

NAXALBARI AND JHAPA REVOLT : HISTORICAL STUDY

*Rajkumar Pokhrel**

ABSTRACT

Naxalbari is a small village in West Bengal, India, where a section of the Communist Party of India (CPM) led by Kanu Sanyal, and Jangal Santhal initiated a violent uprising in 1967. On 18 May 1967, the Siliguri Kishan Sabha, of which Jangal was the president, declared their support for the movement initiated by Kanu Sanyal and readiness to adopt armed struggle to redistribute land to the landless. But before it, as a consequence of the debate in international communist movement, Indian communist Party split and a faction choose the path of Mao Thought to go ahead. The party was led by Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal revolted against the existing political system. The uprising was started from Naxalbari village by using the policy of “annihilation of class enemy”. It is known as Naxalbari Revolt. But the neither could gain achievement nor run for long last. Top leader of the party, Charu Majumdar, was arrested and killed. After his murder, the party split into more than one dozen factions. On the other side, in Nepal, the neighbouring district Jhapa came into influence of Naxalbari Revolt and the youth communists of Jhapa started the revolt using the same path of Naxalbari. Jhapa Revolt also runs for only 30 months. Both the movements became failure to achieve the aim. But due to the differences of ruling structure, existing political system, and geo political condition between two countries, the revolt of India split into several divisions and the movement of Nepal, even being unsuccessful to achieve the aim achieved to unify the divided movement. The impact of Naxalbari movement in India seems remain still now in some parts of India but in Nepal, Jhapa revolt has become a history. Whatsoever, both revolts have left impact in both countries till now.

Keywords: Naxalbari, Jhapa, revolt, movement, communist, peasant.

INTRODUCTION

Naxalbari is strategically situated at the tri-junction of Nepal, Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) and India. The place came to be a

* Dr. Pokharel is Professor of History, Central Department of History, Kirtipur, TU.

famous due to the peasant movement of 1967. It was, however, not the first peasant uprising to have taken place in India in recent time. In 1946, there was a “three parts” movement in Bengal, which demanded reduction in the share of landlords from one-half of the crops to one-third. The communists of India encouraged the peasant to forcibly take away two-third of the harvested crops to their granaries. The Telengana insurrection (1946-1951) was much more broad-based as the parallel of Indian war of independence of 1857 (Dasgupta, 1975, p.18). The Naxalbari revolt was much smaller in comparison than that of the above mentioned revolt. But it left a far reaching impact on the entire agrarian scene throughout India. In India, the communist party was established in 1920. It was elder than Chinese Communist party from the point of view of the date of establishment. The Naxalbari revolt was an event of the Indian communist Party (CPI).

OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this study is to find out the similarities and differences between two revolts, Naxalbari and Jhapa. The next objective is to search the impact of revolts in the communist movement of related countries..

METHODOLOGY

This is historical study. The article is prepared by using the primary and secondary sources. When the real fact could not be found from the secondary sources, the primary sources are used to complete the document. The books, articles news reports and website are used as secondary sources and it is attempted to verify the fact by taking interview and so on as primary source. The design of this writing is qualitative and methodology is comparative study.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

The causes of Naxalbari uprising can be explained on the basis of external and internal causes:

External Cause

In 1917, the Russia Communist Party, which was led by V.I. Lenin gained victory over the state and the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia (USSR) appeared as the first ruling communist country of the world. As its impact, CPI was also established in 1920. After the death of J.V. Stalin, the successor of Lenin, N.S. Khrushchev became the leader of Union of Soviet Socialist Russia. As the Marxist theory, dialectical materialism,

surplus value and class struggle are known as the basic components of the communist ideology, which believes on the forceful activities. But Khrushchev forwarded the “three peaceful principles” known as peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition, which was passed by his political party, the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU)’s 20th congress in 1956 (Ram, 1971, p.3). He formulated “National Democracy” as the program of the party. In 1956, 20th Congress of CPSU visualized the possibility of peaceful seizure of power by working class and started to talk about the theory of “peaceful transition” in communist revolution. The 6th conference took place shortly after the 1960 Moscow international meeting of communist and worker parties, therefore, the formulation of Moscow meeting had to be kept in the view by a leftist party while evolving its strategy (Sharma, nd.p.79). Mao-Tse-Tung, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, strongly criticized the principle of Khrushchev that the principle was revisionist not the revolutionary of communists. As its result the communist movement of the world divided into two camps (Sen Gupta, April/June 1972, p.283). The CPI was also influenced by such international theoretical conflict.

