

Struggle of Communist Parties in Nepal

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Abstract

The Communist Party of Nepal appears to have been founded on Marxist ideology. Its founding members include Pushpalal Shrestha, Nar Bahadur Karmacharya, Narayan Bilas Joshi, Niranjan Govinda Baidya, and Moti Devi Shrestha. Influenced by the ongoing non-violent movement against British rule in India, the party's political objective seemed to be the liberation of the Nepali people from the threat of ultra-totalitarianism. This study focuses on the ideological issues, political strategies, and tactics of the Communist Party of Nepal, particularly in the context of other political parties that were secretly working against the Rana regime to uphold the party's independence a notion that was considered unimaginable at the time. In this way, the political activities of the Communist Party of Nepal have undergone various fluctuations. From the Shah-Rana period to the era of constitutional monarchy and eventually the democratic republic, the party's role appears at times to have been inconsistent with its original ideological stance. The core principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, needs to be interpreted in light of the demands and realities of changing times.

Keywords: *Coincidence, Nucleus, Proletariat, Strategy, Totalitarianism*

Introduction

The influence of Marxist-Leninist thought appears to have had a direct impact on global politics. As a result, some intellectuals argue that there was a qualitative shift in the strategies and tactics of the democratic powers, particularly the United States and Britain. After the socialist revolution in Russia on October 25, 1917, the spread of Marxist dialectical materialism increased significantly. Consequently, the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and scientific socialism took root in Soviet Russia and began influencing other regions of Asia, including

countries like India and China. Following India's independence from British colonial rule, political consciousness began to awaken among Nepali citizens who had long suffered under the autocratic Rana regime. During this period, many Nepali political leaders and activists lived in exile on Indian soil, where they came into close contact with Indian political movements. These Nepali leaders engaged with a range of Indian leaders and activists from non-violent movements to Naxalite Communists (Rose, 1970). As a result, communist ideology began to exert a growing influence on Nepali politics, an influence that can be traced, in part, to Indian communist leaders. In 2004 B.S., leaders such as Devi Lal Shrestha, Narayan Bilas Joshi, Amritlal Baidya, Harsh Gubhaju, and Gopal Chandra Amatya formed a group called the "Communist Union." Following this, the name "Lal Communist" emerged in November 2005 B.S., and on April 10, 2006 B.S., the Communist Party of Nepal was officially established (Shrestha, 2053 BS).

Methods and Materials

This study adopts a historical-analytical research design to explore the evolution and current state of the political ideology of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist–Leninist), or CPN (UML). The research design incorporates both qualitative and quantitative approaches to provide a comprehensive understanding of the party's ideological development and integration. The data collection is based on historical and institutional approaches, including an analysis of CPN (UML) discourse. Archival materials are reviewed and analyzed to trace the historical evolution of the party. A comparative analysis is also employed to identify patterns of political discrimination and ideological shifts within the party. Thematic analysis of historical documents and study findings is conducted to uncover recurring themes related to the development and influence of the CPN (UML). The study specifically focuses on the broader struggle of communist parties in Nepal. It acknowledges that historical records may contain biases or present incomplete accounts of these developments. Therefore, both historical and descriptive methods have been applied. The research relies on primary and secondary sources, with particular emphasis on the establishment of the Communist Party of Nepal and the evolution of its ideological principles. The article ultimately aims to examine the ideological positioning and political contradictions within Nepal's communist movements.

Discussion and Analysis

Concept of the Communist Party of Nepal

In 1848, Karl Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto*, a work that remains significant even today. It was written to address the exploitation carried out by small industrialists and the harsh realities faced by Europeans trapped in the extreme capitalism of the Industrial Revolution. The foundation of Marxist thought lies in the concept of shared conditions among the working class. Marx argued that people's rights should not be taken away, regardless of the geographical region they live in. In this context, "geography" symbolizes the economic equality and material conditions of the people. In Nepal, however, the attractive slogans of Marxist theory were sometimes distorted, and violence was carried out in the name of people's rights (Shrestha, (2053 BS)). This occurred against the backdrop of various uprisings, some of which had long-term significance. After the success of the New Democratic Revolution in China, Marxist ideology began to influence certain segments of Nepalese society. During that time, Nepal was under Rana rule. It was in this context that communist youths began a rebellion in the Jhapa district. This revolt is often seen as a reflection of the global communist movement's influence on Nepal at the time. Despite these developments, building a strong and organized political structure remained a significant challenge.

