APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

List of the Post-Rana Governments and their Compositions

1. Rana-Congress Coalition 18 February - 12 November 1951
   (a) Rana Ministers
      1. Mohan Shamsher
         Jang Bahadur Rana (J.B.R.)  Prime Minister
      2. Babar Shamsher J.B.R.
      3. Chudaraj Shamsher J.B.R.
      4. Nripa Jang Rana
      5. Yagna Bahadur Basniat
   (b) Nepali Congress Ministers
      6. B. P. Koirala
      7. Subarna Shamsher J.B.R.
      8. Ganesman Singh
      9. Bhadra Kali Misra
     10. Bharatmani Sharma

2. Nepali Congress Ministry 16 November 1951 - 10 August 1952
   1. M. P. Koirala  Prime Minister
   2. S. P. Upadhyay
   3. Kesar Shamsher J.B.R.
   4. Subarna Shamsher J.B.R.
   5. Naradmuni Thulung
   6. Mahendra Bikram Shah
   8. Bhadra Kali Misra

* asterisk mark signifies non-Congress independent members.
9. Mahabir Shamsher J.B.R.
10. Ganeshman Singh
11. Khadagman Singh
12. Bhagirati Prasad Singh
13. Nara Bahadur Gurung
14. Dharma Ratna Yemi

3. Advisory Regime 14 August 1952 - 14 June 1953
   1. General Kesar Shamsher J.B.R. Chief Adviser
   3. Khadagman Singh
   4. Lt. General Surendra Bahadur Basniat
   5. Kazi Maniklal

   1. M. P. Koirala
   2. Major-General Mahabir Shamsher J.B.R.
   3. Naradmuni Thulung
   4. Tripubar Singh
   5. Surya Prasad Yadav

   Rashtriya Praja Party
   1. M. P. Koirala Prime Minister
   2. Mahabir Shamsher J.B.R.
   3. Naradmuni Thulung

* asterisk mark signifies non-Congress independent members.
Praja Parishad

4. Tanka Prasad Acharya

Independent

5. Kesar Shamsher J.B.R.

Rashtriya Congress

6. D. R. Regmi

Jana Congress

7. B. K. Misra


Royal Advisers as announced on 13 May 1955

1. Sardar Gunjaman Singh Principal Adviser
2. Lt. General Ananda Shamsher J.B.R.
3. Gurujiu Bhogendra Raj
4. Purendra Bikram Shah
5. Anirudha Prasad Singh

7. Tanka Prasad Acharya's Cabinet 27 January 1956 - 13 July 1957

Praja Parishad

1. Tanka Prasad Acharya Prime Minister
2. Balchandra Sharma
3. Chuda Prasad Sharma
4. Pasupatinath Ghose

Independents

5. Sardar Gunjaman Singh
6. Purendra Bikram Shah
7. Anirudha Prasad Singh
8. Dr. K. I. Singh's Cabinet 26 July - 14 November 1957
   1. Dr. K. I. Singh Prime Minister
   2. Purendra Bikram Shah
   3. Parasuram Bhakta Mathema
   4. C. B. Singh
   5. Dambar Bahadur Singh
   6. Ramdin Mahato
   7. Jiv Raj Sharma
   8. Kul Bahadur Limbu
   9. Bhupal Man Singh
   10. Padam Singh Rana
   11. Laxmi Prasad Devkota


   Nepali Congress
       1. Subarna Shamsher Chairman
   Gurkha Parishad
       2. Randhir Subba
   Rashtriya Congress
       3. D. R. Regmi
   Praja Parishad
       4. Chandra Bhusan Pande
   Independents
       5. Purendra Bikram Shah
       6. Bhupalman Singh Karki

1. B. P. Koirala  
   Prime Minister

2. Subarna Shamsher J.B.R.  
   Dy. Prime Minister

3. Ganeshman Singh

4. S. P. Upadhyay

5. Ram Narayan Misra

6. Kashinath Gautam

7. Parasuram Chaudhri

8. Shivaraj Panth

Deputy Ministers

1. Prem Raj Angdambe

2. Lalit Chandra

3. Dwarika Devi Thakurani

4. Min Bahadur Gurung

5. Jaman Singh Gurung

6. Nev Bahadur Malla

7. Yogendraman Sherchand

8. Tulsi Giri

9. Shiv Pratap Shah

10. Diwan Singh Rai

11. Surya Prasad Yadav
APPENDIX II

Text of the letters exchanged between Tanka Prasad Acharya (General Secretary, Nepal Praja Parishad) and Pusupalal (General Secretary, Nepal Communist Party), at the time of the formation of Jatiya Janatantrik Samyukta Morcha (People's National United Front) in 1951.

