

# People's Multiparty Democracy: A New Vision

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## ABSTRACT

*A smooth transition from an authoritarian to a democratic political system has always been a prime concern. In a democracy, the majority rules with due while the voices of the minority are respect to voices of the minorityed. For a democratic country to serve its people effectively, it needs political parties to maintain social justice and equity. In that light, this article explores democratization processes in communist parties, using case studies from Nepal. Based on the People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD), which later became the guiding political philosophy of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) (CPN UML). This study explores the dynamics of democratic centralism and its role in decision-making and leadership development with highlights of the relevance of intra-party democracy. With an emphasis on internal democracy in developing collective leadership and decision-making, especially in the Nepali context, this article proposes diverse methods of intra-party deliberation, debates, and decision-making. Overall, it critically examines the party politics to ensure unity in action through democratic centralism in the left-winged parties. Precisely, the communist parties in practice should be democratized, maintaining balanced relations with other parties, government agencies, and non-governmental organizations.*

## Introduction

Democratization is a process that plays a significant role in a political system in establishing the values of democracy in society, within countries, and ultimately across the world. Respect for human rights, a multiparty system of governance, a democratic election system, faithfulness to the rule of law, democratic governance, and citizen involvement are the major components of the democratization process. The course of democratization has undergone a global wave since the mid-1970s and has been a central theme of comparative political studies since the early 1980s (Dingping, 2014:5). Society has been changing, and so are its components. To sustain ourselves in a changing political situation,

we need to adapt to the evolving aspirations of the people. In this light, this paper underscores how Nepali communist parties are dedicated to democratic principles and multiparty systems, advocating for the democratization of communist parties by adhering to universal democratic norms and values through internal democratic practices.

Based on People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD) Nepal, has made significant strides toward the institutionalization of democracy, With distinctive Nepali characteristics, the people's leader reformulated the communist party's guiding principles during the 1990s. PMPD was introduced by Madan Bhandari, the People's Leader, Nepal Ratna, and the then Secretary General of the CPN (UML), in the Fourth Party

Congress in 1989 (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 14). This Congress resolved to establish the policy of “the rule of law and multiparty democratic system” (Bhandari, 1993: 123). This idea was pivotal during the People’s Movement of 1990, which ultimately led to the reinstatement of multiparty democracy in Nepal (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 4).

Communist Party that envisions a society free from exploitation, with social justice and equality. However, the relationship between the people and leaders remains central to achieve it. After the CPN (UML) implemented the principles of PMPD, the political parties and governments they formed reached out to people with specific political agendas oriented towards public welfare in different sectors, such as education, healthcare, agriculture, and industry. Eventually, parties have been able to develop amicable relationships between people and their leaders. Without political engagement, anti-democratic forces proliferated, posing challenges for the communist party. To overcome these challenges, the communist party must democratize its structure and functioning. The Communist Party should adhere to specific norms and values of the democratic process within its party, regardless of the situation or context. For which PMPD has adapted the democratic principles and rules in intra-party and inter-party democratic exercises in the changing context. These components are fundamental to building a people-centric communist party in the country.

This paper aims to explore the role of PMPD in the process of democratization of communist parties at a time when people have questioned liberal political agenda and the liberal economic system. It adopted in the context of the downfall of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe. In such situation, the communist parties not only needed to be united for the restoration of democracy in Nepal but also needed to develop an alliance with the parties, like the Nepali Congress. Against this backdrop, the democratization of parties was urgent since people could hardly trust their

loyalty to democratic principles concerning human dignity.

## **Methodology**

I have used a qualitative approach to explore the democratization process of the communist party in Nepal. I have reviewed the political thoughts and perspectives of the left parties from various resource and collected materials from libraries, online portals, and personal collections. The democratization of political parties has become an important phenomenon in Nepal, particularly over the past two decades. To expedite this process, numerous workshops and seminars have been organized, papers presented, and findings were disseminated. Leaders, politicians, and political thinkers have deliberated on the issues, and perspectives of different political parties, including left fronts. I have incorporated my experiences and reflections from my interactions with them.

