

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### Framework, Review of Literature and Methodology

##### 1. Introduction

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when modernisation and nationalist politics had initiated major transformation in the social and political life of South Asia, Nepal was still limping under a traditional social structure and religious order. Though the King remained the *de jure* ruler of the country the Ranas monopolised all political authority and military power. Nepal at that time was not really a theocracy, yet religion and Brahmanical order dominated every walk of her life. The social structure and values were traditional without any traces of modern education, ideas and values. The country did not have a system of modern education: first College was established in 1918, and there was an absence of modern administration and legal system. The level of industrialisation was insignificant. Though the rulers of Nepal maintained close political and military links with neighbouring British India, yet they successfully insulated Nepalese society from the influences of modernisation. The ruling elites were able to confine new ideas and aspirations sweeping other parts of South Asia, to certain pockets, if not only to certain families. As a result, the ideas equality, freedom, right of self-determination, popular government as well as democracy, socialism, communism, which were rapidly spreading in neighbouring countries, took time to enter Nepal. As a consequence, the Communist movement in Nepal has been a late starter. The first attempt at forming a Communist Party of Nepal was made in April 1949, when Pushpalal Shrestha with the help of Nripen Chakravarty and Ratanlal Brahmin initiated the process of forming the NCP (Nepal Communist Party) in Kolkata.

From then onwards the Party functioned under different political systems of Nepal. From 18 February 1951, real power passed on from the hands of the Ranas to the King. The 30 March 1951 Interim Constitution legalised the shift in power. Under it, the King was the real administrator, and he administered the kingdom with the aid

and advice of a Council of ministers, chosen by him. Later, the first written Constitution was proclaimed on 12 February 1959 followed by a general election on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February 1959 for the 109 *Pratinidhi Sabha* seats. This experiment in democracy ended when the King dismissed the 18 month-old B.P. Koirala Government in December 1960. From January 1961, he banned all political parties and in December 16, 1962 the Second Constitution, which provided for a 'party-less' system was put into effect. The system lasted until 16 April 1990. On 9 November 1990, when the Third Constitution was promulgated it provided for a multi-Party democratic system which included various communist parties. The system continued until October 4, 2002, when King Gyanendra took over power after sacking Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba.

Operating within such a political context, the NCP, first faced a period of ban from 1952 to 1956, and later after 1960, the Party, which had started in 1949 as a single movement, fragmented into multiple Communist parties. By 1990, there were as many as nine different Communist parties. Though the trend of unity among them was visible before the 1991 General Election, yet fragmentation continued. Such fragmentation produced the NCP (M) in 1992 and the NCP (Maoist) in 1996. Further, while functioning under the 1990 Democratic Constitution the Communists faced three general elections in 1991, 1994 and 1999. Interestingly, in these elections even after being a late starter, a relatively new political group, which basically was a faction of the NCP, the NCP (UML) was able to garner enough support to become one of the two major parties of Nepal in 1991 by winning 69 seats in a house of 205 (the other being the Nepali Congress which won 110 seats). Later in the 1994 election the NCP (UML) became the largest Party in the Parliament by winning 88 seats followed by the Nepali Congress with 83. Then it formed a minority government which lasted for nine months. However, in the May 1999 election, because of a split, the Party could secure only 71 seats, but still it was in the second position following the Nepali Congress which secured 111 seats. And such phenomenal growth and presence of a Communist Party occurred in an industrially backward country without a numerically significant

and organised working class. Such expansion of the support base of the Communist parties and Communist movement under pre-capitalist economy and social formation indeed demands attention of scholars.

## 2. Research Problem

Communist movements are supposed to be proletarian movements with the goal of establishing socialism. Such movements are often multi-class movements to include peasantry, petty bourgeois and traders and so on, but, at least, the leadership of the movement theoretically should remain in the hands of the working class. However, this has not happened in Nepal; in fact, the working class itself is numerically and organisationally insignificant: even in 1990, the percentage of labour force involved in industry was less than 01%. The leadership is mostly drawn from educated middle classes and more significantly, from among the members of upper-castes: in the beginning, it was led by Pushpalal Shrestha and Tulsilal Amatya, both of whom belonged to the upper castes Newar family. The later factions, the NCP (M) was under Man Mohan Adhikari and the NCP (UML), under Madan Bhandari both of whom were Brahmins, so were the leaders of NCP (Maoist) which was under the leadership of Pushpa Kamal Dahal, Baburam Bhattarai and a little lesser known Mohan Bikram Baidhya.