(a) From Tanka Prasad Acharya to Pusupalal, dated 19 Asad 2008 B.S.

Friend, since your call for organizing the Jatiya Janatantrik Samyukta Morcha is not only very timely but provides the only hope for establishing democracy by defeating the reactionaries, feudals and foreign imperialists, we agree with your ideas. I shall be available for further talk on the subject in the Parishad's Office tomorrow at 2 P.M.

(b) Letter from Pusupalal to Tanka Prasad Acharya, dated 20 Asad 2008 B.S.

Dear Comrade,

Long live the Jatiya Janatantrik Samyukta Morcha.

Our joy knows no bound to receive your letter of 19 Asad in which you have welcomed our appeal for building the Jatiya Janatantrik Samyukta Morcha. In fact, during the two-year history of the Party, this fact has given us the greatest joy.

The Communist Party, from its very birth, has sufficiently realized that without a joint national front of all progressive forces inside the country to oppose the Anglo-American imperialists, Indian capitalists and the native feudal landlords, it is neither possible to loosen the grip of foreign imperialism and capitalism on the country, nor attain the successful completion of the peasant movement. For this reason, the Communist Party has made its first and primary task to build a united front of all the progressive forces against imperialism and feudalism.

With this conviction in view, the Nepal Communist Party is marching ahead. In order to form such a front, we had previously sent our invitation along with copies of the draft-programme to Nepali Congress, Akhil Nepal Trade Union, Akhil Nepal Kisan Sangh, Nepal Peace Committee, Nepal Progressive Writers' Association, Himachal Chakra Sangh (Calcutta) and the Nepali Chatra Sangh (B.H.U.). We have also sent our assurance that changes in the draft could be considered if better suggestions were received. But, to our great regret, none, excepting the Trade Union Congress, Kisan Sangh, the Writers' Association and the Peace Committee, cared to send us answers. Some of them, on the contrary, ridiculed the idea of the United Front.

Thereupon, the armed struggle was started in Nepal. Once again we appealed for a joint front with the Nepali Congress, but instead, it was rejected and many of our party workers were arrested. You are well apprised of the fact that our important workers, including Comrade Man Mohan Adhikari and his colleagues had been arrested. Despite this, the Communist Party has been steadfast in believing that it would succeed in taking the message of the United Front to the progressive sections of the country, and to that end it is moving steadily.

It is true that our appeal did not reach the heart of the self-seeking traitors like the Suvarna Rana and Koirala group, but the progressive elements inside the Nepali Congress did hear us. It was for this reason that they fought and died side by side our own men during the fight against the enemy. When the armed clashes took the shape of a revolution, the 'Delhi Compromise' was made.

Thereafter, the Nepal Praja Parishad has been re-established. Though the Communist Party could not send its formal invitation to the Praja Parishad for united action, the workers of both the Nepal Communist Party and the Parishad organized joint meetings and demonstrations in Biratnagar, Birganj, Kathmandu and other places. But such actions were limited to local levels; your present letter gives us all the hope now to expand the United Front on a national scale. On this occasion we are sending you and members of your Working Committee our revolutionary greetings. It has now been made abundantly clear that together the Nepal Communist Party and the Praja Parishad can build a National Front of all progressive forces.

The United Front formed to observe a demands' day for the release of those who showed black-flag to Nehru, can be re-forged to bring all progressive forces inside it. We have no doubt that, leaving aside the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal parties, we shall not allow even a single progressive individual to remain outside the Front.

For further talks on the United Front, we are sending Comrade Bhakta Pradhan and Comrade Batukhath Panth to you at the time fixed by you.
APPENDIX III

Text of the agreement between B. P. Koirala and Mr. P. Koirala reached at Calcutta on 8 April 1952, through the mediation of Jyapprakash Narayan.