Documents prepared on the occasion of the party's first national convention in 2007 and the party's foundation day in 2012 were passed by the first general convention as a "program of the Communist Party of Nepal" (Pushpalal, 2053 BS). After the formation of the Communist Party of Nepal, it was believed that the anti-Rana movement would be strengthened, but it did not happen. The party criticized the tripartite agreement with Rana, Raja and Indians as fraud. After the criticism, the party became known among the people. They accused the Nepali Congress of being pro-India, of taking the ideas in a limited way to the corner. In this, they put the will of capitalism. The Nepali Congress does not seem to have been able to get rid of the metaphor of capitalist and pro-India even today. After the "Delhi Agreement", the role of the NCP in Nepal was seen in some way or the other (Rose, 2010). It was only then that the leaders and cadres of this party became active in political practice. The NCP has been conducting various types of agitations through the All Nepal Kisan Sangh. This rebellion created an ideological wave within the organization (Dhakal, 2067 BS).

An armed peasant revolt took place during the months of Magh–Falgun in 2008 B.S. However, it did not have a significant positive impact on the general population. In the absence of a strong organisational foundation, various factions and sub-factions emerged within the party during this period. This fragmentation led to internal conflicts and weakened the unity of the organization. Nepal's communist parties began interpreting Marxist ideology in their ways. While Maoist theory was transforming China, Nepalese communists attempted to absorb the influence of their neighboring country. However, they failed to fully grasp the realities of Nepal's economic conditions (Rose 2010). Additionally, ideological divisions emerged between the "peaceful coexistence" theory promoted by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and the revolutionary theory advanced by Mao Zedong of the Chinese Communist Party. As a result, Marxist thought began to be practiced differently in various contexts. Tensions escalated after Mao accused the Soviet Communist Party of "revisionism," which severely affected the unity of the global communist movement. Eventually, this ideological conflict led to a split in the international communist movement. Consequently, the opportunistic tendencies among some communist factions also influenced the character and direction of communist parties worldwide.

Interrelationships and Opposition

After the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) mobilized peasants in western Nepal through an immediate peasant movement, the class nurtured under Rana rule was taken by surprise. Alarmed by this uprising, the feudal lords appear to have used communal slogans as tools to disrupt and weaken the movement. It also seems that some party leaders became disturbed due to infiltration within the movement, which affected its direction. Despite these challenges, the ideological foundation of the CPN appeared to strengthen. However, a right-wing trend began to gain ground within the party, creating obstacles to its organizational consolidation. This was evident in the actions of Keshar Jung Rayamajhi after he assumed leadership of the party (Aashrit, 2052 BS). As the ambition of certain leaders to secure high-ranking positions grew, the traditional culture of power abuse reemerged, a tendency that seems to have gained influence within the party.

One notable incident involves Manmohan Adhikari allegedly seeking the support of Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay to remove Pushpalal Shrestha from his position. These allegations have not been officially denied (Rose 2010). It appears that a conspiracy was carried out against

Pushpalal, culminating in his removal as General Secretary by a decision of the Politburo. Such internal maneuvers contributed to deepening ideological contradictions within the party. This is further confirmed by the actions of leaders like Jivraj Ashrit about Manmohan Adhikari (Aashrit, 2052 BS.). Following the death of King Tribhuvan on January 7, 2012 BS., a government was formed under the leadership of Tanka Prasad Acharya, and the ban on the CPN was lifted. This decision was likely influenced by the cordial relations between Tanka Prasad Acharya and the CPN. The removal of the ban ushered in a new wave of political activity. According to Pushpalal (2053 BS.), the ban was lifted after the party agreed to promote socialist principles per the prevailing laws.

