

MADAN
BHANDARI

on People's Multiparty Democracy

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A NOTE ON THE BOOK

People's Multiparty Democracy (PMD) is a new and innovative development of Marxism. It has evolved through the application of fundamental Marxist principles to the specific context of the Nepali revolution. The various forms of capitalism and their exploitative nature have served as the foundation for the conceptualisation of PMD. It is built on a synthesis of philosophical concepts, past experiences, and future predictions.

The PMD, pioneered by People's Leader Madan Bhandari, did not emerge suddenly during the Fifth National Congress of the party, although the Congress was a significant event that altered the course of Nepal's revolutionary history. Prior to that, ideological and theoretical debates were already underway within the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) [CPN (M-L)], leading to the development of a distinct path for the Nepali communist movement. These debates were centred on moving away from blindly adhering

to Marxism and imitating other communist revolutions. These discussions played a crucial role in rectifying ultra-left mistakes and paved the way for new ideas. The Fifth National Congress further clarified this principle and propelled PMD as the programme of the Nepali revolution.

This book is a compilation of already published articles, reports and booklets by People's Leader Madan Bhandari, with the aim of stimulating debates and discussions within the party. Its objective is to synthesise the debates and discussions and bring to the audience the historical context of the evolution of PMD, as an innovative programme. Therefore, it is crucial to read and understand the chapters in the book within their historical context. While some chapters aim to clarify misconceptions and enhance understanding of PMD, others focus on addressing opposing views and arguments through ideological and pragmatic perspectives.

The official name of the programme, People's Multiparty Democracy, was established during the Fifth National Congress. Prior to this, all debates and discussions, whether written or oral, referred to it as Multiparty Democracy. This collection, however, uses PMD consistently throughout, even for documents published before the Fifth National Congress, to ensure uniformity in terminology and prevent confusion.

Chapter I, entitled 'Understanding People's Multiparty Democracy,' is derived from the Nepali booklet

'Bahudaliya Janabad Bare' (About Multiparty Democracy) published in 1991. This chapter focuses on dispelling misconceptions and illuminating the essence of PMD within the Nepali context, particularly addressing debates regarding its relationship with Marxism-Leninism and New Democracy.

Chapter II, based on the article 'Modified New Democracy or Liquidationism?' published in 1993, delves into ideological challenges and the struggle against liquidationism. It scrutinises the erosion of ideological integrity under the guise of the 'Modified New Democratic Programme' and advocates for People's Multiparty Democracy as the appropriate programme for the Nepali revolution, rooted in the country's objective reality.

Chapter III, initially published as an article in the *Souvenir* of the Nepal Intellectuals' Council in 1992, navigates debates, clarifies misconceptions surrounding PMD, and presents it as an innovative application of Marxism in revolutionary politics. On the other hand, Chapter IV comprises the programmatic document endorsed by the Fifth National Congress of the CPN (UML) in 1993, outlining the party's vision for a proletarian-led people's democratic revolution. It defines strategies for achieving social emancipation, national independence, and economic development, with a focus on the crucial role of the working class in leading the revolutionary struggle.

Chapter V is primarily based on the paper presented at the international seminar of world communists organised by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Kolkata, India, in 1993. It delves into the importance of promoting open dialogue, constructive criticism, and a competitive system within the communist movement and society. The chapter navigates the challenges and potential pitfalls faced by socialist ideologies, emphasising the need to learn from historical mistakes, especially those observed in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

These debates led the party to historic conclusions regarding issues such as the innovative programme of the Nepali revolution. They played a crucial role in correcting ultra-left mistakes and guiding the party towards formulating innovative ideas. PMD represents a response to the necessity of charting a new course for building revolution and socialism that aligns with the unique historical demands of Nepal.

PMD marks the beginning of a new political era in history, an era characterised by hope and optimism.

CHAPTER I

Understanding People's Multiparty Democracy

1. Background

People's Multiparty Democracy (PMD), known as *Janatako Bahudaliya Janabad* in Nepali, is a political programme of CPN (UML). It emphasises a people's government within a political system of multiparty competition. The term *bahudaliya* (multiparty) combines with *janatako janabad* (people's democracy) to the governing system and state power respectively. The words are important in representing the people's democratic system. The use of *Janatako Bahudaliya Janabad* or PMD creates a unified and coordinated term for a single political system. PMD is a New Democracy tailored to the specific contextual realities of Nepal.

There are a lot of rumours circulating about this programme, evoking that it opposes Marxism-Leninism and even New Democracy. Within the communist movements, there are not only traditional followers but also individuals organised under the party system who are reluctant to follow the system and discipline of a revolutionary party. These individuals are trying to establish a new political group in the name of opposing PMD. More than this, those who oppose the UML, particularly the bourgeoisie and conservatives, often criticise the UML for allegedly being against New Democracy and for departing from Marxism.

In the current political climate, individuals with diverse opinions, programmes and ideologies are coming together to oppose the UML. Amidst this, some honest members, cadres and supporters of the UML are

experiencing confusion, illusions and dilemmas. They question whether *Janatako Bahudaliya Janabad* truly opposes New Democracy or if it represents an argument against Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, it is important and timely to engage in discussions on the agenda of *Janatako Bahudaliya Janabad* or People's Multiparty Democracy, considering all of these issues and perspectives.

2. No difference between PMD and New Democracy

It is vital to clarify the concept of New Democracy before determining whether PMD opposes it. The term 'new' in New Democracy signifies the existence of a different concept of people's democracy compared to the previous 'old' democracy. The 'old' democracy refers to 'capitalist democracy' which was the outcome of the revolution against feudalism during the rise and development of capitalism.

This capitalist revolution ended feudalism, paving the way for the establishment of capitalism. The leaders, who led the revolution, were from the capitalist class. However, the revolution ushered in capitalist dictatorship, leading to the development of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. In this way, imperialism arose from the background of 'old' democracy.

We vehemently oppose monopoly capitalism and imperialism. We reject, condemn, and disdain the capitalist dictatorship. Our vision does not align with establishing an old democracy, where the majority of people are oppressed for the benefit of a privileged few.

We reject the notion of establishing an old capitalistic democracy that merely replaces feudal exploitation with capitalistic exploitation, believing that altering forms and methods of exploitation would lead to social liberation.

We have a challenging task to eradicate feudalism even today. But feudalism is not alone in any country in modern time. Feudalism does not exist in isolation in any modern nation. Imperialism actively supports feudalism, and both systems collaborate to exploit people across different nations in a coordinated manner. Hence, we also bear the major responsibility of ending the exploitation of imperialism.

Additionally, there exists another class known as the bureaucratic comprador class, which aligns itself with both imperialism and feudalism. Consequently, we have a mandatory responsibility to put an end to its exploitation too. However, it is crucial to note that we are not currently engaged in a socialist revolution, nor are we abolishing private ownership of the means of production. Our focus is solely on abolishing feudalism and anti-national capitalism.

In this context, our ongoing revolution is a nationalistic capitalist people's revolution, albeit in a new form compared to previous revolutions. This revolution is new not simply because it's happening in the current era but also due to several critical issues that were absent in previous capitalistic revolutions. These key issues include:

- Imperialism and bureaucratic comprador capitalism are the major enemies of this new revolution. This represents an important new issue.
- The bourgeoisie cannot lead a revolution against imperialism and the bureaucratic comprador capitalist system, as they are both specific forms of capitalism. Only the proletariat working class can lead a revolution against feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic comprador capitalism. This marks yet another new issue of the revolution.
- This revolution aims to foster unity among people of all classes and statuses who oppose feudalism and imperialism, leading to the establishment of people's democracy rather than authoritarianism as seen in previous revolutions. This is another important aspect of the movement.
- Furthermore, the new system, which emerges after this new revolution will gradually transition towards socialism, standing against monopoly capitalism and imperialism. This represents yet another new issue of the revolution.

Thus, the enemy of the revolution, the leadership of the revolution, the political system established after the revolution, and the direction of political structures and societal development constitute the four major issues that differentiate between the 'old' and 'new' forms of democratic revolution. This delineates why it is a people's revolution in a new form. These fundamental

elements comprise the essential subject matters of the new democratic revolution, shaping the concept of democracy as genuinely novel.

The issue of leadership cannot be merely declared on paper. It must be earned through competition with other forces and by winning the hearts and minds of the people through rigorous, continuous and relentless service in practice. As for the other issues, they must be achieved through public declaration followed by sincere and honest implementation.

There can be neither a social revolution nor a new concept of democracy without addressing the earlier mentioned issues in modern times. The Nepali Congress party holds negative opinions on all four of these crucial issues. Therefore, the party cannot be considered a revolutionary party capable of instigating social changes. It is impossible for anyone to genuinely oppose feudalism while maintaining friendly relation with imperialism in present-day Nepal. This is because feudalism and imperialism are interrelated and mutually supportive in developing countries. The Nepali Congress has never voiced opposition against imperialistic and monopolistic foreign capitalism anywhere. Thus, it is clear that the Nepali Congress cannot be anti-feudalism.

Our party has unequivocally and decisively included the aforesaid four issues in its programmes. These facts make it clear that our party is revolutionary force, with its primary agenda being the establishment of a new form of

democratic capitalism. The question on the new form of democracy cannot be decided reducing the discussion to a choice between one-party system and multiparty system within the political landscape. Labelling Mao Zedong Thought or the new form of democracy as synonymous with a single-party authoritarian political system reflects a misunderstanding of Marxist theory.

The specific national context of any country during and after a revolution determines the appropriate form of governance system, whether it be a one-party system, a two-party system, or a multiparty system. This is not a matter of abstract but rather a question of specific policies based on the unique circumstances of each nation. Our commitment lies in establishing a multi-party system through a thorough analysis of our country's existing characteristics and by drawing lessons from our history of continuous struggles against dictatorship and party-less systems.

These facts debunk the absurd notion that the CPN (UML) has abandoned the new agenda of people's revolution simply because it supports multiparty system. Such claims are nothing short of comedic. In essence, People's Multiparty Democracy is not in opposition to New Democracy but it itself is a New Democracy being developed and implemented in the specific context of Nepal.

3. The core element of a state lies in its class character, whereas its system of governance embodies its form

Since our party has embraced a multiparty system, specifically following the reformation measures taken within the global communist and socialist movements, capitalists have intensified their attack on communism. Generally, capitalist countries have adopted multiparty parliamentary system from their inception. Conversely, socialist countries have either adopted a single-party system or a multiparty cooperative system, often without allowing competitive elections. Such behaviours and practices have led people to believe that a multiparty competition system is solely the domain of capitalism, while socialism is associated with a single-party system, where the possibility of multiparty involvement is seen as supportive rather than central to socialist rule. These opinions and perceptions represent a serious misconception. Multiparty system is a popular approach in the political life of societies, serving as a crucial method for organising government and is by no means an exclusive asset of capitalism.

Every matter has its form and essence or a core element. Even the political system possesses both form and essence. The essence of governance is related with state structures, while the form is associated with the governing system. The multiparty system represents a form rather than essence. The core issue of benefiting some specific classes or sections of population and the imposition of authority over others within any political system is tied to the essence of the state structure.

In every state, various classes of people exist, and their status within those classes is being analysed accordingly. The policies adopted by a state toward specific classes reflect the inherent class characteristics of that particular state, thus aligning with the essence of the state. On the other hand, the governance system pertains to the formation of government structures and the day-to-day administration of the state. Therefore, it is associated with the form of the state.

A competitive multiparty governance system is not limited to certain class characteristics of a state. Rather, it is a governance system that can be adopted by states with various class characteristics. At this time, many states across the world operate under a multiparty governance system. Even semi-feudal or semi-colonial states have embraced multiparty systems, alongside capitalist countries. It is being concluded that socialist countries could also consider adopting such a system, especially in their initial phases. Thus, we are moving forward by formulating our political programme with the conclusion that a new democratic state can also adopt a political system based on multiparty competition. Therefore, merely examining the form aspect is inadequate for identifying the true characteristics of any country. Our commitment to adopting a multiparty system does not contradict our adherence to Marxism-Leninism and New Democracy. The New democratic system represents a transitional phase which supports socialism and opposes feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, and imperialism.

In New Democracy, people from all classes and statuses, except for the feudal and comprador bureaucratic classes, have the opportunity to fully engage in political activities, and enjoy their democratic rights to the fullest extent. Political parties can form governments and govern the state based on their programmes, politics, and ideologies, as determined by the popular verdict from elections. The party in the minority will assume the role of the opposition. Therefore, the multiparty system pertains to the state governance system, while democracy focuses on state power or authority. It is on these principles that our people's multiparty programme is founded.

4. We should oppose the essence of the bourgeoisie parliament and utilise its form

The competitive multiparty governance system mainly operates within a parliamentary framework. In essence, elections are held in every four or five years, and the political party that garners the majority of votes forms the government, while the party with the minority of votes assumes the role of the opposition. In other words, democratic centralised governance system is a political system where state is run by the majority with checks by the minority.

The parliament has criticised as saying, 'The bourgeoisie parliament is a general venue for bourgeois discussions and resembles a butcher's shop where dog meat is sold under the guise of goat's head.' When Marx and Lenin criticised the bourgeoisie parliament, they were not criticising electoral process or the system of elected

governance. They did not want to trivialise public polling into mere theatrics. The essence of their criticism centred around the fact that crucial political decisions were already predetermined by the military headquarters or the headquarters of capitalist bureaucrats within the bourgeoisie system. As a result, the parliament only served as a place for superficial discussions and failed to address the real issues faced by the people.

Marx spoke highly of both the executive and the legislature when he praised the Paris Commune. Similarly, we advocate for political representative institutions with genuine authority that can effectively solve real problems. We also support the principle of the separation of powers. We are not arguing for a single institution combining the roles of executive, legislature and judiciary. Based on governance experiences, it is essential for the judiciary, legislature and executive to operate independently and relatively free from interference. We firmly believe that these institutions, along with other forces, should respect each other's respective spheres of operation and refrain from undue intervention.

Marx and Lenin critiqued the bourgeoisie parliament by considering both its form and essence, directing their criticism towards the capitalist state rather than the specific form, method, or manner of organising government. In the present context, we emphasise the separation of forms and contents, supporting the existing form while aiming to change its content through struggle. Our objective is to establish a form that aligns with the

interests of the people by replacing the semi-feudal and semi-imperial aspects.

Given the context in our country, a single-party system is not suitable. Therefore, we stand for a multiparty system. We are committed to safeguarding and enhancing the revolutionary aspects within the multiparty form by thoroughly analysing the global developments that have transpired since the times of Marx and Lenin. Based on these analyses, our party has adopted a policy that emphasises the potential for creative work within parliament. The ability of a parliament to be creative largely depend on the structure of the parliament. Additionally, it depends on the approach taken by the ruling party in moving forward. Creativity is less likely to be found in those parliaments where the decision-making processes relies solely on majority decisions based on the proposer's identity, rather than evaluating the merit and appropriateness of the proposals in any subject matter.

5. Communist party does not deprive people of their fundamental rights

We continuously advocate for the unrestricted enjoyment of fundamental rights by the people. These fundamental rights include the freedom of expression through writing, printing, and speaking, the right to assembly, the freedom to form or participate in political parties based on their ideology, and the right to vote or stand for elections in state agencies, among other freedoms. These rights should not be curtailed even after the communist party assumes state power. People have struggled to establish

and safeguard their rights. Therefore, after the revolution, the consolidation of all political rights solely within the control of the communist party or any single party cannot be considered democratic.

Political parties can only be formed and exist if the fundamental rights of people are guaranteed. In a system where such political parties exist, they should get opportunities to compete among the general people and with the communist party regarding governance. Establishing a one-party system by restricting people's rights should be avoided. While the promise of the communist party to end economic and social exploitation and guarantee people's livelihood is attractive, any actions that limit people from enjoying their democratic rights would be counterproductive. Therefore, our party advocates for a system that fully guarantees people's ability to enjoy all democratic rights even after the revolution, as evidenced by our support for multiparty competition.

6. 'State with constitution and rule of law' should be in revolutionary system

The slogan 'State in accordance with constitution and rule in accordance with law' has gained significant popularity worldwide. A state without a constitution and laws without rules could signify anarchy or dictatorship. The constitution plays a crucial role in defining and managing the situation, status, and interrelations among classes within a country. Laws, on the other hand, are

essential for ensuring regular and orderly governance and administration of the country.

Regardless of the specifics of the constitution and laws enacted, they should be applied to all equally. The right to reform, amend, and adopt these laws and constitution should be preserved for the supreme institution of people's representatives. This ensures that the constitution remains dynamic and adaptable, while laws remain amenable to change as needed.

The constitution and laws alone do not establish the full authority of revolution or counter-revolution. Revolutions or counter-revolutions are determined by decision-making based on the management of decisive forces on one's side, often disregarding legal or constitutional provisions. However, when working towards quantitative changes, it is imperative to adhere to existing laws.

Even after a revolution or counter-revolution, constitutions and laws must be established. We are against the autocratic rule where there are no constitution and laws. It is crucial to adopt methods that protect the revolution within the framework of the constitution and enforce measures according to constitutional provisions.

7. Existence of class-based politics is natural as long as multiple classes exist in society

According to Marxism, the state emerges as a product of a class-based society. State is a tool for one class to dominate another. The state is originated as a representation of

a specific class and will die as a representation of a specific class. However, during its existence, the state can function as a collective entity representing various classes. As long as different classes exist, it is natural to have the existence of diverse ideologies, perspectives, and opinions reflecting their class interests.

In New Democracy, people from different classes including the working class, national capitalists, agricultural workers, rich peasants, and even nationalists from exploitative classes will be allowed to coexist and participate in society. Therefore, the new democratic system itself operates within a class-based framework.

It is not appropriate to argue that in a society with multiple classes, only one communist party should be allowed to exist. The communist party cannot transform into a political party representing all classes; it remains the political party of the proletariat or working-class people. In such a scenario, other classes have the right to form their own political parties. Additionally, if other political parties emerge within the working class, the communist party should be prepared for healthy democratic competition. This approach allows the communist party to progress democratically.

8. Two issues are universally important in Marxist theory

There are two everlasting significant aspects within Marxist theory. The first is the consistency of Marxist theory with its practical application. Marxism is not merely a theoretical framework but a guide for concrete

actions. Practice is an ever-evolving and dynamic process, and a theory must adapt and guide actions in every stage of development and change. Therefore, the theory itself should be dynamic and oriented towards development as per the demands of the time.

Marxist theory is not dogmatic; Lenin emphasised this point by referring to the spirit of Marxism as involving a concrete analysis of concrete situations. Today, the contexts in which Marxist theory is applied differ significantly from the initial phases of the Marxist movement. Hence, it is crucial to provide concrete definitions that address new and diverse issues within Marxist ideology. Clinging to obsolete formulas cannot solve contemporary problems. This is a universal truth within Marxist theory.

The second aspect pertains to the class-based approach of Marxist theory. Marxism fundamentally aims for the liberation and advancement of the working class and productive forces. It consistently aligns itself with the productive forces in any society. While the circumstances, times, and locations may vary, the core class approach of Marxism remains unchanged. Marxism cannot be interpreted in a way that favours feudal and capitalist interests while hindering the interests of productive forces. Therefore, the correctness of any new interpretation of Marxism can only be evaluated through its adherence to the class-based approach.

In this context, our party has put forward a programme aimed at safeguarding and advancing the interests of

the proletariat working class within the framework of a multiparty political system. There is no inherent principle that suggests a multiparty system cannot serve the working class. However, experience has shown that a one-party authoritarian system fails to ensure the long-term benefits of the proletariat class.

All communists must be prepared to move forward through multiparty competition, drawing lessons from the experiences of communist and socialist movements worldwide. It is only through this approach that we can secure a bright future for the communist party and the proletariat working class in our country.

9. PMD is a system where authorisation of people is unified

‘There will be counter-revolution if a multiparty governance system is adopted in New Democracy. The communist party must not relinquish the country’s ruling power to other political parties to safeguard the new progressive society established through sacrifice during the revolution. The competitive system is deemed inappropriate.’ The concept of multiparty democracy is criticised based on these arguments.

According to Marxist philosophy, revolution is an inevitable objective process. Mere subjective appeals are insufficient for revolution; it requires the alignment of subjective forces with the rules of objective development process for a swift conclusion. Therefore, the emergence and development of new social elements within the existing society are crucial for revolution. Revolution dismantles

the foundation of the previous society and strengthens new social structures. However, defeated counter-revolutionary elements may attempt to re-establish the old social system. The new system established by the revolution must use state force to control these counter-revolutionary elements and establish the authority of the revolution.