In order to achieve harmony we have decided that we should come to an understanding and the following points have been mutually agreed upon:

"To withdraw the Resolution against the President and Prime Minister, which was passed at an informal meeting of workers in Kathmandu, and to express regret for this action;

"To create an atmosphere of goodwill, any member who indulges in propaganda against either of us in future will be disclaimed by us jointly and, if necessary, disciplinary action will be taken against him;

"To establish coordination between the Congress Party and its representatives in the Government; to ensure uncontested election of the President; to ensure smooth work, the office of the President and that of the Prime Minister will be separate;

"To avoid misunderstanding and disharmony, no day-to-day guidance in the execution of the policy of the Government will be given by the party and Government will be independent of the party in its executive functioning and the WC Working Committee will be properly represented and the nomination of members will be by joint consultation.

________________________________________

* The Statesman (Calcutta), 6 August 1952.
APPENDIX IV

Text of B. P. Koirala's Thesis to resolve intra-party differences in the Nepali Congress, 1952

Nepali Congress has formed the one party Government. It becomes now necessary to know what relation there should be between the Government and the Party. If there had been some other party in power our task would have been clear. Like opposition parties we would point out the Government's mistakes and agitate whenever such mistakes are made. But since our Party is in power that distinct independence we cannot enjoy.

We have to note that this Government is our Government. Its works and mistakes are partly ours too. We cannot be destructive in our attitude towards it because the opposition parties are aiming to overthrow the Congress Government and replace it by their own.

We cannot speak of such replacement. Since we have made this Government it is our duty to give it full support. In the conditions through which we have gone, it is also our duty to create an atmosphere of stability for the success of our Government. If this Government remains busy in tackling outside criticism and opposition, it cannot undertake developmental activities. As the Government's position is at present weak, opportunists and reactionaries would exploit the situation while foreigners would try to influence us. Under such circumstances it is our duty to give all strength and support to this Government.

* B. P. Koirala, Nepali Congress ra Sarkar (Biratnagar, 1952).
Since a democratic rule is dependent on popular support it is our duty to see that our support to the Government is based on popular support. The Government should reflect opinion of the people and its policy should be to fulfil popular needs.

Our duty is to get this popular strength behind the Government, otherwise our help has no meaning. We cannot, however, give support to it in all its right or wrong policies, as it was given by the courtiers in earlier times. We shall assist it in its good works, but those which are unjust we shall criticise them. Our responsibility is, therefore, not a light one.

On this basis we reach two working principles:

(1) Our Party is distinct from the Government, or it can be said that though it is one of our responsibilities to run this Government, there are other activities outside it which are still more important. It is necessary to keep, as much as possible, unity between our works outside and inside the Government, but if there is any conflict between the two, we shall give importance to the work outside. For instance, if we decide for abolition of the Birta as quickly as possible and if the Government fails to do that, we shall raise our voice against it even though it has been formed by us. We share our right to conduct agitation. But since it is our men who constitute the Government, we shall try to understand its position. If we and the Government work together then we can try to appreciate its difficulties and help it. But it is a decided fact that if we find this Government taking steps against the good of the country, we shall oppose it.
Our organization cannot merely be the publicity Department of the Government. It is an independent organization. This needs repetition because many people amongst us have begun to be dependent on the Government and have lost their militancy. The opposition now is taking up the leadership of militant groups. We, on the other hand, with our expectation that the Government can do everything, are sitting still with our faces turned towards the Singha Darbar. So we are losing contact with the masses. We must stop this otherwise like worn-out trees we shall fall before the gale. If our only wish was to send our men to form government, then our present inactivity is quite natural. But if our Party is to take up the leadership of the revolution then we must have self-confidence and must always try to keep aloof from governmental troubles. There are historical instances where parties had remained militant and active, but had become inactive when they entered government. Our fate should not be like that. For that reason, in order to keep ourselves active we should try to organize the Party on the basis of popular needs.

(2) The Congress has today the work of a parliament to perform. There is no parliament nor assembly today to keep a check on this Government. In other countries the elected majority in Parliament forms the Government and the Parliament gives its consent or rejects the laws and measures taken by that Government. The Parliament members are chosen from different constituencies and are in touch with their local people, and this advantage of direct contact is given to the Government of the day. But our Congress Government is not elected, but due to the Party's leadership in
the anti-Rana movement it is called upon by the King to form it. For this reason there is no constitutional means available to this Government to bring itself into contact with the people. For the same reason the Congress has to fulfil that task for the time being and so long as a parliament is not convened our slogan shall be 'Let the Congress work as Parliament.'