After the disintegration of the USSR into 15 independent states in 1991, the international communist movement became defensive. In Nepal, the joint People’s Movement was able to restore democracy in 1989. At that point, the left parties had different views and perspectives concerning cooperation with the right-wing Democratic Party, such as the Nepali Congress. In such a complex situation, one of the strong left parties needed to reach out to the people with a new agenda and raise their voices for social transformation guided by innovative political thoughts. In this paper, I have interpreted and analyzed political developments at the turn of the century, drawing insights and perspectives from democratic political trends and socialist worldviews. This principle has brought a new perspective to the democratization of communist movements. PMPD represents the creative development and constructive application of Marxism. Guided by the PMPD, the CPN (UML) has successfully advanced the democratization process within the party, while redirecting other left parties towards the democratic process

and reorienting the Nepali Congress towards democratic socialism. Following this process, several countries have adhered to democratic values in the best interest of the people.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Basis of PMPD : Marxism-Leninism**

In Nepal, the 104-year-long autocratic Rana regime ended with a popular movement in 1950 (2007 BS), marking the establishment of a multiparty system in the country for the first time. However, this system did not last long, nor could a constitution be made through the Constituent Assembly. The constitution given by the then king Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah has several provisions under which a multiparty election was held. As a result, the Nepali congress-led government was formed under the leadership of Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala. Nevertheless, the king dissolved the government and the multiparty democratic system by using one of the existing provisions in the constitution. King Mahendra would eventually impose a partyless Panchayat System. In such a complex situation, the leftist-democratic movement of 2046 BS brought an end to this system and reinstated a multiparty political system. A federal democratic republic was established in the country after the People's Movement of 2006 (2062/63 BS), which took place after the monarchy re-imposed autocracy. A new constitution was promulgated, envisaging a socialist-oriented economy. This is an important progressive step for the PMPD principle to build an egalitarian and non-exploitative socialist society with social justice. It has immensely motivated the CPN (UML) for creative application of Marxism through PMPD, benefiting the country and the people. Indeed, some of the political developments, inclusive principles, and representation of marginalized sections of people in society after the country's republican setup have already been inherent in the constitutions of Nepal.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) applies Marxism-Leninism as the

guiding principle of the Nepali revolution. Primarily, dialectical and historical materialism, rooted in the philosophy of Marx and Engels, is an integral part of Marxism-Leninism. A philosophical bedrock of left-wing political parties, Marxism-Leninism is a creative, revolutionary doctrine, constantly enriched and tested by historical practice (Konstantinov, 1982). Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of Marxism, frequently emphasized that their theory was a guide to action rather than a dogma (Konstantinov, 1982:50).

Peter Beilharz has expressed his reservations about the application of the philosophy of Marx and Engels in the changing global political dynamics. Beilharz (2020) has questioned, "What is the fate of Marxism, a hundred and fifty years after its original inception at the hands of Marx and Engels?" (70). In response to such speculations, Chinese President Xi Jinping (2020) stated, "It has been 170 years since the publication of Manifesto of the Communist Party, during which time earthshaking changes have occurred in human society" (96-97). In this context, Bhandari conducted an in-depth study on successful setbacks of international communist and left movements trends in worldwide movements for the promotion of democracy, and the policies and perspectives adopted by the Nepali communist movement since its establishment. After making a critical appraisal of those communist movements and left parties, Bhandari propounded the doctrine of PMPD.

After the historical victory of the People's Movement of 1989 in Nepal, the CPN (UML) organized the Fifth General Convention from 27 January to 2 February 1993 which successfully elaborated on the perspectives and passed the program of PMPD having its additional salient features (See Annex 1).

The 14 characteristics do not only apply to democracy and socio-economic changes but also to the democratization of the communist party. Undoubtedly, democracy needs strong and

sustainable actors to play their part. Democracy indeed demands a democratic culture, i.e., a society that not only accepts democratic procedures but also values democratic institutions for their own sake (Dauderstadt & Gerrits, 2000: 370). The communist party, with its core value of respecting people's voices, reformulates policies and adapts new contexts for the larger public welfare while contributing to the democratic process for social transformation.

Following the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, two exclusive trends emerged in the communist movement. One trend advocated for liquidationism and saw the future of the communist movement in dismay. The other trend followed dogmatism and made the party a home for a handful of conventional Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 4). In this critical situation, PMPD advocated the creative application of Marxism and showed the ways to democratizing the communist party to defeat all kinds of deviations. In Nepali communist movement such as liquidationism, conservatism, ultra-leftism, puppetism, and dogmatism (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 5).

The experiment with Marxist theory in different countries, however, suggests that the redefinition and reorientation of Marxism was necessary to guarantee its stability and prove again that there is no alternative to Marxism which can ensure the development of productive forces, elimination of exploitation from societies, liberation, freedom, and progress of human beings (Bhandari, 2021: 38).

