Marxism and Madan Bhandari on Language Politics in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

This article examines Nepal's language politics through the lens of Marxism, drawing on socio-historical and legal documents. It explores the impact of neoliberal influences on Nepalese society, shaped by globalization and the capitalist economy, particularly in the context of linguistic and cultural dynamics. Emphasizing the role of the Nepali language in fostering national unity and sociocultural integrity, the study underscores the importance of preservation of Nepal's linguistic diversity. The analysis is conducted thematically, synthesizing various language ideologies with historical, legal, and political perspectives. Additionally, speeches delivered by Madan Bhandari in public and parliamentary settings are examined alongside scholarly discussions on language politics in Nepal. The findings contribute to the discourse on Nepalese Marxist movements and language politics, offering a consolidated foundation for further research in this field.

Key words: Marxism, state and society, neoliberal ideology, people's multiparty democracy (PMPD)

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the issues related to languages and their impact on Nepalese society from the perspective of Marxist ideology developed by Madan Bhandari during the early 90s in Nepal. The influence of PMPD on Nepalese multilingualism seems to be different than the monolingual policy adopted in China and Russia by communist ideology. The present multilingual policy after the implementation of the latest constitution (2015) is the outcome of Nepal's long language politics and its struggle connected with Marxism.

Marxism's main basis is the economic structure of society, which is more concerned about dialectical materialism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels synthesize Ludwig Feurbach's orientation with matter and Hegel's spirit to form dialectical materialism. Etymologically, dialectical materialism is rooted in the concept of dialectics that implicates motion, change, and conflict as fundamental to reality. It supposes that material conditions, basically

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economic forces, shape social and cultural development The superstructure of Marxism can be seen through various development stages for the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical view of society and their institutional and legal relations with people. Language plays a pivotal role in society that has great impact and influence upon various social and cultural structures, including politics and policy implementation. In this context, Marxism has a very deep impact on the level and structure of society. On the one hand, the foundation of a Marxist theory of ideologies are based on the studies of scientific knowledge, literature, religion, ethics, and so forth which are closely bound up with problems of the philosophy of language (Volosinov, 1996, P. 9). On the other hand, language is the main means of personal communication and exchange of feelings in society rather than politics; it has its own foundation and structure which has its own context.

After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the old capitalist base was removed in Russia and a new socialist system of government was built, which led to the use and development of new words and jargons. Russian language changed significantly because of the new economic, social, and political environment after the revolution. There was significant change in the use of the Russian language on political, legal and other social issues because of Bolshevik revolution. However, it became stronger than before when the new political system handled it carefully for national unity and integrity. In terms of language and politics, the interview given by Joseph Stalin to *Pravda* in 1950 is considered a very important landmark in the history of language science. The interview was published in June; the July and August issues of *Pravda* clarified the view of the language plan and policy of the Russian socialist government, which was based on Marxist and Leninist philosophy. In his interview, Stalin says that the new use of new words and expressions that arose in connection with the emergence of new socialist productions and those expressions made the Russian language richer and richer (*Pravda* July, 1950 issue). Many words and expressions related to the state, the new socialist culture, new social relations and ethics and the development of technology and science have changed their meaning and thus many obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary. The basic stock of words and the grammatical system of the Russian language were not removed but handled tactfully, incorporating new vocabularies. The grammatical system of the language has been preserved in its entirety classical form without any serious changes. All acquired and collected words have been stored and preserved as the foundation of the modern Russian language. As a result, even after the great political changes of the 1990s when the Russian empire was divided, more than 120 languages and various dialects are currently spoken in Russia. Russian is the main contact language for communication, education or other creative works but people speak English and other languages according to their interest and choices.