After the government's move, a central committee meeting of the CPN was convened, although it ultimately failed to reach any resolution. Meanwhile, Manmohan Adhikari was accused of harboring royalist sympathies. The lifting of the ban further intensified the internal 'two-line struggle' within the party. Leaders such as Manmohan Adhikari and Keshar Jung Rayamajhi were seen as leaning toward monarchism, whereas Pushpalal and the majority of party leaders supported a republican system. As a result, their political ideologies and personal attitudes began to diverge significantly.

At the second general convention, Pushpalal presented a strategic proposal titled "New Democratic Program" and "Struggle for the Constituent Assembly." The resolution included powerful slogans such as: *"Fight against feudalism, monarchy, imperialism, middlemen and bureaucratic capitalism, Indian monopoly capitalism, and unequal treaties."* Keshar Jung Rayamajhi emerged as the party leader (Pokharel, 2067 BS.), but he showed little interest in implementing the decisions passed by the convention. To address the internal differences, a three-member commission was formed, but Rayamajhi remained uncooperative and unsupportive of the initiative. Meanwhile, when King Mahendra announced general elections in 2015 BS., it was anticipated that the internal dispute within the party might escalate into violence (Aashrit, J. (2052 BS)). However, the majority of the Communist Party of Nepal's central committee endorsed the royal announcement and participated in the election. The speech delivered by then Prime Minister Tanka Prasad Acharya during this period stirred significant controversy in Nepali politics. His statement also attracted criticism from within the CPN itself.

Pushpalal advocated for the election of a Constituent Assembly, while General Secretary Keshar Jung Rayamajhi supported the speech of then Prime Minister Tanka Prasad Acharya, claiming that parliamentary elections were a democratic process (Singh, 2047 BS.). In the election, the Communist Party of Nepal (NCP) won four seats. Following the party's defeat, internal communist behavior and ideological conflicts began to dominate, weakening unity within the party. Personal rivalries and character clashes had a direct impact, causing both the theoretical and practical foundations of the NCP to become directionless. Within this environment, various conspiracies were plotted to remove Pushpalal from his position as General Secretary. These internal power struggles severely damaged the party's image and hindered its progress.

Although Manmohan Adhikari assumed leadership, internal leadership clashes drew clear lines of division within the party. It appears that the Communist Party of Nepal (NCP) became weak and disorganized due to ongoing internal disputes. There is a general perception that the party lacked vitality, stemming from immature political practices and a weak organizational foundation at the time. Some party leaders aligned themselves with the monarchy to gain power, while others gravitated toward right-wing ideology. The royalists capitalized on the divided mindset within the NCP. Against this backdrop, King Mahendra's dissolution of the elected parliament and government on Paush 1, 2017 BS can be seen as a strategic move. This interpretation is supported by NCP General Secretary Keshar Jung Rayamajhi, who described the King's action as "nationalist." (Aashrit, 2052 BS). His stance directly challenged the NCP's political philosophy. Certain NCP leaders with monarchical inclinations deviated from Marxist-Leninist principles. In response, the party convened an extended meeting in Darbhanga, India, in 2018 BS, where various leaders voiced their opinions. The opportunistic character of Nepal's communist leadership became evident when Rayamajhi proposed the "restoration of the parliamentary system" and defended the King's move in a twisted manner, framing it as necessary for the protection of "guided democracy."

Mohan Bikram Singh and Pushpalal held differing views. Singh's proposal for the "election of a Constituent Assembly" played a significant role in the removal of Keshar Jung Rayamajhi from the post of General Secretary. During the third general convention of the NCP, a plan was put forward advocating for the restoration of a sovereign parliament, the reconstitution of the dissolved parliament, and the election of a Constituent Assembly. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev became

the leader of the Soviet Communist Party. However, China disagreed with Khrushchev's political ideas, particularly his concept of "national democracy," which he claimed could be achieved through socialist or communist revolution, peaceful coexistence, or gradual transition. Khrushchev believed in the possibility of "peaceful competition" between different social systems and promoted socialism through non-violent means.

