

# The Situation of the People of Nepal has not Changed under Monarchy and Bourgeois Democracy

## Nepal's Ruling Classes Fight in Power Struggle

The people of Nepal, who have succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy, are fed up with the political vacuum created by the governments that have changed in the past. In such a situation the people of Nepal need to unite and mobilize to build a system that stands by their side.

### History of Nepal

Nepal is small land locked country sandwiched between two big neighbors, bordering with India and Tibet Autonomous Region of China. As per 2021 census its population is roughly 3 crores (2.98 crores). It is a multi - religious, lingual population with various ethnicities, castes and tribes. By religion, population in 2021 is - Hindu 81.3%, Buddhist 9%, Islamic 4.4%, Kirat 3.1%, Christian 1.4% and Nature Worshipper 0.5%, along with a few Bahai, Bon (forest) dwellers, Jain and Sikhs.

Divide by ethnic, caste and tribal groups Chhetri 16.6%, Brahmin-Hill 2.2%, Magar 7.1%, Tharu 6.6%, Tamang 5.8%, Newar 5.0%, Kami 4.8%, Muslim 4.4%, Yadav 4.0%, Rai 2.3%, Gurung 1.9%, Damai 1.78%, Thakur 1.61% Limbu 1.46%, Sarkil 1.41%, Teli 1.4% and others.

Basic ethnic divisions are:

1. Indo-Tibetan — Brahmin, Chhetri, Thakur etc. Upper castes, Sarkisian, Damai etc lower castes or tribes.
2. Tibeto-Mangolian — Tamang, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Lepcha and Bhotiya tribes (not Bhutanese)
3. Indo-Aryan — mostly Madeshiya, Yadav, Teli, Muslim etc.

First two groups speaks different variants of Tibeto-Burman language and developed Nepali as Khas Kura (a sort of lingua franca). Main language divide is Nepali 44.6%, Maithili 11.6%, Bhojpuri 5.95 %.

The imperialists and big neighbours more than often try to utilize these divides to further their interests through their agents. It is a region rich with rare flora and fauna. Eight of the world's highest mountains including the Everest are in Nepal. The birthplace of Goutama Buddha, Lumbini is situated in Nepal.

## **Dynastic Rule**

Present day Nepal was founded in 1768 by Prithvi Narayan Shah in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century through several bloody wars. The monarchy lasted 240 years from 1768 to 2008. During this period, Nepal was ruled by the "Shah" dynasty. After the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Shah dynasty began to expand the Nepal Empire into what is now northern India. During the invasion of Tibet by Nepal between 1788 and 1791, Tibet sought Chinese help. The war ended in favour of China through negotiations in Nouakchott, with severe damage on both sides during the war.

### **Relations between Nepal and the British during Dynastic Rule**

At the end of eighteenth century there was a long drawn war between the kings of Nepal and Sikkim. As a result Nepal annexed Southern Sikkim area from the east of Mechi River to the West of Teesta. British did not like this strengthening of Nepal and made advance towards Nepal starting a war in 1814. The war ended with the defeat of Nepal and forcing Nepal to be limited within the bounds of river Koshi in the west and Mechi in the east through the notorious Sagauli Treaty in 1815.

But finding it to be unprofitable to rule this very thinly populated hill forest tract British handed over the erstwhile Sikkim ruled area to the king of Sikkim through Titalia Treaty. But by 1850 British took this area along with large area from Bhutan under its control from the Sikkim king.

Thus from 1850 Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim kingdoms started having a stable boundary. The stability was broken by annexation of Sikkim first as Associated State on 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1974 and then as a state within India on 14 April, 1975.

British maintained a good relationship with Nepal and Nepal was a supplier of soldiers in the British Army. During the First World War the Gorkha soldiers were acclaimed by all for their bravery and perseverance.

### **Democratic Movement – Formation of Parties**

After the 1947 transfer of power from the British to the Indian ruling classes in India; Under the name of Establishing Democracy against the Rana Monarchy in Nepal the National Congress of Nepal party was founded in 1946 by Mantrik Prasad Koirala and the Nepal Democratic Congress Party, founded in 1948 by Subarna Shumsher Rana. These two parties are merged in 1950 and change as a Nepal Congress party. In 1949 Pushpa Lal Shrestha resigned from National Congress party due to internal differences and party helping to monarchy and founded a Communist party of Nepal with the Nar Bahadur Karmacharya, Niranjana Govind Baidya and Narayana Bilas Joshi.

