

CHAPTER - I

BIRTH OF NEPAL AS A MODERN STATE

Unification

Historically, Nepal is an ancient country. Several dynasties, namely, the Licchavis, ^{the} Kiratas, the Soma-vansis, the Suryavansis, the Mallas and the Shaha dynasty ruled different parts of the country at different times. Presently the Shaha dynasty is at the head of the state of Nepal. It's founder Prithvi Narayan Shaha, of the Gurkha, united Nepal by A.D. 1770.

The story of the unification of Nepal begins with the induction of modernity in Nepal. Prithvi Narayan's forefather, Dravya Shaha, is said to have migrated from Chittor¹ after the sacking of that kingdom by Alauddin Khilzi.² However, Dravya Shaha, was the younger son of the Raja of Lamjung. The elder branch of the family ruled in -----

1. M.L. Bajracharya, "Historical Background" in Nepal Council of Applied Economic Research, Nepal, A Profile, p.19.
2. Sanwal, B.D. Social and Political History of Nepal, p.116.
Rishikesh Shaha considers the linkages sought to be established between the Chittor Rajputs and the Gurkha family 'tenuous' (Rishikesh Shaha, Modern Nepal, vol.1, p.23.

Lamjung and tried to absorb Gorkha. Dravya Shah fought it out by means of his alliances with the Magar and Gurung localities to the north and the east of Gorkha under his control.³ Dravya Shaha's grand son, Ram Shah, became the Raja of Gorkha in 1605 A.D. He was a good administrator and able military commander.⁴ He appointed a Chautaria or a Principal Minister from among the close kin to assist the administration and Kazis to work under him.⁵ He introduced a kind of district administration. He introduced the collection of rents from the tenures and octroi or trade-dues from merchants and craftsman. He also set up a small army.

Prithvi Narayan Shahā, who united Nepal in 1767 A.D., was born in 1723 A.D. He ascended the throne in 1742 A.D. He set his view on a conquest of the Kathmandu valley which was ruled by the Malla Kings.⁶ The Gorkha attempt to approach Kathmandu by capturing Nayakot was foiled in 1737, A.D. On ascending the throne Prithvi Narayan made another unsuccessful attempt to take Nayakot. After the defeat by the forces of Jayaprakash Malla, Prithvi Narayan

3. Sanwal, op.cit., pp 116-117.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, p.117.

6. Ibid.

retired to Banaras and came in contact with the British army. He returned to Gorkha with a few Hindustani soldiers of the East India Company. These soldiers trained the Gorkhas in the use of guns.⁷

Prithvi Narayan not only introduced modern weaponry into his army but thoroughly secularised it.⁸ Prithvi Narayan recruited his soldiers not only from the Thakurs but also from the Magars, Gurungs and even the Bhotias.⁹

Prithvi Narayan had the good will of several local castes and he was able to neutralise the Chaubisi Rajas and the Raja of Lamjung through diplomacy. From 1745 A.D. till his death, Prithvi Narayan went on his spree of conquest.¹⁰

The appeal of the Malla King brought the East India Company's army into Nepal in 1767. But the Company's forces were defeated by the Gorkhas.¹¹ From then on the company maintained a neutralist policy until the second decade of

7. Sanwal, op.cit., pp. 117-118.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid, p.118.

10. Ibid, p.119.

11. Ibid, pp-119-120.

the nineteenth century.¹²

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Gorkha army under Bahadur Shah tried to expand their kingdom towards Tibet in the north. The Gorkha army conquered Dailukh, Dullu, Bajhand and Dati in 1789. They captured Kirung Kuti and Tungri in 1788. In the second war with Tibet in 1791, when the Nepali army was defeated and lost their territories in the north, they moved towards the south to fulfil their aspiration of expanding their territories. Between 1808 and 1814 Nepal had several clashes with the British authority in India.¹³

The rise of Nepal had all the appearances of the emergence of a strong regional power in the Himalayan belt like the Sikhs in the north west and the Marathas in the South West of India threatening the British aspiration for hegemony over India where the Mughal power was crumbling. So the Anglo-Gorkha war broke out in 1814. This was continued till 1816 when Nepal lost the war and had to cede territories between the Mechi river and the Tista river

12. Ibid

13. Sanwal, B.D., Social and Political History of Nepal p.117. and Kashi Prasad Srivastav, Nepal Ka Itihash, p.103.

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in the east and the region of Kumaon, Garhwal and Shimla in the west. The present shape of Nepal was determined by the treaty of Segauli in 1816.¹⁴

After the Treaty of Segauli, a British resident was posted in the court of Nepal. During the next century, that became the crucial external factor in the political scene of Nepal.