At another level, the electoral support base of Communist parties and groups does not include poor and backward areas of Nepal from where the Nepali Congress and other parties have won elections since 1991: the Nepali Congress won elections in the far western region of Nepal where there were districts like Rolpa, Rukum etceteras, which are among the most underdeveloped districts of Nepal. However, in the Eastern region, the NCP (UML) was in the dominant position in districts like Terathum, Jhapa and Morang, the relatively more developed districts of Nepal in terms of education and other indices of Human Development Index. It seems that there is a definite (not determinate) relation between education, literacy etcetera and predominance of Communist parties.

A particular problem that deserves attention is regarding the participation of Communist parties in Parliamentary system after 1990. Most of the Communist parties in Nepal even the Maoists under the leadership of Prachanda (Pushpa Kamal Dahal) repudiated the parliamentary system at the time of formation of the Party. In fact, the issue of participation in elections has remained one of the most controversial debate among the Communists in Nepal. But, ultimately different Communist parties have joined the electoral politics: even the NCP (Maoist), which led the decade long revolution, expressed its view to join the parliamentary process in its VS 2062 (2005) October/November Chunwang meeting. In this context, it is worth mentioning that major Communist parties like the NCP (UML) and the NCP (Maoists) are still theoretically committed to revolutionary transformation and *Janabad*. In fact, from the inception of the first Communist Party, the Communist movement in Nepal has pendulated between revolutionary politics and electoral participation. In this sense, Nepal, in 1990-2002, presents an interesting case of Communist politics under Parliamentary system in an extremely backward country. Application of revolutionary politics in a Parliamentary framework has given birth to the problem of striking a balance between two contending sources of legitimacy: revolutionary practice and electoral politics. This in turn raises the conceptual problem whether revolutionary politics is at all possible in and through Parliamentary electoral politics.

Fractionalisation of the Communist movement is another related problem. It is true that growth of factions is associated with almost all Communist movements including those of Russia and China. The problem is to find out as to what are the real reasons behind such fractionalisations in the Communist movement of Nepal. It is also necessary to explore whether such fractionalisations actually stem from secretive organisations practising revolutionary politics or electoral politics is the real source of division.

The experiences of Communist movement in Nepal throw up yet another issue concerning the relationship between nationalism and communism in Communist practices. Theoretically, Marxist theory of class struggle and proletarian internationalism

is absolutely contradictory to the idea of nationalism, though Stalin attempted at accommodation of cultural rights of nationalities in his analysis of nationalism. In practice, however, successful Communist movement in China, Vietnam and Cuba have always tried to integrate national aspirations with their struggle against imperialism and their practice of revolutionary politics. In the context of Nepal also different Communist parties tried to project themselves as protectors of national culture and national interest in cases of language, identity, water disputes, and trade facilities etcetera. Such Communist practice in Nepal creates the problem of comprehending the basis of Communist politics. Therefore, the basic problem is to understand the relationship between nationalism and communism.

### 3. Review of Literature and Methodology

Though Communist movement formed an integral element in the political system of Nepal from 1949, yet it has received very little attention from scholars who have worked on Nepal. As a result, there is a dearth of adequate literature focusing on the development of Communist parties and Communist movement. Most of the literatures on politics in Nepal, since 1950, have given importance to the broad political development of the nation with sketchy remarks on the Communist movement. However; there are a few works, which mainly provide a historical account of Communist movement in Nepal. Some of such books, at the same time offer useful analytical insights, particularly on the areas of Party splits, fragmentation, and strategies of the movement. One may categorise the available literature broadly into two groups, works on Nepalese history, society and politics; and secondly studies or writings on Communist movement and movements by oppressed groups in Nepal. Obviously, numbers of publications belonging to the second category are very limited and the majority of them are written in Nepali. Apart from these, the present work because of the very nature of the exercise also draws heavily from general theoretical books on social movements and Communist movements elsewhere.

