little or no incentive to work together to solve joint problems, and their problems, and their attitudes towards each other have been conditioned by a history of international conflict, not one of international cooperation. In fact, it is this pursuit of relative gains that drives interaction between them" (*Waltz, 1979*). "There is considered to be the potential for lasting cooperation when there is the formation of strategic military alliances, but only under the unlikely condition of extremely unlikely, except when a cooperation that is driven and maintained by one single, powerful state or hegemony, for as long as it will and able to do so" (*Snidal 1985, Pp. 579-614*). Especially in this case there is the strong example of US participation in the Kyoto Protocol. In case of the developing countries, they are also in the process to form a joint power to save their resources raising a strong voice in the international climate negotiations, which is a threat to most of the developed countries.

The introduction chapter 1 of this thesis includes background, issues of developing countries, and international climate debates in the contest of Nepal while chapter 2 explains methods applied in the research process. Chapter 3 deals on more detail on Developing countries and the International relations theories. Similarly, Nepal's role in climate changes issues at home and international forum are discussed in chapter 4. Chapter 5, the last portion of this thesis includes concluding thoughts.

Chapter 2

2. Methodology

The inductive approach or inductive theory has been used in this research. Here, I was inferring the implications of my finding for the theory that prompted me to develop the whole thesis. Historical analysis and the document analysis, which are also termed as the library research for the thesis, are done to find the evolution of the climate change in the country over different time frame. This is conducted in line with the traditions of qualitative and interpretive social science. The role, position and the activities of the developing countries are also studied through documents analysis. Such studies were conducted by using secondary data. The methods employed are as follows:

2.1 Research interviews

Different government, NGOs and INGOs personnel representing Nepal in international negotiations were interviewed in semi-structured questionnaire. Some of these interviews were conducted face to face with various persons in Nepal from December 2011 to February 2012, while others interviews were taken over the Skype.

2.2 Documents analysis

Different journals, articles and government documents related to the climate change negotiations in the international perspectives were reviewed.

2.3 Media analysis

Materials disseminated on online newspapers from Nepal were analyzed to see if there were enough discussions on international climate politics to merit further analysis. A broader search was carried out to see how Nepal's representatives in international climate negotiations understand the process and presented the country's interests and concerns.

2.4 Meeting transcripts (Earth Negotiations bulletins (ENB))

This is the reporting service provided by the Environment and Development Negotiations which is balanced, timely and independent reporting providing the daily information on multilateral negotiations in both print and electronic versions. These bulletins are

published by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD). Especially the Volume 12 of this bulletin, which is related to the UNFCCC, is reviewed in this thesis. The crucial issues rose by the developing countries and Nepal were reviewed and analyzed in this thesis.

Personal interviews were conducted under field research in which a list of open and close-ended questions as well as semi-structured questionnaire was prepared to acquire primary data. Ten persons representing the government, NGOs and INGOs were interviewed.

Different calendars apart from AD are practiced in Nepal. The A.D. especially stands for Anno Domini, which means “year of our lord” or years since the time of Jesus Christ. Bikram Samat (B.S.) is a popular and widely practiced calendar in Nepal. There is also Nepal Sambat, which is popular in Newari community in Nepal. However it is not that popular as B.S. It is believed that B.S. came into practice for last 936 years before the Nepal Samat was introduced. The A.D. was introduced 57 years after BS began. It is also believed that BS is an original and sign of Nepalese sovereignty and the asset of Nepal. In different parts of this thesis, B.S. is used which is also converted into A.D.

The secondary data were obtained from the study of findings from historical analysis and document analysis. Similarly, interview is the key source of primary data. Finally, all these findings were analyzed to verify and justify the theory. In this thesis, it was to be found out which international relation theory either- Liberalism or Realism; best describes Nepal in the international relation in the field of climate change.

Chapter 3

3. Developing countries and the International relations theories

This chapter first discusses some of the challenges involved in categorizing different states into ‘developed’ or ‘developing’ groups. I then go on to show briefly how these categories map on to international climate negotiations and describe the climate challenge effects that developing countries are facing. Subsequently, the role of developing countries in international environmental negotiations and international climate negotiations is examined. This all serves as background for the case study of Nepal that follows. In particular, it maps out the various positions of developed and developing countries in international climate negotiations, which allows me to ascertain Nepal’s position and its policies more clearly. Finally, the chapter discusses international relations theories, namely Liberalism and Realism. Although these theories are often seen as contradictory, I argue that they each lend something to understanding international climate negotiations and that insights from each school of international relations need to be utilized.

3.1 Developing Countries

3.1.1 Difficulties in Categorization of Developing countries

Developing countries are also sometime called third world nations, underdeveloped nations, least developed countries etc. Different institutions or international organizations such as World Bank, United Nation Statistical Division (UNSD), and International Monetary Fund etc. have been categorizing the developing countries in different ways. There are different circumstances to categorize the countries according to their concept of establishment.

“There is no established convention for the designation of “developed” and “developing” countries or areas in the United Nations system. In common practice, Japan in Asia, Canada and the United States in northern America, Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, and Europe are considered “developed” regions or areas. In international trade statistics, the Southern African Customs Union is also treated as a developed region and Israel as a developed country; countries

emerging from the former Yugoslavia are treated as developing countries; and countries of Eastern Europe and of the Commonwealth of Independent States (*code 172*) in Europe are not included under either developed or developing regions.”(UNSD, 2008)

There are many categories of countries in UNSD where the countries are divided into different groups. Besides developed and developing regions, there are more other economies and groupings such as Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries, Small Island Developing States and the Transition Countries. However, priorities and policies adopted by developing countries vary according to the nature of their economies.

Some of the big developing nations care primarily about avoiding restrictions on the processes they can use for industrialization. “Many of the major oil- producing states are developing countries, and they are concerned that their major exports will be impacted by any restrictions on fossil fuel combustion that may result from efforts to prevent climate change. These states have gone so far as to attempt to gain special consideration in climate change for their status. The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) asked in the negotiations over the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol for economic aid if a switch to renewable energy causes their income from oil producing to drop.” (*ISSD,2003*). Such problems are arising in the negotiations in the process to implement of the Kyoto Protocol.

Sutton and Payne (1993) inform that states having population bellow one million are 45 across the world. Out of 45 states, 36 states are the developing countries. They focused on the fact that there are five characteristics small developing countries as openness, locked by sea, enclaveness, resilience, weakness and dependence. They also argue that these states are exposed or opened to other predatory states, organizations and individuals. Besides these, Sutton and Payne also find out that such states are remarkably resilient and they also make effective use of strategies that differ in each regional context.

Low income, weak assets and high economic vulnerability are the three major features that differentiate the LDCs among themselves. In line with these characteristics the United Nations (UN) put 49 countries under LCD category. Among them 48 countries are the party which signed

for the UNFCCC. “Article 4.9 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) recognizes special situations of the LDCs and states: The Parties shall take full account of the specific needs and special situations of the least developed countries in their actions with regard to funding and transfer of technology.” (UNFCCC,2009). This criterion designates Nepal as the member of LDCs subject to get financial and technical support.

In the UNFCCC, the parties that are involved in the Kyoto Protocol are categorized as Annex I, Annex II and Developing Countries. Industrialized and economies in transition are listed under the Annex I countries, which have to make commitment to reduce the level of the greenhouse gases below their 1990 level as targeted by the Kyoto Protocol. National greenhouse gas inventories were established as the first task of the convention followed by reorganization of the industrialized countries. These inventories created a level that would be accessible for the industrialized or developed countries and made a commitment of Annex 1 countries in the reduction of green house gases. As per the international commitment, Annex 1 countries have to update their pollution level and submit reports to the Kyoto Protocol.

The next category is the Annex II countries that are considered as the sub- group of the Annex I countries with motto to support the developing countries in minimizing pollution. They are the members that comprise OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). Finally the next category is the Developing Countries. Developing Countries that are the member of the protocol are not required to decrease or reduce the greenhouse gases unless the Annex I countries provide enough funding and technology. Developing countries could voluntarily become the industrialized or the Annex I countries as they become sufficiently developed.

3.1.2 Climate change impact in Developing countries

There are significant changes in the phenomenon of environment due to the impact of the climate change which is directly linked to the livelihood of the people. People know the importance of the environment in the global prospective and use of resources in a sustainable way. However, livelihood in the developing nations has become increasingly harder amid deepening impact of climate change in the local environment. So such impacts are becoming the serious issue across the globe prompting people to raise the voice for saving the earth as a common land.

Impact of climate change has been witnessed from the ancient times to the most recent time, with situation of Sudanese state of Darfur a case in point. Climate Change has emerged as the key element behind the expansion and reorganization the societies even though it is known as responsible for the instability, conflict and collapse of the existing communities.

Climate changes ultimately cause the loss of different resources from nature. Some of ultimate outcomes of climate change are the drought, land degradation, water scarcity, melting of snow and rising sea level, among others. “Drought, land degradation, water scarcity- all may contribute to competition for the scarce resources that may escalate into armed conflict. Not all the states which are affected by the climate change and related problem are facing the armed conflicts but they are mostly affecting the countries with the poor financial crises or particularly the developing countries.” (*Kahl, 1998, Pp. 80-119*)

“Crop yields from rain- fed agriculture in some countries in Africa could decline by 50 percent by 2020, with increase risk of crop failure and high livestock mortality, especially in eastern and southern Africa. Projected impacts on crop yields in Latin America are sensitive to choice of emissions scenario as well as to CO₂ effects, but the net increase in people at risk of hunger here is likely to be 1-5m by 2020. In Asia crop yields could decrease by 2.5-10 percent in the 2020s compared to 1990, and the number of people at risk of hunger or malnutrition could be 7-14 percent higher than baseline projections in the same period.” (*Molley E. Brown and Christopher C. Fruk, 2008 Pp: 302-597*)

It is noticed that agricultural and industrial output, investment, innovations and political stability have been badly affected with the rise in global temperature. Within the period of a decade the poor countries are not in a position to adapt with the impact of the increased temperature. The result that was suggested came with the conclusion that rich countries are relatively insensitive with the climate fluctuations. This only would widen the gap between the rich and the poor countries. There was also a correlation between the higher temperatures and political instability. (*Melissa, D et al. 2009*).