Nepal Under British Hegemony; Intrigues around the throne

Prithvi Narayan Shah had united Nepal in one empire but he maintained, and in some castes strengthened, the feudal privileges of the noble families and his military chiefs through grants of 'Jagirs' and 'Birtas'.¹⁵ He also granted 'Guthi' lands to be Brahmins.¹⁶ Thus the feudal and upper caste elite in society remained quite powerful. They got their inspiration and encouragement from the district officers and the central government.¹⁷ Their influences grew

14. Gupta, Anirudha, Politics in Nepal.p.5, and see Majupurias, op.cit., p.26.

15. Dhundi Raj Bhandari, Nepal ko Aitihāsik Vevechana, (Nepali), pp.155-157.

16. Gupta Anirudha, Politics in Nepal, p.7.

17. Rose, Leo and John T Scholz, Nepal: A Profile of a Himalayan Kingdom, p.74.

further after the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah.¹⁸ Such a closed society suffering from economic stagnation^{and} insulation naturally promoted court intrigues around the throne over succession, regency and Prime Ministership.¹⁹ Children of a dead king would fight for a throne, the queen^{and} would take sides and aim at becoming regent when a king would be a minor. The important families would take part in their intrigues with their eyes on the Prime Ministership frequently leading to murders. Tripura Sundari Devi acted as a regent queen during the minority of Rajendra Bikram Shah from 1806-1816, when Bhimsen Thapa as the Prime Minister wielded almost absolute power in the kingdom.²⁰ In 1816 the Anglo-Gorkha war ended with Nepal's defeat and a British resident was installed at Kathmandu. From now on the British resident was also taking active interest in the Nepalese^s court intrigues which led to the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa in 1837 and, finally, to the "kot massacre" in 1846.²¹

During this period Jung Bahadur Rana emerged as the

18. Gupta, Anirudha, Politics in Nepal, pp.8-9.

19. Ibid.

20. Shah/^aRishikesh, Modern Nepal, Vol.I P.155.
Gupta, Anirudha, Politics in Nepal, p.9, quoting
from W.W. Hunter, Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson,
British Resident at the court of Nepal, pp.132-137.

21. Sanwal, op.cit., p.140.

most powerful Prime Minister in Nepal's history like the Peshwas of Maharashtra. He obtained from the king the title of Maharaja and established matrimonial relation with the royal family. Primeministerial position in Nepal became hereditary. The king became a puppet and the Ranas became the ruling heads in Nepal. The British supported the Ranas and their friendship was cemented by the visit of Jung Bahadur to England in 1850 and Nepal's military assistance to the suppression of 1857 revolt against the British in India. Gradually Nepal became the market for Gorkha soldiers. For the nine decades after that the position remained the same.

On the other hand, the Ranas divested the king of all power. They consolidated their feudal grip over the Nepalese peasantry. Extortion of agricultural surplus led to quick pauperisation of the bulk of the people resulting in massive migration towards British India.²² Recruitment to the British army as well as in the tea garden of British India and the various services absorbed a part of their emigrant population. But the distress of the masses of the common people went on increasing opening up the objective possibilities of an alliance between ^{the} monarchy and the -----

22. According to the 1941 census of India 45% of the foreign immigrants to India were from Nepal. See Manas. Dasgupta, 'Demographic Pattern of The Hill Areas' in Chaube (ed.) The Himalayas, p.52.

