

PREFACE

After a series of consultations with Professor Dyutish Chakraborti of North Bengal University, I took up this dissertation for my Doctoral degree in the year 1998. However, because of my teaching responsibilities in Sikkim Government College, I could spare only two months a year, December and January, to carry out the necessary fieldwork for the task. So, I did the first fieldwork for collecting the documents in January 1999. This, in later years, was followed by regular visits to Kathmandu. By 2004, I had collected a few documents, but there were still some gaps. These I took care of after 2006 when the Maoist movement ended. Therefore, the work, in earnest, started only since the beginning of 2006.

This work, considers the Communist movement of Nepal as a movement born of the social, economic and political environment of the kingdom. It records how the Communist leaders of Nepal perceived the socio-economic condition of Nepal in her geopolitical setting. Then it seeks to understand their activities, especially during the parliamentary phase, 1990–2002, as responses to their perceptions. So, running through this work are two streams. One stream records the kingdom's political history in the perception of the Communist leaders. The other, portrays the activities of the leaders and of the various factions of the movement to answer questions related to the process of political mobilisation.

Structurally, it is woven around seven chapters. Chapter I, is the introductory section which deals with the problems, survey of literatures, research questions and the methodology chosen for examining the problems. Chapter II is devoted to understanding the political history of the country since her evolution as Nepal. It traces how her administrative, social, political and economic structures developed until 2002. Chapter III focuses on the development of the Communist movement of Nepal since its birth in 1949. It

analyses the various causes behind its fragmentation until 1990 while pointing out the role of nationalism as one of the most important causes. Chapter IV traces the movement after 1990 to understand the ideological positions of the Communist parties, the issues they raised, the forms of protests they used and the social base which they represented. While doing so the work infers that the ideological position of the movement was always liberal owing to its middle-class social base.

Chapter V traces the strategy and tactics of the non-Parliamentary groups focusing on the role of the Maoists from 1996–2002. It points out that their movement was also for setting up Parliamentary democracy. Chapter VI is the concluding part of the dissertation. It highlights the importance of nationalism in Nepal Communist movement. It reveals it as a notion which Communists have always used to explain the kingdom's problems and to seek their solutions. So, it concludes that the notion is indispensable in understanding the movement. Besides, the chapter infers that Communist mobilisation and radical movements have succeeded there not only in geographically remote and underdeveloped areas, but also in areas which were relatively developed. Hence, for such complexion of the movement the study draws attention towards the kingdom's overall economic status, which has always been underdeveloped. The last chapter tries to describe briefly the political development in the State after 2002. It tries to explain why the Constituent Assembly created in 2008 failed to deliver the much-awaited Constitution of Nepal.

Mukunds Giri