The problems facing Developing Countries with the changing phenomenon of climate as discussed above are only some of the heaps of such problems. The problems that are being confronted with by the developing countries can't be resolved with the lone efforts from a particular country. Developing Countries are suffered with challenges to cope with the domestic problems rather than the international issues. They are over engaged in solving the domestic problems created by climate change giving less attention on international climate issues. So that they have little ground in the international community to raise their problems in the international negotiations. Therefore, their domestic circumstances and climate related plans and policies adopted by them have weakened their voices in the international climate negotiations.

3.1.3 Developing countries in the international negotiations

The influences of the developing countries in the International climate negotiations have become increasingly very difficult with the rapid pace of industrialization. The structure of many global environmental problems, combined with high levels of concern about these problems by developed states unable to address the problems without the participation of developing countries, has allowed developing states to demand concessions and receives financial assistance for taking action to mitigate problems of the global environment. (*DeSombre, Elizabeth R. 2007*). The same case can be seen in the international climate change negotiations.

“Global environmental degradation and changes have some very serious implications for human security in all its dimensions.” (*Khagram and Ali, 2006 pp. 395-411*). Every society and each state is changing from military to the human rights communities, which are much taking the attention of the global environment. Therefore the international rights or any negotiation for the equality of the nations seem to be more pronouncing in this recent period. Mendelson, M.H. (1972) focused on the dual criteria for membership in the United Nations: statehood and the ability to fulfill charter obligations. He further clarified that United Nation is such a place in the international system that provide equal rights to weak nations at par with stronger nations. However, going through the negotiation of the climate change, there are many debates between these countries with heated conflict of interests.

During the past three decades, clashes between the developed and the developing countries were

reported in the course of different negotiations. The main debate was focused on relationship between the environmental protection and the economic development. There was a conflict between the groupings of developing and the developed countries in the early days of negotiations as also seen in the Stockholm Declaration. “In the Stockholm also was marked the beginning of a debate over the relationship between the environmental protection and economic development. Initially, lead negotiators had approached the problem of global environmental protection in purely environmental terms. However, southern countries- are beginning at this time to discover their collective voice in international politics.” (*Najim, 2004 pp. 128-54*).

Stephan Krasner’s (1981) article focused the actual position of the third world in the United Nations. The third world or the developing nations of the south have been able to alter the norms and policies, principles, rules of the UN in the international system. So, given the situation, he argues that as the developing or the weak nations cannot hope to control the international system, they instead press the formation of the international arrangement that offers them more power to secure controls over the global system. Krasner argued that one of the distinct features of the developing countries is their unity in putting for their common demands forward in the international system.

The CFCs and the substances that deplete the ozone were progressively reduced in the international negotiations. The developed countries achieved the target for the CFCs before 1996 and the meetings of the parties are going on to eliminate the other harmful substances. However, problems have emerged as the European chemical producers initially resisted the move. But the US showed the backward steps. There are many problems cropping up in the negotiations. One of the problems seemed to be developing countries as they are manufacturing the CFCs. The Indian delegates forwarded their arguments saying, “It was the developing countries’ responsibilities to clean it up, why should developing countries be forced to change over the higher cost CFC alternatives? There were essentially two response of this, the first was written in the article of the protocol that giving the developing countries certain period of grace. The second was providing fund to the developing world for the alternative non-CFC technologies.” (*Baglis et al, 2008*)

One of the glaring examples of the impact of the climate change is growing desertification. As

the desertification is evident to shows the difficulties that developing countries are facing by securing leverage on non-subtractable issues. Developed countries which want to address problem of desertification, will not be prevented from doing so if developing states fail to participate. The participation of all states is not central to addressing the environmental problem; so rich or powerful states feel no need to make concessions to developing states to bring them into international efforts for cooperation. To deal with the issue of desertification, developing countries have tried to work together despite the lack of subtract ability of the issue. They have in fact tried to make it a global issue. However, because the most proximate causes are local, and the effect are local, this solidarity has at times fallen apart, and has harmed the ability of developing countries to get even the modest assistance they might have been able to get. (*William P.C. and Saigo B. W, 1997, Pg. 272*).

It is also important to note that the example of desertification is evident to prove that developing countries alone can't set the agenda and implement it. The power of developing countries in establishing their agenda in international environmental negotiations is very weak. However, if developed countries in which developing countries participation is essential set an agenda, developing countries can influence some outcomes.

Some of the emerging powers or major developing economics such as China, India and Mexico are emitting more GHGs in the recent decades. The US is the largest contributor of CO₂ in the world while China, one of the developing countries, is also heading toward surpassing the US in this regard. Amid faster population growth and rapid industrialization, developing countries are increasingly emitting CO₂ in the earth. Since 1950, the 20 percent of the world population living in the highly developed countries have been producing 74 percent of the total CO₂ emission. Currently, per person Co₂ emission in highly developed countries stands as much as 10 times higher than that in developing countrues. Developing countries respond that even when they are producing half of the world CO₂ emission, the situation will still be unequal because 80 percent of the world's population living in developing countries will be producing only half of the emissions. (*Raven P.H, Berg L.R. and Hassenzahl D.M, 2010*).

Though developing countries are not bounded with the target to fulfill the obligation under the

UNFCCC, there is still clash between the splitting process of the developed and the developing countries by some opponents. They are in the prospective that it is unfair and both the parties should need to reduce the greenhouse gas emission unilaterally. Some countries like the US are of the view that they will suffer economic losses if they follow the international obligations to reduce the greenhouse effects. Emerging economic powers such as China, India and Mexico are emitting GHGs in higher pace than in developed world. But such economic are still free of binding obligation.

There are different controversies regarding ways of reducing the green house gases under the Kyoto Protocol. Even in the medium term, necessary action on behalf of the developing states is required to bringing down effects of climate change. Though these states are little responsible for generating greenhouse gases emissions, their contribution on increasing such emissions has gone up drastically. Indonesia's role in green house gases emission shot up by 21.2 percent during 1990-1994. Many smaller countries are increasing the level of such emissions even more alarmingly, albeit from a lower starting point: Paraguay's green house gas emissions increased by 115 percent during the same period (*UNFCCC, 2005*). India's green house gas emissions are estimated to have risen 50 percent during the 1990s. (Climate Change: Big emitters, 'BBC online, 4 July 2005). China is currently the second largest emitter of green house gases, and is expected to suppress the United States emissions by 2020. (*Jia Hepeng, 2005* [http://www.scidev.net/news / index.cfm](http://www.scidev.net/news/index.cfm))

According to the UNFCC (2005), GHG data predicts that the US, the largest emitter of the world, is not bound by the Kyoto Protocol. In absence of clear legal requirements to reduce its emission of green houses gases increased by 20.2 percent from 1990 to 2003. The double digit growth of emission caused by the US, has become central to the international climate negotiations.

Provisions of making the US non-binding to the international obligations show its international influence in climate negotiations. Then US President George H. W. Bush had opposed the inclusion of any biding "targets and timetables." (*Hempel,2002*). Developing countries, for their part will not accept targets unless industrialized countries (including United States) do so first. (*Legge, 2007*).

Despite heated debates in some issues, some positive developments have been reported in the negotiations. The Copenhagen Accord has estimated the reduced phenomenon of the global warming. The scenarios over-optimistically tend to assume that the gap between rich and the poor nations will narrow down making the ratio of per capita incomes between developed and developing countries to reduce from 16:1 in 1990 to 6-8:1 in 2020 and 1.5-3:1 by 2100. They also make assumptions about the rate and direction of technological change and global governance (*Fourth Assessment Report, IPCC working group 2, 2007*).

Copenhagen Accord also provides the developing countries with new and additional resources, including forestry and investments through international institutions maintaining balanced allocations between adaptation and mitigation. Funding for adaptation will be prioritized for the most vulnerable developing countries, such as the least developed countries, Small Island developing states and Africa. This fund will come from a wide variety of sources, public and private, bilateral and multilateral, including alternative sources of finance. New multilateral funding for adaptation will be delivered through effective and efficient fund arrangements, with a governance structure providing for equal representation of developed and developing countries. A significant portion of such funding should flow through the Copenhagen Green Climate Fund, (http://unfccc.int/files/meetings/cop_15/application/pdf)

3.1.4 Developing Countries Groups in UNFCCC

Many groups have been formed by the developing nations to make their collective voice stronger in the international negotiations. The G77 and China became the strongest group of developing countries to carry their collective voices in the climate talks. China as the representative of this group holds strong influence in the negotiations. Likewise least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and Small Island states are also the groups formed in the UNFCCC to raise their common problems in the negotiations. Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan got united and wrote to the UNFCCC stating that they had agreed to establish the Group of Mountain Landlocked Developing Countries. Nepal has already officially announced that this group would be effective in raising the voices of the mountainous countries in the UNFCCC. The establishment of different groups in the UNFCCC is aimed at getting their collective voice heard in the negotiations.

3.2 Developing countries and International Relations

These climate change process is really the arrangement and cooperation between different states. This whole thesis is mainly focused on finding or conducting survey of different activities that can be best fitted with different international relation theories. Especially in this chapter, I have examined which theory – either Liberalism or Realism fits the picture of climate change negotiations with especially attention to developing countries.

3.2.1 Realism

Realism is a theory within international relations that predicts states will act in their own national interest in defiance of moral consideration. In general, this belief results from an observation of selfish and fiercely competitive nature of people. International institutions, such as the United Nations, don't hold significant credibility from a realist perspective. Rather, its influence is perceived to be held predominately by major powers such as the United States, which has been enjoying dominance with influence of strong military and economic strength. Realists hold the primary interest of a state is survival; toward that goal states compete for available resources (*Bacevich, 2005, <http://www.boston.com>*). Therefore some realists believe that institutions are not needed for the cooperation.

Offensive realism predicts that states try to maximize their influence in the international arena, especially when they feel that they have the power and the capability to do so. The converse to this theory would therefore state that if a state is in relative decline, and it realizes that to pursue an expansionist policy is significantly risky, it would pull back from the international arena and reinvest its resources. Offensive realists would argue that a state in relative decline would pursue a policy of withdrawal because it is in the state's best interest (*Costa, 1998*).