populace against the Ranarchy and hence against the British Raj.²³

Socio-Cultural Awakening In Nepal

It is a common experience of several traditional countries that the protest against the oppressive rule of a King, or an elite, or a foreign power, first gets expression in religious and socio-cultural movements. The Anglo-Gorkha war not only brought the British into Nepal. It was also a great humiliation for the patriotic section of the Nepalese. Their pain and agony were succinctly expressed in the writings of Acharyya Bhanu Bhakta (1814-1864) who wrote a Nepalese version of Ramayana based on the original sanskrit classic Adhyatma Ramayana.²⁴ His references to Ram Rajya was a reminder of an ideal monarchy to the Nepalese people. It was an indirect critique of the state of affairs in the Nepalese polity. Bhanu Bhakta's other writings more sharply pointed out the malaise of the regime. His stress on Swadesh (own country), Swabhasha (own language) and Swasanskriti (own culture) was offensive enough for the

23. Furer Haimendorf has stressed the push factor in the migration from Nepal. The pull of tea was, of course, there. See Tanka Bahadur Subba Dynamics of A Hill Society. p.3.

24. Pradhan, Kumar, A History of Nepali Literature, pp.113-117. see also Michael James Hutt, Nepali : A National language and Its Literature.

regime to put him in jail where he completed his main literary work in 1853.²⁵

It should be noted here that Nepal's cultural contact with India is hundreds of years old. Many many Hindu deities have found their homes in Nepal. A number of Hindu pilgrimage ^{centres} are located in Nepal. Gautam Buddha was born in Nepal. The Nepal king claims to be an Avatar (incarnation) of Vishnu. The Nepalese caste structure is a reproduction of the Indian caste structure. Till today Nepal claims to be the only Hindu state in the world. Migration from different parts of India is still continuing. Students from Nepal have come to India for education for several centuries. During the British period Nepalese soldiers and workers worked in India and settled in different parts of this country. Children of ^{the} Nepalese elite came to Banaras, Calcutta, Patna and Dehradun for modern education.

Acharyya Bhanu Bhakta initiated a "renaissance" in Nepali language and culture.²⁶ Specially, his use of the sacred text of Ramayana opened up a new phase of socio-cultural mobilization. Several religious associations were -----

25. Sharma Mrs. V., Role of Nepali Literature and Language in the Integration and Modernisation in Nepal, pp.227-230.
26. Ghose, Dilip Kumar, "Acharjya Bhanu Bhakta", Journal of Nepali Academy, North Bengal University, vol.1, 1974.

formed inside the country to discuss the shastras. One of these groups embraced the teachings of Arya Samaj, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Madhav Raj Joshi, returned to Nepal from India and started religious discourses. In 1896 he founded a branch of Arya Samaj at Kathmandu.²⁷ The Samaj threatened the hegemony of the upper caste in the Nepalese society ~~and~~ ^s Arya Samaj was anti-caste. Their pressure forced Madhav Raj Joshi to leave the country in 1905 and settle permanently at Darjeeling in Bengal.²⁸ But the Arya Samajist^s movement continued in Nepal under the leadership of a younger generation of Nepalese.

Beginning of Political movement

Nepal's proximity to India was largely responsible not only for her socio-cultural awakening but also for political consciousness. This phase of modern politics in Nepal can directly be traced to the political ferment in Bengal since 1905. The agitation against Bengal partition surcharged the political atmosphere not only in Bengal but also in the rest of India. Darjeeling, the favourite middle class tourist resort and centre of tea industry in Bengal, had already attracted Bengalis among whom, nationalist militancy was -----

27. Gupta Anirudha, Politics in Nepal, p.23.

28. Ibid. pp.22-23.

growing. The most important consequence of the anti partition agitation for the nationalist movement in India was its division between the "moderates" and the "extremists"²⁹ with Bengal largely subscribing to the extremist position and giving birth to revolutionary nationalism which the British called "terrorism".³⁰ The disgruntled Nepalese youth could not keep away from this revolutionary ardour emanating from Darjeeling, Calcutta, Patna, Banaras and Dehradun. It is also important to know that the Bengal revolutionaries in the second decade of the century were trying to cross the Himalayan border in search of arms and ammunition.³¹ At the same time they were trying to propagate the revolutionary spirit among the Indian and the Gorkha soldiers in Dehradun and Lahore.³² IN 1907 the first Gorkha activities were reported from Calcutta. One Prithviman Thapa,³³ a dismissed Gorkha soldier, addressed a meeting at Calcutta College Square on 27th July 1907 where