In a similar line, Neomarxist ideology working in China led by the current president Xi Jinping with dynamic and practical implementations of all the sociocultural aspect in the twenty-first century. The main official language of China is Mandarin Chinese which is also used as an official language in Taiwan. Cantonese is the second largest language spoken in the Guangzhou province of China which is recognized as the official language in Hong Kong and Macau. Apart from these two main languages, there are many other

regional languages in China, such as Wu, Minwe, Minan, Jiang, Gan, Hakka, Xuan, Kyrgyz, Mongolian, Tibetan, and more than 200 other spoken languages. Though China is under communist rule, the attraction to English language is increasing day by day due to market expansion and business for international community.

In the context of Nepal, Madan Bhandari comes up with the perspective of new transition from semi-feudalism to national capitalism, and from national capitalism to socialism by addressing political, economic, and socio-cultural elements at the time (1990s) when communism was in defensive situation because of neoliberal agenda of capitalism. According to people's multiparty system, it follows the consolidation of the state power through democratic elections or popular mandate, the elimination of feudal practices and discrimination, and the end of external domination, i.e. imperialism (Roka, 2024). Bhandari's popular interview to Newsweek after his presentation at the Calcutta conference popularized his ideas about Nepali society, culture and languages differently. During 1990s, Nepal faced severe challenges as it grappled with an economic blockade enforced by its neighboring country to the south, India along with the political transition in Kathmandu (Luitel, 2023).

Generally, a political leader gathers different textual and intertextual ingredients to deliver his or her speech to persuade the target audience to indoctrinate them into his or her belief systems (Karki, 2023). In Madan Bhandari's opinion, language was not only the main agenda for political revolution but his popular speeches were the most revolutionary and powerful to attract the people towards multiparty democracy system from a Marxist perspective. A person without formal classes learned Sanskrit jargons, used it in contemporary Nepali colloquial way and transformed it to Hindi and English languages for internationalization which was a great shift from classical Marxist to simplified Nepali language that can be studied from the perspective of language politics in Nepal. Language and political change are completely different things but they are intertwined. Language is not only a product within the society but it is also a form of collective expression created by the entire society where the efforts and attempts are done by different generations of the society. It is created for the satisfaction of the needs of all sections of the society, not of a particular class of the people like the language used by Royal families in Nepal. Therefore, the functional role of language, as a means of communication between people, should not consist in the service of one class to the detriment of another, but in the service of society as a whole and all classes of society.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This article follows Bakhtin's model of social theory (1986) and Voloshinov (1996) for thematic analysis. Bakhtin's theories about the politics of language focus on the ways in which language functions as a site of power, contestation, and resistance. Madan Bhandari's PMPD model emphasizes the plurality of voices in Nepalese society that reflect or challenge the existing socio-cultural hierarchies that have been conceptualized with various jargons like *heteroglossia*, *dialogism*, *polyphony*, and *carnivalesque* where Bakhtin (1981;1984;1986)

offers a profound critique of language as a tool of political control, while also celebrating its potential as a means of subversive resistance and social transformation. Some conceptual and theoretical ideas have also been generated to describe the thematic description from Downs & Surprenant, 2018 and Waltman, 2015.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on Bakhtinian language-centered model (1986) where different sources were collected from historical collections, interviews, library resources, and published documents about Madan Bhandari and his political philosophy have been utilized**.** Madan Bhandari's collected speeches and videos in public and parliament have also been listened to, transcribed, and observed to outline the rhetorical analysis of speech and language (Star, 2012; Cameron and Shaw, 2016). After this the content of speeches, interviews, and other published documents was thematically analyzed and described to understand his communicating ability as rising leader and motivator to encountering the arguments in a particular discursive form of discourse content (Waltman, 2015). Similarly, Marxist philosophy of language has also been linked with PMPD perspective of Madan Bhandari's ideas on linguistic and cultural diversity of Nepal addressing various social-political issues of Nepalese society through language politics.