As a leader of the National Congress Party Girija Prasad Koirala and Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala led Workers of the Biratnagar jute mill to stage a demonstration and went on strike Against Management. Rana forces arrested

the leaders and suppressed the strike. Under the leadership of Parashuram Pokhrel, Poorna Prasad Brahman, Sribhadra Sharma Khanal, Ram Prasad Nyupane, Kamal Raj Regmi, Rajeshwar Devkota and Gokarna Shastri, the students started the Jayatu Sanskrit movement demanding the inclusion of democracy and modern subjects in the curriculum. It was the first student uprising in the history of Nepal. Forty-two of those involved in the movement were deported by the Rana government, while others were imprisoned. BP Koirala and other leaders in exile in India joined the agitation for the establishment of democracy. With that the anti-Rana movement across the country gained momentum. The Communist Party of Nepal played an important role in overthrowing the Rana regime during the 1951 uprising. The UDF, as part of the United Democratic Front, along with communist and leftist groups, carried out civil disobedience movements and demanded the release of political prisoners. The Communist Party of Nepal has expressed its support for the armed struggle against the Rana monarchy.

### **Tribhuvan Beer Bikram Shah**

Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah himself gave clear support to the Nepal Praja Parishad with his opposition to the rule of the Rana. The Ranas, however, suppressed every movement and acted very harshly. In November 1950, King Tribhuvan sought refuge in the Indian Embassy against Rana, along with his son Mahendra and grandson Birendra. Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah, the three-year-old grandson of Tribhuvan has been announced as the new King of Nepal by the Prime Minister Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana. The move led to protests in the country. Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has officially announced that Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah will not be recognized as the legitimate King of Nepal. While Tribhuvan was taking refuge in the Indian Embassy, the Nepali Congress Party launched a military wing called the Congress Mukti Sena and launched an armed struggle against the Rana regime. The Congress Mukti Sena is also known as the Nepali Congress Liberation Army.

### **Delhi Agreement**

The tripartite agreement was signed through talks between Rana, the Nepali Congress Party and Tribhuvan in Delhi. King Tribhuvan returned to Nepal on February 18, 1951 as king of Nepal. The main terms of the Delhi Agreement are as follows:

1. The elected Constituent Assembly should create a democratic constitution within 2 years.
2. An interim cabinet (government) of 10 ministers should be formed with Mohan Shunsher as the Prime Minister, of which 5 ministerial posts should be allotted to the Nepali Congress.

3. There are no restrictions on political institutions. All political prisoners should be released and the agitators should hand over all their weapons to the government.

4. Tribhuvan is the king of Nepal and the ultimate authority rests with the emperor.

The Rashtrabadi Gorkha Parishad Party of Nepal was founded in 1951 by former members of the Rana dynasty. The party was led by Bharat Shamsheer JBR and MG Mrigendra Shamsheer JBR. On 18 February 1951, King Tribhuvan returned as King of Nepal and formed a new government in Nepal with Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana as the Prime Minister of Nepal and a cabinet of 10 led by five members of the Nepali Congress Party. It is clear that Tribhuvan and the Nepali Congress Party in the name of establishing democracy in Nepal have waged a united struggle with the people of Nepal for the realization of their own interests.

In January 1952, the Raksha Dal, led by the Communist Party of Nepal Kunwar Inderjit Singh, attempted an uprising. Party occupy the airfield, radio station, post and telegraph office in Singha Durbar and demanded that form an all-party government, including the Communists. The army intervened and arrested Kunwar Inderjit Singh but he escaped from prison and went to China. As a result of this incident the Communist Party of Nepal was banned by the Government of Nepal on 24 January 1952. In June 1952 the Kisan Sangh, a peasant-wing of the Communist Party of Nepal, declared a revolt against the landlords and demanded the distribution of land to landless peasants. In 1953 the party contested the Kathmandu municipal elections as independent candidates and won the chairmanship in addition to the four seats on the Municipal Council.

In 1954 the first party Congress was held in secret. The Manmohan Adhikari official was elected party general secretary and the party also approved a program to replace the monarchy with a republican system designed by the House. In October 1955, Kunwar Indrajith Singh declared the United Democratic Party in Nepal after his return from China. When the Tanka Prasad Acharya-led government became an ally of the Communist Party of Nepal in 1956, the party had to conditionally accept the constitutional monarchy to lift the ban on the party. The ban on the party was lifted in April 1956. During this time the party leadership did not display much communist movement and showed respect for the monarchy. In 1957, the Second Party Congress was able to hold its first public meeting in Kathmandu, and Keshar Jung Rayamazi was elected General Secretary.