There exists a host of theoretical works on social movements, and they offer necessary conceptual insights on both social and political movements. Works by Paul

Wilkinson and by D. Della Porta and others need a special mention for the present study derives its conceptual framework largely from these works. Paul Wilkinson's book "Social Movement" analyses the problems related with the concept of social movement. He divides the problems under five headings; the problem of generality, dangers of ambiguity, problem of reification, problem of type concept and problem of comparison. Any analysis of social or political movements should take cognizance of the problems raised by Wilkinson in order to avoid partial and ambiguous conceptualisation. After explaining these problems associated with the term social movement, he reviews the attempts made in the past, by sociologists, social anthropologist and political scientists in conceptualising the concept. Then he suggests a working concept of social movement, which he claims would attempt to identify and generally define the quintessential characteristics of social movement. These are;

1) A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction, and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' communities. Social movements are different from historical movements, tendencies or trends. 2) A social movement must evince a minimal degree of organisation, though this may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organisation to the highly institutionalised and bureaucratised movement. 3) A Social movement's commitment to change and the *raison d'être* of its organisation are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment (here it implies that all social movements are to some degree spontaneous, self-directing and autonomous) to the movement's aims or beliefs, and active participation on the part of the followers or members.

Wilkinson's framework and analysis, however, is difficult to emulate in case of the present study for Wilkinson introduces a clear distinction between social movements and political parties where the latter competes essentially for power. The present work revolves around not only a political movement, but a number of political parties striving to gain political power in Nepal with a view to controlling the State

machinery. Further, the idea of spontaneous and autonomous movements does not fit the study of political movements, though Wilkinson's analysis of organisations of movements is useful for the purpose of present study. Besides; Wilkinson's framework approaches the movement as it exists, and the social and historical background of the movement and the organisation carrying out such movement are relegated to a secondary position. It is to be noted here the history of the movement often is a key to understanding the nature of the movement.

Donatella Della Porta and Maria Diani in their work "Social Movements: An Introduction" reviews the various theoretical perspectives on Social Movements, and then they provide four characteristic aspects of social movements. These include:

- 1) Informal interaction networks; movements exhibit an informal interaction networks between plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations. These networks promote the circulation of essential information, expertise and material among the individuals and organisations. As such networks create a precondition for mobilisation and the proper setting for the elaboration of a specific world view.
- 2) Shared beliefs and solidarity: a social movement requires an interacting collectivity with a set of shared beliefs, and a sense of belonging.
- 3) Collective action focusing on conflicts: social movement actors are engaged in political and/or cultural conflicts— an oppositional relationship between actors who seek control of the same stake. These conflicts are meant to promote or oppose social changes at either the systemic or non-systemic level.
- 4) Use of protests: the writers point out that social movements cannot be distinguished on the basis of unusual protests. However, they contend that public protests are a distinctive feature of a political movement.

In comparison with the working concept provided by Paul Wilkinson these four characteristic aspects of movement are much more clear in distinguishing a movement from a political Party because a political Party exhibits informal interaction network and unconventional exploitation of protests. The characterisation of social movements by Della Porta and Diani explores the inner mechanisms and internal processes of movements and thereby makes the study of social/political movements

more meaningful. At the same time their effort concentrates primarily on the structure of the movement and less on the dynamics save for their focus on use of protests by movements.

Rajendra Singh's work "Social Movement Old and New: A Post Modernist Critique" is an attempt in understanding the Indian society which is caught in a double contradiction: it is not fully modernised, yet it shows the cultural conditions of post-modernist society. So, there are movements both of the old type (movements based on issues such as raising labour wages in the industry and against economic injustice and exploitation) and of the new type that is movements based on issues such as disarmament, feminism, environmentalism etcetera. To understand such a society he points out that social studies need a new perspective. Singh contends that social movements and society are linked together; social movements are culture and history specific, social movements project an aspiration of the society and lead to the reproduction and renewal of the society.

Windmiller and Overstreet's work "Communism in India" written in a narrative style provides insight into the strategy and tactics of the Communist party of India. However, the book also fulfills one of the intentions of the writers which was to help researchers in detecting relation between the Communist Party of India and Communist parties formed in the subcontinent. While going through the work it becomes clear, subtly though, that the NCP in the 50s was following the footsteps of the Communist Party of India while framing its strategy and tactics. Two examples prove this point. The first was the confusing strategy of the NCP which it advocated in September 1949. During that time, the party identified its enemy as the feudal and imperialist forces, but it advocated an anti-capitalist line. This naturally raised the question why was the party so confused? The answer seems to lie in the then strategy of the Communist party of India. At the same moment Ranadive, according to Windmiller and Overstreet, was propounding a formulation of people's democracy which was anti-capitalist in stance. Second, in April 1951, when the Communist Party of India changed its tactics, that is replaced Rajeshwar Rao's Telangana line by

bringing in Dange and Ajoy Ghosh to follow a non-violent line, the NCP also removed Pushpalal, the follower of violent line and brought in Man Mohan Adhikari to propound a non-violent line in June/July 1952. The similarities were, therefore, more than coincidental in explaining the influences of Communist party of India on the NCP. The other book which is of importance in understanding the Communist movement of Nepal is that of Chalmer Johnson. His work “ Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: the Emergence of Revolutionary China,1937–1945” is important in understanding the fact that even in China the Communists under Mao had used nationalism to mobilise his forces. Thus, similar complexion of the Communist movement in Nepal only supports the view that for the Communists some other props, besides class, are required for mobilising their forces.