Initially, the revolution dismantles the old economic and social foundations that reactionary elements rely on to maintain their dictatorship. These elements, deprived of their base, may resort to individual counter-revolutionary acts. Observing their actions, power, influence, and circumstances helps in deciding whether to restrict their voting and fundamental rights. This is not just theoretical but a reflection of the existing situation of the time.

Preventing a return to the previous social system is not a constant check if the new society aligns with people's interests and matures within the objective circumstances. In Nepal, there is no risk of reverting to past slavery or medieval feudal systems. That history is behind us. Moreover, it's not appropriate in any political system for the system to change based solely on which party is in power.

The constitution should define any political system in a manner that ensures changes in ruling political parties do not affect the system's integrity. Constitutional security measures must be guaranteed for a new people's political system that is anti-feudalistic and anti-imperialistic.

The communist party should engage continuously and diligently with the people, supported by the beliefs and opinions of the general public. The party should avoid maintaining its rule through undemocratic methods or exploitation once in power.

Ultimately, people are the ultimate decision-makers in both the state and governance systems. The revolution is driven by people's awareness and decisive actions, and it is this same awareness and activism that preserves the revolution's outcomes. Therefore, the communist party should focus on resolving any issues through political organising and engagement with the general public, rather than relying on state force.

If the majority of people do not support a particular state or political system, then no amount of force can sustain that system in the long term. Therefore, the new people's revolution cannot be considered complete until all feudalistic and imperialistic forces are defeated or dismantled. After the revolution, their foundations are destroyed, and any attempts to restore the previous system are controlled or minimised.

However, there will be no risk to New Democracy in adopting a competitive multiparty system among the supportive forces of the new people's revolution as long as they are anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. The communist party should govern with the support of the people's verdict through competition within the new democratic framework under the constitution, rather than

relying on authoritarian force. Communists must serve the nation and people with sacrifice and selflessness. Using authoritarian force to avoid serving the people is not acceptable. In a multiparty system, communists demonstrate their capability through competition.

10. Current system is not multiparty democracy

In our country, the multiparty system was established by ending the partyless panchayat system. Some people mistakenly perceive this system as multiparty democracy. Undoubtedly, the current constitution guarantees the rights to form political parties, participate in elections with their own ideologies and agendas, and form a government based on majority votes, with the opposition playing a role from the party getting minority votes.

While this is obviously a multiparty system, it does not qualify as multiparty democratic system. It is a multiparty semi-feudal and semi-colonial system, a conservative multiparty system. Our party supports the multiparty system but, more importantly, we strive to establish democracy by utilising and enhancing the multiparty system. We do not endorse a conservative semi-feudal and semi-colonial system. If there is no discernible difference between the current multiparty system and people's multiparty democratic system, it implies a departure from revolutionary ideology towards reformism.

It's already discussed that the true essence of democracy, which we are striving for, is an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist system. However, feudalism and imperialism

still persist in our country, and we must continue our struggle to eradicate them. Therefore, labelling the current system as democratic only serves the interests of reactionaries and reformists, leading to confusion among the people.

While the multiparty system has been established as a political process for forming and operating the government, it remains rooted in the regressive foundations of semi-feudal and semi-imperialist structures. Achieving democracy requires dismantling these foundations. Therefore, multiparty democracy that we refer to is a social system based on anti-feudal and anti-imperialist economic, social, and cultural principles. It represents New Democracy with a multiparty political system.

11. PMD adopts working style that facilitates transition to socialism with popular support

It has been previously discussed that the PMD is a New Democracy and it is a transitional phase to socialism. However, there are numerous queries, questions, and objections raised regarding how it is possible to transition to socialism through multiparty competition.

Generally accepted idea is that the new democratic system transitions to socialism peacefully. This idea seems obvious when the communist party is in a ruling position, as their ultimate goal is socialism and communism. However, a common question arises regarding 'how' this

transition occurs during the rule of a non-communist political party.

The communist party itself does not seek to transition towards socialism without first preparing the basic objective and physical conditions necessary for socialism. Many incidents and experiences from various countries have demonstrated that socialism cannot be sustained if it is adopted forcefully without developing an independent and autonomous national economy. Rushing and coercing the establishment of socialism is neither appropriate nor sustainable. Instead, it is crucial to strengthen New Democracy from political, economic, social, and cultural perspectives first. This approach reduces the risk of reverting to the previous system and ensures a more stable foundation for the transition to socialism.

The strengthening of the new people's system must be ensured. Therefore, after the completion of the new people's revolution, the primary task is to fortify New Democracy from all perspectives and in all sectors. Specifically, in the national economy sector, this involves enabling people to gain more material benefits through collective ownership and expanding the role of the public sector.

Programmes aimed at attracting people towards socialism should be adopted through education and awareness. The public life of both individuals and the nation should not be uniformly controlled by the private sector. Creating favourable material conditions

is fundamental for transitioning into socialism. People should be psychologically prepared by highlighting the importance, awareness, and benefits of socialism.

Active support, involvement, and initiatives from the people should be encouraged to facilitate the transition into socialism. It is crucial to organise and involve not just the workers and proletariat class, but the entire general population in support of socialism. Without the support and participation of the masses, the establishment, protection, and development of socialism are not feasible.

Political parties play a key role in raising awareness among the people and formulating policies and theories to address issues for which people are not mentally or physically prepared, or when the material conditions are not yet conducive. However, once the material and objective situations are ready, these issues become matters of general public interest and behaviour rather than solely political concerns.

Socialism cannot be established and sustained without making it a subject of concern for the general people. Peaceful transition to socialism is possible when there is widespread support from the general public or a majority of people, even if a minority opposes it. In cases where opposition attempts to disrupt the socialist transition, the state may use force to control these elements and secure the transition process. However, if the majority does not support the transition, socialism cannot be sustained, even if initially established through coercion by the state.

Therefore, the transition to socialism is only feasible through organising widespread public support, strengthening democracy, preparing materially for socialism, and fostering support for socialism itself. Rushing to use force to establish socialism due to the desires of a minority, as seen in many countries, is not advisable.

CHAPTER II

Modified New Democracy, Liquidationism or People's Multiparty Democracy?

1. Context

We are close to our party's National Congress. In this context, we must recognise the great responsibility that the Congress has in shaping the ideology, programme, and policies of our party. This responsibility is particularly significant considering the prevailing national and international circumstances. The struggle against liquidationism and dogmatism continues to intensify in the communist movement worldwide. These opposing tendencies pose a serious threat to the protection and advancement of our movement. Therefore, it is imperative that we proactively address and combat liquidationism, condemning and defeating it decisively.

These ideological challenges have surfaced during discussions leading up to our party's Congress. Notably, two different papers on policies and programmes have been put forth by the 'minority' and 'majority' factions within the party. Interestingly, the minority faction, which previously critiqued the majority's ideas, has now proposed an alternative programme entitled the 'Modified New Democratic Programme.' This sudden shift raises concerns about the minority faction's true intentions, and underscores the need to scrutinise their motives. It is evident that this so-called 'Modified New Democratic Programme' is a veiled attempt to introduce liquidationism under the guise of revolutionary rhetoric. We must remain vigilant and resolute in exposing and opposing any such attempts.

In this write up, my focus will be on analysing the paper entitled 'Modified New Democracy' put forth by the minority, alongside other articles. The central question I aim to address is: What type of social revolution in the current context?

2. What type of social revolution is pertinent in the current context?

The minority faction, advocating the so-called 'modified new democratic' programme, has presented contrasting views against the ideology and programme put forth by the majority within the party. For those party members who do not engage in critical analysis, the arguments of the minority may create an illusion that the 'Modified New Democracy' is preferable, while People's Multiparty Democracy might be seen as indicating a decline in the party's principles.

Additionally, the so-called Marxist scholars have also written against the concept of People's Multiparty Democracy. In this analysis, I aim to delve into the modifications proposed by the so-called modified new democratic faction. It's worth noting that I have previously discussed how the minority faction interprets the 1990 people's movement as a bourgeois democratic revolution, and has attempted to develop a theory of a 'modified new democratic programme' based on that movement.

The Nepali Congress party also opines that the political revolution has concluded, emphasising the need

to expedite the economic revolution now. Political revolution typically involves the transfer of political power from one ruling class to another. However, in reality, the political power is on the hold of the same class that has been holding it for years. While the 1990 movement was pivotal and impactful, it primarily succeeded to introduce political reform only, rather than bringing about structural changes.

Similar to the Nepali Congress, the 'modified' minority views the 1990 movement as a capitalist democratic revolution, where it bases its 'modified' revolutionary theory. In its paper, the minority faction states, 'The country still needs a sort of capitalistic political democratic revolution' (p.4), emphasising that a form of capitalist democratic revolution has already been completed, yet another one is still essential. The emphasis on the word 'still' underscores the perceived need for another revolution. However, the crucial question remains: What kind of revolution is this supposed to be?

The minority faction states, 'After establishing a new transitory socio-economic democratic system, it has to be transformed slowly and gradually to socialism' (ibid p.4). The minority realises the need for a transitional revolution. However, the nature of this transitory system remains unclear in their paper. C P Mainali, the leader of the minority faction, has defended this viewpoint by stating, 'New Democracy is meant to be a system-in-transition from capitalism to socialism' (ibid p.3). According to him, 'Modified New Democracy' is a type

of transition from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-political system to socialism.

This stance indicates a revision in theory by the minority faction, which reflects their dilemma. They must either move away from the concept of a new democratic revolution or commit to the path of a socialist revolution, because they have already asserted that the 1990 movement was a capitalist democratic revolution. Therefore, the minority has chosen a third option—the so-called Modified New Democracy— which they are now advocating for.

This analysis isn't just my personal perspective; it's the subject matter that the minority faction strives to formulate their theory. One can be clear about their stance by studying their documents and related articles. The minority faction considerably determines the domestic and foreign opposing forces in their so-called modified new democratic revolution. According to them, these forces include remnants of feudalism, bureaucratic-comprador capitalism, imperialism, hegemony, and neo-colonialism (p.4).

This identification of these social classes as the major barrier to revolution and escape from feudalism, while determining protagonists and antagonists of the revolution, is not a coincidence. It represents the concerted efforts of the modified new democratic faction to invent a new theory.

There can indeed be remnants of feudalism persisting even after a revolutionary process aimed at its elimination. Examples of such remnants can be seen in countries like England and Japan until now, despite the absence of feudalism in a living form. It's notable that the revolutionary forces in these countries, such as in England and Japan, generally are in support of socialist revolution. However, the minority faction is actively engaged in formulating a new theory.

The modified theory proposed by the minority deviates from the principles of dialectical materialism inherent in Marxist philosophy, tending towards a more metaphysical and mechanical approach. Mao Zedong's perspective sheds light on this contrast. He says, 'The Chinese Revolution means a New Democratic Revolution in the sense that it abolishes colonialism, semi-colonialism, and semi-feudalism existing in Chinese society... The obstacles to capitalist development are removed after the victory of revolution and capitalism is developed in certain limitations in the society as a result of New Democratic Revolution. Development of capitalist socio-economy in certain limitation in economically backward Chinese society is indispensable.' According to Mao, both capitalist and socialist elements progress concurrently, albeit in a restricted manner, following the revolution.

However, the so-called revolution proposed by the modified new democratic minority aims to establish a new mixed transitional socio-economic structure instead of a capitalist socio-economic structure. This distinction

makes it clear that Mao's concept of New Democracy differs significantly from the notion of modified New Democracy put forth by the minority faction.

The minority faction believes that 'The theory and practice of revolution are not unalterable and permanent ' and that 'improving a theory is a natural process.' They argue that a theory can be refined and termed as a modified democratic theory or given any other appropriate name. However, the minority is adamant on certain points. They vehemently oppose naming the party programme as multiparty democracy under any circumstances. At the same time, the minority launches offensive accusations, blaming that the majority has deviated from the original theory of revolution by adopting multiparty democracy.

3. Theory of revolution

Revolution arises from the contradiction between productive forces and production relations. Revolution determines progressive production relation corresponding to the stages and advancements of productive forces. This fundamental concept is rooted in Marxism. The bourgeois revolutions in Europe and the USA, which were directed against feudalism, ushered in the era of capitalism. The dominance of capitalist revolution persisted globally for an extended period. However, the harsh exploitation and oppression inflicted by the bourgeoisie on the working class spurred the development of Marxist ideology and revolutionary movements against it.

The socialist revolution took place in Russia in 1917. The revolution was a result of domestic contradictions and class struggles within the Russian socio-economic structure and superstructure, compounded by the conditions of World War I and the global situation at that time. The October Revolution marked the conclusion of the era of bourgeois revolutions worldwide and heralded the onset of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This decisive event significantly altered the ideological landscape and reshaped political and social alliances on a global scale.

After the socialist revolution, achieving victory in the social emancipation movement against the exploitation and suppression of medieval feudalism became increasingly challenging in underdeveloped countries. This difficulty stemmed from the fact that in the past, an old democratic movement had led the traditional bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the bourgeois class. The presence of the exploitation of colonialism and imperialism on one side, and existence of newly emerged socialism on the other, prepared the ground for the development of a new revolutionary theory for underdeveloped countries. This new theory of revolution could be formulated and refined to address the unique challenges posed by the contemporary global context.

In response to the global context, Lenin introduced the slogan: 'Unite all the workers, and oppressed nations of the world.' He reorganised the Communist International,

signalling the dawn of a new theoretical framework during his speech at the Conference of the Communists of the East. He urged them to articulate a new theory, pathway, programme, and policy of revolution – one that was not documented in any existing literature and had not been advocated, practised, or experienced by any leader before.

Lenin advised to organise and execute a revolution against the exploitation and suppression perpetuated by medieval feudalism and imperialism. This marked the inception of formulating a new democratic theory of revolution, which was applied in underdeveloped countries as the new bourgeois democratic revolution. The Communist International played an important role in advancing and refining this revolutionary ideology.

The revolutions in China, Vietnam, Korea, and various other countries significantly contributed to the advancement and evolution of this new theory. Dr Sun Yat-Sen introduced a new democratic theory, emphasising the need for collaboration with Russia and cooperation with the communist party to support Chinese peasants and workers. This theory was put forward and adopted at the First Congress of the Kuomintang Party held in China in 1924. The Congress endorsed the ideology of the Chinese democratic revolution, which proposed the concept of a third type of state aimed at discouraging both domestic and foreign monopoly capitalism while maintaining a certain degree of state control over the national economy. This ideological framework played a

crucial role in shaping a new theory and programme for a new revolution.

Mao further developed and refined this theory, incorporating additional experiences and practices. This new form of bourgeois democratic revolution was publicly communicated and propagated as the new democratic revolution in China. Similarly, it was termed as the national democratic revolution in Vietnam and the people's democratic revolution in Korea. Following the Socialist Revolution in Russia, this new theory is further consolidated and developed in light of the experiences of movements and struggles for national liberation and social emancipation in developing countries. The success of these revolutions across different countries globally justified the relevance and applicability of this theory in different contexts.

We can outline the core elements of the new theory of revolution as follows:

- Embracing Marxism-Leninism as the guiding principle of the revolution.
- Utilising the Marxist method to analyse the socio-political conditions prevalent in underdeveloped or backward countries. This involves identifying the fundamental social characteristics of a country, such as whether it is feudal, semi-feudal, colonial, semi-colonial, or neo-colonial.
- Initiating agitation and launching movements against feudalism, bureaucratic-comprador

capitalism, and imperialism with the objective of abolishing these systems.

- Achieving national liberation and social emancipation as primary goals of the revolutionary struggle.
- Entrusting the responsibility to a political party that recognises the proletariat working class as the leading class and operates under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.
- Maintaining alliances with organisations based on socio-political representation, recognising peasants and workers as the fundamental and decisive forces of the revolution, and regarding the petty-bourgeois class as a supportive element. Acknowledging the roles of other societal strata, such as the national bourgeoisie, rich farmers, and middle class, albeit with dual characteristics, as helping elements.
- Establishing a third type of state mechanism that embodies the democratic leadership of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes of the people collectively, avoiding the establishment of either a bourgeois dictatorship or a proletarian dictatorship.
- Recognising that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the characteristic of the revolution is neither an old type of democratic revolution nor a proletarian revolution; it constitutes a new type of democratic revolution.

- Focusing on liberating and advancing the productive forces and national capital from the exploitation and oppression imposed by feudalism and imperialism. This involves strengthening the role of the state in the economic sector and actively discouraging monopoly capitalism until its eradication.
- Emphasising the role of the state in the economic sector, with a focus on creating a material and cultural foundation conducive to the transformation of society towards socialism.
- Following the various paths of revolution based on the people's anti-feudal and anti-imperialist class struggle.

These elements collectively constitute the theory of the new democratic revolution.

Since 1917, revolutionary peoples in many countries have successfully completed revolutions based on this new theory. Each country's revolution has unique national characteristics influenced by factors such as location and timing. Despite the myriad differences across various countries globally, the core principles of the theory are fundamentally applied. This is reflected in the naming of revolution programmes as New Democracy, People's Democracy, National Democracy, and so forth. Regardless of the specific name given to each revolution programme based on the prevailing needs and conditions, the underlying theory remains the same.

Our party has followed the revolutionary theory from its inception. While there may be variations in the names of programmes within the communist movement, the fundamental essence of the revolution theory has remained the same. And the theory of revolution presented by the National Council of our party remains the same. In the context of Nepali society, envisioning revolution without adhering to this theory is simply impossible. The party's proposed documents are fully dedicated to upholding this theory.

However, the minority faction alleges that the majority faction has abandoned the original revolutionary theory, and instead formulated a new theory called People's Multiparty Democracy. This accusation is primarily based on the name itself. However, the minority's accusation reveals its own lack of knowledge and illusion regarding the theory of revolution. They mistakenly believe that the theory of revolution must be synonymous with 'New Democracy,' as seen in the Chinese revolution. Their thinking is rooted in an impression and illusion, leading them to believe that any deviation in the name of the revolution or programme indicates a departure from the core theory.

The minority's understanding is narrow in the sense that they consider any variation in the name of the revolution or programme as a deviation from the established theory. This illusion has driven the minority faction towards dogmatism and a metaphysical, mechanical way of thinking. They have struggled to explain the theory of

revolution and programme, especially when considering that Vietnam named it 'national democracy' and Korea called it 'people's democracy.' In response to these challenges, the minority faction has sought to revise the theory of revolution based on their belief, and they are currently preparing a modified theory.

The stubbornness of the minority faction, insisting that only the name 'People's Multiparty Democracy' is unacceptable under any circumstances, is a reflection of their illusions, dogmatism, and mechanical thinking. The naming of the programme within the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) has undergone changes over time. Initially, it was named New Democracy, and then simply Democracy in the First National Congress. The Second National Congress endorsed only a conceptual document, followed by National Democracy in the Third National Congress. Following the division in the CPN, different communist groups have given various names to the programme.

Our proposal of People's Multiparty Democracy is founded on the current needs and circumstances. It's important to note that naming a programme depends on the specific characteristics of the subject matter and the prevailing situation. However, the minority faction is attempting to create confusion and mislead party members and cadres by falsely propagating that CPN has consistently named the programme as New Democracy from the beginning. The theory of revolution is based on common sense and has universal aspects, but the naming

of a programme is context-dependent and should be adapted accordingly.

4. Why not People's Multiparty Democracy?

The minority has put significant effort to establish that 'the name of a party's programme and the theory of revolution should ideally be the same.' This belief, however, is not only theoretically incorrect but also contradicts practical experience and international examples. While the general theory of revolution may share similarities across different countries, each specific country possesses its unique characteristics, therefore, it shapes its distinct theory of revolution. Similarly, programmes developed by parties are tailored to suit their own specific characteristics and needs of their respective countries, making them even more specific.

It is crucial to present a programme that reflects the unique characteristics and necessities of a country objectively, in alignment with the specialty of the current time and circumstances. Naming a programme requires careful consideration of what needs to be emphasised and what name would be appropriate given the context. However, the minority faction does not think this way. They incorrectly assert that the theory and programme of revolutions should be recognised with the same name – a claim based on a flawed understanding.

The minority faction strongly opposes naming the party programme as People's Multiparty Democracy but prefers names such as New Democracy, National Democracy,

People's Democracy, or any other title. What are the main reasons for the minority's significant objection to 'multiparty democracy'? Some key causes behind this objection may include the following:

- a. The minority faction believes that a specific type of bourgeois democratic revolution has already concluded, and it has led to the establishment of capitalist multiparty democracy. However, this analysis is not based on Marxism and is fundamentally flawed.
- b. 'A multiparty political system is a name of a capitalist system. It cannot be the political system that us communists implement,' is the conviction of the minority. They have raised this issue as a profound philosophical issue concerning the unity or uniformity of form and essence in a different context. However, this viewpoint of the minority indicates their lack of understanding regarding Marxist philosophical concepts of form and essence in the light of Marxism, and its classical and practical experiences.