THEMATIC DISCUSSIONS

Language is an open totality in part because of the inherently temporal character of dialogue, in which every word recapitulates implicitly the entire history of a language and culture and is therefore a 'fragment of universal discourse' (Merleau-Ponty, 1973, p. 144). Until now there is not any significant work on language politics and ideology in Nepal except few publications (Giri, 2015; Gautam and Poudel, 2024; Gautam, 2025). However, various thematic interpretations were made after observing and analysing various texts, videos, recorded interviews and theoretical sources by highlighting Nepal's language politics from unification movement to present.

Language politics and Madan Bhandari

Nepal is multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious country that accommodates four major language families viz. Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (Munda) and a rare and isolated Kusunda language. Census 2021 informs that there are 124 languages and other spoken languages and 142 ethnic groups in Nepal (NSO, 2023). In addition, there are plenty of speakers of other unknown languages and dialects as reported by various linguists and experts (Yadava, 2014; Sonntag and Turin, 2019). However, the role of the state to protect and promote these various languages seems to be inconsistent and unclear in history as some past and previous governments deliberately discouraged the planning and development of Nepali languages (Census reports 1952 to 2021). The first National Education Plan of Nepal (1956) encouraged Nepali but deliberately discouraged

the use of minority languages in education and administration. Since then, monolingual and multilingual ideologies in Nepal have become the subject of debate in political and social fields. Especially, the recognition and importance of linguistic diversity in Nepal have been echoed much more clearly only after the establishment of multi-party democracy in 1990. The suppression of assimilation ideology (*one nation, one language, one system, one uniform*) was very much active during the autocratic Panchayat Regime (1961-1990) for 30 years. Sontag (2007, P. 205) states that after 1990s political change, Nepali-only policy was discarded in favor of an official language policy that recognized Nepal's linguistic diversity.

Madan Bhandari publicly appeared after the success of 1990s political revolution that established the multiparty democratic system and the monarchy became powerless. His popular speech targeting the king, '*hat nalamkaaibaksyo maharaj aankha nachamkai baksyo ra aafna sundamusanda* …..(Do not spread your hand, his majesty, do not blink your eyes and do not believe your vendalists…) (Ref. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EIHPjjdrTKM) was very much political while using the various jargons from Nepalese dialects to common cores and focusing the Royal class Nepali spoken by Thakuri and Palace people then. Words like *badsah ko anukampa (kindness of the king/monarch)* and "marichmanko buta" *(Power of Marichman, the then primeminister)* in his speech reflects the Marxist way of managing language for development and integrity. His appearance at the dawn of neoliberal ideology with the open and democratic political system has embraced linguistic diversity as an important resource so that the multilingual identity of Nepali society was officially recognized through constitution (1990). However, the political system at that time could not protect the minority languages as expected and this raises questions about the coexistence of diversity and democracy. The Maoist movement (1996) is one of the reasons of ignoring the voices of ethnic and linguistic minorities in Nepal though the movement misguided the entire communist philosophy from class to caste and ethnicity. People's multiparty democracy can really promote linguistic or ethnic/minority through positive aspect of language politics in Nepal. The main question of today's language politics is the debate that either diversity marginalizes languages or stop development and prosperity (Gautam and Poudel, 2022).

After Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest over Kathmandu valley, Gorkhali or Khas (now known as Nepali) which was the mother tongue of many mountain people became language of administration, law and education. This unification movement established culture (language and dress) of the hill Brahmins, Kshetri and Thakuris as an ideal national culture (*Daura Suruwal*, *Dhaka Topi*) that was interpreted as an effort to promote an inclusive national policy that contributes to cultural diversity (in terms of language and culture). Rana regime further extended the *'one nation-one language'* policy by promoting the Nepali language in education and mass communication. The Rana suppressed various language movements (Newar, Hindi, Maithili, etc.), which was intended as a plan to eliminate all but one language (Nepali). From this historical suppression one can easily understand that the diversity and multilingual identity of Nepal was historically repressed in the name of nation building and promotion of national unity among people of diverse ethnic and cultural orientations.