PMPD opposes feudalism, comprador capitalism, and imperialism. It guarantees democracy for all people except those involved in activities against the interests of the people and the nation (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 6–7). The principle of PMPD advocates guiding the journey toward scientific

socialism following the cessation of oppression and exploitation by feudalism and imperialism. One crucial dimension of this principle is to make peaceful democratic competition as the medium to achieve the goal of a just and prosperous democratic society. By inculcating confidence in people and empowering them through economic development and social change, this perspective emphasizes the urgency of strengthening the campaign for social transformation. In this sense, PMPD has autonomously asserted the importance of creating a just society, taking plurality as a distinctive feature of Nepali society.

### **Envisages of democratic norms and values**

The term “democracy” is derived from the ancient Greek word ‘demokratia,’ which is a combination of two words: demos, “people,” and kratos, “rule.” It is a system ensuring that the people are governed no better than they deserve (Shaw, [n.d.]). In this regard, Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as “the government of the people, by the people, and for the people” (Cincotta, 1968).

Democracy substantiates certain universally accepted norms, values, and principles, including majority rule, popular sovereignty, minority's rights, pluralism, equality before the law, civil liberties, human rights, and the role of civil society as a watchdog. These principles are solely democratic values, always respected by political actors in a democratic political system. They are obligated to adhere to all of these universal democratic principles while operating within the party and also during inter-party activities. These principles are also guiding codes for the democratization of a communist party. Because democracy requires effective participation of political parties (NDI, 2001: 3).

Hence, we can say that democracy, along with its associated rules and values, is an invention of human civilization. The communist party cannot disregard these democratic principles,

which are deeply rooted in society. PMPD envisions building a society that fosters individual freedom of thought, expression, and the ability to articulate personal experiences for the sake of the people and the nation. Further, PMPD is directed towards advancing the construction of a politically just and prosperous society through peaceful and democratic means.

### **Communist parties: Adapting to evolving contexts**

After the failure of the Soviet model of socialism in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the majority of countries in Eastern Europe, almost all communist parties around the world reviewed their earlier policies and programs. Left-wing thinkers began to propose different views about the shock to the communist movement and the future of the left movement. Prominent scholars proposed reforms in the theory and practice of the communist party: “Elsewhere, only reformed communist parties became notable political forces” (Dauderstadt & Gerrits, 2000: 371). Substantiating their claims, they highlighted the return to power of some of the former communist parties: “In Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, and Macedonia, reformed successor parties of the erstwhile communist parties ‘returned’ to power” (Dauderstadt & Gerrits, 2000: 370). This transformation process is essentially the assertion of the democratization of the communist movement in these countries. As communist parties face numerous challenges amid changing situations, they must introduce innovative values to adapt to the evolving context.

### **Dialectics of the Marxist philosophy in PMPD**

Dialectics is a universal law applied everywhere, including in people’s democratic states, their economies, and cultures. Dialectics is inevitable in political systems of any kind (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 3). In society, there is vast diversity both in life and nature. Without diversity, there is no duality, and progress is not possible without duality. Therefore, dialectics

is prevalent everywhere. Excellence also arises from dialectics. Dialectics is a state of apparent opposition that remains in existence in human society. It may stay dormant at times, and at other times, it manifests in a powerful form. Hence, dialectics is an inherent aspect of the nature and character of both the natural world and human society, which cannot be eliminated at any time.

Marxist philosopher and political scientist Viktor Afanasyev rightly argues that “the term contradiction, or the conflict of opposing forces, is the fundamental source of both material and conscious development” (Viktor Afanasyev, 1985: 93). In this way, the contradictions within the communist party cannot be eliminated because a political party is the advocate of diverse ideologies. However, such contradictions can be managed properly to ensure effective governance, which is essentially intra-party democracy. Ultimately, from contradiction itself, excellence is achieved by any idea or power that develops and progresses. This is why a popular Ancient Sanskrit proverb states, “vade vade jayate tattvabodha,” which means “out of the clash of opposing elements arises the essence of realization.” The core content of this popular proverb aligns with the existence of contradiction in the dialogue between two forces.

PMPD has accepted the diversity in society. This theory has absorbed multiparty political competition. Contradictions arising from such plurality are manifested in the Communist Party as well as in the society. This theory proposes that conflicts within the party should be resolved through democratic methods. The CPN (UML) has been using it. Specifically, in light of PMPD, the party has intensified the processes to make its internal life more democratic. To accept plurality in society, a political party should also accept diversity within its internal life (Sharma Oli, 2071 BS: 85).