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29. The History of Indian National Congress (1885-1935).by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya p.160-161. Sitaramayya did not use the term "extremist", he called them "nationalist".
 30. Tripathi, Amallesh - The Extremist Challenge: India, between 1890 and 1910 p.108-109.
 31. Jadugopal Mukhopadhyaya, Biplavi Jivaner Smriti(Bengali), pp.22-23, 364, 433, 435.
 32. Ibid., pp. 384-85.
 33. Foreign Department, Government of India External, B. 1907. File No.101/109, National Archives of India.

about two hundred persons were present.³⁴ He raised subscription for the purpose of a newspaper which would promote among the Gorkhas in India love for their motherland. The paper would also enlighten the Gorkhas about the economic condition of India and promote understanding between the Bengalis and the Gorkhas. Thapa sought the assistance of Colonel Bahadur Jung, Nepal's political representative in Calcutta, to get the Nepalese Government support for the swadeshi movement. He also unsuccessfully wrote to Chandra Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana for financial assistance to his paper the Gorka Sathi.³⁵ Prithviman Thapa's dream of the Nepali Rana Regime supporting the Swadeshi movement in India, which was out and out anti-British, was naturally shattered. Very soon Thapa's disillusionment with the Rana Regime was reflected in his paper which became increasingly critical of the regime. Naturally, again, the British Government in India banned the paper's circulation among the Gorkha soldiers in

34. Nepal Residency Papers - Telegram from the Calcutta Police, May 28, 1907, National Archives of India.

35. Foreign Department, Government of India, File No. August, 1908 Nos. 254-255. Chandra Shumsher received a few anonymous letters, addressed to the Maharajadhiraj (King), in the year 1908-1909, urging him to join the native princes like Gwalior, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaleswar, Udaipur, Nabha, Patiala, Indore and Bhutan. Also See Majumdar Kanchanmoy, Nepal and the Indian Nationalist Movement, pp.3-4.

India.³⁶

The Nepal Prime Minister asked for Prithviman's extradition to Nepal. But the request was not entertained as the British Government policy did not favour extradition of political offenders in Nepal.³⁷ This may or may not indicate a mass resentment against British power in Nepal. It surely indicates the Rana Prime Minister's loyalty to the British Raj. It is necessary to know that the appeal was made to the Maharajdhiraj and not the Maharaja.

Prithviman Thapa's episode is a study in contrast of the more vocal loyalty to the British Raj among the retired Gorkha soldiers settled in British India. For example, in the same year 1907, the retired Gorkha settlers of Darjeeling joined hands with the Bhutia and Lepcha landlords to demand the exclusion of the Darjeeling hill from the scope of the Morley-Minto reforms.³⁸

In 1907 Rana Chandra Shumsher moved to ban or restrict the Indian nationalist newspapers. He issued a warning

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. "Political socialisation of the Indian Nepalese in the early twentieth century" by D.B. Gurang, North Bengal University Review, Vol.2, Nov.1 and 2, June to Dec. 1981.

against reading four Indian newspapers which were considered to be writing seditious articles. They were Bande Mataram, Jugantar, Sandhya from Calcutta, and New India from Lahore.³⁹

Chandra Shumsher also wanted a full list of other papers considered seditious by the British. The list of Newspapers supplied by the British was made up of the following names. The Punjabi, New India, United Burma, Sultān, Navashakti, Mihir-O-Sudhakar, Charu Mihir and Howrah Hitaishi. The list of papers did not include papers in other Indian languages as "such papers are probably not received in Nepal."⁴⁰

Nepalese political linkage with Bengal can easily be understood in terms of the importance of that province as the seat of British India's capital, as the foremost educated province and as the most volatile region of India. The presence of a large number of educated Bengalis as

39. Foreign Department, Government of India, External B, proceedings September, 1907, Nos. 101/109.

40. Letter from J. Manner Smith (Resident of Nepal) to Sir L.W. Dane, K.C.I. (Secretary to the Government of India) Nos. 101/109 (1907), Bande Mataram edited by Arobindo Ghose, New India edited by Bipin Chandra Pal, Sandhya edited by Brahma Bandhav Upadhyaya Jugantar edited by Bhupendranath Dutt. These papers became the mouthpiece of the revolutionaries. See also Tripathi, Amallesh, The Extremist Challenge, pp.178-80.

government servants, businessmen and professionals helped the carrying on of the revolutionary spirit of Bengal. Most importantly, the largest Nepalese settlement, outside Nepal, was in the district of Darjeeling in Bengal.