The minority's notion that the multiparty system exclusively belongs to the bourgeoisie contradicts Marxist principles. Thinking the multiparty system as solely for capitalists is akin to equating the fundamental rights of the people with the rights of the bourgeoisie. Such a perspective ultimately benefits capitalist interests rather than serving the people.

It is natural for there to be separate political parties as long as there are different classes within society. There cannot be one party of the exploiters and exploited, and the rich and the poor. While there can be different parties within the same class, having a single party representing diverse classes with varying interests is not possible. Just as there are multiple parties within the bourgeois capitalist class that cater to different interests, it is reasonable for the proletarian working class to have multiple parties with differing theories, strategies, and policies.

Therefore, in a society characterised by diverse socio-economic classes, it is reasonable to have a multiparty system, even within a people's democratic system. The multiparty system should not be seen solely as the domain of capitalists; it can also be a system that represents the interests of the people. As far as the philosophical question of unity or uniformity in form and essence is concerned, it's indeed essential to ensure the unity between form and essence. However, it's not necessarily true that a democratic system should only be based on a one-party system. The unity of form and essence also entails the unity between reality and appearance, where appearance must correspond to reality.

There are not different classes only in capitalist societies but also various economic monopoly groups exist within the same class. This diversity

reflects the essence or objective aspect of reality, and it is manifested in different forms as well.

In a democratic society, where there is no inherent class antagonism, people are still divided into different classes, and this division is reflected both in essence and form. Similarly, even in socialist societies where class differences are supposed to be eliminated and the state is expected to be in a withering condition, various ideological groups of people can coexist, which is natural and reflective of the essence or objective reality.

The existence of different classes or ideological groups in society, whether they are in an antagonistic or friendly relationship, is manifested in the political system as a form. The multiparty system of ruling and opposition parties or the method of manifestation essentially does not alter the quality or the class relationships within society. However, if the objective reality of a society is suppressed or limited in expression, or if expression is confined behind closed doors, it may lead to the rise of ultra-revolt tendencies. This was one of the major causes contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the repercussions of which the world is still grappling with today.

Therefore, it's crucial to recognise that even in the new society we aim to establish through revolution, there will still exist different classes

of people. This diversity is the essence of the society, and it corresponds to its form. The manifestation of this essence is reflected in a multiparty system in politics. However, the minority faction is inclined to follow the old models in a metaphysical manner. It disregards the lessons learned and fails to acknowledge the causes behind the dissolution of the Soviet rule. When there is diversity in essence, it should be expressed in appearance, particularly in the political system. Only then can there be unity and uniformity between manifestation and essence.

- c. The minority's concept is based on the belief that the multiparty system is an old doctrine developed and promoted centuries ago by bourgeois thinkers. It is also followed and advocated for by the Nepali bourgeoisie. Therefore, according to the minority, this system should not be included in our programme. Their argument is –

‘Pluralism and a competitive multiparty political system are not new theories developed by Nepali communists in the 1990s. They were originally proposed by bourgeois philosophers centuries ago and implemented during bourgeois revolutions. In Nepal, the Praja Parishad had proclaimed these ideas as early as 1937, and subsequent bourgeois parties such as the Nepali Congress have continued to advocate for these old theories’ (Page VI)

The argument put forth by the minority faction underscores that pluralism and a competitive multiparty political system were not developed by Nepali communists nor were they invented by the minority itself. Therefore, they insist that these concepts should not be included in the party programme. However, this line of thinking is not only narrow-minded but also goes beyond the principles of Marxism. It's worth noting that dialecticism was not a discovery of Karl Marx, and materialism was not his own invention either. However, Marx and Engels synthesised these two forms into dialectical materialism, which represents the latest discoveries in natural science and the historical experience of humankind. They critically studied Hegel's dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism, avoiding their shortcomings.

Similarly, terms like 'socialism' and 'communism' were not discoveries of Marx and Engels. Had they possessed a narrow and rigid mindset like our minority faction, Marxism might not have endured to this day. Marx and Engels' ability to think critically, synthesise ideas, and adapt to changing circumstances allowed Marxism to evolve and remain relevant.

The minority is not ready to accept creation, achievements, and knowledge of humanity. They lean towards self-invention and developing a new theory of Modified New Democracy. On the other hand, the majority faction does not

endorse self-invention. We do not claim it as our own discovery, but rather accept and promote it within the philosophical framework of dialectical materialism, guided by the need for objective reality, lessons learned from international experiences, the evolution of national political movements, and considering the country's necessity.

Our adoption of this theory stem from thorough contemplation and critical analysis. We have carefully considered which political system can effectively engage people in playing a decisive role both during revolution and in the subsequent reconstruction and development phases of our country's politics.

- d. The minority faction insists that any other name can be given to the revolution's programme, except for adding the word 'multiparty.' However, this stance contradicts the language they have used in documents and conversations, where they have mentioned terms like 'pluralism,' 'open society,' and 'multiparty competition.' This suggests either a deliberate attempt of minority to deceive the people or a lack of understanding of the spirit and essence of these political terms.

The minority has set two conditions for the term 'multiparty': firstly, denouncement of feudalism and imperialism, and secondly, acceptance of a socialist-oriented ideology. While the first condition is considerable, the second one

requires careful analysis. Do parties representing peasants, petty bourgeois, and middle-class individuals truly embrace socialist ideology and orientation towards socialism? If so, this would imply be a significant departure from established principles, suggesting that socialism can be achieved without the need for a proletarian party or the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

On the other hand, if these classes such as the peasants, petty bourgeois, middle class and others are not allowed to organise their own political parties under the pretext of not being oriented towards socialism, then what sort of pluralism would be there? Who would the party then compete with in a multiparty system? These questions highlight the complexities and contradictions within the minority faction's arguments regarding the naming and nature of the political system.

The peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and middle-class individuals constitute the majority in our country today. If they are not allowed to participate in a multiparty system and embrace pluralism, then what kind of democracy are we advocating for? The minority faction's rigid stance against parties that are not socialist-oriented reflects dogmatism and fails to acknowledge the diverse socio-economic realities within our society.

Furthermore, the minority's position seems to endorse liquidationism by suggesting that classes

other than the proletariat can advance towards socialism without the active involvement of the working class. If the reality of the socio-economic base is not allowed to be reflected in the political system, and if ruling and opposition parties are not accepted as a legitimate system of governance, then concepts such as pluralism, open society, and multiparty competition lose their significance. By rejecting the inclusion of multiparty in the name and opposing the constitutional system of ruling and opposition, the minority undermines the essence of pluralism, open society, and multiparty competition.

It is essential to establish a constitutional system that guarantees the government of majority and opposition of minority, based on the objective reality of society, progressive principles, Marxist philosophy, and contemporary global circumstances. Therefore, naming the party programme as People's Multiparty Democracy is accurate, appropriate and necessary.

CHAPTER III

Old Democracy, New Democracy, and People's Multiparty Democracy

1. Context

In the realm of the country's revolutionary left-wing politics, 'people's multiparty democracy' has become a prominent topic of discussion and interest today. Even in the people's democratic system, which will be established after ending the rule of feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism, imperialism and their exploitation, it is imperative that the state runs in accordance with the constitution, and upholds the rule of law. There should be a political system of multi-party competition with the constitutional guarantee of periodic elections, where the political party securing majority forms the government and the minority assumes an opposition role. A democratic welfare state system should be established to protect human rights and civil liberties.

The CPN (UML) has staunchly affirmed its theoretical and political dedication to democratic principles. By advocating for this form of people's democratic system guided by the 'people's multi-party democracy,' it has ignited debates and discussions across the political spectrum. Both right-wing and left-wing forces are actively engaged in this discourse, with vehement opposition arising from both extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing perspectives.

Critics from the extreme right allege that communists have no faith in the multi-party-political system and they cannot pursue it; they instead advocate for a one-party dictatorship. The rightists are arguing that the UML is using this stance to deceive people and gain power.

Those on the extreme left are asserting that embracing multi-party competition is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, and adoption of such a system by communists is a revisionism and a capitalist notion. Within the context of the traditional world communist movement, people's multi-party democracy is generally a new and developed concept. Since it has not been adequately explained and analysed from a theoretical level, even some sincere revolutionary leftists may have experienced some confusion on this matter. Opportunistic elements are actively contributing to spreading confusion.

A multiparty political system has been established replacing the previous feudal autocratic one-party system in the country. Therefore, this has given a rise to confusion among some who mistakenly perceive that there is no difference between the current multiparty political system and the people's multiparty democracy. The confusion has also stemmed from the misconception that the people's multiparty democracy is solely a political system and not an economic-social system, whereas new democracy represents an economic-social system. Some individuals may have clung to the conclusion that people's multiparty democracy is only a political system, and they perceive it as synonymous with the current multiparty system. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify democracy by focusing on the multiparty political system and address some confusions and opposition associated with people's multi-party democracy.

In the context of people's multiparty democracy, questions are also raised about the revolutionary path, forms, and methods of struggle, transition to socialism and the concept of dictatorship. Although these questions are naturally valid, we will address them separately at another time. For now, we can offer an overview of the system that multiparty democracy embodies.

There exist two different approaches and perspectives on embracing Marxism-Leninism: one treats it as a fixed and rigid formula, while the other perceives it as a dynamic and creative scientific thought. Genuine revolutionary communists embrace the latter approach and viewpoint rather than the former. It is essential to adopt this correct approach to effectively analyse and understand the people's multiparty democracy.

2. Democracy

Is democracy fundamentally an economic-social system or a political system? Is democracy primarily justified through an economic-social perspective or a political one? While this subject might not have been presented in this perspective before, it is essential to comprehend the fundamental nature of democracy. Historical materialism has sufficiently explained and substantiated the close connection between the economy and politics. Politics is the central manifestation of the economic structure, deeply rooted in the economic system, and it significantly influences economic progress. Hence, there exists a reciprocal interaction between politics and the economy. In any social system, the economic system, which is the

production system, serves as the foundation and finds expression in the realm of politics.

Based on this analysis, it is evident that democracy shares a close connection with both politics and the economy. This illustrates the unity aspect of politics and economy, yet it also acknowledges a distinction dimension. When we shift our focus from the broader context to an examination of distinctions, it becomes evident that democracy is not merely the description of an economic system; but rather that of a political system. Essentially, democracy is the nomenclature for the political framework—the upper echelon of society. It is not the foundational structure but rather the superstructure. Questions about who possesses the freedom to engage in politics within society, who holds the reins of state administration, and who ultimately determines political matters are intricately tied to the political system.

In politics, there are generally two systems - autocratic and democratic. However, under special circumstances, these two systems may manifest in various forms and expressions. Autocratic systems, for instance, may take on various forms such as monarchy, military dictatorship, or one-party dictatorship, with authority vested in an individual, clan, or faction. Similarly, the democratic political system may exhibit a range of forms in tandem with historical evolution, including one-party, two-party, or multi-party democratic systems. At the heart of politics lies state power, often embodying dictatorship. Throughout history, the state has been wielded by one

class to subjugate and oppress others. Consequently, people have consistently fought for the right to life against oppressive rule and exploitation imposed by individuals, clans, or minority groups and classes.

The historical struggles for the rights of the majority against the oppression of individuals, clans, or minority groups lay the groundwork for the evolution of democracy. From the age of slave ownership to the feudal era, history is marked by significant struggles against the absolutist monopolisation exercised by individuals, clans, or factions. With the societal division into classes, and even within the oppressor class, there emerged struggles for the rights of elite elements. Examining the historical trajectory of democracy, Lenin delved into the analysis of feudal elite democracy and capitalist democracy.

A wealth of political literatures has been available in the realm of socialist democracy. The concept and implementation of democracy are perpetually evolving, undergoing innovations and advancements. It is not a static subject but one characterised by constant evolution and change. In ultimate essence, democracy revolves around securing the comprehensive rights of the common people against all forms of totalitarianism. It stands as the paramount determinant in politics and power, thereby establishing the people as the sovereign power of the nation's sovereignty.

Along with the evolution of the production system and the expansion of the society's material production activities,

the definition and role of the people undergo changes. Simultaneously, democracy also progresses in both form and substance. This underscores that democracy fundamentally pertains to the political system; however, its significance is rendered meaningless without the people's right to emancipation from economic and social exploitation. Democracy devoid of a class essence becomes nothing more than an empty phrase, lacking substantive meaning.

The meaningless use of empty phrase can lead to deception and political fraud, creating a disconnect with the public. Without economic rights, people cannot truly be empowered and decisive. It is evident that democracy lacks significance, accuracy, and authenticity without a foundation of economic rights for the liberation of the people. Despite being portrayed as a political method and content in various eras, democracy is not a static economic-social system. During the transition from the feudal system to the establishment of the capitalist system, democracy emerged with distinct characteristics, and it has since undergone significant development.

3. Old Democracy

In the context of the new era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the necessity arose to distinguish between 'old' and 'new' forms of democracy on a global scale. The term 'old democracy' refers to a system that, in essence, embodied elements of 'genuine' democracy in the sense that included economic rights for the people. It was the democracy of the former capitalist world, that

emerged during the process of overthrowing monarchy. It dismantled the feudal system of production and established a capitalist production system. It replaced feudalism with capitalist democracy, marking the building of modern nations. In those days, the capitalist class played a progressive role. On one side were the monarchy, feudal elements, and various absolutist forces, while on the other side stood the capitalist class and other working-class people, contributing to the formation of a class and political balance of power.

Capitalist class led the change, with the working class contributing as collaborative partners in the process. The rallying cry was focused on the redistribution of land to liberate farmers from feudal exploitation. The goal was to transform land ownership, which previously was under feudal control, through alternative means. In the struggle for democracy against monarchy and feudalism, a kind of 'true' democracy took shape, and it was a form of capitalist democracy. This era was marked by competitive capitalism. The capitalist class could flourish and reap greater profits by increasing the purchasing power of farmers and the general populace. Consequently, 'old democracy' also encompassed economic rights to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it was the bourgeoisie who took the leadership in steering the positive forces of the democratic revolution. Under their leadership they established a capitalist state and their dictatorship over the state power.

By seizing the state, capitalists gained the opportunity to systematically consolidate and expand their influence

across economic, political, social, and cultural spheres. Monopoly capitalism emerged as a consequence of free competition. A group of powerful monopolistic capitalists asserted control and domination over smaller capitalist splinters, extending their monopoly even into the state institutions. The capitalist class and entrenched capitalist state intensified exploitation and oppression of the working class and wider population. As a result, the concept of democracy, nestled within the framework of monopolistic control, began to lose its substantive essence, serving merely as a superficial facade. Consequently, it became increasingly essential for the common people to move forward and secure victory through struggle for their freedom and rights.

Old democracy itself is not monopoly capitalism, imperialism and fascism, nor is it turned into fascism. The bourgeoisie monopolised the fruits of revolution, and it gradually morphed into monopolists, imperialists, and fascists. The classes and political forces that had played a positive role in old democracy experienced a significant change in their character and role. The political landscape of the old democracy shifted, and the bourgeoisie transitioned from being as friend of the people to becoming their adversary. The capitalist state, initially established through the people's revolution, began to suppress and oppress the common people. Therefore, it's crucial to recognise that old democracy did not directly transition into fascism; rather, the bourgeoisie abandoned democracy and embraced fascism taking the path of formalism. The capitalist class, once a conservative

force aligned with the people, later realigned itself with the feudal class, becoming an opponent of people's democracy. This shift marked the end of the bourgeoisie's progressive era, signifying a shift in their role, and an alteration in the balance of class and political power.

Hence, old democracy represents the era when the bourgeoisie acted as a friend and leader of the people during the period of old capitalist world revolution. At that time, the bourgeoisie played a progressive role. However, in the current proletarian socialist world revolution, the roles have reversed, with the bourgeoisie assuming a regressive stance and becoming an adversary to the people. This transformation has reshaped the dynamics of democracy, altering the roles of friends and foes, as well as the involvement of various classes and forces. The contemporary environment and circumstances of the democratic revolution have evolved into a new form. In the present era, global capitalism no longer aligns with the genuine democracy of the people.

The working class must win its own liberation and prosperity through its self-initiated efforts. It is crucial for the common people to forge democracy for themselves, using their own agency. The creation of conditions conducive to the liberation and prosperity of the proletarian working class hinges on the establishment of genuine democracy for the common people. Hence, it is now imperative for the working class to take a resolute stand on the front lines and fight for the democracy of the common people. The only option is to build a unified

democratic state of the people, achieved through the struggle of the common people under the leadership of the working class. Therefore, there is a need to classify between the characteristics of new and old democracy in this pursuit.

4. New Democracy

With the ascent of monopoly capitalism, the bourgeoisie transformed into the enemy of the common people. Against it, class struggle intensified, building the independent proletarian political power. The success of the Soviet socialist revolution ushered in a new global era marked by imperialism and proletarian revolution. This era heightened global polarisation among classes, political powers, and nations. The forces advocating for justice aligned themselves with socialism, while those perpetuating injustice sided with imperialism. In countries where social revolution aimed to abolish feudalism and dictatorship and establish capitalist democracy, the forces of justice and revolution had to rally in support of socialism against imperialism. The feudal absolutist elements in these countries, along with agents of foreign capitalism, aligned themselves in service to and in supremacy of imperialism against socialism. Therefore, democracy in the current new era transcends its historical role of being anti-feudal, and it's now also anti-imperialist. The historical mission of ending feudal absolutism and monopoly is intricately intertwined with the task of putting an end to the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, ultimately achieving national independence.

Therefore, it is crucial that the leadership of the revolution emerges from the working-class proletariat, and under this leadership, the common people must advance in their struggle for democracy. World capitalism has become the protector of feudalism. It can no longer support revolutionary land reform agenda with the slogan of the distribution of land to the tillers against feudal land ownership. Even if the bourgeoisie inclines towards liberalism, its support may be limited to formal democracy, rather than the comprehensive democracy that encompasses economic rights for the people. Feudalism and imperialism have intersected, and the intersection has created a force exploiting the people and the nation, subjecting them to slavery and subjugation. Therefore, the cessation of both feudalism and imperialism is indispensable, as without putting an end to these systems, neither social liberation nor national liberation can be achieved. True democracy for the people remains elusive without attaining independence.

The times have changed, and with them, the roles of class, political, and social forces have reshaped. Imperialism has emerged as a formidable adversary to people worldwide, particularly impacting smaller and weaker nations. In contrast, socialism has evolved into a powerful ally of justice-loving individuals and nations. It is on this background that democracy has been redefined from both 'old' and 'new' perspectives. In this evolving landscape, the concept of 'new democracy' has emerged. However, what exactly are the differences between 'old' and 'new' democracies? Some individuals may be

confused even without paying concrete attention to the similarities and differences between these two. It can be argued that 'new' democracy represents a distinct subject characterised by distinct methods of production and socio-economic structures. With this in mind, it is essential to examine similarities and distinctions between 'old' and 'new' democracies.

The goal and tasks of abolishing feudalism, ending monarchy or any form of despotism, dismantling unelected power, along with the aim of transferring land ownership from feudal landlords to the tillers remain consistent across historical periods. However, distinctions arise when we examine the historical context.

In the past, there was an era marked by a capitalist world revolution, whereas the current era is characterised by the era of proletarian socialist revolution. In the past, the bourgeoisie aligned with the people and led the revolution as their vanguard, but now it has shifted to opposition and has become an adversary. Previously, the working-class proletariat played a supporting role, while, now, it has taken on the role of primary leading force. In the historical context, imperialism had not yet emerged, and the capitalist revolution was primarily directed toward building modern nations. In contrast, the contemporary era witnesses imperialism capturing, directly or indirectly, smaller, less developed, and weaker countries.

In the past, there existed unity between the bourgeoisie and the people, with opposition to the feudal class.

However, in the present landscape, a unity has emerged between the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. The concept of socialism was non-existent in the past, but today, it exists as an international ally of the democratic movement. The absence of crony capitalism in the past contrasts with its present role as an impediment to national capitalist development.

In this way, there is a difference between enemies and friends of the revolution in the role of class, political and social forces before and now. But there is also similarity in some issues. The aspect of similarity makes it clear that the basic character of the revolution is capitalist democracy, while the differences highlight the necessity of completing the revolution in a new era and environment. Old democracy operated within the framework of a capitalist state led by the bourgeoisie. In contrast, new democracy will function under the leadership of the working-class proletariat, within the framework of the unified state led by the common people.

Old democracy was primarily known for its social character, while new democracy is also recognised for its national character. The old democracy was not inherently anti-imperialist and pro-socialist, but the new democracy not only opposes imperialism and supports socialism, but also aims to facilitate a transition to socialism. A thorough analysis of these similarities and differences reveals that the key distinction between new and old democracy primarily revolves around political subjects. The economic and social systems don't differ significantly

in terms of the production system. While the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, monopoly capitalism, crony capitalism, and monopolistic businesses will be ceased and there will be state ownership in critical sectors, it does not alter the fundamental production system of the revolution. The basic production system of new democracy also remains a national but capitalist production system, akin to the production system of old democracy.