After the death of King Tribhuvan in 1955, his son Mahendra became the King of Nepal and took full control of Nepal.

### **First Elections and the Monarchy Uprising, 1959–1961**

In the first general elections held in 1959, the Nepali Congress Party won 74 seats, the Nepal Rashtrabadi Gorkha Parishad 19 seats, the United Democratic

Party 5 seats, the Communist Party of Nepal 4 seats, the Nepal Praja Parishad (Mishra) 1 seat and the Nepal Praja Parishad (Acharya) 2 seats. The Independents won 4 seats and formed the government of Prime Minister Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala from the Nepali Congress Party. The multi-party constitution was approved. Mahendra, who came to power after the death of Tribhuvan, dissolved the Parliament of Nepal and the new constitution in 1960. He suspended all political parties and began his own direct rule.

Several members of the party, including Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, Rana and General Secretary Hora Prasad Joshi, were arrested and deported. Leaders of many different parties sought political shelter in India. During this time radical faction statements of the Communist Party of Nepal rejected by the Nepali Congress Party for strategic alliance. The Nepali Congress party has shown patience over Mahendra's direct rule but defections, orthodoxy and pressure have weakened the party over time. Bharat Shamsheer, leader of the Rashtrabadi Gorkha Parishad, the royal political party of Nepal, was arrested during the royal coup, but was released in late 1961 after supporting the king. In India he condemned the monarchy in Nepal and announced that he would cooperate with the Nepali Congress to overthrow it and merge the party with the Nepali Congress. Kunwar Indrajith Singh, founder of the United Democratic Party, accused the Nepali Congress-led interim government of interfering in the elections and called on the king to declare the elections invalid and gave his support to the Mahendra's royal coup.

When Mahendra started his own direct rule two factions formed in the Communist Party of Nepal. One faction led by Keshar Jung Rayamazhi supported the monarchy and another faction led by Tulsi Lal Amatya called for a united struggle against the uprising. When the government launched its crackdown on the Communist Party of Nepal, Rayamazhi expressed his some confidence in Mahendra's politics, which met with a backlash from other sections of the party. The Central Plenum of the Party convened in India to resolve this class conflict within the party. The plenum unanimously approved the armed struggle ideology proposed by Pushpalal which led to the emergence of three lines in the party. One is the pro-constitutional monarchy led by Rayamazhi, the other is to revive the dissolved parliament led by Tulsi Lal Amatya, and the other is the broader popular armed movement proposed by Pushpalal. In April 1962, the Third Party Congress held in Varanasi, India, approved the National Democratic Revolutionary Program proposed by Tulsi Lal Amatya and elected Amatya as General Secretary. Pushpalal supported the decision. The Congress also decided to expel Raimaji from the party but the Raimaji-led faction did not recognize the Congress as legitimate, splitting the party into the Communist Party of Nepal (Amatya) and the pro-monarch Communist Party of Nepal (Raiyaji).

In 1962, Mahendra announced a new constitution. In it the king set up councils called "panchayats" which were not party-affiliated and made sure that the king had sole authority over it. The first state panchayat elections were held in 1963. Thus Mahendra was exposed to 30 years of monarchical dictatorship. After Mahendra's death in 1972, his son Birendra came to power.

Inspired by the Naxalite movement of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in India, the All Nepal Communist Revolutionary Coordinating Committee (Marxist-Leninist) was established in 1975. The Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) was formed in 1978 by the merger of the Communist Party of Nepal (Amatya), the Nepal Revolutionary Organization (Marxist-Leninist) and several smaller communist parties. The first national convention elected Chandra Prakash Mainali as the party's first general secretary.