We also find the similar trend when we study the history of the climate change negotiations in the international arena. In the case of the United States any one can easily draw conclusion that the then President George Bush, after concerning with the U.S. Senate signed the instrument of ratification in 13th October 1992. Gorge Bush secured two-third majority vote in the U.S. Senate to get the proposal passed on October 1, 1992. The COP-6 was resumed on July 17 to 21, 2001 in Bourne Bonn Germany. Little progress is believed to have been achieved in resolving the

incident that occurred in the Hague conference. This meeting took place after George W Bush elected as the president of the United States. George W Bush rejected the Kyoto Protocol in March 2001. The United States only became the observer at the meeting declining to take part in the negotiation, which was dominated by the issues related to the Kyoto Protocol. The most powerful nation in the world used its influence not to obey Kyoto Protocol with the sole motive of protecting its economy. The United States has presented itself in international negotiations in the way what realists would expect.

Different groups formed by the developing countries in the UNFCCC are especially for maximizing their power and raising their collective voices to demonstrate their importance in the negotiations. They can show their importance presenting themselves in a group with collective voice to get their voice heard rather than through raising voice individually. So the developing world is also becoming powerful being a single voice in the negotiation. The G77 and China is the strongest group of the developing countries in the UNFCCC, where their issues are highly debated so that their voices are listened in international climate negotiations. Power definitely matters in international climate negotiations and realism keeps us alert about this power.

3.2.2 Liberalism

“International environmental cooperation relies upon shared scientific understanding, as reflected in the form of some important contemporary environmental regimes. An initial framework convention will signal concern and establish mechanisms for developing and sharing new scientific data, thereby providing the basis for taking action in a control protocol. Perhaps the greatest international effort to generate a new and authoritative scientific knowledge has been made in the area of climate change through the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),” (*J. Baylis, 2008, pp 352-366*). For the regulation of the trans-boundary environmental related problems and to sustain the global common governance regimes has been established through the international cooperation. In such a cooperation of the international deliberations at the same time, there is rarely the absence of the pursuit of national power, status and wealth in international cooperative efforts. This is in keeping with a more realist perspective. However liberal theory also tells us a lot about international climate negotiations.

IPCC was established in 1988 under the auspices of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and United Nation Environmental Program (UNEP) to solve problems raised in the international negotiations on climate change. The United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change was signed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. It was initiated for the reduction of the GHG emissions and removal by such gases by sinks, which was seemed as a starting point including the essential commitment for the developed nations to cut their emission level back to 1990 by 2000.

“Liberalism asserts that the preferences of states, as manifest in their cultural, economic, and political entities, determine their actions on the international stage. Therefore, presumably, if two or more states share preferences, their aligned interests may result in “absolute gains” from cooperation. Realists, on the other hand, do not believe in the concept of absolute gains, instead viewing the international contest as a zero-sum game. For one player to win, another must lose” (*Bacevich, 2005*).

According to O’Neill, (2009), Liberalist see international cooperation succeeding when states can work together to realize joint gains and when institutions are set up that can monitor compliance, increase transparency, reduce the transactions costs of cooperation and prevent most, if not all, cheating. They assign non-state actors, such as the United Nations, or nongovernmental organizations important roles in fostering such transparency and making durable cooperation agreements much more likely. As the progress going in the negotiation this may be the positive sign that problems can be solved by such international cooperation in international negotiations.

More than 140 multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) have been created since 1920, over half of these since 1973 (*Haas 2001, pp. 316*). If one also counts treaty amendments, protocols, and other changes to existing agreements, this number could be far higher: “three or more governments have agreed on legally binding environmental commitments over 700 times” (*Mitchell, 2003, pp. 429-61*). The highlights which can be included in their category are mostly from the climate change negotiations and the Kyoto Protocol of 1997 which are kept in the most high profile, and contentious, negotiating process. Its fluctuating progress is demonstrative of many of the challenges of international environmental cooperation. For example, although it

entered into force in 2005, it suffered from the active withdrawal of the United States, and criticism from the environmental community for being too weak to seriously address green house emission (*O'Neill, Kate. 2009 pp. 8-23*)

According to Desombre (*2007,pp. 579-614*), the effectiveness of the UNFCC and the Kyoto Protocol is so far relatively low. Although many member states are taking action consistently with their obligations, the impact of the agreement on the environmental problem of climate change is minimal. She also argued that lack of effectiveness in part of this is due to the dramatically increasing emissions of the largest greenhouse gas emitting states, which have not yet agreed to fulfill their obligations. According to the UNFCC, GHG data predicts that the largest emitter of the world, the United States, is not bound by the Kyoto protocol. On the back of absence of clear legal requirement to make United States reduce emission of green houses gases emissions created by it increased by 20.2 percent from 1990 to 2003.

In 1992, Hurrell and Kingsbury came with a complex question that “Can a fragmented and highly conflicted political system made up of over 170 sovereign states and numerous other actors achieve the high (and historically unprecedented) levels of cooperation and policy coordination needed to manage environmental problems on a global scale?” The progress seen so far has raised hope that this problem can be solved in the negotiations.

The rate of environmental degradation that stirred the international community (a quarter century ago) continues even today with faster pace. The disturbing trends persist, and the problems have become deeper, greater and truly urgent. The steps that government took over the past two decades represent the first attempt at global environmental governance, and you can argue that. It is an experiment that has largely failed (*Speth 2004, pp. 1-2*).

However while talking about the developing nations; they are making attempts to seek a solution of the problems in a way that their voices could be heard in the negotiations. The debate which still going on with the liberal and the realist that the single international organization is able to solve the common problem of climate change or not.

Keeping in mind the above discussions, it can be illustrated that both the developed and developing countries are struggling to create a situation for slowing down the emission rate of the CFCs in the atmosphere. Finance, Clean development Mechanism (CDM) and technology transfer are showing positive and additional bond to the developing countries for compacting adaptation capacity. It has already mentioned before that the joint and collective efforts of the developing countries to put forth their stance in the climate negotiation are the strength of this group. However, the individual country in this group has no capacity to play an active role in protecting the climate as most of the countries are struggling with their host of domestic problems. This is why the developing nations are always pushing for their own issues which could be instrumental to support them in combating climate change. So the study of any country from the root level is really important to know how it has been using its influence in the international negotiations.

The domestic or internal strategies of any developing country shape the exact role in the international negotiations. This is why a country's case study is needed to acknowledge and analyze these issues. To fulfill this need, Nepal's case study is studied to find the role of such developing countries in the international negotiations and this may also help to know the status of other LDCs falling under the same category. Nepal is an active member of the LDCs and G77 and China. And from this, we can estimate about the road map of other developing countries for dealing with the climate change issues in coming days. These countries encounter a complex cooperative structure built by liberal tendencies in international relations and the power games posed by realism.

Chapter 4

4. A Case of Nepal

In this chapter, I identify and examine the efforts made by Nepal in the climate policy sector. Nepal is an active member of a coalition of the Least Developed countries and member of G77 and China coalition in international climate negotiations. Nepal has also been a policy entrepreneur in proposing a coalition of mountain countries. The domestic factors and international incentives or disincentives that are pulling the country backward (away from engagement) as well as pushing it forward in the international climate negotiations are also focused on throughout this chapter. In particular, we see that linkages to other important domestic policy issues have been important in bringing about greater involvement from Nepal. This case study gives a unique insight into Nepal's climate politics – a question that has yet to be examined in detail elsewhere – and also provides a useful departure point for returning to the conceptual question of this thesis – namely whether climate change negotiations are best viewed through the lens of realism or liberalism.

Climate change impacts are becoming increasingly serious and more apparent affecting livelihoods of people. The problem has become central agenda for discussions in developing countries like Nepal. Nepal, for example, has been facing unpredictable climate phenomenon in the Himalayas. And day-by-day the effects of climate change are being noticed by local people. There are so many reasons and factors that are determining the direction how Nepal is coming up with the agenda in international forum.

This chapter examines the role played by Nepal in international climate negotiations as well as various motivating factors. I first describe Nepal and international negotiations in a nutshell before describing how the international plans and policies are internalized. Then I am going to mention about the key actors in the climate change policies and how they interact in the negotiations. Then the factors that are shaping and framing Nepal in the international relations are discussed with detailed timeline in international climate engagement which is supposed to let a way to realize the climate politics through the lens of liberalism and realism.

4.1 Nepal and international negotiations in a nutshell

The UNFCCC was opened for the signature at the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Nepal signed the UNFCCC along with more than 150 nations on 12th June 1992 and it ratified the convention on 2nd may 1994. The convention came into force on 31st July 1994. “Nepal’s decision to become a party to the UNFCCC was both urgent and timely, and compiling a GHG inventory is an essential commitment of the country” (*MoPE, 2004*). Implementation of UNFCCC in the world to reduce the effect of climate change was very crucial and they want to join this global and common effort brought by IPCC.

Within the last decade Nepal has become steadily more engaged in climate issues and become able to take its place in the international climate negotiation regarding different crucial issues. Following the birth of Mountain Alliance Initiative (MAI) agenda in COP 15 in 2009, Nepal seemed to be more actively participating in the international negotiations. Mountain Alliance Initiatives is a platform created with a view to ensure that mountain issues and related approaches get due attention in the international deliberations, especially in the climate negotiations. Before that, Nepal was also engaged in UNFCCC negotiations, especially in fulfilling the tasks specified in the framework convention and the Kyoto Protocol. Nepal has been fulfilling all the task that the negotiation are targeted at, such as Initial National Communication to the Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, NAPA projects, and REDD, among others. However, the year 2009 remained a turning point with the inception of the Mountain Alliance Initiative and the establishment of the Ministry of Environment.

There are very few activities carried out by the country alone to reduce the effect of climate change domestically. However, as stated above, the country’s perception of climate change has changed over a period since 2009. I am also going to discuss later about many activities being participated in by the country and their promotion in international negotiations. “Policy entrepreneurs within Nepal seem to have played an important role. For example, there was one strong voice from government,” (Uprety, Batu Krishna, the joint secretary at the Ministry of Environment and head of the Climate Change Management Division. personal communication, 19th February, 2012). He has argued that Nepal’s more proactive contributions to international

climate change are, “just the beginning,” (*Nepal news, 2012*). He said this at international conference of mountain countries held in 5-6 April 2012 to protect the mountain ecosystem in the global prospective. The presence of especially engaged civil servants demonstrates that Nepal is working harder to protect the country’s ecosystem by putting itself forward and being more proactive in international climate negotiations as part of a coalition of mountain countries.