After the end of the dictatorial Rana regime in 1950, democracy was established in

Nepal for about a decade when we find some changes regarding the recognition of various ethnic/tribal languages and their identity. This prompted a change in national policy regarding the use of language in education as well. But what happened was that Nepali language became the main language for administration and education, and its position became stronger. The National Education Educational Planning Commission (1956) was the first national report on education in Nepal that reflected the ideology of monolingualism under the influence of Hugh, an English speaker of American origin. The report says "If the young generation is taught to use Nepali as the basic language, other languages will gradually disappear" (NNEPC, 1956, P. 72). The report was the backbone of Nepal's education system because it established the formal education system in policy level for the first time in Nepal. However, it was not favorable about the issues related to preserve and empower the minority and marginalized languages of Nepal. This report further strengthened the liberal and monolingual nationalist ideology (language assimilation policy) in a systematic and effective way through the report of the Overall National Education Commission (1961). Not only this, through the Companies Act (1964), English or Nepali language was made mandatory in all documents of the company of the government of Nepal.

After the establishment of the multiparty system in 1990, the Constitution of Nepal (1990, Part 1, Article 6.1 and 6.2) recognized Nepali language written in the Devanagari script as the national language and all other mother tongues spoken in Nepal were also recognized as the nation's language. The constitution also provisioned that languages other than Nepali can be taught for primary education. The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) which came as a collective result of the people's movement and great political change in 2006/2007 was more progressive than the previous constitutions that treated Nepali and other languages equally from the point of view of identity and every speaker (Part 1, Article 5.2). The constitution also ensured the right of the community to receive education in their mother tongue as well as the right to preserve and promote their language, script and culture.

In this way, recognizing all mother tongues as the national language was a progressive step provided by the Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007). In addition to further confirming the right of each community to protect and promote its language, script, culture, cultural civilization and heritage, the interim constitution (Part 3, Article 17) clearly explained the right of every community to receive basic education in their mother tongue. Now, the Constitution of Nepal (2015) guarantees the right to basic education in the mother tongue (Article 31.1), the right to use the mother tongue (Article 32.1) and the protection and promotion of the language (Article 32.3). This constitution also mentions that every community has the right to protect and promote its language, script, culture, cultural civilization and heritage. This shows the evidence that the constitution only provides the provisions for protecting and promoting endangered languages of the country without which the efforts of the community is useless.

By observing and analyzing the legal provisions in the history of Nepal from the early period to the present, it is clearly known that Nepal has made significant progress and gradual development in the use of languages along with the historical events. The main measure of

the stability of any language is not only the linguistic population, but the children and the new generation have been able to speak and learn the language as their mother tongue. The Constitution of Nepal (2015) formed the Language Commission in 2016 (according to article 287). In addition, the Constitution of Nepal (2015) establishes the right of each state to establish one or more languages spoken by the majority of the people as official languages in different provinces. Language commission will study and recommend other matters related to language and multilingualism (Part 1, Article 7 of the Constitution). However, even after four years of its establishment, the language commission has not been able to function practically by implementing different policy provisions in order to address the variety and diversity of Nepal which were envisioned by Madan Bhandari through people's multiparty democracy program in the early 1990s.

Madan Bhandari, English and Language Politics

Madan Bhandari was not only a political thinker but was a very good orator and the generous person having command over multiple languages. His knowledge about Sanskrit, philosophy and Nepali language and its various dialects and jargons were the reflections of his competence. Madan Bhandari was also very good in speaking and understanding the English language. His opinion about world politics and leaders from USA, Russia, China and European countries while delivering a speech in Nepali reflects his outstanding knowledge in English. His presentation at Calcutta conference and his interview at Newsweek are the evidences (Ref. https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=aWY9u-7TyqQ). English language became universal language due to its use, function and popularity in most social, cultural and educational fields. Globalization and its impact on the modern neoliberal world (Gidden, 1991; Levitt, 1983; Sassen, 1998) have been addressed through English in the academic field of scholarship. The multifaceted changes over time and space understood through English language that influenced most of the human activities.