It is the duty of the Party to put into practice the above principles. The present kind of practice will weaken the organization and prevent it from carrying out its historical responsibility. It is very necessary to have an organization in which its President should remain outside the Government and its leadership should not be dominated by the latter. The majority of the Working Committee members of the Party should be from those outside the Government. The meetings of the Working Committee should be held as frequently as possible so that in the present changing conditions it can give its timely decisions. The principle of election should be the basis of the organizational set up. But along with the democratic principles inside the Party it is also necessary to observe strict discipline. Hence the basis of our party organization should be (1) Democracy and (2) Discipline.
APPENDIX V

Text of the Secret Agreement reached by the Nepali Congress, the Praja Parishad and the Nepali Rashtriya Congress, at the time of the formation of the League of Democrats, 1953.

On the question of the formation of Government in replacement of the present undemocratic and inefficient Government by Sri M. P. Koirala, we declare that the ideal parity and equality is guaranteed amongst us and we will make the necessary adjustment in this regard to suit situation as it could obtain on that occasion.

We have not entered into an agreement among ourselves in a spirit of bargain; our only aim is to bring about stable popular Government that can effectively deal with national and economic problems of the country.

* The Hindustan Standard (Calcutta), 5 November 1953.
APPENDIX VI

Working Committees of the main political parties of Nepal

Nepali Congress (1960)
1. B. P. Koirala (President)
2. Sri Bhadra Sharma (General Secretaries)
3. Tripubbar Singh Pradhan
4. Subarna Shamsher J.B.R. (Treasurer)
5. Surya Prasad Upadhyay
6. Ganeshman Singh
7. M. P. Koirala
8. Biswa Bandhu Thapa
9. Bhudev Rai
10. Ganesh Kumar Sharma
11. Giri Prasad Budathoki
12. Radha Krishna Tharu
13. Girija Prasad Koirala
14. Rudra Prasad Girl
15. Tejman Tumbahamphe
16. Krishna Lal Lekhak
17. Devnath Das Yadav
18. Radha Devi

//Nepali Congress, Central Office, Kathmandu//

Gurkha Parishad (1959-60)
1. Randhir Subba (President)
2. Mrigendra Shamsher J.B.R. (Vice-President)
3. Bharat Shamsher J.B.R. (General Secretary)
4. Beni Bahadur Karki (Joint Secretary)
5. Dev Bir Pande (Treasurer)
6. Bhubaneshwar Pathak
7. Indra Prasad Singh
8. Man Mohan Misra
9. Dal Bahadur Khadka
10. Karna Bahadur Rai
11. B. B. Subba
12. Bhim Bahadur Karki
13. Vishwa Nath
14. Bhuban B. Bhandari
15. Sher Bahadur Gurung
16. Bhairav Singh Rawat

Gurkha Parishad, Central Office, Kathmandu

Samyukta Prajatantra Party (1959-60)

1. Dr. K. I. Singh (President)
2. Kashi Prasad Srivastava (General Secretary)
3. Ganesh Bahadur Khadka
4. Karna Bahadur Hamal
5. Bhuvan Singh Karki Chetri
6. Ram Bahadur Chand
7. Man Bahadur Chand
8. Nandalal Joshi
9. Prachanda Lal Maska
10. Prithvi Bahadur Shah
11. Genda Lal Lama
12. Parasu Ram Bhakta Mathe
13. Dr. Hem Bir
14. Sridhar Khanal
15. Kirti Brahmanand Joshi
16. Ramchandra Prasad Gupta
17. Tribeni Prasad
18. Arjun Singh
19. Pasupati Mahaju
20. Jeet Narayan Pradhan
21. Gope Bahadur Shah
22. Khadag Bahadur Gurung
23. Tej Bahadur Khadka
24. Jeet Bahadur Gurung
25. P. N. Rana
26. Lochan Shamsher Thapa
27. Grishma Bahadur Devkota
28. Kul Bahadur Limbu

Samyukta Prajatantra Party, Central Office, Kathmandu.

Nepali Communist Party (1957)

Politburo Members
1. Dr. Kesar Jang Raimajhi (General Secretary)
2. Puspalal
3. Tulsilal Amatya
4. D. P. Adhikari
5. Kamar Sah
Central Committee Members

6. Sambhu Ram
7. Madhu Singh
8. Kedar Prasad Upadhyay
9. Kamal Raj Regmi
10. Krishna Raj Varma
11. Krishna Lal
12. Krishna Prasad Adhikari
13. Mohan Bikram
14. Hikmat Singh
15. Aravinda Nath Rimal
16. P. B. Malla
17. P. N. Rana

署名

Halkhabar (Kathmandu), 9 June 1957.