4.2 Internalizing the international plans and policies

Ongoing international climate negotiations and corresponding need to implement certain policies within the country has had a ‘triggering’ effect in Nepal. This is evident even though policy regarding climate change is at the initial phase of implementation in the country. Climate change policy is the newest addition in a series of newly formulated policies by Nepal government. The policy is prepared in the wake of rising awareness on global climate change and keeping in view the need for urgent responses to the impending adverse impacts of climate change. It was desirable for each country to have a policy to address the worsening effect of climate change. The Government of Nepal prepared and promulgated a Climate Change Policy in March 2011 in response to the international climate regime to which Nepal is also a signatory party,”(*Shanti Karanjit Ojha, 2011*). Climate change policy concept came in response to the international regime that links with the UNFCCC which has created rising awareness about the climate change effects within the country.

Ratna Raj Timisina, Program Coordinator working with National Trust for Nature Conservation (NTNC) also stated that international climate negotiations have become instrumental to prompt domestic responses, basically in providing a direction and an opportunity to learn about other countries’ responses which can be compared with those of Nepal. He stated: “A common organization such as UNFCCC is needed to know exact status of the country in the international negotiations, its weakness and laxity in dealing with climate change issues. With the help of such organizations Nepal can internalize international climate change policies into the internal policies. This is a positive sign of some sorts of improvements that a country can make after attending the global negotiations”. (*Timilsina, Ratna Raj, personal communication (5) February 15, 2012*)

Despite some progress described above, we are still confronting with lack of coordinated national approach among government agencies as well as absence of coordination at legislative and policy making levels to address the climate change issues at domestic sphere. Aware of this challenge, policymakers have in policy a document stated: “There is a clear need for formulating a coherent national approach to provide the tools and forum to understand the impacts of climate change as opposed to continued reliance on individual agency initiatives. Such an approach would also promote integrated impact studies, which would improve the information and data available to decision-makers in all sectors for developing plans and future policies on climate change.” (MOPE, 2004). Despite the increased awareness about the growing challenges posed by climate change and Nepal’s greater engagement in international climate politics, the formulation of domestic policy is still hampered by the lack of effective domestic organization designated to formulate fresh policies on climate changes for Nepal.

“The international climate negotiation in UNFCCC is a platform for lesson learning opportunity for developing country like Nepal. This makes us to get involved in carrying out different tasks for the reduction of climate change effect and it also helps us to improve our ability to come up with different strategies,” (Bhaskar, S Karkey, *International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), personal communication (1), 19th January*). Definitely the international negotiations and the efforts made at global level are instrumental to get information and financial resources to deal with climate change. Growing international involvement also support Nepal in formulating and designing new plans and policies to cope with the climate change effects. Now I will take a closer look at key actors involved in shaping Nepal’s international and domestic policy responses to provide a better sense of the organizational capacity and challenges.

4.3 Key actors in Nepal’s climate policy

A number of different actors play a role in shaping Nepal’s response to international climate change. As discussed above, coordination between these actors remains a challenge.

4.3.1 Ministry of Environment (MOE): Evolution, Efforts and Relationship with other institution

In the absence of executive body of the government to oversee the environmental sector, Nepal had not shown any significant progress in the field of environment-- both internationally and domestically until before 2052 B.S (1995 A.D.).The Ministry of Population and Environment was established as the first executive body in 2052 B.S. (1995 A.D) with the purpose of conservation of environment, controlling and prevention of pollution, conservation of national heritage as well as effective implementation of commitments expressed at regional and international levels. Dissolving the then Ministry for Population and Environment in 2061 BS, the Division of Environment was set up at the Ministry of Science and Technology before it is renamed as the Ministry for Environment, Science and Technology. The Ministry of Environment (MoE) was established in 2066 B.S. (2009 A.D.).

The MoE was established with six objectives mainly focused on promoting issues on environmental conservation. Issue of climate change was the sixth main aim of the MoE at the time of its establishment. Main objective of the climate change issue is "To coordinate the adaptation and mitigation programs in order to minimize the negative impacts of climate change". (MOE, 2012,<http://www.moenv.gov.np/newwebsite/?view=about>). This was the concrete policy that the government has been taking in the sector of climate change since the year 2009. The MoE is now the focal ministry that coordinates Nepal's role and activities to deal with climate change issues in internal and the international level. However, political instability and frequent changes in the government have weakened the capacity of MoE to fulfill its set objectives especially the issues related to climate change.

4.3.2 Climate Change Management Division

On July 2009, Nepal constituted the Climate Change Council under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister. It is mainly responsible for formulating and implementing the climate change policies, to make long term plans and policies, and it take the necessary measure to make climate change a national developmental agenda. It is also responsible for taking any decisions regarding to the climate change related international negotiations.

The fourth meeting of the climate change council had acknowledged the need of the establishment of the Climate Change Management Division (CCMD) under the MoE. The CCMD is entrusted with the responsibility to take the necessary arrangement for the 15th session of the COP to UNFCCC, which was held in 2009 in Copenhagen, Denmark. The formation of CCMD appear to be important in shaping Nepal's international politics and instrumental in launching the Mountain initiative: "The council evaluated its activities and achievements of the COP 15 and decided to lunch the Mountain Alliance Initiatives (MAI) to develop as a platform in order to ensure that mountain issues and concerns get due attention in the international deliberations, in particular the climate negotiations" (*MOEST, 2010*). The MoE has also played an important role here in this regard. In the same year 2009 when the MoE was established, Nepal took a bold step to t raise its strong voice in the UNFCCC for the Mountain Alliance initiative (MIA) for the protection of the mountain ecosystem and about the vulnerabilities to negative effects of climate change as well as issues to be prioritized in the international arena.

After the formation of the climate change council and decision of the formation of the CCMD, the government made significant progress in sensitizing the issues being upheld by the Mountain Alliance Initiative. They organized the two-day International Ministerial Conference on 4-5 October 2010 bringing in the mountain countries as participants. The MoE acts as the secretariat for council where as Council Secretariat Section has been put under CCMD.

4.3.3 NGOs

NGO Federation of Nepal (NFN), which was established in 1991, is an umbrella organization of NGOs that have been fighting for the development and promotion of human rights, social justice and pro-poor development in the country. Total around 5,227 NGOs with many involved in climate change sector, are so far associated to NFN (*NFN, 2012*).

In 2001, the climate change network involving around 19 organizations was set up. The network especially works for the formulation of the climate change strategies in the national as well as international negotiations. The main motive of the network is to increase the adaptive capacity of the mountain people and to raise or formulate the issues for international framework. According

to the NGOs and INGOs workers, who were interviewed mentioned that Nepal represents and participates in the negotiation for the adaptation capacity and the necessary finance.

“To coordinate climate change activities and implement a collaborative programme, a Multi-stakeholder Climate Change Initiatives Coordination Committee (MCCICC) has been formed with representation from relevant ministries and institutions, international and national nongovernment organizations, academia, private sector, and donors. It is evident that institutional, collaborative and programmatic activities have been expanded to address the issue of climate change in recent years.” (MOEST, 2010). This move shows that initiatives have been going on to mobilize different activities of such individuals and organizations to address the climate change concern, albeit it has been late.

4.3.4 Other domestic institutions and organizations

The National Science and Technology Council (NCTC) and the Royal Nepal Academy of Science and Technology (RoNAST) were founded in 1976 and 1982 A.D, respectively, and the Ministry of Science and Technology (MoST) was instituted on 2053/02/02 B.S. [15 April, 1996 A.D.] to forge coordination amongst all the bodies on the activities relating to science and technology for national development and to effectively accelerate related activities by creating a conducive environment for the proper development of science and technology, (MOST, 2010 <http://www.most.gov.np/np>). These are made for the institutional development, policy level management and functional efforts for the development of the country for last four decades. These institutions which were developed in the earlier period also touch upon some issues of the climate change such as nuclear law.

Though the task of managing climate change issues is sounds limited to national boundary in term of its scope, it requires an integrated approach. “The National Climate Change Committee (NCCC) consisted of representatives from government, NGOs, and private sector, was established as a multi-stakeholders committee to advice government on policies and strategies needed to prepare the country to deal with climate change,” (MOPE, 2004). The country has to make the attempt to do for the UNFCCC for finding the real effects of the climate change. Different NGOs and private sector organizations has been involved themselves to assess the

current status and formulate the future plans and policies for the country regarding the climate change.

4.3.5 International alliances

Nepal raised different agendas and issues that are crucial for the country in the international negotiations by UNFCCC solely and through different groups of LDCs, G77 and China. The outcome of the discussions in the internal climate negotiations between the focal agency for the international negotiation i.e. MoE, NGOs and INGOs were brought to the international climate negotiations. These are the medium to carry the agendas and issues of Nepal in the international forum.

“The voices, which are raised in the negotiations, have vanished. However, some of the important agendas are discussed in the negotiations as they were sometimes solely presented from the groups. Most of the times, these issue are discussed in the big and weighted group of G77 and China and LDCs. They are expressed from the representative of these groups. Sometimes this is important to express that the voices from the representing group has weakened. Developing countries like Nepal have become voiceless in such global negotiations,” (*Dhakal, Manjit, personal communication, 2012, January 11*).

4.4 And how do these actors interact?

“Climate Change is a new concept in Nepal. The understanding of this science, its mitigation aspects, impacts and adaptation and relevance to Nepalese economy are mainly restricted to a few institutions and individuals. (MOPE,2004). However, involvement of organizations in the sector of climate change has cropped up in Nepal in recent years. They are lobbying for better climate change policy in the country to minimize its worsening effects.

Even though Nepal is heading toward the situation to face severe impact of the climate change, the country is still lacking plans to deal with the impending threat from the problem. There are many governments as well as international organizations, which are active in a way to explore the factors, are supportive to hit the impact of climatic disasters. “There is still huge gap between the Government, NGOs and INGOs and also between the international communities in term of their

programs and perception to link those with climate change negotiations. Since Nepal has been involved in different activities to address the deepening effects of climate change for last few years, the efforts are still at preliminary level and coordination among different organization involved in this sector is still in progress. The clear vision of a joint institution is a need of this time,”(*Khatri, Dil Bahadur , FAN, personal communication (7), February 16*)

There are different activities being carried out jointly by NGOs and INGOs with the active participation of the government. With the active initiation of the government through the MoE and ICIMOD, a two-day dialogue was organized bringing in different experts. The meeting organized from 23-24 September 2010 in Kathmandu, was specially focused on mountain initiatives to address the climate change effects. The meeting followed the COP 15 organized in Copenhagen. Around 40 experts representing 16 countries, the UN and some other global organizations had taken part at the event. The meeting forwarded a set of recommendations, which was targeted for the ministerial conference on the mountain countries on climate change, future UNFCCC and Rio+20.