Historical records show that the English language has been used in Nepal since the seventeenth century (Giri, 2015). The main document of the *Treaty of Sugauli* can be considered the first official evidence of Nepal (Gautam, 2023). Durbar High School was the first government English medium school in Nepal which was established for only Rana family after Junga Bahadur's visit to England (Cadell, 2007). The first post-secondary (higher) educational institution in Nepal was Trichandra College (established in 1918) where the medium of instruction was English. The main purpose of establishing Trichandra College was to accommodate students of the Durbar schools and prevent them from going abroad (India) for further education and that was a nationalist approach to some extent. In the beginning, Tri-Chandra college was affiliated with Patna University of India so that the curriculum and evaluation system was guided by British-Indian education system. Another important reason for the spread of the English language in Nepal was that Nepalese youths joined the British army and returned to Nepal after getting retired and started to teach in Nepal. English was compulsory to join the British army so the young people who wanted to join the British army learned English. Nepalese soldiers returned to their homeland

and inspired the youths of the village to learn English which later became a part of social mobility (Kachru et al., 2006, P. 90). Due to the influence of British education and the impact of Wood Commission Report (1956), many private schools and colleges were established and English language was made indispensable in every course of Nepali education so that English became the main attractive language for all educational activities. After 1990, due to the influence of the state's neoliberal ideology, English language has been established as the lingua franca of the world, which, on the other hand, led to the division of various minority languages spoken in Nepal such as Newar, Sherpa, Maithili, Tharu, Limbu, etc. in different levels (Gautam, 2021). World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and various international non-governmental organizations such as SAARC established where English became the language of communication to the international community. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, Nepal's active participation in such organizations made the English language essential in Nepali society. Today's world is inherently diverse and multilingual. Language contact and attrition are common phenomena of multilingualism where people choose and use their own language cues in their conversations and discussions. Different social, historical, political and economic power relations are the main forces influencing the linguistic outcomes caused by multilingualism (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988) where they represent different ideologies and attitudes towards the different languages spoken in the society.

In the context of Nepal, English has been utilized with contact to many languages of Nepal. Nepalese political ideas have also been internationalized through English along with other common activities such as markets, transportation, shipping, telecommunications, and banking. Similarly, sociolinguists and language planners have discussed the use of global English and its impact on the linguistic landscape around the world. Many studies and researches have been going on about world English and its varieties. Crystal (2012) states that a language acquires a global status after acquiring a special role in every nation-state of the world. This special role manifests itself in three ways: serving as the mother tongue of the majority of citizens, being given an official status, and playing the role of a major foreign language. Many researchers see English as the global language of the Internet, science and education, entertainment, popular culture, music and sports. However, the rise of global English in Nepal is the main impact of privatization and westernization of economic and cultural activities.

Multilingualism and language politics

Nepal accommodates more than 124 languages and 142 ethnic communities (NSO, 2023). People living in multilingual countries like Nepal tend to interact and mix (switch) between two or more languages in different situations in various formal and informal contexts and even in the same conversation. People may mix languages for various reasons. Social conditions change in which a speaker can switch language (code) to be closer to his group membership and the addressee. The linguistic situation in Nepal is very complex where people often speak their mother tongue along with Nepali, Hindi and English in the same conversation (Millory and Muskin, 1995). Linguistic practices are inherently