In 1908 the extremist nationalist newspaper from Bengal, the Bande Mataram, launched a strong attack on Rana Chandra Shumsher. Rana Chandra Shumsher reacted by issuing a proclamation warning the people in general and the Bengali employees of the Nepalese Government in particular.⁴¹ He is also reported to have appointed four British Indian detectives.⁴² to trace the Bengal revolutionaries who were allegedly manufacturing bombs in Nepal.

Nepal and the First World War

The first world war started in 1914 when the extremist movement in India was taking a revolutionary terrorist turn and the seeds of Khilafat agitation had already been sown. The British came heavily upon ^{the} Indian newspapers including the Amrito Bazar Patrika, ^{and} the Bengali, both from Calcutta, The Leader from Allahabad, the Hamdard from Delhi

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid. (Letter from J. Manners Smith) and Kanchanmoy Majumdar "Nepal and The Indian Nationalist Movement, pg.4.

and the Zamindar from Lahore. The Prime Minister of Nepal was informed of the seditious character of these papers⁴³. While Nepal was put under heavy censors of posts and papers from India, the ^{government} soon realised the undesirable consequences of vigorous censors as wild rumors were spreading in Kathmandu about the war in the absence of authentic news. It was, therefore, decided to relax the censor and hand over all posts from British India to the Nepalese subjects of Nepal to a nominee of the Maharaja.

But the new wave of consciousness could not be kept out of Nepal. The first world war brought about world wide revolutionary changes. Thousands of Nepalese soldiers went out of the country to serve the British army. They brought a new awareness of the world situation and democratic aspiration to the country.

Meanwhile, in 1912, the seat of highest British power in India was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi, educational centres started growing in the northern India. Nepalese students found it more convenient to study at Banaras and an increasing number of modern educative youth assembled in Banaras. They were joined in by a disgruntled group of dismissed civil and military employees of the Nepal

43. Foreign and Political Department, Secret war Proceedings of May 1915, Nos. 783-786.

Government who settled down in northern India. For the next few decades Banaras became the focal point of middle class intellectual activities of Nepal.

The first world war changed the scenario of British India. It placed the Indian national movement on a new footing. On the one hand the Indian revolutionaries and the Khilafatists were moving out of India in search of arms and external support. On the other hand, in 1915, Gandhi returned to India and gradually took command of the nationalist movement. It should not be forgotten that the first political struggle of Gandhi in India was on the border of Nepal - at Champaran (in 1917).

Gandhi's attitude to the first world war changed over time. At the beginning he was co-operative with the British. After the passing of the Rowlatt Act Gandhi increasingly opposed the British Raj until the non co-operation movement which brought about a confrontation between the British Raj and the Indian National Congress. The non-cooperation movement, however, was withdrawn in 1922, creating a strong resentment against Gandhi among a section of congressmen like Chittranjan Das, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Subhas Chandra Bose.⁴⁴ Even Jawahar

44. Sitaramaiya, P. The History of Indian national Congress, pg. 399-407.

Lal Nehru was sceptical of the decision to withdraw the movement but thought that Gandhi knew the public mood best.⁴⁵

The Indian Left

The Indian Left emerged in this context of division over the strategy of non co-operation movement and was born about the time of the Gaya Congress of 1922⁴⁶ presided over by Chittranjan Das. This group counterpoised itself against Gandhi and form^{ed} the Swarajist group within the congress party with a view to council entry in 1923 while Gandhi engaged himself in constructive work. This group also claimed its lineage from the extremists of the earlier period. C.R.Das had close personal contacts with the extremists like Arobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal.⁴⁷ He retained his contacts with the national revolutionaries of Bengal till his death in 1925.