After the COP 17, and 7th CMP there was a workshop organized by Climate Change Network Nepal (CCNN) and Clean Energy Nepal (CEN). This was organized for the discussion on the outcomes of Durban Conference and to strengthen the effectiveness of the concerns express by Nepali delegation representing the conference, which was on January 6, 2012. Such discussions are important for strengthening the country’s position and evaluate effectiveness of country’s participation in coming days. Such conferences recommend the country to move forward with stronger voices in the UNFCCC and other global forums.

It is crucial to forge coordination between inter-governmental organizations and NGOs to facilitate updating Nepal’s climate policy. Other domestic factors, which are not directly related to policymaking or climate, also are important to be understood as background for Nepal’s climate policy. In other words, Nepal’s engagement on climate issues cannot be understood divorced from Nepal’s domestic situation and international political traditions more broadly.

4.5 A detailed timeline of Nepal's climate international engagement

Nepal is subject to a number of factors that might hinder its engagement in global climate politics, we see, while analyzing the evolution of Nepal's climate engagement, that the country is becoming more involved and more adept at navigating international climate politics.

4.5.1 Before 1992 A.D (2048 B.S)

Before 1992, climate change was one of the least talked about topics in Nepal. National Planning Commission (NPC) formulated different development plans adopting different strategies for national development. Nepal development plan, better known as five-year plan-- came into force in 1956. The first five-year plan was adopted emphasizing the development of transportation and communication infrastructures.

“This continued until the Fifth Five Year Plan (1975-1980), when a variety of issues were addressed, including energy. With 80 percent or more of the population dependent on agriculture, which is experiencing a fall in productivity with an increase of idle labor, planners are pushing to develop industry, services, and other sectors.” (*Agrawal, Sardul et al., 2003*). Though some progress was seen in country's economy with the implementation of plans, majority of the population in Nepal are still not benefiting from the fruits of the development. “This was finally addressed in the Eighth Plan (1992-1997) when the NPC targeted poverty alleviation and reducing regional inequality as two of the main goals” (*Mishra, 2000*).

4.5.2 1992-2001 A.D. (2048- 2057 B.S.)

Nepal became the signatory party of the UNFCCC from 1992 and it has to fulfill the obligation as the part of the negotiations. “National inventory of anthropogenic Greenhouse Gas emissions by sources and removal by sinks was compiled for 12 months period beginning July 1994 and ending June 1995 as the base year to match with the official fiscal year of Nepal and to be in line with the recommendation of the Conference of the Parties of UNFCCC for the reference year.” (*MOPE, 2004*)

In 1995, Ministry of Population and Environment (*MoPE*) was established followed by

enactment of Environmental Protection Act in 1996 and promulgation of Environment Protection Regulation in (1997). However, many decisions were related to climate rather than the climate change in Nepal at policy level.

The UNFCCC has made an obligation for the financial and technical support to the developing countries and for this, the parties have made a package of decision in 2001. The Least Developed Countries (LDCs) felt the need for coordination group which was established in 2001. Nepal also supported this LDC coordination group that will be helpful for the formulation and implementation climate changes programs.

In 17 December 2002 NPC adopted the Tenth Five-Year Plan which had set target on poverty alleviation—a program that is aimed at bringing down the poverty below 30 percent from 42 percent targeted by Ninth Five-Year Plan. The country experienced the lowest economic growth over the decade. In the same year 2001, the agriculture sector reported 4.2 percent growth, which was 1.7 percent set by Tenth Five-Year Plan. Likewise, non-agriculture sector grew meager to 0.2 percent as compared 4.2 percent recorded previous year. However, significant growth of around 15 percent was reported in the utility sectors such as electricity, natural gas and the water.

“The current concept paper for the Tenth Five-Year Plan acknowledges the important influence weather can have on overall economic performance: The 10th Plan is being prepared and will be launched in a very difficult time/ GDP is projected to increase only by 2.5 percent in FY 2001/02, which is also the base year for the 10th Plan. The lower growth rate projection is mainly due to lower agricultural growth caused by bad weather condition, domestic disturbances and lower external demand following the events of September 11. At the same time, this paragraph is the only place in the whole document where the development impacts of weather and climate are mentioned.” (*Shardul Agrawala et al., 2003*).

Though climate change had become national agenda since 2009 after Copenhagen accord, it couldn't get priority even in Tenth Five-Year Plan. Before 2009, environment issues get importance than climate change in the national policy. However, efforts were made at the international level to give prominence to climate change issues from 1992 when Nepal became

the signatory party for UNFCCC.

4.5.3 2002- 2006 A.D. (2058- 2062 B.S.)

During this period, no progress was achieved in taking up climate change issues due to Maoist insurgency and apathetic government. Though the country made its regular presence in UNFCCC negotiations for climate discussions, no change was witnessed in Nepal's climate change policies. The Maoist insurgency blocked country's progress in economic, social and environmental sector and weakened its relation at international level. In 2004, Nepal made Initial National Communication to the Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC, which was a major breakthrough in setting a platform to assess the adverse effect of the climate changes.

4.5.4 2007 A.D. (2063 B.S.)- till date 2012 A.D. (2069 BS)

There was significant progress reported between the years 2007-2009 in terms of progress in implementing international commitments. Nepal has: (i) prepared the action plan related to capacity building under the National Capacity Needs Self Assessment Project in order to implement the Rio Conventions (Climate Change, Desertification and Biological Diversity); (ii) issued CDM project-approval processes and procedures to benefit from the provisions of the Kyoto Protocol; (iii) started preparing the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA); (iv) started preparing the Second National Communication (SNC); and (v) implemented a project on strengthening capacity for managing climate change and the environment (*MoEST, 2010*). The new climate policy such as NAPA and LAPA were prepared in 2011 as part of fulfilling obligations of UNFCCC.

The mountain initiative is one of the most noticeable international efforts of Nepal during this period. Involved actors describe the project as: "Mountain ecosystem and services are vital for supporting lives and livelihoods of people both in the mountains and the plains downstream. Despite this, the mountains have not received due attention and focus in ongoing international environmental deliberations, including the UNFCCC and Rio+ 20 processes" (*MOE, 2012*). Nepal's then Prime Minister made an appeal at COP 15 in 2009 in Copenhagen as

"...I therefore, take this opportunity to call on all the mountain countries and stakeholders to come together, form a common platform and make sure that mountain concerns get due attention

in the international deliberations, Lets us make sure that our interests are prominently represented in future COP negotiations and let us make sure that our efforts towards adaptations obtain the required international support”

“The Right Honourable Prime Minister, during COP 15, stressed the need for addressing the impact of climate change in the mountains, and that decisions and negotiations of the Convention must consider this issue very seriously. From this, climate change appeared in 2009 as national development agenda. In addition, the Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) and Three-Year Interim Plan (2008-2010) have also addressed the issue of environmental management and climate change” (*MoEST, 2010*). In the run up to this time, the country has made different strategies and new policies under the UNFCCC in the forms of NAPA and LAPA. The country has made the climate policy as the national development agenda. So it can be concluded that the country wants a concrete policy of the climate change. However, different factors including political instability detached the country from international communities. In what a positive development in dealing with effect of climate change and promote sustainable development, NPC had launched climate-resilient tool in the fiscal year 2010-11.

The International Conference of Mountain Countries on Climate Change held on April 5-6, 2012 in Kathmandu, Nepal was represented by 55 countries, 25 international organizations and exports. This was conducted for the better coordination among the countries in the Hindu-Kush Himalayan regions and also for the global cooperation for a common ground for the effective collaborations for working together. "The issues of vulnerable mountain ecosystems around the world have not received adequate attention in the international negotiations," said Krishna Gyawali, then secretary at the Ministry of Environment and Batu Krishna Uprety, head of Climate Change Division (*Nepal News, 2012*)

Through different commitments in different international conventions and treaties, Nepal has expressed its interest to work jointly on a range of internationally proposed climate change responses. Before the national policies and plans were put in place in April 19, 2010, Nepal has submitted the Readiness Preparation Proposal (RPP) for the Reduction of Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) to the World Bank to secure the necessary fund.

With the use of this fund Nepal will develop the proper strategy which will address the components of Deforestation and Forest Degradation (DD) and will implement the program me off REDD plus within 2012. That time necessity to formulate proper strategies, policies and plans were felt for addressing various issues relating to climate change.

The LDC Expert Group (LEG) under the UNFCCC was formed to get updated information about functions, members and programs being carried out by LDCs which took part in NAPA process. The LEG also provides the information related to the meeting and related workshops involving LDCs. There are 12 experts in LEG with five from Africa, two from Asia, two from small islands and three from the Annex II parties. From Nepal and Bangladesh are representing Asian LDCs in the group. Mr Batu Krishna Uprety, a joint secretary at the Ministry of Environment and head of the Climate Change Management Division of the ministry is also in the LEG expert group (UNFCCC, 2009). Nepal has been actively participating LEG meeting for preparation of the policy related to the adaptation and capacity building for climate change.

After the formulation of country-policy in 2011 for the adaptation mechanism or NAPA, Nepal attended COP meeting in Durban, South Africa (COP 17) with better preparation after discussions with NGOs and INGOs, compared to that for other meetings. There were pre and post discussions after the COP. After the COP 17, and 7th CMP, a workshop was jointly organized on Jan 6, 2012 by Climate Change Network Nepal (CCNN) and Clean Energy Nepal (CEN) to discuss about the outcome of Durban Conference and to strengthen the effectiveness of the Nepal's delegation representing the conference. These types of discussions are crucial for the future strength of the country and for evaluation of the effectiveness of Nepal's participation in such conferences. These types of conferences recommend the country to move forward and assess their strength and position in the UNFCCC and to raise their voices effectively.