political because they are the ways in which individuals gain access to the production, distribution, and consumption of symbolic and material resources. So that language is the process of power (Heller, 1995, P.161) where we can easily observe and experience various contexts and situations in Nepal. People use language as the symbol of modernization, socioeconomical status and elite group identification where different languages (codes) are used in Nepal among minorities and other linguistic communities. The change is gradually shifting towards Nepali and English which are considered as a symbol of modernity and civilization by following western music and culture (Gautam, 2021, P. 20). Madan Bhandari's speeches delivered in various informal and formal occasions justify the Nepalese context of multilingualism. His deliberations were the mixture of Sanskrit Jargons, Nepali colloquial words and royal class varieties of Nepali along with the sufficient borrowed words from Hindi and English. For example, *nekapa maleko haisiyatle ma durbar ma jalpaanko lagi janda tyo Marichman halma birajman chha, durbarma Syal jasto niskine ra chhirne gariraakheko chha…….. haami Indonesia ra Chile jasto hoina belaayatko itihand pani herirakheka chhaun….*(Reference https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=madan+bhandari+speech)   where   he uses the jargons like *birajman* (honarly chaired), *syal jasto* (like jackal), Indonesia, Chile, *belayat* (UK).In this context, we can realize Bakhtin's work that addresses how language functions in everyday life and its connection to social power where he argues that language is never neutral; it is always imbued with the values, beliefs, and power structures of the social groups that use it (Bakhtin, 1986). This perspective is especially important in understanding how language can both reflect and perpetuate social inequalities where individual speech acts are always part of larger social structures and that every word we speak is influenced by the historical and ideological context in which it is used.

The process of language contact and shift is very productive in multilingual Nepal because of democratic movement and globalization. The advent of media, computers and new types of secular education are leading the young generation into challenging areas where they are forgetting their heritage languages, habits, customs and traditional ways of living life styles. In the process of democratizing Nepalese society through politics, comprehensive policies for the promotion and protection of linguistic diversity are being highlighted in all aspects of development. Recognition of new languages and recognition of multilingualism are key outcomes of democratic movements in Nepal. Largely multilingual and bilingual practices are common in governance, education and public communication in every community across the country. Democracy in Nepal can be concluded to act as a double-edged sword (Gautam and Paudel, 2022) which on the one hand preserves cultural and linguistic diversity and boost development efforts. On the other hand, imported languages and cultures are promoted by strengthening Nepali and English in various contexts. The reality of Nepal's language politics is based on protecting linguistic and cultural diversity where the democratic ideology brought from the Global North at the policy level created inequalities in practice (Gautam, 2022). The democratic process in Nepal has been successful to develop awareness about the linguistic rights of individuals and communities of minority languages. However, it has not been able to contribute for the promotion of linguistic diversity in real sense.

Various scholarly activities were intended towards the use of English and modern languages as primary means of communication that has the consequences and implications of globalized patterns of social mobility and migration. In this connection, Marxist influence in language and linguistics is evident for language ecology or ecological linguistics that advocates a broader perspective on the social and cultural embeddedness of language in human life and history (Jones, 2018). Situating language politics in Nepal, the contact and shift from home and heritage language to more dominant community language, national lingua franca and global languages is increasing in the urban areas where we can easily observe that the new generation and the children of political leaders and people working in business centers and educational institutions are using More English, Nepali and Hindi rather than their own languages of their home and society. This shift is the impact of westernization towards media, music and culture through education. The keynote address in English by Madan Bhandari at Calcutta International Conference of World Communist Parties about Nepalese Marxist movement is the evidence of internationalization of Nepalese organic ideas to the world.

CONCLUSION

Various political movements in the human history based on Marxist philosophy are the outcome of struggles for economic, political and social change where language and its various forms and dialects are used to motivate and communicate people for the transformation in the society. In this context, neo-Marxist literature reflects various contradictory propositions of language use and expressions including contact with home language, community language and the languages for equal access in education and opportunities. This kind of ideological influence with the neoliberal domination through modern education prevented working class people from their traditional way of revolution. Nepal's political transformation through Madan Bhandari's people's multiparty democratic program is the mixture of Marxism, neo-Marxism and the situation analysis of world politics.