Kumar Pradhan’s work “ The Gorkha Conquests: the Process and Consequences of the Unification of Nepal with Particular Reference to Eastern Nepal focuses on answering two questions namely, the reason behind Gorkha Conquest and its effect on the society. According to him, the conquest was driven by economic reasons and not with the intention of forming a nation. And while answering the second question he subscribes to the usual view that the conquest led to the subjugation and exploitation of the ethnic groups of Nepal. As such, it supports the ethnic argument that their present day condition is the outcome of upper caste domination which was perpetuated by the conquest.

D. R Regmi’s works, “ Ancient Nepal”; “ Medieval Nepal: vol. I” Medieval Nepal: vol II; and “ Modern Nepal: vol I and II” provide in detail the march of the kingdom through time. Though the books are not related to the Communist movement of Nepal, yet they provide valuable insights into the past of the kingdom to clarify many of the issues which one comes across while going through the documents of the NCP’s and the CPN (Maoist). These books are essential readings for understanding the history of the kingdom. Similarly, Adrian Sever’s “ Nepal under the Ranas” focuses on the Rana period to clarify the nature of social arrangement during the period, besides bringing out the nature of the relation between the Ranas and British

India. It helps in understanding why Communists of Nepal consider the Rana-British relation better than the relation which came into existence between Nepal and India after the signing of the 1950 treaties. John Whelpton's work, "A History of Nepal" is comprehensive. Besides, explaining the evolution of Nepal's society and economy it traces the political evolution of the kingdom until 2002. However, the work suffers from an error while interpreting the tactics of the NCP (ML) in the 90s. Despite this the work is significant in understanding the various facets of the politics of the kingdom during the post-1990 period. Rishikesh Shaha's work "Modern Nepal: A Political History, 1785–1955" besides describing the political history of Nepal is useful in understanding the tactics followed by the NCP until 1955. His other work, "Three Decades and Two Kings (1960–1990): Eclipse of Nepal's Partyless Monarchic Rule" is a small work, but it helps in understanding the nature of Panchayat System and activities of the political parties from 1960–1990. His last book in this line is: "Politics in Nepal 1980–1990: Referendum, Stalemate and Triumph of People Power". It provides the political context, which helps in understanding the Communist movement in the period. He points out that the major factions of the Communist movement did not participate in the May 9, 1981 elections for electing four-fifths of the membership in Nepal Rastriya Panchayat. Besides, the work explains why there was referendum in 1980 and what were the reasons behind the 1990 uprising and the cry for democracy. While explaining the latter movement he also clarifies the role of the Communists especially those of the United Left Front and the United National People's Movement. Bhuwan Lal Joshi and Leo. E. Rose's work "Democratic Innovations in Nepal: A Case Study of Political Acculturation" is a case study of the political development in Nepal. Being a case study, it is highly analytical and it provides the Nepalese political context from 1950 to 1962, when the Communist movement flourished. Connected with the present work are its comments on the reaction of the Communist Party after the Royal takeover in 1960. It points out that the takeover did not affect the movement, because it had the taste of operating as an underground movement during 1952 to 1956. The book throws light on the causes