The CPI followed the view of CPSU and participated in the parliamentary election forming its government in the state of Kerala. This undoubtedly strengthened principle of adopting peaceful movement. The CPI amended its constitution abandoning the use of armed force for revolution. But it was remarkable that the victory in election in only one state out of twenty three neither was a complete success of peaceful principle nor could end the debate on it. When the CPI adopted principle of Khrushchev, a debate rose inside the party between two principles created by Khrushchev and Mao-Tse-Tung. The party reached to split for the first time in 1964 due to that debate. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) came into existence as “left wing” adopting the “Mao Thought”, which kept good relation with Communist Party of China (CPC). The CPI(M) held its 7th national congress in Kolkata in October-November 1964 while the “rightist” were in Mumbai in December for the same purpose.

Internal cause

In Naxalbari, the people of *Santhal*, *Madesia*, *Oraon*, *Munda Rajbanshi*, etc. were staying at that time. A large number of them had originally migrated from the *Santhal Parganas* of Bihar. Almost of them had taken the occupation of agriculture and they were *bhagchasis* (cultivators) of *jotedars* (landlords). Needless to say, the *bhagchasis* were exploited by

the *jotedars*. There were age-old agrarian disputes in the area in which the forces of *jotedars* were pitted against those of the land-hungry peasants and share-croppers. The CPI was against the social and economic exploitation, which had been existing since its inception in Indian society. The CPI started to organize the peasants in *kisan sabha* (peasants' organization) in Naxalbari from 1959 and a movement was launched in Naxalbari and Khoribari and it was suppressed in 1962 (Singh, 2019, p. 7). But its impact among the peasant people was in existence. They had a view that armed struggle is necessary to be liberate from the exploitation in society.

Due to the policy of peaceful transformation, promulgated by Khrushchev, the international communist movement divided into two camps. One was led by CPSU and other by CPC. The CPI also followed the CPSU forming its Government in the state of Kerala. CPI amended the party's constitution in 1958. In 1964, the CPI split and other faction named the Communist Party of India (Marxist) or CPI(M) came into existence as "left wing". But CPI(M) also split in 1967, when it fought the parliamentary election along with CPI and other non-communist elements to set up "United Front Government" in Kerala and West Bengal. The participation in the election of CPI(M) was apparently seen by the CPC as the victory of the revisionist elements in the party and surrender of revolutionary militancy in India. The CPC declared through Radio Peking that there were no any communist parties in India (Sen Gupta, April/June 1972, p.283). The reaction of CPC on the issue of CPI (M) brought an inner-party conflict inside CPI (M) in 1967 and started the struggle of two lines between "revisionists and revolutionaries". Charu Majumdar seemed to be leader of revolutionary camp, who had already written eight articles against the revisionism from 1965 to 1967, and these were known as "Eight Documents (*dastabej*)". Consequently, the CPI (M) split. After split of the party, the revolutionary group led by Charu Majumdar launched an armed peasant movement at Naxalbari of West Bengal, India. When the revolt started CPC made a declaration "a peal of spring thunder crashed over India" (Singh, 2019, p. 9). The Official Organ of CPC, *People's Daily*, wrote in the editorial page as following:

Revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

.... the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party have done the absolutely correct thing and they have done it well. The Chinese people joyfully applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary people of the whole world (People's Daily, 5th July 1967, p. editorial).”