Nepal's climate actors are now gaining roles of responsibility in international climate politics. . Since 2007 the post of Under Secretary General and High Representative of UN for the LDCs, Small Island Developing States to represent the group was Cheick Sidi Diarre of Mali before Nepalese ambassador to UN, Gyan Chandra Acharya replaced him. Acharya has been playing the important role for about three decade for highlighting the concerns and interest of LDCs,

landlocked developing countries and small island developing countries in the Global negotiations. Most recently, he served as the Chairperson of the Global Coordination Bureau for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and he has also attended the recent UN Conference on Sustainable Development, which was held in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in June. (*UN News centre, 2012*)

Speaking on behalf of the LDCs Acharya said, “Priority should be given to creating a “technology bank” and a science, technology and innovation support mechanism to that end. Full use of South-South and triangular cooperation would complement North-South cooperation. Integration of the Istanbul action plan into national contexts, and all relevant international processes, was also critical. We fully acknowledge that our development is primarily our own responsibility,” he said. But least developed countries could not fulfill the priority areas on their own. He urged partners, United Nations agencies and others to fulfill their responsibilities within the framework of a renewed global partnership”. (*ECOSOC, 2012*)

In 2013- 2014 Nepal is becoming the chair of the Group of LDCs. Mali, Tanzania and Bangladesh each has already completed two-year term between years 2001-2006 respectively. Maldives became the chair of the group from 2007-08. Likewise Lesotho and Gambia headed the group from 2009 to 2012.

“The dream of making Nepal the chair of this group in the fall of 2010 has become a ‘reality’ in mid-2012. This is an opportunity which should also be utilized rationally to address the needs of countries vulnerable to climate change effects. This position may provide Nepal ample opportunities to develop capacity of its human resources on climate negotiations. Engagement of Nepal’s negotiating members—at least from diplomatic and legal sectors, subject specialists, and scientists—will develop their negotiation skills, teach about negotiation procedure and its contents,”(*Upreti, Batu Krishna, personal communication 2012 February 16*).

4.6 Key factors framing and shaping Nepal in the international climate negotiations

The evolution of the climate change inside the country is affected by many factors that distract from a focus in the international climate change negotiation in the international communities. These factors always push the country backward and make country detached from the connection of the international negotiations. There are backward as well as forward pushing factors, which are shifting the country in a direction, which is positive. Overall, however, I would argue that push factors are strengthening while detracting factors are weakening somewhat

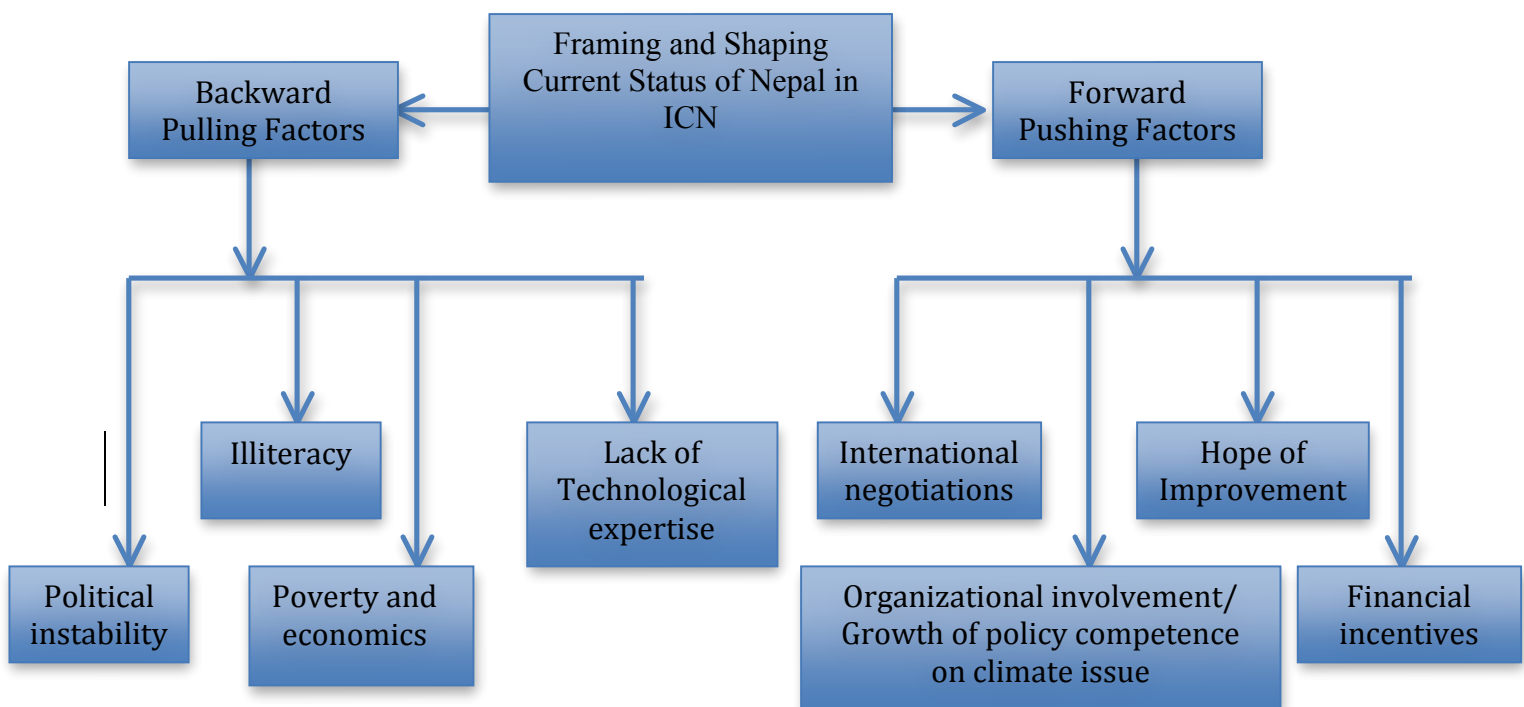


Fig 4.6: Factors framing and shaping the Climate Change negotiation in Nepal

Even though Nepal is affected by deep-rooted poverty, its capacity to achieve positive benefit from the international climate change negotiation is satisfactory. However, the introduction of climate change related policy is very late in Nepal. “In Nepal, as in any other least developed countries, climate change issue is a priority only to the extent that it is reflected in the national

development objectives in relation to protection of the environment and sustainable development. Therefore, unless the context of climate change is integrated and linked to the national development goals, priority cannot be attached to it, and hence programs related to Climate Change will not attract adequate attention” (*MOPE, 2004*). This statement states that as we are going through the evolution of the climate change, indirectly there are policies that are adopted for the climate change in the name of the environment and the sustainable development.

4.6.1 Forward pushing factors

There are many forward pushing factors that are taking Nepal to be attached to the international level – these include international negotiations themselves as well as the financing and economic incentives that accompany the international climate regime.

One of the factors that are framing and shaping the country in the climate change is the international negotiations process. “Climate Change related activities in Nepal have been growing since the country's participation at COP sessions. Of late, there are increasing national consultations and activities relevant to the UNFCCC.” (*MOPE,2004, pg.116*). These arguments appeals that international negotiations are helping the country understand the realistic effect of the climate change. To take another example, the UNFCCC has made contributions that have facilitated raising climate awareness in Nepal. “Since the general public in Nepal do not have yet good understanding of the implications of Climate Change and the potential benefits of the response measures, a number of programs have been launched to educate, train and promote this kind of awareness among different groups of the general public and the media as well”(*MOPE, 2004 pg. 132*). The country where people are still in ignorant about the climate change issues is not in a position to improve proper strategy to find a proper solution of the problem. International support is crucial to enhance the knowledge about climate change among the Nepalese official and people. Since 1997 the UNFCCC has been extending financial support in a bid to support Nepal to enhance its capacity to devise clear roadmap to combat the problem. Therefore, international negotiations like in UNFCCC are significant to improve Nepal’s institutional capacity to deal with the problem.

Economic incentives which the international climate regimes can provide are also important for a

developing country like Nepal. Without financial resources Nepal can do nothing for the promotion of climate change adaptation or green growth as Nepal, where millions of people are still reeling under acute poverty, can't set aside huge fund for making policies and development activities inside the country. So, funds are provided to make policies like National Adaptation Programs of Action (NAPA) and Initial National Communication to the Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change from UNFCCC and other organization. One example of key funding provided is the Global Economic Fund (GEF) program "Operational Guidelines for Expedited Funding for the Preparation of NAPA by Least Developed Countries. This was released in April 2002, and GEF agencies were able to submit proposals on behalf of LDC Parties for the preparation of NAPAs. As of May 2009, all 48 LDCs have received funding for the preparation of NAPAs (*UNFCCC, 2009*). After receiving the fund, the policies are made in the country for the protection and related adaptation prior to climate change negotiations.

Another important source of funding pointed to by interviewees is the Least Development Countries Fund (LDCF). Nepal itself does not have the money needed to implement internationally approved methods for reporting to the UNFCCC and conducting country-specific studies. "Due to the lack of resources, the country annual fund cannot be invested much in the climate change as many of the people are suffering from the lack of basic needs of life. Funding is always a primary hope for Nepal, so that the implementation of the technology and knowledge can be possible" (*Khattari, Dil Bahadur Khatri, FAN, personal communication (7) February 16*) So technology and knowledge along with necessary funding such as LDCF can be instrumental for the country to resolve some of the problems that are related to the adverse effect of climate change. This is really a positive sign that Nepal is getting a huge support from such international organizations.

4.6.2 'Pull' factors

Ever-expanding range of actors, international negotiations and the financing associated with them are important push factors for a more effective climate policy in Nepal. Similarly, there are still a number of important 'pull' factors that push Nepal to be more in-ward looking and prioritize the most immediate policy challenges compared to the longer-term ones. These factors include the

country's developmental status and political instability.

Nepal has serious developmental challenges, primarily interconnected factors of poverty and low-levels of education. Education influences economic change and change in civil society. Research has demonstrated that men and women who have gone to school are more likely to contribute to economic growth (*Schultz 1991*). The literacy rate is directly dependent for the power enforcement for the change in the society. Nepal has an adult literacy rate of 56.6 per cent, with a huge variation between males and females. The literacy rate in Nepal is 71.6 per cent for men and 44.5 per cent for women, revealing a Gender Parity Index (GPI) at 0.62, with women still lagging behind men by more than 27 percentage points. According to the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011, out of 7.6 million adult illiterates in Nepal, 67 percent are female (*UNESCO, 2011*). The literacy rate of the country is 39.6 percent of the total population out of which the male literacy rate is 54.5 percent and the female literacy rate is 25.1 percent (*CBS 2000*). There has been huge increase in literacy rate in the country over a decade.