### **Democratic centralism: Organizational principle of the communist party**

Generally, communist parties around the world adhere to the principles of organization and

operation proposed by Lenin, which recognize democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is a method of organization that embodies two elements, democracy and centralism, in an ever-changing dialectical relationship of struggle and unity (Marxists Internet Archive). Communist leader Karat (2010) explores the crux and essence of this principle, claiming that “class struggle is a collective act. Democratic centralism promotes collective decision-making and collective activity; it allows for freedom of thought and unity in action” (2080 BS:5). Iswor Pokhrel also rightly explains democratic centralism as, “the right to discuss, debate, have one’s opinions and make decisions should be understood as democracy, and the fact that decisions should be implemented in an integrated manner as centrality”. This principle does not envision restricting intra-party democracy. If any communist party weakens intra-party democracy in the process of implementing democratic centralism, it would indeed be wrong. The Leninist concept of party organization does not regiment or exclude vigorous inner-party debates and discussions on both theory and practice (Karat, 2010: 11). Karat further explains:

The practice of democratic centralism is not determined by formal principles and rules. It depends on the ideological political level of the Party members, the concrete conditions and political situation in a country, the authority of the leadership, and the experience gained in building the organization through struggles and tackling inner-party contradictions. (2010: 16)

PMPD acknowledges the principle of democratic centralism in the communist party in a creative manner, envisaging that intra-party democracy ultimately strengthens and popularizes the communist movement in the country. PMPD has reaffirmed the new organizational system, empowering grassroots-oriented workers in party building (Pokhrel,

2070 BS: 63). After the CPN (UML) embraced such a democratic organizational practice, the Maoists, another communist party of Nepal, too shifted towards a multiparty structure centered on leadership consolidation. Similarly, the Nepali Congress has also moved towards adopting a mixed organizational system in recent days (Pokhrel, 2070 BS: 68-69).

Thus, PMPD has made a significant contribution to the international communist movement by fostering debates on the communist party and its practices in different parts of the world on multiple occasions. Similarly, debates among party leaders, cadres, members, intellectuals, and the general public can be presented to the concerned party authority during the General Conference and Convention. All the committees and mass organizations of the CPN (UML) have made significant contributions to democratic practice by fairly conducting elections for the formation of new leadership. The party has also decentralized the power of leadership by creating various posts. This democratic practice has strengthened leaders’ responsibility and accountability to the public and party cadres while maintaining collective responsibility to the authority. These measures have made an important contribution to the democratization process of the Communist Party.

### **Fostering ideological integrity and leadership: The role of intra-party democracy**

Intra-party democracy involves adopting democratic methods in forming ideas, policies, and theories, as well as selecting leadership within the party. The organizational approach of PMPD states that “no one leader or some leaders are all-powerful, and the whole party should operate based on a channel system with interrelationships between certain levels” (Bhandari, 1993: 135). The CPN (UML) has been implementing this organizational principle presented by PMPD since the fifth

congress party-wide, including its winged mass organizations.

To address any issue effectively, it is necessary to embrace intra-party democracy and engage in peaceful and non-provocative dialogue. This approach is essential for resolving problems through constructive discussions (Liu, 2039 BS: 59). Dingping Guo (2014) has written about the relationship between the current democratization process worldwide and intra-party democracy, opining that “intra-party democracy has been sought as an integral part of global democratization. As democracy has spread, more and more people in most countries have come to accept democracy as the only legitimate form of government” (7). Today, the traditional norms of party formation and operation during wartime have been disrupted, and there is an urgent need to build and operate the party democratically, as emphasized by this urgency (Sharma Oli, 2071 BS: 72). The debate on internal democratization within parties will likely gain worldwide prominence in the coming years and introduce new dimensions (Dahal, 2065 BS: iii).

While discussing intra-party democracy, some people emphasize the procedures of various party activities, such as selecting more capable and charismatic leaders, developing more responsive policies, and, as a result, achieving greater electoral success. However, others focus on the process of using internally democratic procedures for thought and decision-making and strengthening democratic culture in general. Intra-party democracy covers the party’s congress system (including elections and nominations), the safeguarding of party members’ rights at the primary level, and collective leadership, among other aspects (Zhou, 2014: 97).