However, the class, political power, and the state that operates, controls, and leads society will undoubtedly differ. This distinction is fundamentally political. People must possess the authority to make final and decisive decisions regarding the country's politics, state power, public affairs, and political matters. They should function as the true owners of sovereignty, and to accomplish this effectively, it is imperative to eliminate the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism, and imperialism. The people's democratic revolution can be effectively guided and actively participated in only through a comprehensive understanding of the political issues that have evolved with the changing eras, times, and circumstances.

5. People's Multiparty Democracy

We are calling the people's democracy as a 'people's multi-party democracy.' The model of democracy we have proposed is a new democracy designed to align with the characteristics of a new era and changing circumstances. It also introduces some new perspectives,

policies, and methods of governance. It incorporates unique forms, methods, and policies from those practised in many new democracies globally. However, its theoretical foundation and objectives remains the same. It acknowledges that even after dismantling feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism, and imperialist rule, classes continue to exist in society. Our society continues to harbour various ideas and diversities even after the elimination of regressive revivalist enemies.

In the new democracy that was practised in various places, different political parties and diverse ideas were accepted as allies of the communist party and its government, but they were not granted the legal rights to oppose it. Our approach diverges from this norm, emphasising that unity and cooperation should not be enforced through coercion or prohibitions, but rather by inspiring will of the people and winning their hearts. True support can only be achieved by granting the right to protest, and genuine unity can only be established by allowing diversity of opinion. We are committed to maintaining the legal existence of opposition within the democratic system. To achieve this, we aim to constitutionally institutionalise a political system characterised by multi-party competition, free elections, majority government, and minority opposition. This represents a new and progressive dimension in the application of new democracy to date.

Various doubts, objections, and accusations have been raised regarding our position on this matter. The crux of the accusations made by the extreme right-wing is

an assault on our class-oriented approach, stance, and ideology. They undermine our commitment to class struggle, class-based state, and class-oriented leadership. Their narrative suggests a desire to shape public opinion to mould the people like the bourgeoisie to come in a support of either a classless state or a common and sacred state for both oppressors and the oppressed. Based on this, they are propagating that the communists do not believe in the multi-party system, but maintain a one-party dictatorship. Contrary to their assertions, communists are clear about the existence of multiple classes in a democratic society and actively support this diversity. Communists affirm that different classes and groups can naturally hold divergent opinions, and our commitment to a democratic system is grounded in this recognition. Communists have a stronger commitment than the bourgeoisie to encourage robust competition among diverse ideas. However, in the name of competition, we cannot give leeway to regressive revivalist elements and that is not democracy.

Left-wing extremists argue that the multi-party competitive system belongs to capitalists, rather than those of communists. In doing so, they overtly stand for a one-party dictatorship, ostensibly claiming that they uphold Marxism while simultaneously opposing it. They are reluctant to learn from past experience and embrace innovative approach to address new problems and social needs. They aim to rigidly institutionalise relative concepts - applied within specific country, time and context - elevating it to absolute, eternal, and sovereign status.

Marxism neither prescribes nor supports a one-party system. Left-wing extremism represents a deplorable distortion of Marxism, undermining its principles in the name of championing them.

When we truly grasp the essence of democracy, it becomes evident that it places people as the paramount forces in politics. Whether the democracy is expressed in the form of a multi-party, two-party, or one-party system, it is a matter of its model. It's incorrect to assume that democracy is absent in a single-party system while present in a multi-party setup. The critical determinant of democracy lies in whether the people have the genuine opportunity to play a decisive role in politics, wield state power, and shape state affairs through genuine, elected means. It is about whether they have become the true custodians of their nation's sovereignty.

People cannot effectively fulfil this role without enjoying complete freedom from economic and social exploitation. While political parties serve as a means and play a significant role in involving the people in the decision-making process, they do not constitute the entirety of democracy. Even in a one-party system, if the people can actively participate in shaping decisions, it's inaccurate to assert that democracy is absent. Was there no democracy in the Soviet Union during its 74 years? Is there still no democracy in countries like China, Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba? Those who respect reality cannot answer negatively. This demonstrates that democracy can exist even in a one-party system without multi-party competition.

On the other hand, is there true democracy in India? Have the Indian people been able to genuinely and decisively participate in politics and serve as the true custodians of the nation? Those who respect reality cannot answer affirmatively. However, it is worth noting that India operates within a multi-party competition system. It holds general elections and operates within a constitutional framework where the majority forms the government, and the minority serves in the opposition. This gives a clear example that multi-party competition alone may not guarantee genuine democracy. Thus, the crucial element of democracy does not lie in whether it is a multi-party or single-party system. Instead, it revolves around the political, economic, social, and cultural rights of the people and their capacity to exercise those rights. Formal so-called democracy rooted in regressive ideologies is merely a deceitful ploy to exploit the people under the guise of democracy. It is a means of exploiting position, power, and money to oppress the masses in the name of serving them. Therefore, it is essential to independently comprehend the essence of democracy and decide on the system - whether multi-party or single-party system - based on a thorough understanding of its principles.

We advocate for the adoption of a multi-party system within the democratic framework. Our stance is grounded in the objective situation of our nation, the theoretical tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the lessons drawn from the global communist movement, and the specific needs of our country. To elucidate why we support such a system

within the people's democratic system, let's delve into this matter a bit further.

Marxism posits that the democratic society to be established in our country through revolution will be class-based. In such a society, each class can have its own interests, beliefs, and perspectives, and the freedom to express and pursue them should be upheld. Because of the lack of constitutional recognition of the opposition party, the global communist movement has to bear some consequences. We are putting emphasis on the importance of multi-party politics to demonstrate that we can advance revolution and development with increased public participation. Our intension is to move forward, securing the trust of majority through competition that values competence, ability, and public trust.

How can people freely participate in politics? Is there room for criticism of political parties, leaders, their programmes, and governments? Is the freedom to comment, criticise, and protest based on the merits and demerits of any officials' performance guaranteed? If limitations exist, what measures can be taken to empower the people and enhance their role in political affairs? In a system that permits criticism and opposition, will there be freedom to present viable alternatives? Criticism and opposition cannot be constructive without alternatives. In a multi-party system, people have more opportunities to choose among various options and exert control over political parties and the government, compared to a one-party system where choices are limited. People should have the

freedom to evaluate each party, leader, government, and their ideas and programmes. They must have the right to make informed decisions based on public opinion. This democratic process, only then, preserves balance and control within the political system, and allow people to assume a more influential and decisive role in shaping political outcomes.

In a people's democratic system, it is imperative to guarantee the fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, including the freedom to write, print, speak, establish political parties, organise meetings, and stand for elections. Failing to guarantee these rights raises the question of why people would support democracy when it entails the potential loss of their inherent rights. After the revolution, is it possible that only communists will control politics and run the state, while others are relegated to business? Therefore, it is crucial for ordinary citizens to have the right to participate in politics freely. Political parties are formed to engage in politics, and if there are multiple political parties, they should be encouraged for robust competition based on their ideas, programmes, and policies.

The communist party champions the interests of the working class, also defending the interest of other classes. But it cannot represent the diverse spectrum of workers and capitalists. Therefore, it is essential not to restrict the formation of parties with alternative ideologies or objectives. Even the communist party, as a participant in the democratic process, should govern according to

the majority's will rather than solely adhering to its own preferences. Therefore, the notion that the communist party doesn't need to understand the interests and win the trust of majority people undermines the essence of a truly democratic principles.

How can we freely understand the people's wishes and opinions? Election is by far the most popular method for understanding public opinion. The question arises: should we embrace the system of general elections, or should we refrain? If we do not embrace it, no matter how good the government is, it might not be perceived as enjoying the genuine support of the people. On the other hand, adopting, such a system but election of individuals without clear policies, programmes and ideas may result in a lack of trust from the people.

Historically the one-party panchayat system conducted elections of a similar nature - elections of individuals. The flaw in this model was not solely because of its reactionary nature; rather, it was bad because of its failure to present a viable alternative. Similarly, even if elections are based on revolutionary principles, limiting the focus solely to the people and their representatives may breed distrust. If elections incorporate a diverse range of ideas and options, individuals can freely articulate their opinions. To achieve this, it is necessary to institutionalise a system that systematically presents the pros and cons associated with each mandate, thereby fostering multiparty competition. The multi-party competition system primarily functions to scientifically institutionalise and honour the presence

of opposition, thereby fostering a more inclusive and representative democratic process.

The ideology of the communist party is rooted in dialectical materialism. It recognises the universality of contradictions, and conflict as the sovereign law of development. However, it is not in the party's best interest to work unilaterally and seek to suppress opposition to not allow differences to manifest. Ideological opposition should be defeated through ideological means, and resistance to the use of force should be established and institutionalised legally. The communist party should govern winning the trust and mandate of the people.

Multiparty democracy is a form of democracy to be established within a unified democratic state, led by the people under the guidance of workers and proletariats. In this system, the tradition of unelected power and governance will be completely eliminated. The state will be governed in accordance with the constitution and the law. Legal measures will be implemented to control and suppress reactionary revivalist elements aiming to overturn the progressive changes brought about by the revolution.

All political forces and ideas that operate within the framework of the constitution will enjoy the freedom to participate in elections and engage in political competition within society. The principle will be institutionalised that the government and opposition are determined through general elections and a democratic mandate.

The fundamental rights of the people, and their civil and human rights will be guaranteed and protected. Complete freedom and equality will be guaranteed by eliminating all forms of monopolistic privileges associated with caste, language, religion, and culture. Feudalism will be completely exterminated, and the exploitation, control, and oppression of imperialism will be brought to an end.

Measures will be taken to depose the exploitation and oppression of bureaucratic comprador capitalism. Simultaneously, national private capital will be protected, regulated, and promoted within the framework of the constitution and laws. Opportunities for foreign capital investment will be available, prioritising democratic economic policies such as revolutionary land reform, rural development, regional balance, and planned national economic progress.

A policy will be implemented to end the influence of feudalism and imperialism, foster a national democratic culture, and uphold cultural equality among various castes, languages, religions, and cultures. In order to safeguard national independence, unequal treaties and agreements will be brought to an end, and relations with all countries will be re-established based on the principles of *panchasheel*. In essence, this encapsulates the concept of multiparty democracy, where economic, social, and cultural policies are comprehensively advanced.

In summary, people's multiparty democracy is fundamentally a form of democracy that legally

institutionalises and respects the rights of minority and the opposition. It seeks unity not through enforcing power, but by embracing diversity, and puts people at the forefront as the most powerful force. People's multiparty democracy emphasises the control and balance guided by people in political and systemic framework. It firmly rejects a one-party system and the political monopoly of any specific party. Governing in the name of the people without respecting their rights and verdicts is viewed as an autocracy, a system that people's multi-party democracy vehemently opposes.

6. Dictatorship

Ever since the communists unequivocally introduced the concept of dictatorship, capitalists have vehemently opposed it from the outset. They position themselves as champions of democracy and opponents of dictatorship. It may have prompted some communists to question the adequacy of democracy without some form of dictatorship. They may hold the notion that there's no need to explicitly call it dictatorship; calling it democracy is sufficient. During the anti-feudal struggle, capitalist elements were in support of class struggle, but their current stance advocates for class compromise, presenting themselves as champions of comprehensive welfare. This shift of capitalists is intended to mask the capitalist perspective, leadership, and state structure by obscuring the reality of class-based viewpoints, class leadership, and class-oriented states.

Marxism has openly proclaimed its allegiance to class interests, emphasising that the state inherently embodies aspects of dictatorship and cannot exist without a class dimension. Hence, the capitalist state practices capitalist dictatorship, while states governed by the feudal class or the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie implement their respective forms of dictatorship. Our advocacy for a people's democratic state implies our endorsement of a people's democratic dictatorship. A state is a legally organised entity endowed with armed forces and authority, not an impartial and powerless entity. It employs force to maintain order and uphold the constitution, rules, laws, social order, and national integrity. This means that a people's state uses force to enforce constitutional and legal provisions, protect the people, and suppress detrimental elements. It employs force in accordance with the constitution and established rules.

Therefore, capitalists need not have to attach great significance to opposing the term 'dictatorship', and communists should not shy away from it. Ultimately, dictatorship symbolises legitimate armed authority. If we do not aim for establishing a people's state, revolutionary politics and parties lose their *raison d'être*. We stand for the people's democratic state and endorse a people's democratic dictatorship. If we consider the arguments of capitalists, they discuss a unified state and suggest a possibility of accepting a classless dictatorship that treats everyone equally. However, state with such a character, devoid of class distinctions, has never existed in the past

and present, and is unlikely to manifest in the future. The state of capitalist class itself is imposing an oppressive capitalist dictatorship on the people.

Dictatorship is linked to the state and, more specifically, to the class-based state. However, within the global communist movement, there have been instances where the concept of class dictatorship has been misused, extending to the party level and even the dictatorship of individuals. While there can be a state of a class, but the state of a party or even an individual is never an acceptable notion under any circumstances. Past shortcomings in the operation of the state should not instil fear in achieving the revolutionary goal of transferring state power into the hands of the people. The power of the people must align with the constitution, and the state's force should be legally employed to protect it. Elements that pose a threat to the people's revolutionary state must be suppressed and controlled.

The use of the term 'people's multiparty democracy' has triggered confusion and anxiety among some individuals, leading to the belief that dictatorship no longer exists within this framework. However, people's multiparty democracy does not imply an absence of state power; it embodies the democratic power of the people. Whether it is a single party or a multiparty system, the existence of dictatorship hinges on how power is exercised. We were not in favour of the exclusive leadership of one political party yesterday, and that stance remains unchanged even today. Our goal is not to consolidate the state power of

our party alone but to establish a democratic state of the people. Utilising the full extent of state power for the benefit of one party and maintaining a one-party political monopoly is an attempt to perpetuate one-party dictatorship. The armed forces of the democratic state are the forces that protect the power of the people. They should be used resolutely, transparently, and within the legal limits to safeguard the revolution, the people, and democracy.

In addition to legal armed power, dictatorship can also have another contextual, temporary, and limited interpretation. After completing a revolution, during the transitional phase when the new government is not yet legally established, stable and strong, and when the constitution, rules and laws are still in the process of being formulated, there is a need to use the force of revolutionary power to control, suppress, and protect against elements that have recently been overthrown from sparking a counter-revolution. However, this should not be intended to be a prolonged practice without the establishment of laws and regulations. In transitional situations, the concept of the dictatorship of movement or revolution is naturally applied.

CHAPTER IV

People's Multiparty Democracy The Programme of Nepali Revolution

1. Introduction

A programme is a publicly declared set of goals of a party. It is on this basis that the masses should be made aware, organised and mobilised. When social revolution becomes the primary objective of society, the party must define its goal as a programme for the present social revolution and the subsequent reconstruction efforts in the post-revolutionary period. Social revolution is essential for the Nepali society at this juncture, and therefore, it should be given utmost priority. The progressive development of Nepali society is impossible without abolishing the exploitation and suppression of feudalism and imperialism. National progress is impossible without industrialisation. The development of self-reliant national industrial economy is not possible without the development of national capital.

At present, the development phase of Nepali society is at the stage of requiring abolition of semi-feudal and semi-colonial legacies, paving the way for the development of national capital, industry and trade. The goals of socialism cannot be achieved without the material development of society. Although a big change has taken place in the political front, which is significant in itself, fundamental societal changes have not yet occurred. In this context, our party should set a revolutionary programme aimed at achieving both qualitative and quantitative changes. Such a programme should reflect the objective reality of the country in the face of progressive changes.

2. Character and contradiction of Nepali society

- 2.1 Nepal is a landlocked country. The geographical situation of the country has become a hindrance for the progress and development. It has also compelled us to maintain friendly relations with neighbouring countries to foster our country's growth. We do not accept foreign domination or control nor do we want enmity. We would like to overcome these adversities by establishing equality and mutual benefits in conformity with the friendly relations based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence. Such relations cannot be maintained by the reactionary classes and political forces which exploit and suppress their own people but are submissive to the foreign powers.

Our country is rich in natural resources and the people are honest and laborious. There is no doubt that Nepal can be a beautiful, prosperous and developed country if feudal and imperialist exploitations are abolished, the people's potentials and skills are mobilised and natural resources used by adopting the policy of progressive development.

- 2.2 Nepal, now, is in semi-feudal and semi-colonial situation. Feudal, bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes along with foreign monopoly capitalism have been ruthlessly exploiting and suppressing the people. A stark example of this inequality is evident in the distribution of arable land, with 9.44% of the upper class owning 40% of total arable land, while 55% of lower-class families possess only 12% of land.

According to the agricultural census of 1991, 2.9% families have controlled 47.3% of land, leaving more than two million people landless. At present, more than 70% of the population lives below the poverty line. The industry, trade and other capital-oriented enterprises are still under the control of foreign capitalists and bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes. Middle level and lower-level national capitalists are not provided with opportunities. The national economy is becoming more and more dependent.

- 2.3 Nepal has been compelled to fight for the cause of national independence since the beginning of the 19th century. Several unequal and humiliating treaties and agreements, detrimental to Nepal's national interest and independence, have been signed with the British-India, independent India and Britain. These treaties still exist. In addition to this, new agreements have been signed even with various international financial institutions undermining the Nepal's national interests. Therefore, the struggle for protecting national independence, territorial integrity and self-reliance and liberating the nation from neo-colonial exploitation still continues. As long as the state power remains in the hands of the reactionary classes and their supporters, the abrogation of unequal treaties and renewal of such treaties on the basis of *panchasheel* and development of foreign relations on progressive basis will not be possible.

- 2.4 King Mahendra introduced the partyless panchayat system in 1960, thereby usurping the limited rights achieved by the people through the democratic movement of 1950. Over three decades, the partyless panchayat system made the country the second poorest globally. It also devalued and debased social, cultural norms, values, and standards.

Against this background, the United People's Movement of 1990 succeeded in restoring the people's political rights. Consequently, the absolute powers of the king have been revoked, and the rights and duties of a constitutional monarch have been defined in the constitution. Furthermore, a multiparty system with limited democratic rights has been established by dismantling the partyless system. The fundamental rights of the people, political freedom and universal principle of equality have been formally declared and guaranteed in the constitution. It is a great success of the people's movement and also an important achievement in the campaign of establishing a true democratic system.

- 2.5 After the general election, the Nepali Congress formed the government. The people's aspirations that positive changes in economic, social and cultural fields would be brought by effectively utilising the congenial political environment have been shattered. As before, the Nepali Congress government has safeguarded the interests of feudal, bureaucratic comprador capitalist class, foreign

monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Peasants, national industrialists, entrepreneurs and traders are continuously suppressed. The industries and public enterprises established under grant assistance by socialist countries, which were greatly contributing to revenue and creating employment opportunities, have been sold to foreign capitalists in the name of privatisation. Fledgling national enterprises are being forced to compete with foreign capital in the name of economic liberalisation. As a result, various national industries are on the verge of closing and thousands of industrial labourers are being rendered unemployed.

The foreign trade deficit in Nepal has been increasing. In 1991/92, it was estimated to have reached NPR 20 billion, a significant increase from NPR 11.38 billion in 1990/91. Unfortunately, the Nepali Congress government has been gradually handing over the national economy to foreign monopoly capital and international capitalism. Western capitalist countries and international financial institutions run by them have been increasingly interfering the government, administration and decision-making process of the country. The Indian monopoly capitalism has been given upper hand in the national economy and in controlling natural resources through agreements made by the government of Nepali Congress with India. This is sure to gradually increase the influence of foreign monopoly capitalism in the politics of Nepal.

- 2.6 The Nepali Congress government has not only been attempting to undermine and diminish the political rights of the people achieved through past movements but also to perpetuate and even worsen the old economic, social, and cultural paradigms, pushing them in a more regressive direction. The Nepali Congress government has maintained one-party political dictatorship, congressised bureaucracy and has established totalitarian regime. The revengeful political actions against the parties in opposition, political violence, murder and state terrorism has increased. This party has ridiculed the people's power by turning the election into an instrument of usurping and misusing power and position through violence, murder and hooliganism. The Nepali Congress government has been making every effort to establish the authoritarian rule by forfeiting the achievements of the united people's movement.
- 2.7 The production system is decisive factor for determining the basic situation of the country. Semi-feudal and semi-colonial system exists in the country even today. The means of production or subsistence are in the hands of feudal, bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes and foreign monopoly capitalism. They have controlled the natural resources of the country through the state power. Common people and other classes and strata are exploited and suppressed. Therefore, the fundamental tasks of the present revolution are social liberation from the exploitation of feudal and bureaucratic capitalist classes and national independence from the exploitation of

foreign monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The basic contradictions of the Nepali society at present are the people's contradiction with the feudal and bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes, and those of the nations with foreign monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Therefore, the basic objective of our revolution is to resolve those contradictions and establish the people's democratic system.