Despite such improvements in literacy, poverty still remains a major challenge for Nepal. Recently it is estimated that 70 percent of the people are engaged in agricultural sector and about 40-60 percent are under the deficit of minimum calorie intake in Nepal which is also one of the food deficit countries. Due to the adverse impacts of climate change the farm productivity has decreased due to scarcity of water, seasonal droughts, erratic flood, frequent forest fire and many accosted disasters. The stagnant economic condition, increasing rate of the semi- literate and large cohort of youth which are under the age of 35 have resulted in a large unproductive sector of the population. (*USAID, 2012*)

Political instability has also been a hindrance on the development of stable and proactive international policies including in the climate change field. Nepal has a tragic history of internal conflict. The great King Prithvi Narayan Shah united the small states into the single independent nation. "Nepal was transformed into a monarchy in 1743 BS when the king of the principality of Gorkha, in resistance of incorporation into the British Empire, united all Nepalese territories under one flag" (*Shrestha, 1998*). The dominance of the absolute monarchical system over the multiparty system did not let the power to the people to rule the nation. After different forms

revolutions from people first general election was held in Nepal in 1959. Unfortunately, one year after the introduction of democracy, multiparty system was dissolved through royal decree and again people power was snatched away by then King Mahendra to establish absolute monarchical system. The conflict in the country was still going on until 1990 when the new constitution based on multi-party democracy was promulgated after successful people movement.

From 1996, Maoist waged decade-long war against then monarchy and multi-party system foiling the proposed election set to be held in 13 November 2002 amid growing insecurity. The bloody Maoist insurgency paralyzed political and economic system of the country. Different political parties and the Maoist waged another revolution against the autocratic regime of then the king Gyanendra that ultimately overthrew Nepal's monarchy in 2006 in a bid to establish Nepal as Federal Democratic Republic. Following the epoch making constituent assembly election to write new constitution, 601 lawmakers were elected in 2008. However, they failed to formulate the most-sought constitution even after missing different extended deadlines. Though the Baburam Bhattarai-led government was dissolved to form a new government headed by Khela Raj Regmi, who is also incumbent Chief Justice, no political solution is in place as consensus among political parties is still elusive. Even the present government has not yet fixed the date of proposed general election of next constituent assembly.

Despite these internal challenges, environmental issues are still incorporated in key government documents in Nepal. Since restoration of Parliamentary Democracy followed by Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990, (2047 B.S.) people's greater rights were ensured. "The State shall give priority to the protection of the environment and also to the prevention of its further damage due to physical development activities by increasing awareness of the general public about environmental cleanliness, and the State shall also make arrangements for the special protection of the rare wildlife, the forests and the vegetation," (MOPE, 2004) which is also the linkage towards the climate change.

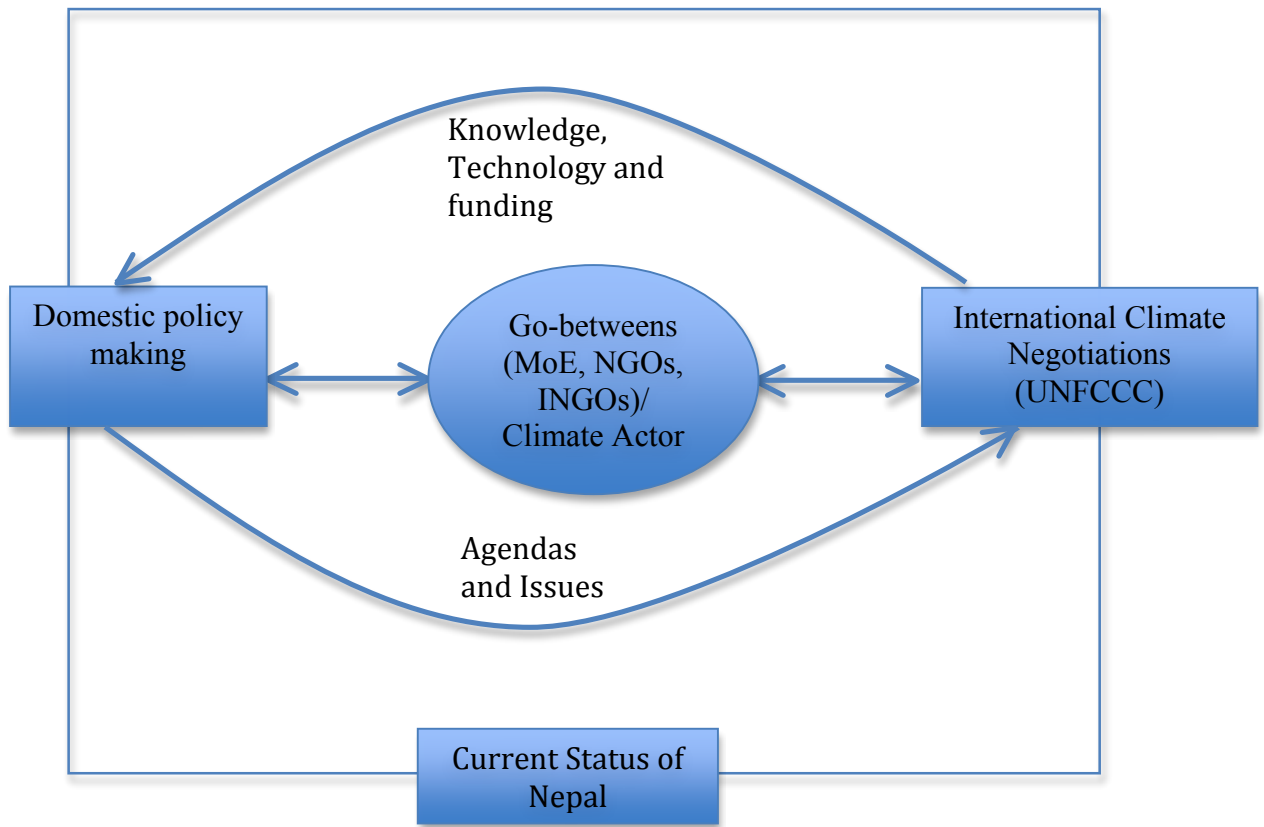


Fig 4.6.2: Lesson learning and exchange of knowledge shaping the current climate engagement of Nepal.

This figure demonstrates the relationship between the international negotiations and the internal climate negotiations that are helpful for the formulation of the future climate plans and policies in Nepal.

4.7 Discussion

In this chapter, I have analyzed the statements of key actors who are involved in Nepal’s climate policy formulation and identified how they interact. I have then outlined some of the major push factors and pull factors leading Nepal to international negotiations and factors hindering its efforts to get more engaged in climate politics. Over the time, climate policy in Nepal has become increasingly substantive and Nepal as well as Nepalese actors are enjoying higher profile in international climate politics. Instead of just responding to international incentives and negotiations, Nepal is increasing its influence to shape these negotiations and their contents.

In a nutshell, these all efforts show the keen interest of Nepal in the international negotiations as all the obligations of the negotiations are fulfilled. The evolution of the international negotiation under the auspices of the UNFCCC was crucial for raising climate awareness in policymaking circles in Nepal. Now the country is heading towards strengthening its position in climate change negotiations both at national as well as international negotiations. The active participation of the country in the LDCs and G77 and China shows its improved capacity to enhance its negotiating power in the field of climate change. It seems as the technology and finance are attracting the country primarily but the motivation has also major role to raise awareness about effects of climate change among the people. Now, we know what does Nepal's engagement in international climate politics look like, we can now consider to what extent does international climate politics look like liberalism or realism from the country's perspective.

Chapter 5

5. Conclusion

5.1 Nepal, International climate change politics and the International Relation Theories

Developing countries are, in some ways, strongly involved in international climate negotiations as consensus is necessary for moving forward. And, an important normative aspect of the international politics of climate change is a kind of ‘one world’ discourse. This was exemplified by one of my interviewees, Batu Krishna Uprety, head of the Climate Change Division of MoE. From this statement it can be predicted that liberalism is really a pronouncing approach that is fitted in the international relation if it is correlated with the international relation theories. At the same time, national interests and counter national interests are certainly an aspect of engagement of all countries including Nepal in international climate negotiations. And major economies like the USA, EU, China, South Africa and Brazil do seem to matter more in setting the atmosphere and outcomes of the process (*Desombre, 2007*).

Even though the GHGs emission of Nepal in the global context is negligible, based on the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, Nepal is fully committed to cooperating with international communities to minimize the impact of climate change while conforming to its obligations under the United Nations Framework Convention on climate change. (*MOPE, 2004*). This is strong commitment on behalf of Nepal in the course of preparation of the Initial National Communication to the Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

“It is urgently required to formulate and implement a national policy in order to utilize the opportunities created from the climate change phenomenon for reducing poverty and achieving sustainable development.” (*MOEST, 2010*). The financial support which is coming from the UNFCCC through the Green Fund meant for spending 80 percent to the grass-root level should be utilized in a broad-based manner. Nepal should take the support as both challenge and the opportunity to utilize for wider benefit.

In 2009, some decisions were held organized by the climate change council, which also for forming such global organization which is beneficial to Nepal. The decisions of the discussions are listed below:

- Provide coordination, guidance and direction for the formulations and implementations of climate change- related policies;
- Provide guidance for the integration of climate change-related aspects in the long –term policies, perspective plans and programs;
- Take necessary measures to make climate change a national development agenda;
- Initiate and coordinate for additional financial and technical support to climate change-related program and projects; and
- Also initiate and coordinate for additional benefit from climate change-related international negotiations and decisions

Source: MoEST, 2010, Climate Change Council

These are the decisions taken by the high level coordinating body in the field of the climate change. Though these decisions were the agenda for immediate implementation, they are still not implemented due to absence of the implementing body or the technical body or necessary financial resources. Additional fund and technical support are needed to implement the crucial agenda. As the developing countries are always supported by the UNFCCC negotiations through the Green Fund and Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF), Nepal’s linkage with such bodies should be strengthen to ensure greater benefits to Nepal from climate negotiations.

Nepal has already participated hosts of discussions and activities at national and international level so far. However, all the involvements were focused on international organizations such as UNFCCC. The UNFCC is supposed to address emerging issues of climate change raised in negotiations, to be implemented in national level so that our mountain ecosystem or the vulnerabilities to climate change effects could be minimized. As a leader of LDCs, Nepal has the opportunities to raise stronger voice on climate concerns including need to protect mountain

ecosystem. But, what Nepal need is financial support and adaptive capacity. UNFCCC-supported fund should be mobilized systematically to implement the climate change related programs inside the country. However, absence of separate institution in Nepal hinders its implementing capacity.