The significance of intra-party democracy is profound and extensive. It fosters harmonious relationships among party leaders, cadres, and members. Furthermore, it enables democracy to play a comprehensive role in advancing the interests of the nation and its people. Party

leaders and organizers cannot overlook the central importance of the individual member. Without members, a party’s leaders, no matter how eloquent or smart they might be, are doomed to occupy the margins of their country’s democratic political life (NDI, 2001: 4). They must be compelled to accept inclusion in their organizational structures and undertake deliberations in decision-making. Constant and critical engagement is the only way forward (Pyakurel, 2022: 92).

A communist party must have robust internal democracy. The decision-making process and organizational structure should allow cadres and members to express their opinions easily. Intra-party democracy is essential for the effective functioning of the party, and a committee system needs to be established to make it dynamic and vibrant. This process fosters a democratic culture within the party and helps establish collective leadership in decision-making. By fostering unity through group discussions, the party strengthens itself.

In the history of the Nepali communist movement, under the leadership of the People’s Leader, Bhandari, the CPN (UML) publicly disclosed and discussed its documents for the first time. Bhandari participated in prolonged debates and interactions with intellectuals, party members, well-wishers, and opponents at various levels and stages (Nepal, 2000). While other left parties in Nepal did not adopt such measures, considering them anarchic, the UML emphasized that it was a matter of concern only for party members. This approach aimed at avoiding unnecessary speculation and controversy within the party after the documents were brought into public scrutiny. However, the People’s Leader aimed at creating Madan Bhandari a roadmap for revolution, advocating for the active participation of the public in policy formulation, drawing attention to the democratic process, and advocating for people’s involvement in policy-making. This approach not only facilitated unity within the party but also garnered significant support for the party’s policies from the general public.

Establishing an efficient contradiction management system and committee structure is crucial in the communist party. Such a process promotes democratic values and supports collective leadership in decision-making. It reinforces party unity through effective organization and committee systems. Democratization of party life is a crucial method for managing internal conflicts within the party (Gyawali, 2070 BS: 80). Therefore, systematically managing internal conflicts is necessary and essential in strengthening the political stability of the country as well.

The democratic institutionalization of a communist party contributes significantly to the social transformation process of the country. If someone brings forth a new idea within the party, it is essential to consider how to provide space for the analysis of that idea and manage it properly. Prof. Meyer (2065 BS) opines that “political parties can only achieve democratic participation, control over power, and political unity in society when they themselves operate in a democratic manner”. K.P. Oli (2060) elaborates the intra-party democracy as:

A party that lacks internal democracy or is not inherently democratic cannot lead a democratic movement in society. Democracy is not merely an adornment for a party or a superficial covering to display. It is the scientific, just, and social law that governs state administration. The responsible party in state administration should be accountable to the people, and there should be a system that makes them answerable. This system extends to the individual's lifestyle as well.

Party leaders and cadres must be seamlessly connected with the people. Individuals who are dedicated to serving the public continuously are the true leaders. As intra-party democracy strengthens, such committed cadres are chosen for leadership, and they also earn the people's trust. True leadership is not established by

proclamation and creation. Leadership is a matter that the public, supporters, and even opponents can feel (Bhandari, 2070 BS: 38).

### **Navigating inter-party dynamics: The role of the communist party**

The Nepalese Communist movement has focused on the freedom of organization and civic rights since its inception. The first manifesto of the communist party spelled out its commitment to civic freedoms (Madan-Ashrit Memorial Foundation, 2000: 4). The CPN (UML) has remained committed to establishing a constitutional state, rule of law, and a fair electoral system as the fundamental principles of the country's communist movement (Bhandari, 1993: 122). In this context, Krishna Hachhethu glorifies the Nepali historical democratic movement where the role of the communist parties as:

With a view to crafting a new political structure, a Jana Andolan (mass movement) took place in February–April 1990, jointly launched by the Nepali Congress (NC) and the United Left Front (ULF)—an alliance of seven moderate communist parties—and supported by the United National People's Movement (UNPM)—a group composed of five radical communist splinter groups. The movement ended the three-decade-old Panchayat system (1960–1990) and restored the multiparty system in the country. (Nepal's first experience with multiparty system during the 1959-60 had ended in December 1960 with a royal coup (2006: 2).

To achieve this historic success, a policy was devised under the leadership of Bhandari to construct a leftist alliance, bringing along the bourgeois political party- Nepali Congress, and initiated a united movement. Immediate resolution of internal conflicts among the parties, forging a common ground for the movement, and engaging in a struggle against



the main adversary were pivotal strategies in establishing democracy, and the leaders were successful in implementing these tactics. Eventually, the movement was successful, leading to the establishment of a multiparty system in the country. The success achieved through this accomplishment recognized the Communist Party as a responsible and trustworthy force in the form of a powerful democratic movement.