- 2.8. Even now, the foreign powers have not been able to rule the country directly or through collaboration with local rulers against the country and the people. The foreign monopoly capitalism and imperialism have been fulfilling their interests by maintaining indirect relation with their local agents and in return the local agents are getting indirect support from them. Therefore, another main contradiction of the Nepali society is the internal contradiction between the people on the one side and feudal and bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes and their state powers on the other. The feudal autocratic forces led by the palace have been hatching a series of conspiracy against democracy by using the Nepali Congress government.

The feudal autocratic elements can, at any time, raise their heads again, for which everyone of us has to be vigilant and careful. The Nepali Congress' adoption of anti-people, anti-national, and anti-civil rights policies and actions has significantly intensified the political contradiction between the Nepali Congress government and the people. This contradiction has

now become the primary political contradiction within Nepali society. These policies of the Nepali congress have become the target of the people's struggle. It is through the revolutionary process that we can solve the basic contradictions of the society, and achieve the goal of establishing people's democratic power.

- 2.9 The basic character of the Nepali society has been static for a long time and the capitalist democratic character of the evolution aimed at bringing drastic changes has not altered either. The goal of bringing basic changes in all the fields can be achieved only after the establishment of people's democratic state power through a successful revolution. A long period has already elapsed even after concrete efforts were started to accomplish revolution. The global revolutionary movement has accumulated rich experiences to this effort. At the moment, the world communist movement is facing serious problems on its way towards making socialist revolution and reconstruction a success.

The conventional global power balance has ceased to exist. Now, it has become essential to carry out research, investigation, experiment, adjustment and reform in the structure and methods of the revolution and reconstruction. Moreover, past experiences and present world situation should be taken into consideration while formulating programmes and setting revolutionary agendas and processes. Appropriate lessons should be drawn from them

because we are participating in a campaign to accomplish the revolution in the context of social development. In this process, various policies, methods and strategies adopted by us have changed, and such changes as we believe, should be accepted. The culmination of these changes forms the concrete and comprehensive structure of our programme, which can be described as follows:

3. Present programme of Nepali revolution

- 3.1 The CPN (UML) is a political party of the Nepali proletarian working class. It is dedicated to building a progressive, developed, rich and prosperous country by eradicating poverty, scarcities and all forms of exploitation and inequality. The party firmly believes that scientific socialism and communism constitute its ultimate goal for achieving this vision. With socialism and communism as its final and optimum goal, the party expresses its firm determination to continue to make efforts to achieve them.

- 3.2 Presently, the Nepali society is suffering from the exploitation and suppression of feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialism. The path of development of the society remains obstructed. Without industrialisation of the country and sufficient material development of the society, a socialist society aimed at 'from each according to their ability, and to each according to their work' cannot be created. Therefore, the first and foremost task ahead us is to guarantee the development

of national capital and industries. For this, the elimination of both feudalism and imperialism and the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution are equally essential. However, the social and economic character of our present revolution is of bourgeois democratic in nature. Our goal is to establish the people's democratic system. It is only after the completion of this primary task that we proceed towards establishing socialism.

- 3.3 Marxism-Leninism is the guiding principle for Nepali revolution and reconstruction. The CPN (UML) accepts the scientific ideological thought of Marxism-Leninism as its guiding principle. The developed Marxism of modern times is not only the guiding principle for industrial proletarian class but also for the peasants in their struggle for social emancipation and national independence.

Except Marxism-Leninism, there is no other scientific thought which can guide the movement for liberation of the peasants from exploitation of the feudal class, and for the independence of nations from imperialist oppression. The CPN (UML) is firmly committed to carry on revolution and post revolution reconstruction under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

- 3.4 The responsibility of providing leadership to the people's democratic revolution aimed at eliminating feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and

imperialism can be carried out, from the class point of view, by none other than proletarian working class guided politically by Marxism and Leninism. The capitalist class had led the anti-feudal bourgeois revolutions in Europe and America. But now, the international capitalism has turned to be a foe instead of a friend of the people because the capitalist class has been collaborating with the feudal class and not with the peasants.

The imperialism has thus turned into the developed form of capitalism. It has been turning small, weak and underdeveloped countries into its dependencies. As such, only the proletarian working class can be the leader of an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution not the capitalist classes. However, the party of the proletarian working class cannot establish its leadership without waging a serious competition and struggle against other capitalist and petty bourgeois political forces. The CPN (UML) is, therefore, fully committed to grasp the leadership by taking initiatives into its hands.

- 3.5 The revolution aimed at putting an end to the exploitation of feudalism and imperialism has been defined differently as new democratic, national democratic or people's democratic revolution in different countries. In our context, we have enriched the content of this revolution by incorporating significant points in politics, economy and the foreign relations. This includes embracing crucial political tenets such as supremacy of the constitution, multi-

party competition, a pluralistic open society, the rule of law, formation of government by the party in the majority and the opposition by the minority party, human rights, democratic fundamental rights, and constitutional guarantees for peace and stability.

It is because of these characteristics that we have defined this as people's multiparty democracy. This revolution is a people's democratic revolution led by the people themselves under the leadership of the proletarian working class. It will establish people's democratic state power. This is not a system with bourgeois dictatorship. Rather, it is a democratic system with the people's democratic dictatorship. Moreover, this is not a system of one-party dictatorship. Rather, it is a system of people's multiparty democracy. In this system, all the transactions and business of the state will be conducted according to the existing constitutional law of the land.

- 3.6 The fundamental task of the present revolution is to establish the people's democratic system by eliminating the exploitation of feudalism and imperialism. Without giving all the power to the people, it will be impossible to bring about a basic democratic reform and changes in political, economic, social and cultural fields. The vestiges of feudalism and imperialism will, at first, be eliminated by people's democratic government after the full realisation of the fundamental task of the democratic revolution. Main attention will be given to the development and consolidation of the

people's democratic system in a planned way. Our party, as a party of proletarian working class, will, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, focus on the building of stepwise physical infrastructures for the gradual transition towards socialism. The programme of transition towards socialism will be implemented by mobilising the masses in democratic way with revolutionary initiatives.

- 3.7 Establishing the people's democratic state power by eliminating feudalism and imperialism is the central, minimum and decisive task of the revolution at present. Until the goal of establishing people's democratic system is fully achieved, this is a general task and cannot be changed in any circumstances. It is the responsibility of the specialised and concrete programme to formulate and present these goals and tasks of the society in accordance with the specific situation of a given context. The party should revise its specific and concrete programme in accordance with the national and international changes and the shift in the strength of the friends and foes of the revolution. The party has thus, formulated and presented its programme in accordance with the specific situation prevailing in the country.

3.8 State

- The exploitation and suppression of feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialism will be done away with. A united people's democratic state of the workers, peasants

and justice-loving, patriotic and democratic people opposing feudalism and imperialism will be established.

- A people's multiparty democracy will be established. All the organs of the state will be organised and mobilised granting full respect to the supremacy of the constitution.
- Nepal shall be declared an independent, sovereign and secular people's democratic republic.
- The constitution shall make a provision for the executive, legislative and judiciary on the basis of the theory of separation of power. The elected legislative body shall enact the laws.
- The constitution will guarantee and protect the human and fundamental rights of the people.
- A pluralistic open society will be created and maintained.
- A constitutional welfare state will be established on the basis of the supremacy of the constitution.

3.9 Governance system

- Within the constitutional framework, all the political parties will have the right to compete peacefully in all government bodies.
- A system of conducting a free and fair general election in periodic, regular and peaceful manner will be established by drastically democratising the methods and techniques of the election.
- A constitutional system will be maintained by which the party in majority will form the government whereas the party in minority will remain in the opposition.

- The election of the local bodies will be conducted in accordance with the principles of decentralisation, multiparty political system and local self-government. A constitutional guarantee and autonomy will be given to them in matters of development, planning, management and providing basic services to the citizen.
- Political prisoners and other prisoners put in prison in an extrajudicial manner will be set free. No one will be imprisoned without court decision.
- The vestiges of feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, imperialism and their oppression will be ended in accordance with the rule of law.
- People's multi-party democracy will be strengthened and developed gradually in a planned way.
- Concrete physical infrastructure will be created on the basis of the programme with a view to facilitate the process of transition toward socialism.
- The rule of law will be established and effectively maintained.

3.10 Economic system

- After the establishment of people's democratic government, a new democratic economic system will be set up to accelerate the creation of infrastructures aimed at achieving the goal of societal transition towards socialism in a concrete way. The people oriented economic system will be established by eliminating feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, foreign monopoly

capitalism and their vestiges on the one hand, and the exploitation, suppression and other forms of domination of imperialism on the other.

- A people-oriented production system will be maintained on the basis of the economic system, and directed towards achieving the goal of uplifting economic level of the people and the country. For this, we will focus on increasing the productivity and effectively implementing the work of reconstruction and development. In this way the people's democratic system can be consolidated in all the political, economic, social and cultural spheres creating a fundamental base for promoting the new social and progressive system equipped with all the prerequisites for transition towards socialism.
- The basic character of the economy will be mixed economy with the main objective to revitalise the leading role of state towards uplifting the status of workers, low-income groups and backward classes, communities and sectors by maintaining the equality and social justice. Besides, the private sector will also be encouraged to play an important role in the development of country's economy. The overall economic and social development will be carried out along these lines of actions. After the establishment of the people's democratic government, various programmes will be formulated and implemented in an effective way, taking into account every specific situation and circumstance of the country.

3.10.1 Agricultural sector

- The system of feudal land ownership and all forms of semifeudal exploitation on land will be abolished by implementing a radical land reform programme. Land will be distributed to genuine tillers and landless peasants. New ceiling will be introduced on the ownership of land. While doing so, generally the land above ceiling owned by feudal land owners will be seized without compensation and distributed to the landless peasants, but in case of middle and rich peasants and the landlord who support revolution, will get compensation of their seized land. The compensation will also be given to the small land- owners while abolishing the dual-ownership. Even though the private ownership on land will be maintained, preference will be given to co-operative farming.
- Agricultural production and productivity will be increased through the implementation of scientific and improved cultivation system which will help to uplift the living standard of people who are dependent on agricultural sector. The state will provide necessary services and supportive programmes to the farmers such as agricultural loan with low interest rate, appropriate price for their products through the establishment of organised agricultural market, improved seeds and manure at subsidised rate, irrigation and technical education.

- Progressive land tax system will be introduced and implemented on the basis of the size of land, its fertility and structure. Based on soil and climatic condition, cereal, cash crops, animal husbandry and horticulture development programmes will be launched in a planned way to modernize the agricultural sector so that the agriculture sector can eventually contribute to the establishment and promotion and development of the small, cottage and modern industries. Integrated rural development programmes will be launched in order to make rural* sector self-reliant and to integrate agricultural sector with industrial and other service sectors. The ever-dwindling forest and other natural resources will be conserved and promoted. The environment protection programme will be launched.
- In order to ensure agricultural labourers' livelihood, a minimum wage system will be introduced.

3.10.2 Industrial sector

- For the prosperity and development of the nation and for the eradication of poverty, socio-economic backwardness and prevailing inequality, an industrialisation programme will be developed and implemented for equitable social economic development.
- Prevailing dominance, control and exploitation of imperialism and foreign monopolised capitalism in the industrial sector will be

abolished. Necessary steps will be taken to revise past bilateral and multi-lateral treaties which are unfavourable to our national industrial development. To make its creative use for industrial development, national capital will be protected and promoted. By reforming the structure of economy and bringing dynamism in this sector, the unemployment and underemployment problems in the agricultural sector will be solved. The small, medium and large-scale industries will be developed as part of the industrial revolution with a view to making the country's economy strong, capable and self-reliant.

- The industries related to defence, services and welfare of the people shall be under the government control and operation. Fertiliser and seeds to be used for agricultural production, electricity, water supply, telecommunication, transportation, postal services and commodities of daily use and importance such as food, clothes and other daily necessities as well as the services industries pertaining to socio-economic welfare of the people will be run by the state.
- Industrial policy conducive to the growth of national capitalist class will be formulated with a view to developing their cottage and other industries. Priority will be given to the development of those industries which help to promote national self-reliance, render comparatively more advantage and substitute

the import. In the industries as such, there will be direct involvement of the government. However, private sector will also be encouraged to establish and promote such industries. The private sector will be encouraged to involve in the export-oriented industries generating employment opportunities, increasing economic growth and capable of earning foreign currency by competing in the international market.

- By mobilising the public as well as private capital along with foreign investment and technology transfer utilising the natural resources and already created infrastructures, import substituting and export promoting industries will be encouraged in the country. Reforms will be carried out in the industries established through foreign investment and technology according to our national interests.
- At par with the provision made in constitution, laws and regulations, the limitations will be determined to permit the foreign capital and technology to flow-in for the creation of a conducive environment in national economy. While permitting the foreign capital, an appraisal will be made taking into account the possibility of using the local labour and raw materials, fulfilling the national needs, and fostering the export and the potentiality of joint investment in private and government sectors. A legal provision will be introduced to guarantee and protect the foreign capital.

- While formulating industrial policy, emphasis will be given to ensure the balanced regional development. The establishment of cottage and small-scale industries will be encouraged in the rural areas, and a policy for the effective marketing of their products will be enforced.
- A series of training will be provided to national unskilled labourers with a view to employing them in the industrial occupation and substituting the foreign labourers. Technical school will be established to train the labourers. Legal restriction concerning eight working hours per day will be imposed. Enough wages for the livelihood, shelter, health, education and other facilities will be guaranteed to the labourers as per the internationally recognised standard.
- Appropriate policies will be adopted for the development and promotion of public corporations and to manage them in accordance with their objectives.

3.10.3 Trade sector

- Keeping in mind the national interests, the policies concerning the diversification of the trade, free foreign trade and guaranteeing markets for national industrial products will be adopted.
- Priorities will be given to end the monopoly and dominance of bureaucratic capitalism prevailing in national trade and in market,

policies will be adopted to make distribution and supply arrangement reliable and accessible and the interest of small entrepreneurs will be protected.

- By abrogating unequal trade and transit treaties, the interests of Nepali trade sector will be protected and a concrete step will be taken to ensure the transit right of land-locked countries underlined by international law.

3.10.4 Energy and water resources sector

- Energy system will be integrated with agricultural development and industrialisation. Balanced regional development will be promoted through equal distribution of the *energy*. Export of energy will be encouraged and new programmes concerning energy will be formulated keeping in mind the protection of environment. Hydropower will be classified as a prime source of energy for the industrialisation and the daily use of the people. Electricity will be made easily available to the rural area at affordable prices. The government will take initiatives for the development of energy and a system of guaranteeing the right of local people on forest, water, air and solar energy will be gradually developed and implemented.
- Policy will be adopted to ensure the local people's participation in the development of those resources. Different organisations and departments engaging in the energy sector

will be mobilised in an integrated way. For the development of small and medium scale hydro-electricity projects, local people's active involvement and leadership will be sought with a view to making them the owner of the projects as such. The big projects will be operated under the authority or board of the government. Multi-purpose projects of international significance will be operated under the management of international board. Large rivers like Mechi, Mahakali will be utilised on the basis of equality or mutual benefits.

- Efforts will be made to set up an international power grid in the SAARC level and include all the SAARC nations in it. Priority will be given to the integrated development of water system namely the power reserving projects such as Seti and Budhi Gandaki for the integrated use of water resources, the power reserving projects such as Kankai and Rapti for the multi-purpose use of water resources and projects such as Sunkoshi-Kamala, Kaligandaki- Tinau, Bheri-Babai for the purpose of integrating the rivers with more water with those of less water. As water resources can be used for the multipurpose development such as irrigation, industrialisation, transportation and daily consumption, an integrated policy will be implemented for this.

- Policy shall be adopted to protect the sovereign right of the Nepali people over Nepal's water resources.

3.10.5 Transportation and communication sector

- By formulating national transport policy and programme, transport facilities will be expanded to all the remote areas of the country. Road, water, train, air and ropeway transport networks and services will be developed on the basis of their potentiality, economic viability and regional and local priority.
- A system will be developed with a view to utilising mass media for the service of the people and the nation and not for the lip-service of the ruling party.

3.10.6 Tourism sector

- As tourism is the industry of earning foreign currencies and a means of uplifting the people's level of income and employment generation, the development and extension of this sector will be made by creating more tourist centres providing adequate infra-structural facilities in the high mountains, hills, in the valleys and in the Terai regions.

3.10.7 Local and regional development

- With the objective to foster people's participation in the local development and to deliver them the fruits of development, it is essential to create

infrastructure for development at local level. The planning system will be formulated on the basis of local need and feasibility and it will be developed keeping in mind the decentralisation process and it can be democratised only if it is formulated on the basis of local, district and regional levels. Therefore, local development policy will be formulated from bottom upward and implemented on the basis of local, district-wise and national priority. In totality, this policy shall be made the concept of mobilising both the means and resources prevailing in the country.

- By bringing to an end to the tendency of capitalist profit orientation such as ever-widening economic gap, migration problem, gap in terms of development between towns and villages, and centralisation of facilities and development activities within a specific area, a concept of people oriented economic structure and a model of the local development will be devised to deliver the fruits of the development to the under privileged people and communities. For this, planning procedure will be reorganised and institutionalised.

3.10.8 Miscellaneous

- Homeless people will be provided with land for shelter and also financial assistance will be given to make low-cost houses.

- Problems of unemployment will be eliminated gradually and constitutional provisions will be made for right to work for all the citizens.
- The rapidly increasing inflation will be controlled effectively. For this, public supply system will be made efficient and all forms of monopoly prevailing in the business sector will be eradicated. Arrangements will be made for making available the goods of daily needs in rational price. Co-operatives will be set up and their participation in this regard will be encouraged. Legal arrangements will be made to increase the wages in proportion to the rate of inflation.
- The utilisation of foreign assistance and grant will be made available only in the national priority sector. The policy of giving high priority will be adopted only on foreign aided projects having socio-economic viability with high rate of return and those increasing the efficiency and productivity of the economy as a whole.
- Policies regarding the forms and types of public expenditure and investment will be made by formulating medium and long-term plans in a coordinated way at national, regional and local level. The programme will be launched with a view to increasing investment efficiency, raising production massively as per the objective, generating employment opportunities and income, and alleviating poverty within a

stipulated time. While doing so the role of the private sector, at every level, will be defined clearly.

- Policies will be made for making revenue and taxation system more progressive, transparent and effective. The system of levying direct taxation will be carried out in an effective way with a view to encouraging the participation of the private sector in the productive areas, discouraging the faulty profit-making investment tendencies, reducing the subsisting gap in the income among different classes and mobilising the revenues aimed at facilitating completely the work of development. Indirect taxes will be imposed keeping in mind its potential negative impact on low- and fixed-income groups.
- Development administration will be made efficient, effective and people oriented. The system of commission and corruption in the bureaucracy will be uprooted.
- People living in unsecured places will be transferred to the secured places.

3.11 Culture and education

- Progressive, patriotic and people's democratic literature and culture will be nurtured by eliminating on the one hand the negative influence of feudal and imperialistic literature and culture, and on the other, social evils and superstitions. Social reform programmes will be initiated in

a planned way in all the sectors of the society. Historical and religious places will be renovated and preserved.

- Existing neo-colonial education system will be uprooted. Harmful influence of feudalism and imperialism will be eliminated from education sector.
- The system of right to education will be established as a basic fundamental right of each and every individual. For making education modern, progressive and highly qualitative, general and vocational as well as highly specialised education system will be introduced by reorganising the existing education system and plan. There will be both formal and informal education systems.
- The pre-primary, primary and high school level education will be made compulsory and free, gradually, all over the country. In the high school level, vocational and skill-oriented education will be included.
- Equal opportunity will be given in education to all without any discrimination on the basis of religion, race or caste, sex, profession, language and economic and social conditions.
- Text books, educational materials and other economic and physical aids will be provided to all. Priority will be given to the women, oppressed caste and other under-privileged classes.
- As per the choice and interest of the guardian and students themselves, arrangement will be made

to give primary education to the children in their mother tongues or in the popular language.