underlying the first split of the Party in September 1960. In the conclusion of the work there are a few statements which are of importance in understanding the nature of the political elites of the then political parties operating in Nepal. It is pointed out that most of the leaders were persons without economic substance or even fixed income. The leadership then was provided by members of émigré Nepali families who had been deprived of their traditional means of livelihood by the Ranas and who lived in India on a marginal subsistence basis. Lastly, they point out that the leaders were those who had a family history to some events in the past which had caused their dissatisfaction with the old system. Analysis of leadership pattern no doubt is useful but the basic problem of the work is its neglect of the socio-economic formation leading to Communist mobilisation which cannot be explained with reference to leadership only. Anirudha Gupta's "Politics in Nepal: A Study of Post-Rana Political Developments and Party Politics" is a work that traces the political development of Nepal from 1950 to 1960. It focuses largely on the role of the Nepali Congress. However, drawing on Party documents of the NCP, the work describes the perception of the Party after 1951. It points out that the Communists considered the Nepali Congress-Rana Ministry of 1950 as the stooge of India, and called upon all progressive forces to form Peoples' front to fight it. Then it also draws attention to the causes behind the split in the Party in 1960. This work; however, does not add anything significant in understanding the Communist movement. Dhundi Raj Bhandari's work "Nepalko Aitihashik Vivechana" (in Nepali) provides a detailed account of the Rana rule. It describes the movement of the Praja Panchayat during 1935 to 1940 and points out how the revolutionaries were engaged in exposing the nature of Rana rule among the people. Louise.T. Brown's work "The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal" is an account of the political developments in Nepal from 1990 to 1994. It does not; however, shed much light upon the Communist movement. Besides, it suffers from a few factual errors which leads the author in judging the NCP (UML)'s activities in post-1990 Nepal unfavourably. The work by Jana Sharma entitled "Democracy without Roots" describes the political events from 1990 to 2000.

The significance of this work lies in the fact that it brings together many of the political facts besides describing the nature of the policies adopted by the Communists during November 1994 to September 1995, when it was in power as a minority government.

Mahesh. C. Regmi's work "Landownership in Nepal" describes the nature of the various forms of tenancy system that was/is prevalent in Nepal. It is a good book for understanding the nature of *birta*, *jagir*, *Kipat* and *Mohiyani* systems of Nepal. His other work, "A Study in Nepali Economic History" is a detailed account of the economic arrangement that existed during the Rana period. The significance of the work is that it explains the influence of the past in the post-1950 economy of Nepal. The work of Hari Bansh Jha "Duty-Free Border Trade and Special Economic Zone Between Nepal and India" is specifically important in understanding the complexities involved in the Indo-Nepal trade and transit relations, which are governed by the 1950 treaties. Devendra Raj Panday's work "Nepal's Failed Development: Reflections on the Mission and the Maladies" traces the problems associated with the modern economy of Nepal. In his work, he points out that the major problems associated with the economy of Nepal is the non-implementation of the various plans and programmes. And though the work of Dor Bahadur Bista, "Fatalism and development: Nepal's struggle for modernization" has a sociological perspective, yet it explains why Nepal is underdeveloped. To do so the book draws attention towards the existence of a fatalistic cultural trait, a value system, prevalent among and patronised by the ruling elite as the cause behind Nepal's failure to develop. Finally, Baburam Bhattarai's work "The Nature of Underdevelopment and Regional Structure of Nepal: A Marxist Analysis" concludes that Nepal's failure in emerging as a prosperous economy is owing to its dependence on the economy of India. As such the work does not go beyond the usual Communist's view which sees in the Indo-Nepal economic relation a neo-colonial configuration. All these works are, therefore, relevant in understanding the Nepalese society, its historical evolution and existing forms of domination and deprivation which contributed to the growth of protest.

Among the books, which deal with the history of the Communist movement in Nepal there exists a substantial number of publications but majority of them are written in Nepali except those which deal with the CPN (Maoist) movement. Besides, all of them cannot be considered as academic works, but among them the works of two authors stand out. These are the works of Surendra K. C and of Bhim Rawal. Surendra K. C's work "Nepalma Communist Andolanko Itihas (Pahilo Bhag)" focuses on the origin of the movement; the controversies surrounding the date of birth of the movement, its organisational structure and the causes that led to its division after November 1960 Moscow conference. The work, being academic, is analytical and is based on documentary evidence and interviews. It covers the period up to 1962. Following it, he has two more books to his credit namely "Nepalma Communist Andolanko Itihas (Bhag 2)", and "Nepalma Communist Andolanko Itihas (Tesro Bhag)". However, these two works are not like the first volume. They are not critical in their approach, but they do help in providing a continuous history about the Communist movement until 2006. Bhim Rawal's work "Nepalma Samyabadi Andolanko Udbhav Ra Bikash" covers the period from the birth of the Party until 1986. The basic limitation of Rawal's work is that it is largely based on interviews with Party leaders with insufficient documentary substantiation. The merit of the work rests in the fact that it provides valuable information about the smaller Communist groups and factions. However, the works of both the authors will be understandable only to those who are conversant with the general political history of Nepal, because their works do not provide the political context of the Communist movement. Compared with such academic works, there are two important works of Communist history written by leaders like Pushpalal Shrestha and Mohan Bikram Singh/Gharti. Pushpalal Shrestha's work "Nepalma Communist Andolanko Sangchipta Itihas" is the history of the movement until 1962. It is in the form of a memoir from a founding member of the Communist movement. It sheds light on many of the issues connected with the movement especially the causes behind the formation of the Party in 1949. However, many of the statements made therein, cannot be taken as authentic, because