This paved the way for the resolution of the contradiction that existed due to intense competition at the ideological level, especially in economic matters (New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1977). After 2019, Tulsilal Amatya adopted Khrushchev's path in Nepal, while Pushpalal and other leaders supported Maoist ideas. Pushpalal appeared unhappy after Tulsilal assumed leadership of the revisionist stream (Bhusal, 2053 BS). In 2021 BS, the Council of Ministers, headed by Tulsi Giri, publicly expressed the view that unity among democratic forces was necessary, spreading rumors that Nepal was a monarchical country and should be protected from the communist threat. This again led to turmoil within the NCP. Jailed communist leaders Manmohan Adhikari, Mohan Bikram Singh, Nirmal Lama, and Gangalal discussed the situation among themselves and recognized the need to be released from jail. However, they struggled for a long time to take a firm stand in accordance with revolutionary principles. They participated in elections in alliance with democratic forces but continued to accuse Indian Communists of revisionism. Additionally, news broadcast by Peking Radio about the surrender of revolutionary fighters caused ripples within the CPI, leading to divisions within the party.

The communists were divided into two distinct streams, with the left-wing led by Charu Majumdar and the majority aligning with the right-wing faction. As a result, the party split in 2024 BS. Charu Majumdar's faction led the Naxalite armed peasant revolt in West Bengal. India's Naxalite insurgency continued to influence China's Cultural Revolution. The Naxalite insurgency that began in India had a direct impact on Jhapa, the eastern district of Nepal bordering India. The rebellion in the neighbouring country and the influence of the rebels there affected the young communists of Jhapa. By 2025, four groups had formed within the NCP: the Rayamajhi group, the Tulsilal group, the Pushpalal group, and the former Koshi provincial committee (Dhakal, 2067 BS).

After the release of Mohan Bikram Singh in 2028 BS, he formed a new party with Manmohan Adhikari. Following this, the leaders and cadres of the Communist Party of Nepal became increasingly divided (Bhusal, 2053 BS). A central nucleus was formed that included the NCP. Ideological differences between the supporters of Mohan Bikram Singh and Manmohan Adhikari persisted. In this context, the Nucleus held the fourth general convention of the NCP in India from September 30 to October 7, 2031. Manmohan Adhikari formed a new party, the CPN (Marxist), under his leadership. Only the Pushpalal and Manmohan factions were involved in this party. At the same time, an atmosphere was created for a referendum. After the announcement of the referendum, Pushpalal began unity talks with like-minded individuals. A coordination committee was also formed for unification, which included Manmohan Adhikari, Bharat Mohan Adhikari, Kesharmani Pokharel, Siddhilal Singh, Sahana Pradhan, Balram Upadhyay, Tilak Parajuli, Bodhraj Kafle, and Govinda Gyawali (Pokharel, 2067 BS). The same coordination committee held the party's sixth conference in 2043 BS, after which Manmohan Adhikari became the general secretary of the party. The United Left Front was formed during the people's movement of 1946, leading to the restoration of the multi-party system in Nepal. With the restoration of the multi-party system, the CPN (ML) and the NCP unified, and the merged party adopted the name CPN (UML) in the month of Paush, 2047 BS.

Jhapa Rebellion: Ideological Differences

The NCP initiated the revolt in Jhapa after analyzing several international events, including the Chinese and Russian revolutions. However, the party's stance on the rebellion was uncertain, and there was no unified opinion within the party. The leaders of the former Kosi region favored armed struggle but were waiting for the right moment. Jhapa, being a small plain, saw a greater impact of the movement in India than in Nepal. After the movement spread to neighboring India, India was certain to support the government, not the protesters. India was also not in favor of the movement. Political analysts suggest that the people of Jhapa were not inclined toward a spontaneous movement. The possibility of the NCP succeeding in Jhapa through armed struggle seemed slim, especially with the instability in the region. Consequently, the movement ended without consensus (Pokharel, 2067 BS).