Likewise, Peking Review, a magazine from China, published a report as:

The revolutionaries in Indian Communist Party and revolutionary people of India should draw on the profound historical lesson of Telengana drawing a designate line politically, ideologically and organizationally and wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionist ruling clique at the centre. The revolution arier in closes their ranks in the struggle and built a genuinely revolutionary party of Marxism Leninism and Mao-Tse Tung thought (Peking Review, August 1969, p.5)

It seems that such statement of excitement given by CPC also could play a role in starting of Naxalbari revolt. Charu Majumdar, Jangal Santhal and Kanu Sanyal organized a large number of peasants in a *kisan sabha* (peasants' assembly) at Tahashil Village on March 18, 1967. And *the shava* formed a committee as their authority, whose decision was that the whole activities of landlords should be protested to launch the armed revolt for peasants' liberation. As their revolt, the crops of spring month of 1967 were captured and distributed among the peasants and poor people. The defense force was also organized to protect the revolutionary peasants from offensive attack of “reactionary” and undertook a purpose of making strong organization as well as getting support from lower class people (Kumar, 2052 B.S. p.16). Such activities invited a struggle between the state authority and the revolutionaries. This revolt was launched in Naxalbari including Khoribari and other villages of West Bengal, India. Therefore, the revolt is known as Naxalbari Revolt in the history.

Jhapa Revolt

Jhapa is a district of Nepal, which is situated in the bordering of West Bengal and Bihar of India. The communist politics in Jhapa is found from 1952 just after some years of the establishment of the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN). When the people from Taplejung, Panchthar and Terathum districts migrated to Jhapa, the communist influence seemed to be expanded form as an opposition force of Indian hegemony upon Nepal as well as social exploitation (Chhetri, 24 May 1991). Jhapa District committee of CPN had

already formed in 1952 and it could not be exception from the impact of division in Nepalese communist movement. As divided communist party of Nepal, the East Koshi Provincial Committee became separate from the Central Committee of CPN and established as an independent centre. It had the view of armed struggle in theory but never applied the theory in practice saying that the situation for armed struggle cannot be matured. In such a situation, on one side, in India, the Naxalbari revolt was started and in other hand the youth communists of Jhapa, who were under East Koshi Provincial Committee got reach to make the relation to the Bengali friends (comrades) in searching the revolutionary way. At that time every peaceful methods of the movement was criticized in international communist movement. In Indonesia, Suharto had come to power. The coup of October 1965 had underlined the failure on Indonesian communist party and Sukarno's line of reliance of peaceful transition. In the other hand the Cultural Revolution was composing in China by criticizing all kinds of peaceful methods and "revisionism". The armed method had seemed as popular among the communists. Although, the armed method for revolution was accepted as a compulsory way by almost communist groups of Nepal yet, they were not attempting to enter into the method by saying *that* the situation for revolution was not mature. The rightist deviation, which had been appearing since a long time inside the communist movement in Nepal made dissatisfaction to the youth generation. In such a situation, the youth communists of Jhapa had come to the influence of Chinese Cultural Revolution and the Naxalbari Revolt of India and revolted against the existing political system of Nepal in 1971. They broke the relationship with East Koshi Provincial Committee and started the revolt by making a relation with Indian communist rebellions like Munni Lal Rajbanshi, Rajen Rajbanshi, Bhogen jRajbanshi and so on (Mainali, 1st September 2012). The movement was launched up to 30 months. It was started from Jhapa, therefore, it was known as Jhapa Revolt in the political history of Nepal.

The study of mentioned above fact shows that both the revolts, Naxalbari and Jhapa, were the result of the conflict between CPSU and CPC externally as well as influenced by the Cultural Revolution of China and internally these were started against the rightist opportunism and slackness which had been appearing inside the communist movement of both countries since long time.