### **Birendra Rule - Public Movements**

In 1972, Birendra inherited the country where political parties were banned and started governing through a panchayat, a system of local and regional councils. He said the party could not tolerate democracy based on politics as Nepal was a poor and backward country. In 1979, as a result of the anti-government movement of Nepalese students, Birendra called for a national referendum to determine the nature of the Nepalese government. The panchayat system won a narrow majority in the national referendum. To that extent, Birendra gave the Prime Minister of Nepal the right to elect a panchayat system in the monarchical constitution. In 1981, Birendra called for a non-partisan general election in Nepal. The major parties boycotted the election. In 1985, the Nepali Congress Party launched a civil disobedience campaign. The Nepali Congress Party boycotted the 1986 general election in Nepal and in 1987 allowed its members to run in the local elections.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist) was formed in 1987 by the merger of the Communist Party of Nepal (Manmohan) led by Manmohan Adhikari and the Communist Party of Nepal (Pushpa Lal) led by Sahana Pradhan. It is closely associated with the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The pro-democracy movement began in 1990 with the coordination of the Nepali Congress Party and left-wing groups and by students, human rights organizations and professional groups. There have been several deaths and mass arrests in an attempt by the military to quell these concerns. Birendra eventually succumbed to pressure and agreed to a new democratic constitution. Thus the panchayat system was abolished.

Nepal held its first parliamentary elections in May 1991, almost 50 years later. In 1978, the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) merged with the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist) to form the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist). In the 1991 elections, the Nepali Congress party won 110

of the total 205 seats to form the government. Girija Prasad Koirala becomes the Prime Minister of Nepal. This marked the beginning of 4 years of political stability. The Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) won 69 seats and became the main opposition. Manmohan Adhikari was elected head of a parliamentary group of officials. With rising prices resulting from the implementation of changes in the policy of the new Congress government in 1992, in the midst of the financial crisis and chaos, the radical left raised their political concern. Formed a public struggle group together with various associations. The dissolution of the House of Representatives for the 1994 midterm elections led to the formation of 8 unstable coalition governments and a hung parliament in 5 years.

### **Emergence of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)**

When the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Center) split into two factions in 1994, one faction was led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal and the other by Nirmal Lama. Both factions decided to register with the Election Commission for the 1994 by-elections. However, the Election Commission has identified only the Nirmal Lama faction. In response, Baburam Bhattarai called for a boycott of the 1994 by-elections. The faction led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal went completely underground to start preparations for its next phase of struggle after the division of the Unity Centre. The party held its third plenum in March 1995, changing the name of the party to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). It was decided that all efforts should be focused on the development of the People's War and that the process of formal participation in parliamentary elections should be abandoned. It submitted to the government demands that Nepal be institutionalized as a federal republic and therefore abolish the monarchy, form an interim government and establish a Constituent Assembly.

Sher Bahadur Deuba, the Prime Minister through the 1995 by-elections, launched Operation Romeo with the police in November 1995 against the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists). Operation Romeo led to human rights violations. The government unilaterally arrested and detained hundreds of members of the party, raping and executing them. In February 1996, the People's War was declared by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) Prachanda (Pushpa Kamal Dahal) in response to the realization that the government had not heeded the insurgent demands.

After the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) came to power in 1997, violence between the two sides ceased but the problem was not resolved. Local elections were held in May 1997 but elections to 87 rural development committees could not be held due to threats from the Maoists. In response, the government sought to introduce the Terrorist and Destructive Activities Act in July 1997 on the initiative of the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister. This law

gives wide powers to the police against terrorists. Massive protests from civil society, the media and international organizations forced the government to withdraw the law before it could be introduced in parliament.

### **Emergency**

Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's loss of his post in the no-confidence motion has led to political instability in Nepal. In 2000, GP Koirala returned as Prime Minister and headed the ninth government in 10 years. In 2001, Birendra and his family were shot dead by Crown Prince Dipendra. With the exception of Birendra's younger brother Gyanendra Shah, almost all members of the royal family died in the massacre. Dipendra was proclaimed king, but a few days later he shot himself to death. Consequently, Gyanendra came to power. The Maoists intensified the insurgency. Sher Bahadur Deuba came to power after Prime Minister GP Koirala had to step down in response to the violence. In November 2001, Prachanda declared that peace talks with the government had failed. This started a violent uprising again. With this, King Gyanendra declared a state of emergency and ordered the army to suppress the Maoist insurgents. Hundreds of people were killed in the insurgency and government operations. The Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba, declared the CPN (Maoist) a terrorist organization and issued an Anti-Terrorism Ordinance. After failing to extend the state of emergency, King Gyanendra dissolved Parliament in May 2002 on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. It was decided to call for elections in November of the same year. The Prime Minister has asked for more time for the conduct of elections as 65 security personnel were killed in a surprise attack by insurgents in Sandhikharka in Arghakhanchi district. King Deuba was ousted as Prime Minister in October 2002 due to his incompetence and assumed executive power in the country. Elections have been postponed indefinitely.