The young communists of Jhapa, including Radhakrishna Mainali, CP Mainali, Naresh Kharel, Ghanendra Basnet, Narad Wagle, Dharma Ghimire, Bhishma Dhimal, Harka Khadka, Netra Ghimire (Sukhani Martyr), Ramnath Dahal (Sukhani Martyr), Narayan Shrestha (Sukhani Martyr), Chandra Dangi (Martyr), Dilli Sibakoti, Biren Rajbanshi (Sukhani Martyr), Gopal Magar, Ram Prasad Pradhan (Martyr), Mohan Chandra Adhikari, and others, supported the movement. Mohan Chandra Adhikari led the Jhapa group, while Madan Khapangi served as the district secretary. However, Radhakrishna Mainali took the lead immediately after the revolt began. Nepal and India were both influenced by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. After Mao's death, the Communist Party of China embraced the Cultural Revolution as a militant trend, which also impacted Nepal. The CPN (ML) criticized the Jhapa rebellion as a result of a violent attitude. Not all leaders and cadres agreed with the movement, as the party had launched it without altering the national political atmosphere.

They deviated from both principles and beliefs. Some analysts have argued that the movement lacked ideological consistency and contemporary political culture within the NCP. On June 2, 2028, NCP cadres announced the killing of Karna Bahadur Gautam and the start of a revolt, which was widely condemned. They then killed Bishnu Prasad Vimali at Garamuni. Butan Chaudhary, Rudrakanta Rajbanshi, Dharma Prasad Dhakal and his sons Gyan Prasad Dhakal, Ishwari Prasad Chudal, Hariraj Angdambe, Durga Prasad Kharel, and Gyan Bahadur Basnet were also murdered. In this way, the Jhapa rebellion became a scandal in Nepali political history. On the other hand, the government adopted a policy of repression against the rebels. Warrants were issued for some individuals, and others were arrested. The rebels went underground to avoid capture. The government actively searched for places where the rebels might be hiding (Bhusal, 2053 BS). The rebellion was publicized by both state media and some private media outlets. However, the rebels failed to remain loyal to high morals and principles.

The leaders failed to maintain the trust of their followers. Marxist thought and principles were distorted and misinterpreted. In Marxism, there were no means to gain the people's trust through threats and intimidation, yet these tactics became their primary weapons. On April 24-25, 2032, a gathering of communists from Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Ilam, Siraha, Bara, and Sindhupalchowk districts formed the "All Nepal Communist Revolutionary Coordination Committee (Marxist-Leninist)" under the leadership of CP Mainali (Pokharel, 2067 BS). Mohan

Bikram Singh was elected as the party's leader at the fourth general convention, organized by the Central Nucleus from September 30 to October 20, 2032. During this convention, Nirmal Lama, Jay Govinda Shah, Bhakta Bahadur Shrestha, Chitra Bahadur KC, Mohan Baidya, Kazi, Rishi Devkota, and Khubiram Acharya were appointed as central members.

The party's general convention established that the "government of patriotic democratic forces" was the party's minimum program, while the "new democratic program" was its maximum program. Representatives at the convention, including Khagendra Sangraula and Nanda Kumar Prasai, opposed this stance. The challenge for this group was to move forward ideologically, balancing the right-wing communist elements with the ultra-left. The party operated differently from the right-wing and far-left factions of Jhapolis like Pushpalal and Manmohan. This party had been preparing for armed struggle through both legal and illegal means, including the people's movement and the farmers' revolution (KC, 2060 BS). Mohan Bikram Singh was removed from the position of party general secretary in 2033 BS, and Nirmal Lama succeeded him. However, he did not hold the position for long. Meanwhile, under the leadership of CP Mainali from Nakkhu Jail in Kathmandu, the construction of tunnels inside the jail began in 2033 BS. After completing the work in two months, they managed to escape. Following the Jhapa rebellion, the fragmented movement of the Nepal Communist Party began to unify. Even the right-wing communists started to split, with the Dang district committee separating from the fourth general convention group.