The informal left in India, therefore, can be traced from the extremists of 1906 through Chittaranjan Das and -----

45. Bose, Subhas Chandra, The Indian Struggle, 1937. Nehru, Jawaharlal, Autobiography pp. 82-86.

46. Sitaramajya P.B. op.cit., Pg.426

47. Petrie, Sir David, Communism in India, pp.25 and 303 and Gaya Session of National Congress in Documents of History of Communist Party, 1917-1922, vo.I, pp.561

Motilal Nehru. The formal "left" emerged, after Das's death, at Kawnpur in 1925 with the first meeting of the Indian Communists.⁴⁸

The early communists worked in the trade union movement and maintained links with young Congress leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawahar Lal Nehru.⁴⁹

Subhas Chandra Bose's link with the left can be traced to 1920 when the all-India trade union congress was set up with Bose as a general secretary. Jawahar Lal Nehru's link with the left can be traced to his membership of the executive committee of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence in 1927. In 1929, when the famous Meerut conspiracy case against ^{the} Indian Communists was started by the British Government, Jawaharlal Nehru was the president of All India Congress Committee. The Congress party set up a Meerut Defence Committee with Motilal as the President and Jawaharlal as the Secretary.⁵⁰ Dr. Mutar

48. Tripathi, Amalesh, The Extremist Challenge, pp.128-129 and Sinha, L.P., The Left Wing in India, pp.69-80. About the efforts of the Communists to penetrate Congress organisation through C.R.Das and Motilal Nehru around the time of the Gaya Congress. see Overstreet and Windmiller, Communism in India, pp.53-58.
49. Sinha, op.cit., pp.110-111 and Petrie, op.cit., pp.25.
50. Ahmed, Muzaffar, 'Introduction' in Communists Challenge Imperialism from the Dock, pp. vii-viii. See, further, Overstreet and Windmiller, op.cit., pp.135-139.

Ahmed Ansari and Babu Giridhari Lal acted as its working president and working Secretary. Although many congress leaders promised funds for the defence only Motilal and Dr. Ansari made contribution. However, in early 1930s the congress party lost interest in this case. Before launching the civil disobedience movement Jawaharlal informed the communists that congress could no longer defend their case. Jawaharlal's commitment to anti-imperialism, however, was never in doubt.

The Communist Party of India was formally established in 1935 and was immediately banned. Its workers operated from within the Congress Socialist Party ⁵¹ and other small groups.

Ahmed seems to insinuate that ^{the} Nehrus showed interest in the Meerut conspiracy case when, in view of Jawaharlal's known socialist leaning, they apprehended his arrest along with the leftists. When the fear disappeared they withdrew from the case. Jawaharlal Nehru, however, writes that "there were different kinds of people among these, with different types of defences and often there was an utter absence of harmony among them. After some months we wound up the formal committee but we continued to help in our -----

51. Overstreet and Windmiller, Communism in India, pp.161-163.

individual capacities."⁵²

The Congress Socialist Party was established in 1934 in a direct revolt against the Gandhian leadership which, according to the rebels, was soft towards the empire.⁵³ In particular, the socialist revolt was a response to the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement in 1934. The Congress Socialist Party remained within the Congress. Gandhi left the Congress for good but retained his massive influence on the Congress leadership. In 1939 the congress left took on the Gandhian leadership to defeat Gandhi's personal nominee to the congress presidency at Tripurí, Pattav^h_ni Sitaramayya.

In this confrontation with Gandhi the Congress Socialist Party missed Jawaharlal Nehru who chose Gandhi for the sake of broad national unity.⁵⁴ In 1940 when Subhash Chandra Bose formed his "All India Forward Block" neither the Congress Socialists nor the Communists joined him. The C.S.P. leader, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, was convinced of

52. Nehru, Jawaharlal (An Autobiography, 1982), pp.188-189.

53. See Narayan, Jaya Prakash, Towards Struggle, p.139.

54. During the Bose-Gandhi conflict in 1939, however, the CSP declared its loyalty to Congress (see Chaube, Constituent Assembly of India, p.129).

the necessity of Gandhi's continued leadership.⁵⁵ The communists suspected Bose of Pro-Fascist sympathy. They, later, denounced Bose's Azad Hindu Fauz as well as Gandhi's Quit India Movement because both these movements facilitated the growth of fascism and weakening of the defence of "the socialist fatherland" - the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The split of the communists with the socialists was complete during the Quit India movement.⁵⁶ It's split with the Congress took place in 1945 when the communist members of the All India Congress Committee were expelled from the Congress.