- All the schools will be established and developed as institutions capable of imparting the spirit of real democracy and national independence and bringing it into practice.
- A system will be established by which the interests and aspirations of all the teachers and staff working in the educational institutions can be safeguarded and a due respect and honour can be given to them in the society.
- Under the national plan, academic freedom will be guaranteed to all without any intervention from government.
- All the students seeking higher education will be given equal opportunity.
- Through the institutional provision of morning and evening classes or through the correspondence, an opportunity to the education will be provided to the workers from different professions who were deprived of primary and high school education.
- The organisation responsible for the formulation of educational plan and policies, for the management of effective teaching-learning and research, as well as for the preparation and production of text books and other educational materials will be reorganised and strengthened.
- As per the need of the country, the facilities of higher education will be provided by establishing the universities specialised in various aspects and subject matters of learning.

- Women and 'lower' caste people will be given education through the formulation of a series of special programmes. Special facilities and encouragement will also be given to women in higher education.
- Refresher training programmes for teachers will be conducted as per the necessity and for the improvement of their teaching efficiency, performance and career development. The training programmes as such will expose them to the new methods and skills of teaching-learning techniques.

3.12 Ethnicity, religion and language

- The tradition of giving special privilege to any single religion will be put to an end and religious freedom and equality will be guaranteed to all.
- All forms of privileges and prerogatives granted to specific ethnic groups, languages and costumes will be brought to an end. Equality and democratic rights will be guaranteed in all fields. Special programmes will be launched to preserve, promote and develop the backward ethnic groups, their languages, literatures and cultures.

3.13 Health

- A drastic change will be brought to the system of existing health services. Health policies will be formulated with the conviction that providing basic health services is a part of human right and not a privilege. All types and systems of treatment

such as allopathic, homeopathic, ayurvedic, acupuncture and natural treatment will be developed in a coordinated way.

- Necessary constitutional or legal provisions will be made to make the health services a fundamental and specialised one. With a view to facilitating utmost health services based on the professional ethics, legal provisions will also be made to protect the rights, interests and aspirations of all kinds of health workers expressed through their respective autonomous professional organisations.
- Legal provision will be made to compensate people for any accident and other damages taken place during the course of healthcare.
- A national drug policy will be formulated and drug protocols will be adopted. A policy as such will tend to make the country self-reliant and end the exploitation of the multinational drug manufacturers.
- Non-governmental health organisations will be encouraged to activate themselves under the guidelines of the national health policy.

3.14 Women

- All kinds of exploitation, suppression, abduction, trafficking, prostitution and other social evils, perpetrated against women will be brought to an end.
- Equal rights of sons and daughters to the patrimony will be established. The concept of

equal pay will be brought into effect also between the jobs performed by men and women.

- Complete equality between men and women in national and social life will be guaranteed.
- Special campaign will be launched to eradicate illiteracy and backwardness among women. Social security will be guaranteed and elements inflicting criminality against women will be sternly punished.
- Women's active participation in political, economic and social sectors will be constantly encouraged and increased.

3.15 Social reforms

- Social evils, superstitions and old-fashioned fatalistic concepts will be fought through a social and cultural reform movement.
- An effective change will be brought about with a view to exterminating the prevailing caste system and untouchability.
- The state will protect the poor, persons with disability, abandoned old age people and orphans.

3.16 Judicial system

- The judiciary will be made independent, impartial and effective. Constitutional provision will be made to guarantee the non-interference on the part of executive over the judiciary.
- The reactionary judicial system based on bribe and influence of powers will be done away with.

- The inhuman system of giving physical and mental torture against the detainees under trial will be stopped.
- Poor people will be provided free legal services.
- Organised participation of legal professionals will be sought for the protection of rights, interests and aspirations of lawyers and for the establishment of impartial, free and progressive legal system.

3.17 Administration and civil servants

- A service and welfare oriented administrative system will be established by uprooting present decadent bureaucratic administrative system.
- Smuggling, payoffs, corruption, black-marketing, nepotism, and other social evils will be controlled and legal action will be taken against the elements involved in such activities.
- Bureaucratic oppression on lower-level civil servants will be stopped by guaranteeing and protecting their rights and interests.
- Legal rights will be given to the civil servants to form their professional autonomous organisation so as to protect their professional rights, interests and aspirations. Legal provisions will be made to prevent any kind of persecution against civil servants for their allegiance to a particular ideology or a political party.
- The prevailing huge gap in the pay scale between higher and lower-level staff will be narrowed down by raising the salary scale of the lower-level staff. The pay scale will be designed as per

subsistence and social theory. Allowances will be provided to the civil servants to protect them against rising price index.

- The civil service will be made impartial through legal provision. Promotion will be based on professional merits, performance capability and honesty. With a view to enhancing the sense of responsibility among the civil servants, a system of appropriate reward and punishment will be instituted on the basis of their performance appraisal. Job security of civil servants will be legally defined.
- Rights and interests of the retired civil servants, police and army personnel will be fully protected.
- A system will be developed to examine the records pertaining to the property of the political parties, their leaders and high-level officials.

3.18 Immigrant Nepalis

- Endeavour will be made to help every Nepali residing abroad to exercise their national and international right. Attempts will be made to solve their problems through bilateral discussions with the concerned countries.
- The tendency of immigration and emigration will be effectively checked by eliminating the exploitation, oppression and unemployment problem.
- The Nepalis immigrating from abroad or emigrated voluntarily or ousted by force will be properly resettled.

3.19 Foreign relations

- A non-aligned, independent and progressive foreign policy will be pursued.
- All secret treaties with foreign countries and international organisations will be made public. All unequal treaties will be renewed on the basis of the *panchasheel*.
- The relations with neighbouring countries like India and China will be developed on the basis of the *panchasheel*. The good neighbourly relations with both of them will be further strengthened.
- Friendly relations will be established with all the countries of the world on the basis of our national interests.
- Relations with South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries will be strengthened and policy will be adopted to develop and consolidate the SAARC as an effective organisation for regional cooperation. South South cooperation will be expanded.
- Steps will be taken to obtain free and permanent transit facilities granted to a landlocked country as per international conventions.
- On the basis of independence, equality and mutual benefit, economic, political, cultural, technical and commercial relations will be established and developed with all the countries of the world.
- While extending full support to the UN, attempts will be made to make it more independent, impartial, efficient and effective.

- By opposing imperialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, foreign intervention and interference, the institutional development of peace, independence, equality and national sovereignty will be upheld.
- Non-aligned movement, socialism, proletarian revolution, national and social liberation movements will be supported. The movement against nuclear arms, world and regional wars, aggressions and tensions will be opposed. The worldwide human rights and environment protection campaign will be supported and active cooperation will be extended to them.

3.20 Army

- The army will be mobilised for the service of the nation and the people.
- Army will be made pro-people and democratic.
- Current practice of preventing youth from certain communities, ethnicity, religion or geography to joining the military services will be stopped. The entrance in the military will be kept open for all Nepali people. Appointments and promotions will be based on the merit, ability of performance, and honesty.
- Current practice of exploitation and oppression inflicted to lower ranks by the higher ranked army officials will be exterminated and democratic and constitutional rights of all the army personnel will be protected.

3.21 Ex-army

- Pension and other facilities of the ex-army retired from national or foreign services will be guaranteed on a permanent basis.
- The education, knowledge and skills of the ex-army acquired during their services will be tested and certified and on the basis of that, the employment opportunities will be provided to them.
- A special provision of education and medical treatment for the families of ex-army men will be made.
- Appropriate departments of government will be assigned with the tasks of ensuring the rights, interests and other facilities for the ex-army men.
- Appropriate recognition will be given to the medals, awards and ranks earned by the army men during their service period.

3.22 Sports

- Attention will be given to make people mentally and physically fit and dedicated to the service of nation and people through the emphasis on institutional development of sports.
- Planned and regular training will be conducted for the development of sports already from school and campus level. A team of national level sportsmen and women will be developed on the basis of healthy competition.
- Attractive rewards, honours and other economic and material benefits will be instituted to encourage athletes, coaches and sports clubs.

- Government and non-government sectors will be mobilised for the development of the sports and sports tournaments on national and international levels regularly.

4. Additional features of PMD Programme

4.1 Supremacy of constitution

Constitution is the basic law of the land as well as a document that interprets political and economic activities along with the roles of and interrelationship among different classes. No class, individual, institution or party can be above the constitution. Nor can the constitution be breached by any individual party or institution. Certain provisions of the constitution can be amended and, therefore, they should be flexible. However, unless the amendment is made, no one is allowed to violate them. As the constitution is a document to interpret the specific rights and duties of the people, it should not be encroached by any side. Therefore, we have accepted the supremacy of the constitution as an important feature of our programme. Revolutionary regime or people's regime should not be devoid of constitution either. It is evident that, in some countries, revolutionary governments were put above the constitution which eventually resulted in anarchy. The constitution should facilitate social progress. Therefore, it should be the supreme document of the land.

4.2 Pluralistic open society

Every individual must have right to express their opinion pertaining to the people and the country. This is a natural phenomenon. Whatsoever good it may be, a system does not last long if it eulogises a ruling class and party but does not tolerate sound criticisms. Therefore, each individual should be allowed to express their opinion freely concerning the government, political parties, social organisations, leaders and officials. Press and travelling should be free on the basis of constitutional norms and other laws of the country. Society should not be closed and isolated from the comity of the nations. In some countries where the communist parties' rule, they never allowed pluralistic and openness, and it is because of that, the consequences were against the regime. We are in favour of pluralistic open society.

4.3 Principle of the separation of powers

In socialist countries, power remained highly centralised in the hands of an individual for a long time, which eventually did not benefit; it rather caused harms to the society. Now the concept of power decentralisation has come into effect criticising the past system where the power was limited to the hands of an individual. However, we are of the conviction that power shouldn't be heavily centralised on an individual or a single organisation. A single institution should not be the central authority to exercise all executive, legislative and judiciary powers. There should be separate

institutions at central level to exercise the powers separately. Moreover, the ruling party should not be allowed to use all the state powers in a way differences do not exist between the party and the government. We have, therefore, incorporated the theory of separation of powers in our programme on the basis of this concept.

4.4 Protection of human rights

There is a massive and worldwide propaganda launched by the capitalists that the communists are not in favour of human rights. Even some communists think that their duty and priorities do not fall to protect and promote human rights. However, we are in favour of guaranteeing human rights, therefore, we have been fighting for the realisation of those rights in an organised way. Communists are the committed fighters for the cause of human rights, and, it is because of this, we have incorporated in our programme the protection of human rights as an important aspect.

4.5 System of multiparty competition

Within the purview of the constitution, state and its bodies are a matter of public concern. There cannot be the monopoly of a single political party over them. It is highly undemocratic to establish monopoly by a single party using state power. Different political parties naturally exist in a society that has different classes with varying class interests and professions. If fundamental rights of the citizens are not restricted,

there can naturally emerge diversities in political thinking.

The communist party is the party of the proletariat and the working class. Therefore, it cannot be the party of all classes at the same time. This is a party to follow the theory of Marxism and Leninism as its guiding principles. There can also be people among the proletariat and working classes having faith in other political ideologies and systems or they may have differences with strategies and tactics that the communist parties employ. In such a situation, an attempt by a party to monopolise the state power by means of constitution and using force is nothing but a form of autocracy and dictatorship.

We strive to maintain multiparty competitive system with a view to establish the decisive role of the people in politics. Only the party with people's mandate should be allowed to exercise the state power and rule the country. Multiparty competitive system is an arrangement which guarantees fair competition among parties in an organised way and on the basis of ideologies, programmes and policies, and, at the same time, it also guarantees supremacy of the people's verdict. That is why we have incorporated this system in our programme as a decisive and important element.

4.6 Periodic elections

People's decision taken at a specific time cannot be valid and endless for always. Therefore, general elections should take place regularly on a periodic basis. The elections should be held to allow free and fair competition among different ideologies, programmes and policies. The election among individuals having the same ideology and policy cannot be different from that of the panchayat elections in essence. Therefore, we have accepted the periodic elections as a basic feature of a multiparty system, and, thus we have incorporated it in our programme.

4.7 Government of majority and opposition of minority

One of the fundamental characteristics of the multiparty system is an organised competition among the parties. Additionally, another essential characteristic is the constitutional guarantee of a government formed by the party winning majority and the presence of an opposition of the party with minority. It is the constitutional system in which the government activities are critically watched and mistakes are criticised and rectified. If there is no constitutional guarantee for the existence of the opposition, it would not be possible to check the autocratic and tyrannical activities of the government. It is not easy to find a peaceful political solution of the mistakes committed by the government.

In Panchayat regime, there used to be elections among individuals without having rights to follow ideologies and programmes. Even though some, who opposed panchayat system, also used to be elected, there was no constitutional provision for them as an opposition. Therefore, panchayat was a dictatorship in its spirit and structure. The system which permits constitutionally to act against the misdeeds of the government is a democratic system. Considering this very fact, we have incorporated the constitutional provision for the right to form the government by the majority party and the minority party to remain in the opposition.

4.8 The rule of law

The establishment of the rule of law is indispensable for protection of people's political, economic, social, cultural, fundamental, human and civil rights. We have given utmost importance to the provision and, thereby, clearly incorporated in our programme that one can only be sentenced or imprisoned by the decision of the court of justice and not in an arbitrary manner by any person exercising executive authority.

4.9 Consolidation of people's democratic system

We are against the use of force unnecessarily at attaining socialism in a hasty and a premature manner inspired merely by ideological interest. Obviously, any new form of government and system needs time to consolidate itself. Moreover, the people's

democratic system typically progresses through three distinct stages. Firstly, in the initial phase, the focus is on eliminating all remnants of exploitation and oppression inherent in the old political system. Secondly, during the second phase, emphasis is placed on the development of all sectors of society from both physical and cultural perspectives, rooted in new production relations. Lastly, the third phase involves concerted efforts to prepare the society both physically and culturally for the transition towards socialism. For the successful implementation of our programme, we recognize the necessity of a long time. Therefore, we are not in favour of taking hasty steps to enforce socialism as seen in other countries without first establishing a robust infrastructure.

We are committed to adapting a multiparty policy in the form of a new people's democracy. It means that we prioritise winning the confidence of the people through close engagement and providing them with quality services, rather than resorting to force. This is a method not to force the people even for good work but to get their voluntary supports. We believe that even the good things should not be carried out in a bad manner. Therefore, we are in favour of doing everything in good manner as far as possible. It is how we have visualised and accepted the people's democracy as a sustainable social system.

4.10 Foreign capital and technology

Today, the form of widespread colonial exploitation of imperialism seems to have ended. Imperialist countries have been supporting the neo-colonial exploitation alone or through international financial institutions by accumulating financial capital from developed capitalist countries. In the present-day world, not only the underdeveloped and backward but also the developing and developed countries have not been able to activate themselves well without international financial support, grants and loans. In such a situation, we cannot move ahead only by mobilising our resources, completely ignoring the outside world. Socialist countries have also been accepting the loan assistance as such but, at the same time, the embargo imposed by the world capitalism has been creating a crisis in several countries. In such a situation, neither can we nor should we, in principle, close our door to foreign capital and technology. Therefore, what we have incorporated in our programme is to use and invest the foreign capital and technology in an appropriate way, keeping in mind the national interests on the one hand and the constitutional and legal limitations on the other. The policy is new and was not included in the revolutionary programme of the past.

4.11 Compensation

The basic objective of our revolution is to bring an end to the feudal exploitation, feudal land ownership system and feudalism. In order to build

a new society, we have adopted a policy to seek a positive contribution and support massively from all the sectors. For this, policies such as determining the ceiling on land holding and bringing about revolutionary land reform will be adopted. While confiscating the land above ceiling and ending the dual ownership on the land, due compensation will be given to the supporters of the revolution, rich and middle-class farmers and other small land holders. Except those feudal landlords, who have no positive contributions towards creating a new society rather oppose or even resort to violence, due compensation will be given to all with a view to helping them transfer to the industry, business and trade sectors. This is an appeal to all to participate in building a new society and peacefully eliminating feudal land ownership. The inevitability of the use of force, against the feudal landlords opposing the progressive step as such and refusal to pay compensation to those against whom force has been used is also clear. This is also a new element included in our tactics.

4.12 Foreign policy

No unified communist international movement exists in today's world. However, the movement exists in almost all the countries globally under the guidance of Marxism on the basis of the concrete situations of the revolution and national context of the particular country. Similarly, socialist movement, in every country, has also its special characteristics with diversity in form.

The communists all over the world are against imperialism. However, the struggle against the exploitation of imperialism in some countries is very effective but at the same time, it has remained modest in other countries. Thus, there is no uniformity even in the movement against imperialism.

At present, the communists all over the world are fighting imperialism in different forms and from different angles, which in turn is a factor of unity. There is no possibility of making a unified struggle immediately since the socialist countries and ruling communist parties have abandoned the practice of supporting and cooperating with the social liberation and national independent movements directly and openly. Even the political parties of the proletariat and working classes have brought changes in the traditional way of supporting the movement in the name of proletarian internationalism.

Now, there is no remarkable group or alliance in the international communist movement. On the one hand, any movement or revolution and reconstruction cannot succeed without international support and cooperation, while, on the other, the old form and nature of cooperation does not exist either; thus, it is not immediately feasible. In such a circumstance, revolutionaries of each country have to garner international support on their own initiatives. Therefore, we can conduct our international relations on the basis of direct gain or loss in the revolution

and reconstruction, in addition to giving support and making mass criticism on the basis of ideology. We have emphasised the importance of fostering close relations with South Asian neighbours, as well as countries that provide direct support to our revolution and reconstruction, and other friendly countries, on the basis of priority and the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We cannot develop our foreign relations merely on the ideological ground by ignoring burning practical needs of revolution and construction.

4.13 Leadership and dictatorship

Marxism-Leninism is a guiding principle to lead the movement for achieving social emancipation and national independence from feudalism and imperialism. Only the proletariat can lead the revolution by following the guideline of Marxism-Leninism. However, merely citing the spirit of Marxism and Leninism on ideological grounds in our documents will not suffice or carry meaningful weight. Therefore, we have stressed that the leadership should be developed through the competition based on programmes and initiatives in its implementation. While admitting the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat from ideological, class and strategic point of view, we must also avoid complacency at the tactical level. It's essential to recognise that we need to take proactive initiatives and compete seriously to secure leadership. In order to achieve this, we encourage fierce competition and proactive initiative.

The party should take the leadership through initiative and competition even in the post-revolution reconstruction phase. The consolidation of people's democratic system and transition to socialism can only be achieved under the leadership of the communist party or the party of the proletarian working class guided by Marxism and Leninism. In this context, it would not be appropriate to use state power solely to attain leadership, as it overlooks the necessity of competition and initiative. The leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the proletarian working class remains imperative. Leadership can be achieved through struggle, effective service delivery, taking initiative, and engaging in healthy competition. It cannot be acquired solely through ideological or constitutional explanations, or by wielding state power.

People's democratic dictatorship, therefore, is a type of people's democratic state. Dictatorship is a term that expresses the fundamental and decisive work of the state. In other words, the dictatorship itself is a state. From the Marxist point of view and contrary to the version of the capitalist's belief of the state being above classes, a state is based on class character. However, people's state power is not merely a means of control and suppression but a means to carry out welfare activities giving leadership to the people themselves. It suppresses and controls only the reactionary elements opposing people's democracy and provides real democratic

rights to the people. Therefore, we have generally used the word state power instead of dictatorship in the programme. The reason behind this is that a state power guarantees the democratic rights of the 95% of the people and imposes dictatorial authority over a handful of regressive elements. Also, it carries out the welfare activities as its first and foremost duty. Therefore, the preference of the term 'people's democratic state power' over 'people's democratic dictatorship' in our programme reflects a correct and appropriate judgment.

4.14 People's Multiparty Democracy

Our programme is directed against feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, imperialism, and revolution against feudalism and imperialism.

China, Korea, Vietnam, and East European countries underwent revolutions that liberated farmers by eradicating feudalism and achieved national salvation by eliminating all types of imperialistic encroachments. These revolutions also paved the way for the development of national capital and industrial growth, establishing a united democratic government representing the majority of the people as a distinct form of state power. Unlike the previous democratic revolutions that resulted in state power under the bourgeoisie's dictatorship, these revolutions established a national government supported by the majority who opposed feudalism and imperialism.

Our revolution intends to establish a coalition government representing the masses by replacing feudalism, imperialism and feudal and semi colonial production relations with democratic ones. Thus, our programme is a new democratic programme, and it is also a new democratic revolution. Keeping in mind their specific social setups and contexts, some countries have named this system as New Democracy, People's Democracy, or National Democracy. However, in essence, these terms refer to the concept of people's democracy in the context of the new era.

In addition to those fundamental elements, we have added some new ideas in our programme through careful analysis of the national and international situation and experiences till now. As a result, we have included 'multi-party' as a fundamental feature in our programme with a view to represent all ideas. In our context, we have defined this programme as people's Multiparty Democracy, which fundamentally is people's democracy tailored to our specific context.