The Ideological Issue

The idea of Naxalbari Revolt was generated as the consequence of international communist movement; especially it was influenced by the Cultural Revolution of China and debate between CPC and CPSU. An article was written by Charu Majumdar in 1967 entitled “The Chinese chairman is our chairman, the Chinese path is our path”. He held the view, “He whose hand is not coloured by the blood of class enemy, cannot be revolutionary (Sanyal, 23rd March 1999). Theoretically, he adopted the policy of “annihilation of class enemy” to achieve the People’s Democracy in India. The annihilation of class enemy was directed at not merely the physical liquidation of a few hated landlords and usurers but overthrow of feudal class in an area economically, politically and militarily. In one place, Charu Majumdar wrote:

Whatever comes to be obstacles in the actions taken to capture the political reign for peasant class, we annihilate them of whichever class they may be. They will be annihilated to capture the state power. Not a particular class will be the focus of our class action... the action, capture of state power is concerned basically which class struggle and annihilation will not be a question. However, annihilation is the higher form of class struggle (ANCRCC(ML) December 1975, p.50).

It was explained that after the class enemies were annihilated, others of his ilk would also flee in utter panic and the area would be freed of the class enemies and their agents. According to the Charu Majumdar, annihilation of class enemy was thus “higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerilla war” and that was a kind of class struggle where anybody might be annihilate if he is declared as class enemy or obstacle of the “action” (ANCRCC (ML), Phagun 2033 B.S. p.23). It was said that annihilation was a political action of Mao’s age. But Mao neither applied such activities nor adopted such policy in Chinese revolution. An Indian writer has concluded rightly that the Naxalbari Revolt had four basic objectives: 1) smash the feudal authority in the villages and replace it by the authority of the peasants; 2) establish ‘red terror’ as opposed to the ‘white terror’ of feudal elements; 3) arouse the poor sections of the rural masses to take over the leadership of the movement; and 4) encourage the common people to shake off their fear and inertia to join the revolt (Das Gupta, 1973, pp. 173-187). Ideologically, the revolt was started to complete communist revolution in India using the path of Mao-Tse-Tung Thought or through New Democratic Revolution.

Jhapa Revolt was an event of the Nepalese communist movement inspired by Naxalbari Revolt of India. The revolutionaries of Jhapa had given the high emphasis to the view of Charu Majumdar and adopted the policy of “annihilation of class enemy”. Following the view of Majumdar, *jhapalies* have written in a party document as follows:

The struggle of annihilation can solve the struggle, can raise the struggle at high level, can raise the consciousness among all our people up to new advanced level, can breed the new kinds of men, men of Mao age and such men who do not get afraid of difficulties and then death. It can form the people’s army; can create permanent base areas and guarantee for those created permanent base areas. The campaign of annihilation liberates them from the restriction of backward concept and erases self-interest, local narrowness, racism and religious bad culture uprooting the poisonous weeds from their minds. Thus the campaign of annihilation can flow the eastern wind of human dignity and glory (ANCRCC(ML)December 1975, p.47).

It means the revolutionaries of Jhapa following the theory, policy, and tactics and so on of Naxalbari movement adopted the tactics of “one area, one unit, one squad and one action” forwarding the concept of development of one. It is also proved by the party document (ANCRCC(ML)December 1975, p.50).

As their concept, one action plan of one area, which was chosen by them where they would make party unit known as one unit. The party unit would form a squad of guerillas and they would take action “annihilating the class enemy” and that action was known as “one action”. The action would be taken by a group of guerillas and the group was called as squad.

Studying the above view, both the revolts, Naxalbari and Jhapa were launched against the rightist deviation and opportunism inside the communist movement of India and Nepal. At first, Naxalbari Revolt started influencing from the ideology and theory of Mao-Tsetung and attempted to go for the revolution in India. It followed the path of Chinese communist revolution, which was on the base of armed peasants’ revolution and known as New Democratic Revolution. But in Nepal, the situation was different than that of Naxalbari. The Nepalese (Jhapali) rebellions were influenced by Naxalbari Movement. They kept strong relation to Indian revolutionaries and followed the path of Charu Majumdar. No any differences in the ideology and policy seemed between Naxalbari Revolt and Jhapa Revolt.