It has been acknowledged in the global discussion that Nepal is need of a common organization to strengthen its capacity. The UNFCCC is the organization that would give regular inputs to Nepal about the adverse effects of the climate change, measures to be taken for minimizing its impacts at national and international level.

5.1.1 The case of Nepal and realism in understanding international climate negotiations

In the priorities of the power game, there are some strong groups such as LDCs and G77 and China, where Nepal is playing an active role in discussing different agendas that are to be raised in the international climate negotiations of UNFCCC. The members clustered in the non-annex I group are the developing countries which are not bound with the required obligatory targets. However, the big developing countries such as China, India and Mexico are now likely to be bound with with certain obligatory level. This has long been a topic of discussions. However, an agreed pathway among the developed and the developing countries was set in the Cancun agreement. Resorting to power game is not the solution to the problem so developed and developing countries should extend cooperation and understanding among each other.

Some big developing countries can backtrack from their commitment in the negotiations. However, reducing poverty with higher economic development is possible only through international negotiation in different issues including climate change. Same applies in the case of Nepal as a developing county because it can't achieve any goal in economic, environmental and social issues without external support. For last few years Nepal has been getting involved in international negotiations and urging the international community to support protecting the mountain ecosystem. As Nepal has been getting financial and technical support from international level, it opposes the realism theory in the international relation.

The formation of different vital groups such as LDCs, Small Land-locked Countries and G77 and China has made climate change issues stronger in international arena. As individual voice can be lost in international forum such as UNFCCC, it is better to join and raise collective voice by negotiating developing countries to get their voice heard to pave the way for getting support from international community. The power that is gained from the alliance of the developing countries should not be separated from the negotiations to ensure that their voice would be listened properly in the international negotiations. Keeping in view the fact, Nepal has been actively taking part in negotiations on half of LDC member and it is also leading LDCs group in 2013-14 so that its voice gets stronger in the negotiation.

Three countries --Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are planning to form an alliance of the mountain Landlocked Developing Countries. Ganesh Joshi, then secretary at the Ministry of Environment said, “This alliance has been initiated so that mountainous countries can raise their climate-related concerns and influence the UNFCCC’s decision-making process to our advantage,” (*Nabin Khadka, 2010*). This is also an initiation to exercise power to raise their voice through the group. Partly this is the realism approach as it is bargaining for the issue so that their voices could be better heard in the negotiations.

“Theoretical views show different aspects and we cannot say anything about our improvement but in practical, Nepal is backward in the field of the climate change due to lack of knowledge and technology. In the absence of these things it is in the way toward the improvement and is struggling for its benefits in these negotiations” (*Manander, Ugan, Manager Climate Change, WWF, personal communication (2) January 20*).

From the above discussion, Nepal is partly accumulating its power getting associated with the different groups. As a whole, Nepal doesn’t have the capacity to take realist action but is participating in a realist game.

5.1.2 The case of Nepal and a liberal understanding of international climate negotiations

“Recognizing it will be impossible to achieve strong mitigation objectives whatever developed

countries might do, unless there is an almost immediate slowing of emissions growth in China, followed before too long by slowing in other large developing countries. However, it will be necessary to provide a differentiated set of incentives to encourage widespread participation by developing countries.” (*Ross Garnaut, 2011*). This sentence clearly argues that without the participation of the developing countries efforts from developed countries for saving the earth from the adverse effect of climate change can't be achievable. This is all possible to save the earth only by coming all the countries together to raise common agenda forging common organization. However, incentives supposed to be provided by the developed countries to the developing world are crucial in the field of research, technology and other activities for the lower level of carbon emission. So this all shows that liberalism is more pronounced in this case to lead the present world.

Developing countries, which are most affected by the climate changes have been challenging that it is the responsibility of developed countries to provide different technical and financial support to recover the environmental damage inflicted by them (developed countries) in the past. “The developed countries that are mainly responsible for the present accumulation of GHGs in the atmosphere and that are highly capable of adapting to climate change must assist developing countries especially the least developed ones like Nepal to cope with the phenomena.” (*MOPE, 2004, pg. 130*) As all the influential developing countries are discussing about the funding and technological assistance, Nepal being one of the LDCs definitely has also the similar concern. As LDCs inflict least effects to the environment, they should be protected with adaptation capacity and from drastic negative effect of the climate change. This appeal is only possible in the international negotiation if all the countries unit and discuss with a common agenda.

The outcomes of the Cancun agreement are the positive sign achieved from the Copenhagen where both the developed and developing countries agreed to reduction the emission to certain level which is great achievement gained in the international climate negotiation in UNFCCC. As we go towards the outcome of the Cancun agreement we can see the agreed and concrete positive sign in protecting the earth from climate disaster.

Main Outcome of Cancun Agreement:

- To anchor under the United Nations Framework Convention the pledges made by developed and developing countries to the Copenhagen Accord, providing an agreed pathway to achieve major emissions cuts;
- The establishment of the new Green Climate Fund to support developing countries' climate change responses, adaptation and technology needs;
- A REDD+ mechanism to deliver economic opportunities for developing countries to reduce emissions that result from deforestation;
- New measurement, verification and reporting and international consultation and analysis rules to ensure all countries can see what others are doing to tackle climate change;
- Agreement to provide strong and practical support for vulnerable developing countries to manage unavoidable climate impacts; and
- The establishment of a technology mechanism to help diffuse clean energy technologies around the world.

Source: Ross Garnaut, 2011, Climate changes: where are we at globally now

The concept of commitment to reduce the GHGs individually by the developed and developing countries, the green fund, REDD+ mechanism support in the technology all are very useful to the developing world. For such a developing countries Nepal, these are really beneficial decisions and always compel them to join such a international organization.

“Nepal is always in the liberal concept because the UNFCCC agreement is helpful for protecting our country as well as the earth as we saw in the Cancun Agreement in which all the developed and the developing countries agreed for concrete and clear concepts beneficial to both. This will be helpful for Nepal and the its people and eventually instrumental to save the earth” (*Manjit Dhakal, Interview, 11 Jan 2012*).

Conceptualizing International Climate Change seem to follow the liberal direction because it is motivated by a sense of inter dependence and necessity for mutual cooperation.

Neumann and Sending (2010) have argued that in international relations one should not exclusively hold oneself to one school of thought – when we look at international relations in practice we often see the characteristics identified by realism, liberalism and other school at play in the same context. Here particularly I am looking forward with two different school of thought i.e. liberalism and realism.

5.2 Concluding Thoughts

This thesis illustrates how international climate negotiations as well as reality of climate change impacts have become the key reasons behind formulation of climate change policy by Nepal. To some extent, the country has sought technical as well as financial support like other developing countries do. However, Nepal has become more of a policy entrepreneur for recent years cooperating with other developing countries to raise the profile of mountain initiatives. These sorts of efforts have enhanced the political clout of Nepal and created a situation for Nepal to achieve greater financial and technical assistance from developed countries in the international climate regime as a nation suffering from the worsening effects of climate change.

A secondary aim of this thesis is to examine whether international climate negotiations ‘look’ realist or liberal from Nepal’s perspective and also whether Nepal, as an example of a developing state, follows a liberal or a realist logic. My research suggests that international climate negotiations are characterized by aspects that could be seen as realist or liberal and that Nepal follows a liberal logic, in part as a counterweight to realist and power politics aspects of international climate negotiations.

Raising a strong and concrete voice in international system for the demand for the mitigation of climate change effects somehow means to strengthen power to protect the country’s interest. From all the above discussions Realism theory partially explains about Nepal’s position in the international relations. But as a whole for Nepal, liberalism theory stands to be the most promising theory in the international relation.

Hegemony being shown by the United States in the climate change is the true realist view. They can go back from the negotiation and can develop the different strategies. But the case is totally different for developing countries as they can’t go back from the negotiation and develop themselves. For example, they can do nothing in the case of desertification. So, environment and the protection of interest of developing countries are inter-related and they are attached to common organization for climate change negotiations. So as a whole, the developing countries are toward the direction of the Liberalism, so is Nepal in the international relations.

We can draw the conclusion that both the theories--- Liberalism and the Realism can be considered in different context here but Nepal, more specifically, attempts to reinforce a liberal view and approach to the international climate negotiations. This may resemble to what some of the developing countries did. But it is necessary to study the particular countries to know their exact positions in the international relations.

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Annex I

Questionnaire for the interview

Part I: Introduction

-Introduce yourself, your thesis question. Ask about how they want you to treat the interview (anonymous completely? No quotes but can list name in appendix? Can cite from interview with name?)

- 1) How have you been involved in Nepal's climate change politics?

Part II: Nepal's Climate Politics

- 2) What does Nepal hope to achieve in international negotiations?
- 3) Has Nepal been especially active around particular issues?
- 4) Why has Nepal been especially engaged in these issues? What is the motivation?
- 5) Who is involved in developing Nepal's climate positions/policies for the international level?

Part III: Reception of Nepal's International Climate Efforts

- 6) How have other states responded to Nepal's initiatives or ideas? Why did they respond the way they did?
- 7) What is Nepal's role in the G77/China negotiating block? Does Nepal get heard?

Part IV: Organization of International Climate Politics Seen from Nepal

- 8) Do you think the UNFCCC is a successful/necessary organization for coping with climate change? Is anything achieved in the negotiations?
- 9) Do you think regional blocks/other coalitions (like G77, BRICs, South/north) should play a role in the negotiations?
- 10) Do they help move climate policy forward?
- 11) What kind of organization of international climate politics is best for Nepal?
- 12) Any other impressions as a Nepalese representative in international negotiations?

Interviews taken with different person NGOs, INGOs and the Government especially the focal agency for the climate negotiations, the Ministry of Environment

Government Representative

1. Batu Krishna Uprety, Ministry of Environment

NGOs

1. Dinesh Raj Bhujju, NAST
2. Dil Bahadur Khatri, Forest action Nepal
3. Manjit Dhakal, Clean Energy Nepal
4. Ramesh Bhusal, Median Analyzer, FA
5. Ratna Raj Timilsina, NTNU
6. Sanjaya Sharma, Nepal Energy Efficiency Program, NEEP

INGOs

1. Bhaskar Singh Karkey, Phd, ICIMOD
2. Ugan Manandar, WWF
3. Anu Adhikari, IUCN