The Congress Socialist Party rose to the peak of its glory during the Quit India movement. At the instance of Gandhi the A.I.C.C. adopted this resolution on August 8, 1942. All the Working Committee members as well as Gandhi were arrested the same night. The young leaders of the C.S.P. took the leadership of the movement when Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali hoisted the national flag, at the venue of A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay, in the morning of August 9.

The C.S.P., however, lacked ideological cohesion. The difference within the group as well as with the Congress

55. Nehru Jawaharlal, A Bunch of old letters, p.356.

56. Narayan Jayaprakash, Towards Struggle, p.139.

leaders grew after ^{world} war II and, finally, the C.S.P. split from Congress in March 1948. By that time the C.S.P. had considerably moved away from Marxism towards Gandhism, so much so that its leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, accused Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel of neglecting Gandhi's security on the eve of his assassination.⁵⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru offered Jayaprakash Narayan a seat in the cabinet. Jayaprakash did not respond to it. On the other hand, in early 1953, the Socialist party joined the Krishak Majdur Praja Party, a break-away group of Congress led by Acharya J.B. Kripalani, to form the Praja Socialist Party. The ambivalent attitude of Nehru and Jayaprakash towards each other created suspicion within the Praja Socialist Party about Jayaprakash's attitude towards Congress and Jayaprakash became disgruntled enough to withdraw partly from the P.S.P.'s work and devote himself to Bhoodan.⁵⁸ After the election of 1957 he retired from actual politics. Meanwhile, in 1955, Rammanohar Lohia walked out from the P.S.P. to form the Socialist Party and, after the death of Acharya Narendra Deva, the socialist movement in India became rudderless. In 1977, after the death of Dr. Lohia, the Socialist party merged with ^{the} Janata Party.

57. Prasad Bimla, "A Revolutionary's Quest", 'Introduction', p. 'xxxi'.

58. Chāube, op.cit.

The Communist Party of India had a chequered career since World War II when it extended its co-operation to the British war effort and got freedom to operate openly. In 1948-49, it launched a lot of adventurist programmes and was severely punished by the independent state. During this period, the Communist Party of India came into contact with some Nepali leaders in India.

Thus the Indian left is also not a cohesive group. Its ideological spectrum ranged from militant nationalism to revolutionary Marxism. The intermingling of these trends had produced several ideological strands followed by different political groups. All these parties were essentially concerned with India. Yet, the proximity of Nepal to this country and interaction between the two peoples have forced them to take cognizance of the developments in Nepal and adopt different kinds of strategies towards that country.

Overall nationalist policy towards Nepal

Congress, as a nationalist movement, suffered from some inherent defects. Gandhi's stress on multiclass unity stopped it from adopting radical positions on socio-political issues. The need to draft the support of the princes, who had been early patrons of Congress, discouraged major reformist programmes in states. The All-Parties

Conference Report envisaged modification, in varying degrees, of the system of Government and administration among them. In 1929 the Congress demanded that states be brought into line with the rest of India through introduction of responsible Government and social reforms. The states people's movement was born.

Nepal was a British Protectorate. Congress, therefore, could not officially show interest in her internal affairs. It, however, would favour democratization of Nepal. A large number of Nepalese settlers in India, particularly, those serving the British armed forces, were the special foci of interest. But the Indian left was more outspoken in opposition to the princely order. As J.P. Narayan wrote "The princes, relics of feudal India, are an anachronism in the modern world".⁵⁹

59. Naryan J.P., "The objective of the Congress Socialist Party" in Bimal Prasad 'A Revolutionary's Quest', pp.25