Revolt Activities

The Naxalbari Revolt was started by getting the support of large masses of the peasants. Before starting of revolt, large masses of the peasants were organized in *kisan sabha*. An Indian writer has presented a picture of Indian peasants' organization that the revolutionaries could increase the devoted members from 5000 to 40000 in a short time (Kumar, Shrawan 2052 B.S. p.16). But in Jhapa Revolt, neither the peasant movement was launched nor were peasants organized in the committee, only the leaders and cadres themselves involved in the revolt (Kharel, 6th September 1998). Whatsoever, both the revolts were held on the base of the policy of "annihilation of class enemy". Vempatapu Satyanarayana organized the Girijans into *dalams* (guerilla squads). At one stage, there were as many as 100 *dalams* consisting of 800 tribesmen. The *dalams* attacked on the landlords and seized their properties and food grains. In November 1968, Vempatapu Satyanarayana led an attack on the house of a landlord at Pedagottili in Parbatipuram area and seized the property. From that time the movement took the policies of seizing the properties of landlords, annihilation the class enemies, resisting the police force and building up revolutionaries' base areas (Singh, 2010, pp. 49-50). The revolutionaries seized many guns from the different sectors and killed Sovan Ali, Borka Majhi, Triveni Kurmi, Babulal B.K. and others as the action of "annihilation". The movement rapidly expanded in Musahar of Bihar, Lakhimpur of Uttar Pradesh, Dumbara of Bengal, Gopiballavpur and Birbhum up to 1967. Andhra Pradesh had already influenced by the revolt. Due to this expansion of the revolt, on November 13, 1967 the revolutionaries got success to form a nationwide organization "All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR)". After two years, the organized held a conference on April 22, 1969, in the occasion of the birthday of V.I. Lenin and formed a party "The Communist Party of India (ML) (Kumar, Shrawan 2052 B.S. p.17).

Likewise, in Jhapa revolt, the revolutionaries formed the squads to take the action. As the action of "annihilation", the *jhapali* rebellions gave the death to Karna Bahadur Gautam, Butan Chaudhari, Bishnu Prasad Bimali, Rudra Kanta Rajbanshi, and Dharma Prasad Dhakal and so on by following the path of Charu Majumdar. The facts show that there were no any differences between the activities of Naxalbari Revolt of India and Jhapa Revolt of Nepal. But the Nepalese communist rebellions neither captured the property of landlords nor made such policy while they were in the path to copy of Naxalbari Revolt. The communists of Jhapa also formed the party "All Nepal Communists' Revolutionary Co-ordination Committee

July 1975. The name of the organization' also seemed as the copy of Indian revolutionaries. It was formed as a nationwide party on December 26, 1978 and introduced as the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) under the leadership of C.P. Mainali.

The next point seemed as similar between the two revolts. That was Naxalbari revolt's influence expanded throughout the whole India and as it the Jhapa Revolt also expanded throughout Nepal within a few years. But the different between two revolts is found that it was the political situation and system of two countries. India was set up under parliamentary, federal republic state during the period of revolt while in Nepal; there was absolute monarchy, partyless Panchayat system. Kanu Sanyal has said that India's federal system is also obstruction to develop or extend the communist movement but such type of problem was not in Nepal due to the unitary government system. If any communist party attempts to take the lesson from USSR, never wants to adopt federalism and federalism is one of the enemy of the communist revolution. (Sanyal, 23rd March, 1099). Kanu Sanyal's view is right or wrong to be tested in Nepal going to latter because the federal system in Nepal has been established since 2016.