Unlike the above-mentioned countries where multiparty competition never existed, we aim to actively participate in multiparty competition. Therefore, this is a special feature of our ideology and programme, and we named it as People's Multiparty Democracy, encapsulating its essence and unique specialties. Regardless of the adjective

used for democracy, the name of our programme must reflect its essence and form. This is how we have articulated our viewpoints in our programme of People's Multiparty Democracy, taking into account the evolving national and international context.

5. Friends and foes of revolution

Foes

- 5.1. The feudal class, comprador bureaucratic capitalist class, foreign monopoly capitalism and international imperialism are the major enemies of the present Nepali democratic revolution. The country has been rendered to semi-colonial and semi-feudal because of the exploitation and suppression of these adversaries. Democratic revolution cannot be accomplished without eradicating these enemies and their regime.

- 5.2. The Indian ruling class has increased the control of its monopoly capitalism over Nepal's economy with the assistance of the rulers of Nepal. It has made attempts to monopolise the natural resources especially the water resources of our country. The treaties under the pretext of security, peace and friendship have limited the national sovereignty. At many places, the border and the territorial integrity have frequently been encroached. Interference has been mounting in the independent economic and political activities and in the civil rights of the Nepali people. The Nepali rulers have been submissive to the Indian rulers and surrendered the national interests of the

country. Therefore, the fundamental responsibility of the democratic revolution is to develop relation on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence on trade and commerce, transit and border issues.

5.3 The interference of American imperialism is intensifying following the downfall of socialism in East Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The imperial pressure has been mounting through the military strategy and the international financial institutions in the economic sectors. The persisting interference in the governance and administration has been increasing. In accordance with the world strategy of attacking socialism in Asia, the world imperialism has been engaged in creating disputes and tension. Without ending the increasing interference of the world imperialism in the internal politics of the country and without fighting its assault on socialism, democratic revolution cannot be accomplished in Nepal.

5.4 At present, the internal contradiction has occupied a prominent place in the country. The peoples' contradictions against the feudalist comprador bureaucratic capitalist class in the political, economic and social sectors are the primary class contradictions. Among the political forces serving the interests of the feudal class and comprador bureaucratic capitalist class, the feudal autocratic elements under the leadership of the royal palace, though behind the curtains at present, pose a possible threat in

the future. It is urgent that serious precaution must be taken with regards to their possible resurgence. The Nepali Congress is in power at present; and it has worked against the people, nation and the democratic achievements gained through the peoples' movement. Therefore, contradictions against the Nepali Congress government's anti-people policies, and its activities that undermine national interest and curtail democratic rights have surfaced as intense political contradiction. The policies and functions against the interest of the people, nation and democratic rights have become the primary targets of the people's movement.

- 5.5 Political and social powers nourishing feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, foreign monopoly capitalism and imperialism are also the enemies of the democratic revolution. Without their defeat, the revolution cannot be accomplished.

Friends

- 5.6 The proletarian working class is the leading class of the present revolution. Only the party equipped with the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism can offer the necessary class political leadership in the ongoing revolution. This leadership has evolved and solidified throughout the democratic movements within the country.
- 5.7 The peasants are the fundamental and decisive forces of the present revolution. This revolution of

social liberation is basically an agrarian revolution. Therefore, also the peasants are the decisive forces. Besides the peasants, the petty bourgeois class and other profession and strata are the reliable friends of the revolution. Within this, significant role of youth, students and intellectuals may be required to fight against venomous social diseases of corruption and commission.

- 5.8 The national capitalist class, rich peasants and the democratic nationalist elements and strata, possessing dual nature, are also the friends of present revolution.
- 5.9 The worldwide communist movement, socialist movements, national and social liberation movements, popular democratic movements and movements associated with environment, peace and human rights are the friends of our revolution.
- 5.10 The socialist countries, especially the People's Republic of China and political parties of the proletariat working class of India, the forces of democracy and all the people of India are faithful friends of our revolution. The proletariat of South Asia, people and democratic forces are our friend. The supports of global opinions and people dedicated to upholding justice and democracy are friends of our revolution.

- 5.11 At present, unlike in the past, there are no inherent conditions for natural friendship and support based on the relationship of theoretical similarities. Therefore, our focus should be on making close friendship in areas crucial for the revolution. It is accurate to analyse both the enemies and friends of the revolution. To translate it into practice - the party must take initiative to forge bilateral relation.

6. Path of revolution

- 6.1 The question concerning the path of revolution is the question relating to emphasising the methods and forms of organisation for the development and victory of the revolutionary struggle. The party should draw inference and predict the path of revolution on the basis of the experiences gained on the revolutionary movement of the world, the experiences of the past national movements and especially the movements within our own soil.

The path of revolution is the manifestation of objective reality. The question concerning the path of revolution cannot be determined by a subjective structure and approach. On the basis of national and international conditions and the position of class struggle, people should be massively organised and mobilised for the attainment of the revolutionary goals. We should go ahead in that direction. Only then, the specific path of Nepali revolution can be finally determined.

Revolutionary paths of China and Russia were determined accordingly - this is the Marxist-Leninist approach and practice too. Class struggle, not the class coordination or class compromises, is the basic and fundamental approach for accomplishing the revolution. The forms of class struggle to be applied depend on the prevailing circumstances.

6.2 Marxism does not accept any form of struggle and organisation as the only and the ultimate form of organisation of revolutionary struggle. Revolutionaries must focus on developing the capability of efficiently conducting all the forms and methods of revolutionary struggle. Based on objective analysis on the development of class struggle and their relationship, with prior preparedness, they must be devoted to the ongoing struggle. The goal is essential and decisive factor. The path is the means of attaining that goal quickly and easily. Therefore, the goal is primary while the means of attaining the goal is secondary.

6.3 At present, we are in the phase of peaceful struggle. Class struggle and movements have not taken violent forms. The peaceful struggle is of both parliamentary and non-parliamentary type. The struggle within the parliamentary framework is parliamentary struggle while the struggle outside that framework with organised mass-force is the non-parliamentary struggle. After the establishment

of multiparty system, the parliamentary struggle has been the main form of struggle in general.

The revolutionaries must be determined to establishing their superiority in the parliament but the determining form of struggle is non-parliamentary, which is outside the parliamentary framework. For the advancement of the revolutionary struggle, the parliamentary struggle must be given due attention. The ability and victory attained by the revolutionary power in the on-going struggle will pave the way for the decisive nature of struggle. The use of force may be essential in the peaceful struggle as well.

The struggle against the panchayat system in the past was also a peaceful struggle. When the movement demanded, force was also used. The class struggle of today is within the framework of peaceful struggle and the people are mobilised according to the present means and resources of the struggle. Without due attention to the forms of ongoing class struggle and the commitment to participate in it, struggle will not be developed from the subjective thinking.

- 6.4 The present political struggle is within the framework of the parliament. For a struggle to be dominant outside the framework of the parliament, local class struggle, class and professional national movements have to be developed. The movements against the feudal exploitation of the peasants, workers, youths, students, women, intellectuals, businesspersons and

national industrialists have to be developed. These movements have to be elevated from national level to political movements.

In the present-day world, large and significant changes have also taken place through similar massive mass movements and political explosions. The movement of 1979 can be categorised into such a movement. The movements of this region are also in the form of political movements limited within the framework of the parliament. The professional organisations and class organisations have to be strong, active and extensive in order to develop powerful movements. However, these organisations are weak at present.

Since the political movements are still more attractive and topical, the activities of the class and professional mass organisations have further diminished. This situation needs to be changed. The mass organisations should be extensively activated. Only then, can the struggle outside the framework of the parliament gain priority and develop.

- 6.5 The main issues of political movement at present are the protection and promotion of democratic rights and protection, and development of national interest and unity, issues of development and construction and solving the problems related to the livelihood of the people. The spectrum of the political movement at present from the centre to the local levels within

the parliamentary organs and parameters of the parliament is the present form of struggle. The party should coordinate, lead and conduct this political movement.

Accordingly, the party should develop organisational plans and policy to conduct movement. It should play a role of coordinating the class and professional movements to political form of struggle. This will ensure a strong base for revolutionary movement and its development.

- 6.6 The struggle itself is a coordination of attack and defence and both of these aspects need to be emphasised. On political grounds, attack and defence are both extensive subjects and must be coordinated and managed from different areas and angles. The attack and defence in physical forms are also one of the important sectors of struggle. It is important to be clear on one issue while dealing with this subject. We must free ourselves from the idea that physical attack and defence does not bear significance during the peaceful movements and vice versa.

Whether the struggle is a parliamentary or non-parliamentary, attack and defence is essential. The concept, coordination and ever readiness in attack and defence must prevail not only in the political form but rather in every form of struggle. We have experienced this importance during the anti-Panchayat struggle, the past general and local

elections. We have not been able to organise these experiences. There has been one-sidedness of paying attention to the peaceful struggle at the cost of indifference to the use of physical force and vice versa. This has to be corrected and for every nature of the struggle, there must be preparedness for attack and defence.

- 6.7 Struggle is the contradiction and competition of two opposing forces. We cannot compete if we are too far ahead or too far behind our rivals. For clashes and struggle, it is necessary to maintain parallel position with the enemies and to adopt a policy of tit for tat. The major and decisive form of struggle to be adhered is derived from the experiences of class struggle, struggles between opposing forces, and the people; therefore, it should not be made the subject of a classical scholarly thought of a leader. Thus, the counter attack is determined in accordance with the moves of the enemy and the forms of attack, and defence is accomplished like wise.

Whether the struggle will be peaceful or violent cannot be ascertained unilaterally as both are present in the struggle and the party in power possess the decisive role. There is no alternative to violent struggle when the party in power represses the peaceful political and legal movement of the people through violence. The peaceful movement may develop in a situation where the party in power confronts the peaceful political movement of the people through peaceful political means.

Violence cannot be fought with peace, conspiracies cannot be fought with honesty, and rigging cannot be fought with gentleness. In such instances, 'tit for tat' becomes the requirement to be applied. We should organise capable force to fight violence and conspiracy wedged against peaceful political, class or professional movements. This is the process of formulating the path of revolution. Staying aloof from this process, we cannot blaze a trail. Neither does it help in developing movement nor is there any hope for making a successful revolution.

- 6.8 Paying necessary attention to all the matters, it is necessary to develop peasant and youth movements to reach out to the people and build militant struggle respectively.
- 6.9 Struggle cannot be imposed from above. Even the struggle for self-defence cannot be imposed. They grow out of battlefields and the party must be able to coordinate, develop and lead them. It has to be concretely taken forward in the battlefield of class struggle on the basis of party's policy orientation and guidelines. The revolution can neither be accomplished quickly because of the hastiness of the leaders nor will it cease to exist because of their sluggishness. At present either we have not been able to persuade people from the level of objective development of struggle or we have been victims of subjective thinking because of our failure to understand the situation of struggle. We should

concentrate on raising struggle from within the people and develop it with the organised and close involvement of the people. Party is the advertiser, organiser and the leader. It has to perform its role with determination.

7. Concept of united front

- 7.1 The united front is an important and decisive factor for the success of democratic revolution opposing feudalism and imperialism. The main objective of the united front is to unite the people of all levels, classes and professions in the struggle against common enemy for achieving common goals. It is an important skill to unite and mobilize the people from different classes, strata, professions and levels and having different problems and interests for accomplishing revolution.

At present, feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, foreign monopoly capitalism and imperialism have appeared as the common enemy of the nation and the people of all classes. To eliminate such elements and establish people's democracy has become the common objective of the united front, which can be fulfilled by adopting the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist programme of the People's Multiparty Democracy. The adoption of the programme is also important to check the threat to the revival of autocratic forces led by the palace, which is a real threat both to the people at large as well as to the nation's democratic future.

The current actions of the ruling class led by the Nepali Congress party, which are not only undemocratic but are also anti-people and anti-nation, add to the threat to the revival of the autocratic focuses. The objective and scope of the united front must be to unify all democratic and nationalistic people and forces having common objective towards waging a struggle against the common enemy. At present, we have been carrying this struggle in the way of political and class struggle.

- 7.2 The basic problems of the people of Nepal cannot be solved without bringing the reactionary state power and exploitation of feudalism and imperialism to an end. Therefore, we want to form an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist united class front based on people's democratic programme. This front is created under the direct or indirect leadership of the communist party. We make attempts at this stage to carry out this function by creating the class and professional organisations of the workers, farmers, women, youths, students, academicians and cultural activists. Attempts will also be made to create the professional organisations of traders, industrialists and other sectors and mobilise them, through their organisations, in the struggle aimed at establishing the people's democracy.

Up till now, we have carried forward the activities concerning the waging of common struggle or campaign through the formation of coordination

committees composed of the representatives of all such organisations on the initiative of the party. This is our policy and procedure as far as the creation and handling of united class front guided by the ideological leadership of the party is concerned.

We must go ahead united in the path of revolution by making the mass organization specialised, massive and capable of launching the political movements in their sectors as well as in the united political movement. An additional but permanent mechanism can be developed to coordinate their activities as per necessity. The mechanism as such is not necessary at this moment. At present, all such organisations must be made strong and only after that an indirect coordination mechanism should be developed on interim basis as per the needs of forging a united campaign on special political issues.

- 7.3 We have to create a political front to launch common struggle against the danger of revival of feudal autocrats and the anti-people, anti-national and anti-democratic policies and behaviour of ruling Nepali Congress. The political front as such can be created only by putting forward immediate concrete political objectives. The reliable political partners joining this front are only communists as far as present political context is concerned. However, a permanent political front among the leftist parties has not been an instance up till now. There existed such a front on ad hoc basis in the past as per the

needs of contemporary political ups and downs. The serious differences and contradictions on the level of actionable strategies aimed at conducting the struggles successfully have created obstacles in the direction of forming a permanent front. Our party should put forward clear approaches on both the fundamental subject matters and the contemporary burning issues. Then an attempt or appeal should be made to launch a joint movement along with the parties having similar approaches.

A joint action can be taken on the issues having common policies, approaches and action strategies whereas on other issues one can go ahead independently. Only by consolidating one's power independently can one unite or attract others to join a united front. The isolationist approach such as not joining the united front even if the political issues are common and submissive approach such as always looking for the help of others to wage a struggle and making oneself incapable to organize independently are equally invalid approaches. We should adopt an approach by which a united political front can be created to champion common political issues. We should try to bring patriotic and democratic forces in such a front. Our party must take initiative to create such a front in accordance with the prevailing situation and necessities.

- 7.4 As the main opposition force of the country, our party should unite all the possible forces on the issues

of national interest and democratic rights against the misdeeds of the ruling party. We have to unite and utilize on the basis of issues and action even those forces which are vacillating and temporarily helpful to us to isolate and weaken the ruling class. We should pay attention to the ideological analysis and practices of each force and try more and more to unite the positive forces in concerned issues.

8. Left unity and party unification

- 8.1 The principle of Marxism and Leninism has put demarcation between leftist and the rightist forces of our country. The leftists accept Marxism-Leninism as a guiding principle whereas the rightists oppose it. The rightist supports and serves feudalism and imperialism. The leftists fight against them and work for service of common people, nation and radical change. There is no other leftist force in between the rightists and communists having revolutionary and democratic programmes. Therefore, the leftist unity in our context does mean the unity among the communists. The leftist unity and the united front of the past were also the unity and united front of the communist groups.
- 8.2 Today's picture of the world communist movement is quite different from that of the formation days of the united left front against the Panchayat system. Many changes have already taken place also in the communist movement of the country to a great extent. At present, there are three kinds of tendencies

and line among the Nepalese communists namely, dogmatist, Marxist Leninist and liquidationist. The rift has increased ideologically and politically among them. There exist, even to these days, the differences of ideas and antagonistic thinking on various questions of basic importance such as, the understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its interpretation and implementation, the evaluation of world communist movement, the interpretation of socialism and socialist movement, the policy and outlook of revolutionary movement in the domestic front, taking lesson from the communist movements at home and abroad, the analysis of the political situation and forces inside the country and the handling of international relation with different countries.

However, there is a similarity in terminology because every party is using the name of the communist party and Marxism-Leninism, which is creating some confusion among the people. Therefore, the leftist unity, today, means the unity on the level of a political front. The unity as such can play an important role to develop democratic movement. However, the unity on other issues is possible only in the course of a theoretical and ideological struggle. So, the theoretical and ideological struggle should be conducted in depth and firmly by forming political front on possible issues. Illusion of unity should not be forged by ignoring the serious ideological

differences which might ultimately create confusions among the people.

- 8.3 Groups and individuals sharing common views during the theoretical, political and ideological struggle, should be unified in the party by giving due respect and the process of party unification should be accelerated. The process of dissolution and organisation of the communist movement has been still going on. During this period, the process of unity among like-minded people will be further accelerated, which is not negative phenomenon in itself. Our party should take part in the theoretical and ideological struggle seriously and vigorously. The ideas and analyses made by the party should be put forward firmly. Courageous steps should be taken to strengthen the party independently. The process of forging party unity should be continued by unifying all the like-minded people in the party.

9. Strategies and tactics

- 9.1 The political strategy is the overall plan of the party to establish people's democratic state. To set the goals of revolution, to identify enemy and friends, to ascertain the forms of struggle and organisation, to resolve, through class approach, the issues such as the decisive role, alliance and opposition and the role of the leadership in the revolution are major functions of strategy. In the previous chapters of the programme, our strategies and views on the concerned sectors are clearly explained.

- 9.2 Party's strategy does not change until the attainment of revolutionary goal. It means that the strategy is decided according to the specific situation. The leadership of the proletarian working class, decisive role of the peasants, reliable role of petty bourgeoisie and cooperative role of middle-class bourgeoisie and the basic antagonism with feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism, monopoly foreign capitalism and imperialism are matters of class outlook, roles and policies formulated on the basis of objective analysis. These analyses do not change throughout the period of democratic revolution. The forms of organisation and struggles change in accordance with the national and international situation, people's level of consciousness and the nature and situation of class struggles. However, the use of people's organised militant force is inevitable for taking the revolution to decisive victory. There is no possibility of change in it. However, the form of organisation and struggle using force depends mainly on the future development of class struggle. At present, we are in a state of organizing parallel use of force in self-defence within peaceful struggle.
- 9.3 In every concrete situation, the struggle is launched to solve the principal contradiction focusing attack on the main enemy. Fundamentally, the main enemy politically represents the antagonistic contradictions. The main enemy can change in the course of struggle. Following the changes in the main enemy, it is essential to readjust the strategic plan on the

political alignment of forces in friends and enemies. It is also essential to readjust and effect changes in party's political orientation. Class struggle should be developed by focusing the existing form of struggle against the existing main enemy. The main form of struggle may be changed without any change in the main enemy and at the same time, the form of main struggle may not change with the change in the main enemy. Therefore, the party should prepare concrete strategic plan of the alignment of forces only after analysing concrete situation.

- 9.4 At the moment, the state machinery is in the hands of feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalist classes. However, from the viewpoint of political power, there is still transitional conflict between traditional force of feudal autocratic elements and Nepali congress. There is a dual regime from the point of view of politics and power. As Nepali congress is in the government, it has a major role to run the state power. Therefore, it is mainly responsible for undermining the national unity and interests of the people, limiting the sovereignty of the nation and the democratic rights of the people and for the lack of safeguard of the life and livelihood of the people. The Congress, therefore, has become the main target of the struggle. In this situation, it is necessary to focus the struggle against anti-people, anti -nation and anti-democratic acts of Nepali Congress government. At the same time, we should keep in mind the danger from the revivalist forces to

democracy and people. This is an important strategic issue for the alignment of political forces.

- 9.5 Our central task of revolutionary struggle has been and should be the elimination of reactionary state power and establishment of people's state power. But it is the specific situation which decides when and against whom to fight. Just as we differentiate the enemies so should we take care of the concrete situation tactically while dealing with friends too. Just as we fully concentrate on defeating our enemies, we should be unswervingly clear about our policies and tasks to get our allies to play their class role firmly. This is our ideological approach to provide guideline to our tactics.
- 9.6 At present, we are trying our best to move forward through peaceful struggle. Its ultimate goal is to form government through peaceful movement and legal competition and to bring about extensive progressive reforms in the interest of people, nation and democracy. This is in itself an achievement and factor to accelerate the struggle aimed at establishing people's democracy. If the struggle takes a new turn even while implementing peaceful reform through participating in the government under the tactic, a situation may emerge requiring us to suspend that aspect of the tactic and move ahead in a new way.
- 9.7 The party's tactics should give practical shape to the party's strategic decisions as per the need of existing

situations and circumstances. The functions of all the sectors of the party should be directed towards making them a success. Under the leadership of the party's revolutionary line all the struggles should be conducted- big or small, direct or indirect, parliamentary or nonparliamentary. Therefore, the nature of tactics is time bound, temporary and changeable. The tactics should not be based on probability but on reality. Tactics must directly or indirectly serve party's revolutionary goal and strategy according to the situation and circumstances. It should in no way harm the strategic goals and objectives.