After the autocratic Panchayat regime's three-decade-long refusal to permit political parties to engage with the populace and the looming specter of unchecked power, Bhandari proposed that opposition forces against the dictatorship should unite in an electoral alliance. This collaboration aimed to contest elections and secure victory following the establishment of a multiparty system.

The principle of PMPD, which deeply embraces the multiparty competitive system, has been actively applied in contemporary Nepali society. This implies recognizing the existence of multiple political parties within the country. Acknowledging the presence of different political parties naturally leads to the establishment of specific relationships among them. Therefore, this modern principle has autonomously extended to introspect and define inter-party relations among political parties, recognizing the importance of maintaining certain types of connections among them in the broader context of society.

The misconception that communist parties, once in power in some countries, tend to suppress other political parties and refrain from allowing competition has been observed. This perception has led to the creation of an illusion that communists are authoritarian. However, dispelling such misconceptions, the Communists in Nepal have proven themselves to be more democratic than others, always remaining open to competition and emphasizing their commitment to public service. In this context, the notion of 'a government with a majority and opposition with a minority' which is one of the fundamental

principles of PMPD, has gained strong acceptance. This particular characteristic, as established by Nepali society, solidifies the belief that the communists, who consistently prioritize democracy in their practices, should lead the majority government while allowing space for a minority opposition.

After the restoration of democracy in 1989, there was an internal debate within the party regarding whether or not to open up the then Nepal Communist Party (ML), and a strong opinion prevailed against its establishment. The People's Leader argued against turning the party into the "khopi ko deuta [sacrosanct dei]." The achievements gained through the people's movement necessitated self-reflection, and the party had to become accountable to the people since it had become the owner of the people's wealth. The Communist Party, as per PMPD, had to accept competition, and the perspective emerged that the Communist Party had to reach the leadership of the state through the people's mandate and approval. Arguments such as the need for leaders and cadres to be evaluated within the spectrum of public values were presented, and efforts were made to establish the credibility of this acceptance. The then-Nepal Communist Party (ML), now the CPN (UML), became actively involved in democratic practices from its name onwards.

The significant gap lies in the examination of the lessons learned and accomplishments following the integration of PMPD as the principal ideology of the CPN (UML) and the broader left movement in Nepal. Exploring the implications of the CPN (UML) and other left parties' practical adoption, despite not explicitly endorsing PMPD, could provide valuable insights for further analysis.

## **Conclusion**

In the 1990s, the international communist movement encountered numerous obstacles and setbacks. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Eastern European communist governments fell down one after another, drawing criticism for

their authoritarian regimes and undemocratic practices. This prompted a crucial need for the democratization of communist parties, urging them to embrace democratic norms and values in their internal processes, particularly in selecting party leadership. It was a time when people began to recognize the importance of universal democratic principles and the value of fair competition within the party for leadership positions.

Since its inception, the Nepali communist movement has been a proponent of a multiparty competitive system, advocating for democratic values, civil rights, and human rights. Despite this, the movement has consistently fought for democratic principles. A deep review of these historical aspects led People's Leader Bhandari to emphasize the imperative of democratizing the communist party based on the principles of PMPD.

As society evolves, so do people's aspirations. Nepali communist parties have adapted their ideologies and perspectives to changing circumstances. However, to position themselves as democratic communist parties aligned with global standards, they must undergo democratization. This involves, focusing on various aspects such as party functioning, decision-making processes, candidate selection, fundraising, communication, and transparency in party affairs. Democratic parties must adhere to universally accepted norms and principles to effectively serve the people and the nation. In today's world, democratic societies value plurality and dialectics, championing freedom while upholding personal and collective rights. In this context, PMPD be the solutions of the crisis of democratic practices in both socialist and capitalist political system.

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## Annex-I

1. Supremacy of Constitution
2. Pluralistic open society
3. Separation of power
4. Protection of human rights
5. Multiparty competitive system
6. Periodic elections
7. Government of the majority-holding party and the constitutional opposition
8. Rule of law
9. Strengthening the people's democratic system
10. Permission for foreign capital
11. Compensation to landlords who support people's democracy
12. Balanced and dignified foreign policy with the highest priority on national interest
13. Leadership of the working class and people's democratic dictatorship (governance) or people's democratic state
14. Anti-feudal, anti-comprador capitalist, and anti-imperialist people's multiparty democracy (Bhandari, 2021: 49)