Therefore, due to the then political situation being autocratic system in Nepal, it was necessary to be more careful in Nepal than India to launch the revolt by adopting underground style to spread the communist organization and activities. However, the governments of both countries started to suppress the revolt and gave a blow to the revolt. After three years of revolt of Naxalbari, a symbol came to be seen of failure of the .revolt. In one side, the party could not run smoothly due to the internal conflict known as "struggle of two lines" and on the other hand, the movement had to face suppression of government. Charu Majumdar , the leader of the party of India, was arrested on July 16, 1972 and killed by the police at the custody of Kolkata's Laal Bazar police station. Murdering Majumdar, West Bengal administration got an opportunity to brutally suppress to the revolt in the state. On November 24 of this year, Indian authority of the state killed Mallojula Koteswara Rao, or Kishanji, a top Maoist leader—in what many believe fake encounter in the jungle of West Midnapore—pave the way for similar elimination of the ultra-Left outfit from the state ([Ahmed](#), 6 December 2011. Pp 13 -17). Likewise, in the revolt of Jhapa, the government of Nepal attempted to suppress and the large number of rebellions were arrested. Among them some of were killed by the police sending in a dense jungle, *Sukhani*, by making false reason of jail transfer. But the top leadership of the movement of Nepal could protect to be arrest

immediately. Thus a kind of difference has found between two revolts in the context of holding the revolt. After arresting of Charu Majumdar, the Indian communist movement got fails in developing and expanding the movement and the party rather it split in several factions as following (Jha, 2016. pp.12-19).

- Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Liberation led by Dipankar Bhattacharya
- Communist Party of India (Maoist)
- Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Class Struggle
- Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Red Flag led by P.C. Unnichekan
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Star led by K.N. Ramchandran
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy led by Yatendra Kumar
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Somnath led by Somnath Chatterjee Ukhra and Pradip Banerjee
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Shantipal
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Praja Pantha
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Jan Samvad
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Nai Pahal
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Proletarian
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Maharashtra
- Provisional Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
- Communist Party of United States of India led by Veeranna
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti - Koora Rajanna led by Koora Rajanna
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti - Ranadheer led by Ranadheer
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti - Chandra Pulla Reddy led by Chandra Pulla Reddy
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Mahadev Mukherjee) led by Mahadev Mukherjee
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Bhajjee

- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Prajashakti
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Prathighatana
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Praja Pratighatana

But in Nepal, just opposite of this running style, the movement could get success to unify the divided several groups into the party after the revolt. Several groups of communists unified within a short period and the CPN(ML) appeared as the largest party among the communist factions of Nepal. After the revolt, however, it was suppressed by the government though could not achieve to end or break down to the revolt. As the influence of Jhapa Revolt, Mukti Morcha Group split from Pushpa Lal, Red Flag Group of East Nepal, Dangali Group, the split faction from 4th Congress faction led by Mohan Bikram Singh, Barre Group and so on were unified under the banner of CPN (ML) (Pokhrel, 2007, pp.72-93). From the study of both revolts, it can be said that Jhapa Revolt was launched by following the way of Naxalbari Revolt of India while it was weaker in all aspect than that of Naxalbari Revolt. But some factors like the unitary form of government, ban on the political parties, poverty of Nepalese society, Indian hegemonic attitude towards Nepal and so on played a positive role to develop the communist movement in Nepal. The revolts of both countries could not get success to achieve the New Democracy through armed struggle. In Nepal, the CPI (ML) stopped the policy of armed revolt and started to organize the people under the party's banner but in India, some of the factions of communists have been launching the armed revolt. The CPN (Maoist), was in the field of armed revolution for ten years and not getting success to capture the state power from armed struggle, has come to enter into parliamentary politics. Moreover, the Maoist Party of Nepal could not stay as existing political party and entered into CPN UML giving the name of "Party unity" in the latter period.