Pushpalal aligned with the group influenced by the struggle against the right-wing deviations highlighted by the Jhapa rebellion. Subsequently, a faction called *Mukti Morcha* separated from them. The announcement of the referendum in 2037 BS was described as a "fraud and conspiracy hatched by the king." At that time, the slogan "End the monarchy and establish a government of patriotic democratic forces" was raised. During the referendum, the CPN (ML) rapidly expanded its alliances. The *Malé* group maintained a strong stance on "boycotting and exposing" the referendum. By promoting such ideas, they avoided being accused of right-wing alignment and also used the opportunity to expand their organization (Communist Party of Nepal, 2059). Although the party initially followed in the footsteps of the *Malé* group, it later revised its position, emphasizing the "need for a united people's movement." It then joined a joint movement with other communist factions, setting five preconditions to ensure the referendum would be fair and free from interference. Party leader Nirmal Lama was heavily criticized within the party for

issuing a joint statement with other communist constituents. Following internal reflection and mounting pressure, he was forced to resign as general secretary after losing majority support. After his resignation, internal disputes escalated (K.C., 2060 BS). The party was divided between those favoring an independent path and those supporting a multi-party system. Allegations were raised that the referendum was a "deception, conspiracy, and drama orchestrated by the king."

Nirmal Lama's policy of "revolutionary participation" in the National Panchayat elections of 2038 BS was rejected by the majority of the party. That same year, the 7th National Conference of the Students' Union was convened, and Nirmal Lama was given the responsibility of overseeing the event on behalf of the party. Due to internal conflicts, Lama attempted to ensure that the student organization reflected the views of the party's minority faction. Kamal Chaulagain, who had been appointed general secretary of the conference, resigned in protest. Subsequently, Raman Shrestha, Pampha Bhusal, and Dev Gurung were controversially and illegally brought into the central committee (Pokharel, 2067 BS). In 2039 BS, the party's internal disputes spilled into public view. General Secretary Bhakta Bahadur Shrestha was arrested after the party withdrew its disciplinary action against Mohan Bikram Singh before the set period had expired. The resignation of two central committee members further deepened the crisis, leading to a major internal breakdown. In response to the escalating issues, the party convened a special conference to address the situation. The conference ultimately decided to expel the minority faction from the party.

Mohan Baidya became the General Secretary of the party. Leaders such as Mohan Bikram Singh, Chitra Bahadur KC, Mohan Baidya, Khampa Singh, Bachaspati Devkota, Chandra Prasad Gajurel, Bhairab Regmi, R. Shrestha, and others formed the majority faction. On the other hand, Nirmal Lama, Jay Govinda Shah, Suryanath Yadav, Dil Bahadur Shrestha, Devendra Lal Shrestha (Kainla Ba), and others belonged to the minority faction. When the minority faction was not allowed to remain within the party, they faced two choices: to withdraw from active politics or to form a separate party (Shrestha, 2004). As a result, the minority faction established the Communist Party of Nepal (Chaum). However, this group later split, giving rise to two separate parties, CPN (Chaum) and CPN (Mashal).

The decision of the Mashal faction to resolve internal issues by removing senior leader Nirmal Lama ultimately led to Mohan Bikram Singh, another senior and veteran leader, being

marginalized within the party. Meanwhile, the younger leader, Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda), rose to prominence with the support of another senior figure, Mohan Baidya. In 2042 BS, Mohan Bikram Singh broke away and formed a new organization known as the Communist Party of Nepal (Masal) (Communist Party of Nepal, 2059). Around the same time, the group associated with the fourth general convention advanced two main strategies: the abolition of the autocratic Panchayat system and the defense of national sovereignty and independence. Amid growing Indian dominance in Nepal's economic and political affairs, exacerbated by domestic political instability, the country's development had stagnated, as political parties continued their opposition to the Panchayat regime (Blaikie & Cameron, 1983). Since 2035 BS, the growth and expansion of the party had largely come to a halt.