there are no citations of documents in the work except a few. In similar vein, the work of Mohan Bikram Gharti (Singh), “Dwitiya Mahadhiwayshundekhi Darbangha Plenumsamma vs 2014–2017” reminisces about the complexion of the movement within a brief period extending from 1957–1960/61. However, except for providing a few facts, the work fails in its objective. It does not explain clearly the reason why there was the first fragmentation in the movement after 1960. This is because the work fails to provide the content of the document passed in the NCP’s Second Congress. Had the author, as an insider of the movement, provided the document, which is missing and unavailable, then the work would have stood out. Books and articles written after 1990 on the Communist movement focus specifically in explaining the Maoist movement. These works, which are written in English are as follows:

Deepak Thapa and Bandita Sijapati’s book “A kingdom Under Siege: Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency, 1996 to 2004” traces briefly the rise of the NCP (Maoist) and focuses on the causes behind the growth of the Maoist insurgency. According to the work the causes were: inefficient governance characterised by corruption; poverty, imbalances in the economic development of the five development zones; the decade long indoctrination of the people in mid-Western Nepal into radical communism under Mohun Bikram Singh, the leader of NCP (Masal); the suppression of the United People's Front Nepal [the front organisation of the NCP (Unity Centre)] by the Nepali Congress Government, and the disparity that existed in the economic, political and social front between the *khas* (Brahmin/Chettri), Newar combine and the indigenous people i.e. Rai, Limboo, Magar etcetera. In explaining the reasons behind the growth of the NCP (Maoist) their contribution lies in pointing out the role of Mohun Bikram Singh in mid-Western Nepal. Besides, the work helps in constructing the flow of events related with the movement during 1996–2004. Deepak Thapa’s edited book “Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal” brings together a number of articles authored by writers like R. Andrew Nickson (Democratisation and the Growth of Communism in Nepal: A Peruvian Scenario in the Making?) which points out the

similarity between the Communist movement of Nepal and that of Peru. Other articles contained in the work are those of Stephen L. Mikesell's (*The Paradoxical Support of Nepal's Left for Comrade Gonzalo*); Shyam Shrestha's (*Nepali Cart Before Horse*); Anne de Sales's (*The Kham Magar Country, Nepal Between Ethnic Claims and Maoism*), where she contends that the NCP (Maoist) leadership's continuation of Naxalite trend of tribal recruitment, was the cause behind the rise of the movement in Central Nepal.

Similarly, Michael Hutt's edited work "Himalayan 'People's War': Nepal's Maoist Rebellion" contains a number of articles. such as those of Deepak Thapa's (*Radicalism and the Emergence of the Maoist*) which traces the rise of the NCP (Maoist); Krishna Hachhethu's (*The Nepali State and the Maoist Insurgency, 1996-2001*), which focuses on the relation between the Maoist movement and the political system of Nepal; Sara Shneiderman and Mark Turin's (*The Path to Jan Sarkar in Dolakha District: Towards an Ethnography of the Maoist Movement*), which explains the techniques used by the Maoist to spread their influence from the village to the towns. Hutt's collection of articles, though addresses only the Maoist movement in Nepal, is a reliable book on current history of Communist movement in that country. The uniqueness of the collection is that it attempts at exploring different dimensions like ideology, organisation, tactics, peasants participation etcetera, which offer a better opportunity for analysing the movement. Like Michael Hutt's, David N. Gellner edited book "Resistance and the State, Nepalese Experience" (2008) is also a collection of essays which focuses on varieties of protest movements including those of the Maoists. It contains relevant information regarding the relationship between different communities like Gurungs and Kham Magars on the one hand and the Maoist on the other.

Arjun Karki and David Seddon's edited work "The People's War in Nepal, Left Perspective" contains a few articles and a number of Maoist documents. The book also contains some articles by active members of the Maoist group like the article on women's participation by one Parvati (pseudonym). Overall the book is a

good source of information for scholars working in the field, because of the presence of Maoist documents. However, the work should not be readily accepted because of two facts. First, there are multiple error in its treatment about the history of the Communist movement and second there are errors in a few of the documents, the translated versions, which are provided by it for example, the 40 point demand which the Maoists had submitted before going underground has not been properly translated.