- 9.8 At present, the party should base its tactics on subjects such as protection and consolidation of past democratic achievements, protection and promotion of nationalism, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests, addressing problems relating to people's livelihood, and fostering a progressive and national approach to the country's development and reconstruction. We should make our organisation strong, powerful and advance. Setting goals for the specific immediate task on the basis of specific immediate situation, and each task in every specific situation must be precise and goal-oriented.

CHAPTER V

Contemporary World Situation and Relevance of Marxism

After the fall of the socialist system in the Soviet Union, some important developments have unfolded globally, which will have far reaching implications on world politics. American imperialism has emerged as the sole global superpower. However, events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, along with growing contradictions among capitalist countries, suggest a complex geopolitical landscape. Additionally, persistent economic recession within capitalist nations and rising discontent among oppressed and exploited people due to pro-capitalist and anti-poor policies imposed by the capitalist countries in the third world reassure that a resurgence of Marxism is inevitable.

Moreover, the contradictions among capitalist countries suggest an emerging multi-polar world, particularly with the declining economic power of the USA. Despite the political propaganda launched by western capitalist countries against the validity of Marxism after the collapse of the socialist system in the USSR and Eastern Europe, people are once again realising its enduring relevance. A philosophy rooted in dialectal materialism and the scientific interpretation of history cannot perish. It has the potential to regain popularity within a short span of time in feudal and capitalist societies where various forms of exploitation exist and continue. The political events, especially those occurring in the independent republics of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, reaffirm that a temporary setback to Marxism cannot serve as a panacea to the capitalist system, contrary to the expectations of the capitalist thinkers.

The experimentation with Marxist theory in different countries suggests the necessity for redefining and reorienting Marxism to ensure its stability. This underscores that there is no alternative to Marxism in ensuring the development of productive forces, eliminating social exploitation and securing the liberation, freedom and progress of human beings. The new experience gained by some socialist countries also suggest the need for new thinking to adapt Marxism to contemporary world and ensure its success.

It must possess the capability to effectively compete with the capitalist system and garner the support of the majority of the people. This universal theory is developed for the wellbeing of the humanity at large, with a particular focus on oppressed and exploited. Since its foundation is based on its class nature and the contradictions in society, it prioritises the advancement of productive forces. However, as a scientific theory, Marxism necessitates a comprehensive assessment of the underlying factors contributing to the failures of socialist system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We must critically assess why there was widespread public discontent in these countries, despite nearly equitable income distribution and a massive social welfare programme launched vigorously by the states.

In my view, there are certain flaws in the thinking of how political and economic systems should facilitate the expression of views, use of new technology, productivity enhancement and testing of peoples' support. This

simply calls for a complete reorientation in the thinking of Marxism. In the process, a Marxist has also to examine carefully the political and economic events within capitalist countries to discern the inherent defects of the capitalist countries themselves.

Also, it is necessary to monitor carefully how capitalism manages to address economic crises, as well as social and political problems, to a certain extent throughout various historical phases, demonstrating itself as an economically developed, industrially advanced, and politically democratic system. After the fall of socialist system in the Soviet Union, contradictions among capitalist countries have escalated. This escalation is partly attributable to the persistent inherent weakness inherent in the capitalist system, including profound recession, increasing unemployment, societal discrimination, concentration of income among a privileged few, exploitation of the working class and intense competition among capitalist countries to find new markets and means of exploitation in developing countries in various forms.

Capitalist countries spearheaded by the United States, are not also trying to integrate Russia and Eastern Europe into the capitalist fold to safeguard their global dominance but are also imposing stringent conditions on developing countries to adopt market-oriented systems and withdraw government support to the welfare programmes. As a result, a new monopoly capitalist class is emerging fast in these countries, which is also trying to form a new alliance with multinational corporation and

external monopoly capitalist classes. Given this situation, I feel compelled to elaborate on my views regarding the validity and prospect of Marxism in the contemporary world.

There was a time when the Soviet Union was regarded as a nation of hope for oppressed peoples worldwide. Soviet influence played a crucial role in the liberation struggle of many countries, leading to their independence from colonial powers. In the early 1950s, the Soviet Union was able to accomplish economic advancements at a pace which was markedly higher than that of any capitalist country. However, with the beginning of Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras, which was characterised by concentration of power in a select few, excessive bureaucratisation, alienation of party from the people, suppression of dissenting views, low level of agricultural and industrial productivity along with technological backwardness, the appeal of the Soviet socialist model waned among people from different walks of life.

While it is true that western propaganda, accompanied by the economic dominance of the USA, played a role in defaming the image of the Soviet system to some extent, we should overlook the stark contrast in technological development and the rapid rise in living standards between the west and the Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. We should acknowledge the fact that after 1930s depression, the capitalist countries learned a big lesson and realised the importance of prioritising social justice and welfare programmes. This proactive approach

helped mitigate growing unrest among the poor people and working classes in capitalist nations, thereby averting a decline in purchasing power and living standards for the have-notes to some extent.

In the USSR and Eastern Europe, no precautionary measures were taken to address the shortcomings of the Soviet model, nor were attempts made to introduce certain elements of capitalist system useful for socialist countries too. Orthodox Marxism recognises that all the societal activities are the common property of humanity, yet technological progress from capitalist countries were not allowed to enter in these countries. The system as well as bureaucratic elite had the privileges of enjoying the power and controlling the government machinery. Absence of democratic practices within the party, and a lack of interaction between people and leaders, coupled with institutionalised corruption led to increase the resentment among the people despite efforts towards equitable income distribution and extensive social welfare programme.

Suppression of dissident views and inability to provide incentive to the working people at different levels created a situation in which no managers and the workers were motivated to raise productivity and enhance efficiency in production process. What was really needed was a recognition that Marxism, as implemented in the Soviet Union, was experimental endeavour. In the process, continuous reassessment, correction and reform,

informed by successes and failures, were essential to address deficiencies in various aspects of the system.

However, unlike in these countries, China started reforms and open-door policies from 1979. As a result, China's pace of development has now surpassed the so called newly industrialising economies of Asia, frequently touted by western countries as development models for other developing countries. Moreover, China has exhibited the best distribution pattern among other developing countries of the world. These two opposite scenarios clearly underscore that Marxism has not been discredited globally, rather, it's the Soviet model that failed.

Let's examine what has happened after the imposition of capitalism in Russia. Now Russia grapples with an annual inflation rate more than 3000%. The value of the Ruble, which was higher than dollar up to 1980's, has gone down to as low as 800 per dollar. As the transition towards capitalism started, those who were in managerial positions and individuals with access to state industries seized control and established their authority in these sectors. Such an anarchy to control the nation's industries, farms and resources led to make a few very rich overnight while leaving the majority of the people mired in miserable condition.

Yet the mounting unemployment crisis, accompanied by the removal of subsidies and other welfare policies and programmes in Russia, is making the life of the common

people extremely difficult. The growing unpopularity and rising confrontation between western-backed rulers and common people in Russia has raised significant concerns in the west. Recently, G-7 nations have committed to providing about \$45 billion to Russia in an effort to prevent the collapse of the capitalist transformation process. Although Yeltsin has been successful to win the referendum, largely due to massive financial support from the west, the poor response from the people and other factors indicates that the struggle of Russian people against worse capitalist system will continue. The developments in Russia and Eastern Europe indicate a resurgence in faith in Marxism and Socialism in these countries.

Nevertheless, the growing crises in capitalist countries reveals that the superiority of capitalism is a temporary phenomenon. Overemphasis given on economic liberalisation, privatisation of state-owned enterprises and the minimisation of government role in capitalist countries, including the USA, has engendered a peculiar situation especially in the USA. Unemployment rates in the USA is rising rapidly as a result of growing recession, while private sector saving is pitifully low. This is one of the reasons why the USA has become a biggest debtor in the world.

This is happening at a time when the size of the trade deficit is widening at an unprecedented rate. The total trade deficit of about \$49 billion with Japan in 1992/93 has increased confrontation between Japan and the USA.

The trade war between Europe and America is continuing within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with no immediate solution in sight. The continuation of export and farm subsidy in Europe, especially in France, has been a source of serious confrontation between Europe and America. Moreover, the ongoing European integration process is bound to divide between Japan and Europe on the one side and America and Europe on the other due to their fierce competition to secure the markets.

Divergent interests among Britain, France and Germany, coupled with their increasing economic dominance over smaller European capitalist countries, further complicate matters. The crisis within European Monetary Union, especially after the pound crisis last year, has not been resolved so far. It seems that the economic union established by the USA, Canada and Mexico is unravelling even before getting proper formation, mainly due to the economic dominance wielded by the USA and Canada over Mexico.

In spite of unification of Germany, East Germans continue to face discrimination as second-class citizens, experiencing rising unemployment, falling standards of living and increasing crime rates. These indicators suggest that a widespread unrest in Germany will become inevitable. Such turmoil could create economic crisis in Germany, with wide ranging impact on Europe and America. This likely scenario clearly points out the deepening crisis within capitalist countries. It will have

negative impact on developing countries in terms of aid, debt servicing and overall socio-economic development, particularly in the context of the globalisation of individual economies. In turn, these developments will also have severe adverse impact on capitalist countries. While it is too early to predict the historical turn that will unfold amidst the accumulating series of crisis worldwide, it is obvious that Marxism will resurface prominently to resolve crisis intensified by the capitalist system.

With the downfall of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, accompanied by growing economic crises in capitalist countries, most notably in America, there's been a concerted effort by America and its capitalist allies to push developing countries into adopting capitalist economic systems. This pressure often manifests through the imposition of liberalisation, privatisation and so-called market driven pricing systems. Regrettably, many reactionary governments in developing countries are implementing these policies and programmes without regard for their socio-economic context.

The rapid rise in prices, withdrawal of subsidies in agriculture, public utilities, and social services, alongside the unavailability of essential goods for common people, has made life exceedingly challenging of poor and those on fixed incomes. The so-called structural adjustments programmes (SAPs) implemented primarily focus on economic stabilisation, privatisation, export promotion and price adjustment, without considering the situation

faced by the people. It's evident that replacing SAPs with socialist-oriented welfare measures is imperative in order to protect the economic rights of the common people, who have been exploited for centuries and are now further deprived of enjoying the fruits of development, even after the restoration of so-called democratic rights.

Since the SAP and liberalisation have become priority of many governments in developing countries, I would like to present Nepal's experience with these policies. The SAP was started in Nepal during 1986/87 under the previous autocratic regime. Data indicates that Nepal's total debt outstanding was just 20.7% of GDP in 1984/85, but it surged to 53% in 1989/90. The inflationary pressures, rising cost of living and mounting poverty problems accentuated in Nepal with the implementation of SAP. In 1984/85 the poverty level was about 43%, which reached as high as 71% in 1989/90.

Thus, during the onset of the democratic movement in Nepal, the economy was passing through many problems with major economic sectors like trade, industry and tourism largely controlled by a privileged few. With the successful restoration of the multiparty system in 1990, through a unified effort between left parties and the Nepali Congress, there was a high expectation among the people for a development process that would directly benefit the common people. However, the irony is that after assuming power, the Nepali Congress government not only continued the past policies but also, with the support of the USA and various multilateral agencies,

aggressively pursued privatisation, liberalisation and market-oriented system. As a result, there has been a significant surge in prices, accompanied by mounting unemployment and an ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor.

There is a deliberate attempt to create a monopoly capitalist class and transform the Nepali economy into a neo-colony of external capitalist nations. The momentum of the liberalisation process has notably increased, particularly after India's implementation of the structural adjustment programme. In spite of full support and increasing aid from western countries, the Nepali Congress government has faltered completely on economic front, leading to growing frustration among the common people. The Nepali experience serves as a stark illustration of the implications of policies dictated by the west in nearly all developing countries.

The experiences of Russia and East Europe, along with the inherent crises in the capitalist system, coupled with growing confrontation among capitalist countries, underscore the limitations of market-oriented liberalisation and privatisation programmes advocated by western nations. Meanwhile, the successes of China and the adverse effects of structural adjustment programmes in developing countries further highlight the inadequacies of capitalism. These realities clearly indicate the idea that there is no system superior to Marxism and socialism.

History tells us that capitalism is essentially devoted to the cause of poor, exploited and oppressed people of society. Without the implementation of Marxian ideas, genuine well-being for the majority of the people is impossible. Marxism is the only philosophy which can guarantee the abolition of capitalist exploitation, elimination of feudal production relations, eradication of poverty, bringing about drastic changes in the society, and countering the exploitation of international monopoly capitalism.

However, we should be ready to learn from the mistakes and avoid repeating them in the future. Marxism faces challenges from both ultra-leftist and revisionist forces who are trying to defame Marxism in various ways. We have to understand that Marxism is a scientific theory rather than a dogma. Being a scientific theory, it has to follow a creative approach to adapt to the unique socio-economic conditions of each nation and fulfil the basic objectives laid down in the theory.

Our party has realised the need for a new approach to implementing Marxism, drawing lessons from the past experiences of various socialist countries. Therefore, at the Fifth National Congress of the party held in Kathmandu from 27 January to 2 February 1993, some important decisions were made which I believe will have wide ranging impact on the left movement of Nepal for the long term.

During the Congress, our party adopted a programme rooted in the people's multiparty democracy. This

decision is also based on our relentless struggle of over 40 years by the left forces in Nepal against autocratic regimes, aimed at establishing multiparty democracy in the country.

The concept of people's multiparty democracy diverges from the one-party system experimented in certain socialist countries, where, despite claims of a multi-party system, practical implementation suggested otherwise. In contrast, people's multiparty democracy allows for the existence and operation of multiple parties, including the participation of communist parties in elections, to get mandate from the people to rule the country and run the government.

We firmly believe that only a people's multiparty democracy, based on the rule of law, can alert us to rectify mistakes and sustain the party's popularity among the people. I want to stress that it is the people's multiparty system that is in practice globally today. A distinct feature of this system is its commitment to establishing a multiparty system inherently opposed to feudalism and imperialism, where other features include:

- Supremacy of the constitution
- Pluralistic open society
- Separation of powers
- Protection of human rights
- Multiparty competitive system
- Periodic elections

- Government by the majority with constitutional protections for minority opposition
- Rule of law
- Strengthening of the people's democratic system
- Encouragement of foreign capital and technology
- Compensation for landlords who support people's democracy
- Pursuit of a balanced and dignified foreign policy prioritising national interests
- Leadership of the working class and people's democratic dictatorship or people's democratic state
- An anti-feudal, anti-comprador capitalist and anti-imperialist people's multiparty democracy

We have realised that without permitting people to express their views, fostering constructive criticism, and promoting a competitive system in society, it will be difficult to incentivise people and avoid repeating the mistakes witnessed in the USSR and Eastern Europe. We firmly believe that not all types of oppositions are destructive. However, we are aware of potential adverse effects of a competitive system, especially on the distribution of wealth. Therefore, we have devised economic programmes aimed at fostering the development of productive forces while polarisation and exploitation of the masses. At the same time, these programmes facilitate the private sector's important role in the economy particularly in areas like trade and industry.

In spite of the emergence of new socialist ideologies in various parts of the world, a long struggle against capitalism remains inevitable. As a single superpower today, American imperialism faces threats from rival capitalist nations. It not only seeks to promote and strengthen capitalist system in Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and developing countries through whatever means but also equally tries to destroy the socialist system in Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and even China. The Cuban people are facing severe economic hardships today due to the American-imposed economic blockade. Similarly, it is also creating hurdles for North Korea, impeding the unification of the two Koreas.

Unfortunately, there is no international communist organisation capable of protecting socialist countries and advancing the interests of communist parties globally. While the prospect of such an organisation remains distant, past experiences suggest that even if it were to exist, its relevance and effectiveness in the current global context might be limited. Therefore, international seminars, regional gatherings, formal links among parties, and regular interaction among people serve as the best ways to exchange views, disseminate ideas, offer mutual assistance, and strengthen the communist movement.

Recent developments, such as the resurgence of communist movements in Europe and Latin America have given a new impetus to the communist movement. I hope that this seminar organised by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) will further enrich history of

the communist movement with fresh perspectives and dimensions.

Before I conclude, I wish to reiterate, based on my assessment of recent political and economic events, that the setback to Marxism is a temporary phenomenon. A socialist philosophy developed through an examination of class nature and historical development will definitely regain popularity in the immediate future. Marxism is a universal theory, destined to remain a guiding principle for the oppressed and exploited of the world. Today, the main responsibility of Marxists is to convey the message to the people that as long as the disparities between the haves and have-nots persist in society, the validity of Marxism will remain on this earth.

Response to the questions raised during the seminar

Having heard the views and experiences of all the delegates, I have noted several commonalities in understanding. It is essential to examine the past, acknowledging the mistakes made, but it would be unjust to solely focus on the negatives. Likewise, turning a blind eye to past mistakes is not a viable approach. It is important to recognise the significant achievements in the social arena attributable to the application of Marxism. I would like to emphasise five specific points in this regard.

- Applying Marxism creatively according to one's specific conditions is crucial. Treating Marxism as

dogma will not allow us to progress. Marxism, as a living science, is capable enough to face all the ups and downs during its advancement.

- It's essential to cultivate respect and tolerance for diverse experiences and viewpoints. Determining correctness or fallacy solely through comparison with written texts is inadequate.
- It is our responsibility to defend socialist countries such as China, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, as they represent beacons of hope for revolutionary people worldwide. Despite any reservations we may have regarding their experiences, it is essential to offer friendly commentary. Only after carefully evaluating various practices can we draw conclusions about what constitutes socialism and what is not.
- How can the communist and workers' party become the leading force and vanguard of the people's interest? How can the vast majority perceive communists and Marxists as defenders of their class and national interest? In my view, the party's adaptation to its own society is primarily demonstrated through its ability to attract large numbers of supporters and maintain a high level of prestige within its country.
- We should agree that we have to enrich Marxism through the practical experiences of thousands of people. By regularly sharing insights and experiences among different communist parties from various countries, we can all benefit. Each

party brings its unique perspective and experiences to the table, making seminars like these incredibly fruitful.

In the past, there was a tendency to look for models and uniformity during periods of social and political change or in the process of socialist construction. This approach led to many deviations and mistakes. However, after learning from these experiences, we should now recognise the importance of tolerance amidst differences and strive to find unity in diversity.

Lastly, I would like to thank the leadership of CPI (M) for organising this seminar and providing a forum for exchanging views and experiences. I believe we should collectively agree to convene such seminars more frequently in the future.

MADAN BHANDARI: A VISIONARY REVOLUTIONARY

Madan Bhandari, a revered leader in Nepal's political history, dedicated his life to championing social justice, equality, and the empowerment of marginalised communities. Born on 27 June 1952, in Taplejung district of Nepal, his journey began during his college years through active participation in student movements and advocacy for democratic reforms. His charismatic personality and deep understanding of Nepal's socio-political structure propelled him into national politics. This culminated in his affiliation with the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) in the late 1970s. This party later merged with Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist) and became known as Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist -Leninist [CPN (UML)]).

As a key figure in CPN (UML), Bhandari significantly influenced the party's ideology and strategic direction. He strongly advocated for Marxism-Leninism as a means to

address Nepal's deep-rooted socio-economic disparities, emphasising the need for fair wealth distribution and opportunities for marginalised groups. One of Bhandari's major contributions was the development of People's Multiparty Democracy (PMD), seen as the Nepal's version of Marxism and a guiding principle of Nepali revolution. This paradigm aimed to transcend traditional partisan politics, empowering the public and fostering their active involvement in decision-making processes. His vision aimed at establishing a just and inclusive society, devoid of exploitation and prejudice.

Bhandari's leadership was characterised by his relentless struggle to strengthen the party's base and expand its grassroots support nationwide. He travelled extensively, organising rallies, mass gatherings, and engaging closely with people from diverse backgrounds. His ability to connect with individuals from all walks of life, regardless of their socio-economic status, earned him widespread respect and admiration with the esteemed title of 'People's Leader' among the public.

Sadly, his political journey came to an abrupt end on 16 May 1993 with his assassination in an orchestrated car accident. His untimely death had a profound impact nationwide, creating an irreplaceable void in Nepal's political landscape. Despite the conspiracy theories that emerged following his demise, Bhandari's legacy endures through his ideas and principles, which continue to shape Nepali politics. His followers and party members remain committed to advancing his vision of social justice,

equality, and the upliftment of marginalised communities. His legacy continues to inspire and influence Nepal's political landscape, leaving an indelible mark on the nation's history and serving as a beacon of hope for future generations.