The government agreed to a ceasefire with the rebels in January 2003, but within six months the CPN (Maoists) withdrew from peace talks with the government. With this the Maoists again started a violent uprising. In February 2005, King Gyanendra dissolved the government, restored full monarchy and declared a state of emergency, citing the need to defeat the Maoist rebels. In April of the same year King Gyanendra succumbed to inter-national pressure and lifted the state of emergency. The Maoist insurgents and the main opposition parties agreed on a program designed to restore democracy. In April 2006, King Gyanendra agreed to reconvene Parliament after weeks of violent strikes and protests against direct monarchy. Maoist insurgents announce three-month ceasefire. The Maoist rebels began peace talks with the government after parliament unanimously voted to curb the king's political powers. After peace talks between the CPN (Maoist) and the Nepalese government, the Maoist rebels set out to end the ten-year civil war. Signing a comprehensive peace agreement,



Maoist chairman Prachanda said, "The civil war is over and a new revolution must come through a re-established parliament."

### **End of the Monarchy**

In April 2007, the Maoists joined the Interim Government and entered Parliament. This action brought them into the political mainstream. In September 2007, the Maoists withdrew from the Provisional Government, demanding the abolition of the monarchy. In December 2007, Parliament approved the abolition of the monarchy as part of a peace deal with the government for the Maoists. The Maoists rejoined the government.

The CPN (Maoist) won 220 seats in the April 2008 elections but the CPN (Unified Marxist-Leninist) joined and formed a coalition government due to the lack of a majority to form a government. Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) was elected Prime Minister. The Nepali Congress flew into opposition. Nepal became a republic of Nepal in May 2008 with the dissolution of the monarchy.

The CPN (Maoist) Party merged with the CPN (Unity Center) to form the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) resigned as Prime Minister amid fierce opposition and differences from coalition government partners as he sought to oust Nepal military chief Rukmangood Katuwal and integrate former Maoists into the army.

### **New Constitution**

In January 2010 the Constituent Assembly agreed to extend the deadline for drafting a constitution. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved in May 2012 after failing to draft a constitution. The Nepali Congress won the assembly elections in November 2013, pushing the former ruling Maoists to third place. Nepali Congress leader Sushil Koirala has been elected Prime Minister with parliamentary support. In September 2015, the new constitution of Nepal was approved by Parliament. KP Oli was elected by the new constitution. Oli was the first Prime Minister of Nepal. Prime Minister KP Oli has been forced to resign following a no-confidence motion in parliament after the Maoist party withdrew from the ruling coalition. In 2016, Parliament elected Maoist leader Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) as Prime Minister for the second time. The Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) changed its name to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Center) along with ten other Maoist parties.

### **Emergence and Dissolution of the Communist Party of Nepal**

In the 2017 parliamentary elections, the CPN (MC) led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal and the CPN (UML) led by KP Oli contested as a coalition. The coalition won the election and KP Oli took over as Prime Minister of Nepal. After the formation of the government, the alliance merged to form the Communist Party of Nepal. Prasad Oli and Pushpa Kamal Dahal were the joint chairmen of the party.

In 2020, the party split vertically into the KP Oli faction and the Pushpa Kamal Dahal faction amid allegations of corruption against the KP Oli government in the party and a change in party leadership.

The Nepali Congress has returned to Nepali politics since the 2020 political crisis. By no-confidence motion in Parliament KP Oli was forced to resign as prime minister. Sher Bahadur Deba was unanimously approved by President as Nepali Congress claims majority. Nepal's Supreme Court has ruled that a unanimous decision by the President is illegal. But Deuba continues as the current Prime Minister of Nepal.

### **Why does the Democratic Set up Fail to Work**

From late 1940s attempts to establish democracy started in Nepal, but till now that did not work. It happened so because of the simple reason that the democratic set up had neither bourgeois character nor the strength to withstand external pressure.

In 1950 a treaty was signed between India and Nepal. The articles 5, 6 and 7 of that treaty have turned into a fetter for the people of Nepal. They allow the citizens of both the countries to carry out business, build up industries, build up trading and commercial activities, own properties estates, establishments etc without any hindrance. Everybody understands which side will gain from it. Moreover development of relationships with other neighbours should be under watch. In the beginning it was not problematic, but with the passage of time it turned out to be an instrument for dictating terms.

In 1960 April Nepal signed a treaty with China. Whereas the India Nepal Treaty was signed between the Indian ambassador and the Nepalese PM, the Nepal China Treaty was signed between two PMs, clearly putting Nepal into much prestigious position.