The "landlord-beating movement" ultimately resulted in government military repression against the party. As a consequence, Durga Subedi, Rajan Magar, Elun, and Krishna Bahadur Magar lost their lives prematurely (Pokharel, 2067 BS). While Marxist political thought began to lose its effectiveness in Europe and the West, it started gaining ground in poor and underdeveloped countries. In Nepal, the success of the People's Movement of 2046 BS significantly boosted the morale of the Communist forces. Following the movement's success and the creation of a more favorable environment for party activities, initial efforts toward party unification began to take shape.

In 2047 BS, a Unity Coordination Committee was formed through the merger of CPN (Mashal), Revolutionary Masal, CPN (Chaum), and the Proletarian Labor Organization. Later, this committee led to the formation of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Center). The Unification General Convention was held in 2048 BS. During that convention, four communist factions, Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda)'s CPN (Mashal), Nirmal Lama's CPN (Chaum), Ruplal Bishwakarma's Proletarian Labor Organization, and the Revolutionary Masal merged to form a single party under Prachanda's leadership, named CPN (Unity Center). To conduct open political activities while keeping the party structure underground, a public front called *Samyukta Janamorcha* was established. However, even after the Unification General Convention, internal conflicts between the majority and minority factions continued (K. C., 2064 BS). Meanwhile, in 2047 BS, a separate unification took place between the CPN (Marxist) and CPN (Marxist–Leninist), resulting in the formation of the CPN (UML). In the mid-term parliamentary elections

of 2051 BS, the CPN-UML led by a narrow margin and formed a nine-month-long government. The party achieved a majority in the 2054 BS local elections but later experienced a split. Eventually, the party was reunified in 2058 BS.

After that, various unfavorable situations arose in the country. The presence of communist parties in both Constituent Assembly elections was significant and respectable. The federal democratic constitution was eventually established through the dedicated efforts of the CPN-UML and the CPN (Maoist) (Bhusal, 053 BS). This development was expected to bring the communist movement closer to its progressive and long-term goals. However, since economic, political, social, equitable, and cultural transformations have not occurred following the people's expectations, Marxist thought appears to have remained largely theoretical. The necessary social environment to implement Marxist ideology in practice could not be created. As the struggle against neo-colonial policies and practices continues, and as intermediary forces and bureaucratic capitalism have become dominant in Nepali society, it has become imperative to transform this system into one oriented toward socialism and industrial capitalism (Kandel, 2076 BS).

To achieve this transformation, Marxism, Leninism, and Maoist ideology were adopted as the guiding principles of the Communist Party of Nepal. The party embraced the democratic revolution with an independent economic policy as its main goal, especially in opposition to Indian capitalist influence. Likewise, it formulated specific policies to address regional and ethnic inequalities and discrimination, opposed feudal cultural practices, and actively worked to abolish the monarchy. It considered peasants, workers, the middle class, the urban lower-middle class, patriotic intellectuals, students, wealthy farmers, and national capitalists as its allies in the democratic revolutionary struggle (K. C., 2064 BS).

Conclusion

After studying various theoretical and practical fluctuations within the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), several factual political conclusions can be drawn: First, issues of party discipline within the CPN. Second, the prevalence of impunity within the party. Third, the rise of opportunism and individualistic tendencies in the party's internal functioning. Although the ideological principles of the party may appear sound, errors in their implementation alongside political instability have led to significant ideological deviation, largely driven by party autocracy.

Internal disagreements are natural within any party, but the perception that the party should be guided solely by personal opinions has often been a major source of internal conflict. The policies of the CPN seem to have been shaped by a tendency to define positions based on majority and minority divisions, particularly on ideological matters. The majority often accused the minority of being "immersionists," and as a result, the voices and perspectives of the minority have been marginalized. Thus, since its inception, the Communist Party of Nepal has undergone repeated splits and divisions due to a combination of ideological, organizational, internal, and external factors. With the development of democracy, the political role of the CPN has largely aligned with the framework of multi-party democracy. Against this backdrop, the unification of the CPN-UML and CPN (Maoist Centre) may be seen as a significant moment of political polarization. While this unification has been interpreted in some political circles as driven by personal interests, the alliance continues to claim Marxist ideology as its fundamental political strategy.

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