The form of the government in every state in India was different from one state to other. Due to the federal form of government in India, the movement could not be expanded throughout the whole nation as expanded in Nepal as said by Kanu Sanyal. On the other hand, the open political system of India made curse for Indian communist movement and the tight political system of Nepal seemed as boon for the development of communist movement. Kanu Sanyal, an Indian communist leader has observed that the Nepalese communists also are going to lose the revolutionary character and sprit since the parliamentary system is established in Nepal (Sanyal, 10th December 1998). Similarly, a leader of Nepali communist, Ghanashyam

Bhusal has written that THE character of Nepalese society is not semi-feudal and semi- colonial because of domination of the comprador capital in Nepalese economy. On the one hand, the national industries are on the verge of collapse from the “conditions” forwarded by foreign donors by giving the name of economic liberalism and on the other, the feudalism is in tottering situation (Bhusal, 2059 B.S). From the view of Bhusal, it can be said that the condition of Nepal is running neither as the communist theory nor in favour of proletariat class nor socialist economy. The comprador capital stands against socialism. Now a days, the communists are in state power in Nepal but they are not attempting to eliminate the comprador capital. Therefore, it can be said that Kanu Sanyal’s judgment about Nepalese communists is correct. It means the communist revolts of both countries could not get success to achieve the aim of establishment of communist state. However, the Nepalese communist parties are going to unify on each other by changing the working style within the party organization, which seemed more practicable than that of Indian communists. Indian communists could not take lesson from Nepalese communists in such activities; therefore, they followed the splitting process.

CONCLUSION

The Naxalbari movement was started by getting the support of peasant class as known as exploited class of Indian society. The revolt was, against the rightist opportunism which was seemed in the communist movement, an influence of Chinese Cultural Revolution, impressed by Maoist thought. Jhapa revolt in Nepal was not different than that of Naxalbari Revolt in the context of philosophy, strategy, tactics as well as the condition communist movement. Both the movements were launched under the theory of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Thought and Charu Majumdar line. The factors, which seemed different between two revolts, were as: the geo- political situation of two countries, political system, form of the governments, people’s participation in the movement and the activities of rebellions and the governments. Due to open political system and strengthen of the rulers, Naxalbari movement felt a blow and was suppressed by the government at that time while in Nepal the rebellions had necessary to protect the leaders and cadres from the suppression of the government due to ban on political parties. Therefore, the leadership of Nepalese revolt made the plan to be more underground, secret organization and careful in activities than Indian side. The revolt of Naxalbari failed due to the following causes:

- The Indian party led by Charu Majumdar wanted to surround the towns and cities by the villages, i.e., they wanted to encircle the urban centers with organized peasant forces of the villages. If the peasant militia could have occupied the cities, the so-called bourgeois government would fall making the passage to the coming of a socialist government; but the rebellions could not and did not come up to a stage capable of organizing the peasants and thereby encircling the towns.
- The party gave an importance to the peasant movement but neglected or ignored the mass organization and mass movement. Only the secret organization was formed and the activities of the party could not reach among the great masses of the people while the open political system was in existence in India. Kanu Sanyal was one of the founder of revolt had put view in the party to give emphasis to mass movement as well as secret activities.
- "Khatam" (the action of annihilation the class enemies in villages) was a wrongheaded attempt at political mobilization based on the individual murders of a select few people whose political class and character was never adjudged by their socio-economic conditions or the properties they possessed but very often only by their political affiliation or by the name and colour of the party or parties they directly or indirectly belonged to..
- Recruitment in the CPI (ML) took place in the absence of proper judgment and scrutiny of the political characters and behaviours of the recruits. It was not uncommon for recruits into the party to vent their personal animosities by identifying their personal enemies as class enemies, to be killed with the help of the guerillas' organization. It seemed as similar to the Maoist recruitment system during its insurgency in Nepal of later time. Even murders and Homicides were carried out by anti-social and hoodlum elements directly under the patronage and protection of the ruling Congress (I) and the main opposition the CPI(M) party, to discredit the Movement.
- Due to the strong spy organization of the "reactionary state, the state authority could get success to suppress the revolt. The intelligence personnel and police entered into the organization of revolutionaries and tried to get the base of the revolt. When they reached to the real level of the party then started to suppress the revolt. As its consequence, many of the leaders and cadres were arrested including top leader Majumdar.