“ The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-First Century” is a recent book edited by Mahendra Lawoti and Anup K. Pahari. It has articles authored by Kristine Eck (Recruiting Rebels: Indoctrination and Political Education in Nepal) which argues that for understanding the Maoist movement one has to focus more on the Maoist’s method of recruitment. In similar line Monica Motin’s article (Catchy Melodies and Clenched Fists: Performance as Politics in Maoist Cultural Programs) highlights the use of the cultural program in the Maoist’s method of mobilisation. In addition, the book has articles by Amanda Snellinger (The Repertoire of Scientific Organisation: Ideology, Identity and the Maoist Student Union) which traces the link between the student wing of the Maoist and of the Party and of Mahendra Lawoti’s (Ethnic Dimensions of the Maoist Insurgencies: Indigenous Groups’ Participation and Insurgency Trajectories in Nepal, Peru, and India) which compares the Maoist movements in Nepal, Peru and India to conclude that the movement in Nepal, in comparison with the movements in the other two countries, could last long owing to the participation of indigenous people. .

Available literature, therefore, indicates that the works on Communist movement of Nepal can be classified under two broad headings: those dealing with the history of the movement and those trying to explain the rise of the Maoist movement. However, they all lack in providing a comprehensive and critical analysis of Communist movement in the parliamentary phase by neglecting questions about issues related with the movement’s adaptation of revolutionary politics in the Parliamentary framework, its relationship with nationalism, ethnicity etcetera.

Besides, very few scholars have attempted to examine the nature and class basis of the movement.

#### 4. Objectives of Research and Research Questions

The basic purpose of the present study is to examine the development of Communist parties and Communist movement in Nepal since the introduction of Parliamentary Democratic system in 1990 and to analyse the way the Communist parties and leadership tried to merge revolutionary political ideology with the structure of parliamentary democracy during the period between 1990 and 2002. Actually this is the period when the majority of Communist groups except the Maoist participated in the electoral process until 2002 when the Parliament was dissolved by King Gyanendra. The study specifically focuses on the ideology, strategies, social basis of Communist parties of Nepal and the contradiction that arises from the strategies undertaken by various Communist groups. It is assumed that such an analysis will provide a more comprehensive idea about the Communist movement and the relationship between prevailing social formation and the Communist movement. The focus of the study though limited to the aforesaid period, for a better comprehension of Communist movement in Nepal in general and the period of parliamentary participation, in particular, the study also examines the development of the Communist movement including its fragments from the inception of the Communist party in 1949. Certain sections of the work therefore traces the history of the Communist movement from 1950s to the decade of 80s. It is assumed that for a proper understanding of ideological/strategy shifts and the issue of fragmentation such an effort is necessary. Similarly, the study also adds a note on the developments of the post-2002 period. The specific objectives of the study may be summarised as follows:

• To trace the chronological history of the Communist movement in Nepal and the NCP and other Communist parties.

• To examine the ideology and strategies of various Communist parties and ideological shifts and changes in strategies (if any) to adjust with parliamentary democracy and also to examine the consequences.

• To examine the problem of combining a revolutionary ideology with electoral system and its impact on the unity of Communist movement.

• To explore the relationship between communism and nationalism in the context of Parliamentary democracy, i.e., to analyse whether parliamentary democracy itself, compels the Communist parties to embrace a more nationalistic outlook. It is also the objectives of this study to examine the relationship between nationalistic outlook and success of Communist movement.

• The study also aims at answering the question whether there is a determinate relationship between economic conditions and social formation (including caste system) in the one hand and the growth of Communist support on the other.

• Finally the study intends to investigate the organisational network of and forms of protests used by various Communist groups to understand the nature and reasons behind the growth of Communist movement in Nepal.

The above objectives which clarify the focus and main thrust of the study raise the basic question regarding the relationship between Parliamentary democracy and communism. They raise a host of questions about influence of nationalism, effect of parliamentarian system, role of economic factors, significance of caste and other social identities etcetera which are systematically presented below:

• Why have Communist parties in Nepal ultimately joined electoral process by repudiating it initially and what ideological, organisational, strategic changes have they initiated to enter Parliamentary politics and with what consequences? How does Parliamentary system affect their networks and methods of protest?

• Whether participation in parliamentary system ensures greater unity in Communist movement of Nepal or does it create further fractionalisation of the movement?