Madan Bhandari believes that the language spoken by feudalists (Royal family and Thakuris) should be separated from the language spoken by common language which is easy and understood by all people that represents the commonality of majority social class and people. Language is the product of expression of each age, sex and attitude of people and their social-cultural orientations so that a language lives longer than any political party and government. Revolution and political change can affect few targeted groups of people in which language serves as a bridge between different aspects of society. Marxism does not pay attention to other minority languages and speakers because Marxism is a philosophy which focus for the liberation of working-class people and their language is common. Linguistics is based on ethnic and other social varieties based on different communities. However, it represents the political concept which is based on class economy. Even after a hundred years of Pushkin's death, the Russian language established by him continued to be used in Russia with slight modifications. Feudal system and capitalist economy ended in Russia and socialist system was established after Bolshevik Revolution (1907-1917). Russian language remained same in general communication but the vocabulary and some modern

structures were changed which was stylistically different from Pushkin's language. This process has now also been continued so that Modern Russian language seems simple and very understandable for every Russian.

In the same way, if we pay attention to the linguistic history and use of Nepali, from Prithvi Narayan Shah to Bhanubhakta *Ramayana,* along with the unification of Nepal, the Nepali language gradually got the legal, administrative and educational use in modern Nepal. Not only this, it has been socially acceptable and culturally united as a part of Nepalese recognition. Even during the Rana rule, the use of Sanskrit language from a religious point of view continued in Hindu and Buddha religion at monasteries, temples and chaityas. After Jung Bahadur's visit to United Kingdom, the English language was learned and used after the establishment of Durbar High School. Nepali language has been considered as a symbol of national unity and the symbol of monarchy during the thirty years of Panchayat period (1961-1990). As a result, the structure of the Nepali language used in the courts, administration and education of Nepal became different from the language of the people in Nepali society. The king's address and the notices published in the gazette can be evaluated where we find the symbols of feudalism and Hinduism in vocabularies and structures.

After the political change of 1990, Nepalese society enjoyed multi-party democratic system that increased the role and importance of common people's language. The number of languages in the censuses after 1990 were virtually increased and a new media highlighted the various ethnic and minority languages of Nepal. The constitution of 1991 is the compromise between the king (feudalism), congress (democracy) and communism (Marxism). Being a common document of three different ideologies, the language used and the provisions in the sections and sub-sections of the constitution reflected the characteristics of the economic and political activities of the Nepalese society at that time. An example of this is recognizing Nepali language as the national language and recognizing other languages as the national language can also be considered as a good example of linguistic political differences. The international expansion of economic activities has further led to the implementation of education programs that focus on multilingualism and use of commonly spoken languages like Nepali in the context of Nepal. English in the context of Nepal has been signified by institutions of higher education as a key resource for internationalism, progress and modernity as well as for high quality, economic prosperity and development.

The new constitution envisages a socialist-oriented state system but the specialty of the state is based on federalism. On the one hand, language politics in Nepal is based on ethnicity and on the other hand, Marxist based communist parties of Nepal have been able to form even permanent government through electoral competition and their political documents are based on the fundamental principles of Marxism. However, popular Nepali Marxist program known as people's multiparty democracy was established by Madan Bhandari envisions plans and policies with Nepali specialty of multilingual, multicultural and pluralist in nature. Therefore, PMPD perspective of Nepalese Marxist ideology seems to have clear impact and influence of multilingualism that is different than in China by communist ideology. The multilingual policy of the Nepalese environment, which is based

on the development of science and technology of the twenty-first century, should be the destination of Nepal's linguistic politics and its pragmatism. Maoist movement in Nepal started class-based movement in 1996 but that created lots of chaos in the community. The contemporary government of Nepal is the mixture of capitalism and feudalism in its nature and socialism in principle. So that for the preservation, promotion and development of more than one hundred languages spoken in Nepal, it is necessary to have a behavioral synthesis rather than a pure Marxist analysis. So that Madan Bhandari's ideas about Nepalese society and culture need to be researched and studied from the perspective of language politics. The ideology developed in Nepalese context should be analyzed from linguistic perspective as well.

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