Majumdar was killed in police custody and after his death the party split in several pieces. Thus the revolt was ended for that time.

In other side, the Jhapa revolt was not exception from such types of weakness and shortcomings. However, it was also suppressed by the government of Nepal. But Nepalese rebellions, getting the lesson from India, changed their style of revolt after some times. They provided emphasis to build good, honest towards people and most secret organization. They neither gave the chance to the spy of the government to enter into the party nor recruited the party cadres roughly or without any test. They adopted the hard manner to build the party organization which was known as *jhapali spirit*. Management of the secret organization, work among the peasant and labour as well as middle class, hard discipline inside party, people oriented activities of the cadres and leaders and so on were the positive factors which helped to build the strong party organization, the CPN (ML) (Pokhrel, 2069 B.S. pp.169-174). It is also can be found out from this study that unitary form of government and ruling structure of dictatorship will be more illegible than federal form of government and parliamentary system in developing of communist movement. However, in the later period, the CPN (ML) also split into some factions after the formation of UML due to choice of rightist opportunist path while in India, the Maoist movement, the later generation of Naxalbari revolt, has presented as a challenge for the state authority, yet it is not being able to be successful to win the game. The revolt has been facing the problem created by the federal form of the government in India. The fact provides the lesson to the Nepalese communists, who are running in the federal form of government in Nepal in this day.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, S. (2011) United in death: Charu Majumdar and Kishanji. Retrieved 6 December 2011 from [www. TwoCircles.net](http://www.TwoCircles.net). pp.1-5.
- ANCRCC, M. L. (1975). *Barga sangharsha (Class struggle)*. The Official Organ of ANCRCC. Issue No. 2, Nepal: All Nepal Communist Revolutionary Coordination Committee.
- - - , (1976). *Issue No. 4. Nepal*. All Nepal Communist Revolutionary Coordination Committee.
- Chhetri, D. P. (1991) *Interview*. A former member of Rastriya Panchayat as well as former member of Parliament, Nepal from CPN-UML, Jhapa. He was not involved in Jhapa revolt due to different approach about the revolt.

- Das Gupta, V. (1973). Naxalite armed struggles and the annihilation campaign in rural areas. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Annual, pp. 173-187
- - -, (1975). *The Naxalite movement*. New Delhi: Allied publishers.
- Jha, S. K. (2016). *Naxalite Movement in Bihar and Jharkhandtc*. Retrieved 2016-12-19 from [www. asthabharati.org](http://www.asthabharati.org). Pp. 1-6
- Kharel, N. (1998). A leader of Jhapa revolt, Birtamod, jhapa
- Kumar, K. (1995). Naxalbari andolan kina ra kasari bhayo (Why and how did Naxalbari movement happened), *Mulyankan*, (Nepali Monthly,). pp.15-19
- Mainali, R.K. (2012). *Interview*. A prominent leader of jhapa revolt.
- Peking Review. (1969). *Biweekly magazine from Peking*. China: Foreign Language Press
- People's Daily. (1967). *The official organ of the communist party of China*. China: CPC, Central Committee.
- Pokhrel, R. K. (2007). *A journey of the communists of Nepal, twenty three Years' history of CPN (UML)*, Damak: Mass Line Publication.
- - -, (2012). *Nepali communistharuko yatrako gantabya (Destination of journey of Nepalese communists)*. Bhaktapur: Molung Foundation, pp. 169-174
- Ram, M. (1971). *Maoism in India*. Delhi: Vikash Publishing House.
- Sanyal , K. (1998). *Interview*. An Indian Communist leader in Siliguri.
- - -, (1999). *Interview*. An Indian Communist leader in Siliguri.
- Sen Gupta, B. (1972). China and Indian communism. *China Quarterly*. pp. 281-289
- Sharma, . T.R. ,(n.d). *The communism in India, the parties of fragmentation*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers PVT. LTD.
- Singh, P. (2010). *The Naxalite movement in India*. New Delhi: Rupa Co