• Is nationalism an inescapable element of parliamentary politics or do the Communist parties intentionally assume a nationalist outlook for greater mobilisation and support? (In other words, the study intends to answer the question of relationship between nationalism and Communist organisation in Nepal)

• Whether there exists any relationship between economic backwardness, caste affiliation and social formation in one side and Communist politics on the other?

## 5. Conceptual Frameworks and Methods

Social and political movements have been approached from different perspective by different scholars. In fact there exists heterogeneity of positions taken by scholars and it is almost impossible to narrate and categorise such positions in a comprehensive manner. Yet it is necessary to describe briefly the central points of five such perspectives from which the present study has borrowed its conceptual framework. The first of such perspective is generally known as the viewpoint of social movements as collective behaviours shared mainly by sociologists of the structural functional school, which considers social movements as outcomes of social transformations. From this view movements are not agglomeration of individual behaviours or results of individual rootlessness, alienation and deprivation. But it is a collective behaviour and a macro phenomenon which aims at general change. The second perspective, which is also propounded by sociologists (Charles Tilly, *From Mobilisation to Revolution*, 1978), perceives movements as rational action and an extension of political action to correct certain social inadequacies. Movements are products of malfunctioning of the social system. The movements try to change the pattern of resources and value distribution. The third perspective which is closely related to the Rational Action perspective views political movements as protests within political system. The central focus here is the political process and the attempt is to show the relationship between institutional politics and the movement. It argues that movements cannot be understood without reference to the political and institutional environment. The fourth perspective which is relevant in this study is the class perspective which believes that unequal economic distribution and resultant

class antagonism are at the roots of the movements. Finally, the historical perspective approaches social and political movements as part of general historical process in which a collectivity reacts to some needs in a specific historical context. It emphasises the process of gradual evolution of the movement and the internal dynamics of it.

The present study; on the basis of the prevailing perspectives on social movements, perceives the Communist movement in Nepal as a historically evolving dynamic process, which has assumed a specific shape and structure through its negotiations with prevailing political institutions and social-economic structure, and has evolved a specific form, ideological outlook and organisational network through such negotiations. Through this entire historical process a movement or a political party defines and redefines in different historical contexts its tasks, strategies and ideological positions. The task of the researcher is to understand this process of evolving. This perspective expands the scope of the study to the areas of: (a) historical evolution of the movement, (b) ideology and the strategy including alterations in these areas, (c) exchanges with the idea and the structure of Parliamentary democracy, (d) economic and social basis of the movements and (e) forms of protests.

The study employs historical and critical methods of analysis to examine the process of evolution of the communist movement of Nepal, its internal dynamics and relationship between the movement and its socio-economic and political environment. To do so, it focuses on specific issues related to the movement without aiming to understand the movement in its totality. Emphasis is given on primary documents and publications of Communist parties and they will be narrated in the context of Nepal's socio-economic and changing political conditions for two reasons: First, to describe the historical evolution of the movement correctly, a characteristic missing in many of the existing works and secondly, to examine the causal relationship between the context and the Communist movement to avoid the understanding of the issues in abstraction.

## 6. Chapters

Chapter I Introduction: Framework, Review of Literature and Methodology.

Chapter II Social Formation and Political Structure of Nepal: History of Nepal in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Economy of Nepal: 1990-2002, Population and Caste-Structure, Political and Administrative System.

Chapter III Evolution of Communist Movement in Nepal until 1990: Early Years, Developments after 1960, Splits within the Movement.

Chapter IV Communist Movement after 1990: Parliamentary system, and various Communist parties: Their Ideologies and Strategies, Major Issues, Forms of Protests, Support Base/Social base.

Chapter V Revolutionary Groups (non-parliamentary politics): Emergence of Maoists as a major force: Maoist Strategy, Maoist and Parliamentary Democracy.

Chapter VI Conclusion: Parliamentary Politics Versus Revolutionary Politics—Fragmentation Versus Unity within Parliamentary System—Communist Parties and National Sentiments—Ideological Shifts in Parliamentary System—Economic Backwardness and Communist Mobilisation—Caste, Ethnicity and Communist Mobilisation.

Postscript: Developments after 2002

## 7. Relevance of the Study

The review of literature points out the absence of a comprehensive study of Nepal Communist movement in the post-1990 period. The relevance of the present study therefore, lies in its attempt at filling up this research gap. While doing so it will try to understand the class basis of the movement; the factors which compel the movement in invoking nationalism while practising communism, the nature of Communist movement in an extremely underdeveloped country, and the link between revolutionary politics and Parliamentary system, where the King occupied a preëminent position.

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